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Land and people in Wicklow, 1660-1840.

Vol. 2 of 2

by

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Chapter 6 – Social relationships, shared morals and structural hierarchies

The previous chapter considered the seasonality of baptisms and marriages, arguing that the timing of both was influenced by the contemporary ecclesiastical and economic cycles. This chapter will continue examining the themes of marriage and sexuality, but from a number of different perspectives. It examines the age at which brides married during the eighteenth century, a key factor influencing the potential rate of population growth. It also breaks new ground, by considering popular attitudes towards sexuality and mixed marriages, and confirms suggestions that, while illegitimacy rates during the eighteenth century were relatively low, pre-nuptial pregnancy was common within both denominational communities.

The chapter also revisits an issue that was broached in the first part of the thesis, but was not fully explained. In chapter two it was argued that the evidence from the two principal religious censuses of the eighteenth century suggests that the Protestant population had stagnated between 1730 and 1766, at a time when Catholic numbers had continued to expand. Although chapter three provided further evidence of Protestant stagnation, by noting falling Protestant fertility rates during this period, an adequate explanation for the apparently contrasting confessional demographics remained elusive. This chapter, through an examination of Protestant bridal age at marriage, provides further convincing evidence as to why a vibrant and substantial Protestant community went into decline.

Marriage and family formation

On Christmas Day in 1738, at Tullow Church, Catherine Howard married Samuel Smith, and a brief six months later, on 1 July 1739, their daughter was baptised. This daughter was the only offspring of Catherine and Samuel to appear in the parish's registers, and her mother may have been nearing the end of her child-bearing years by this time, although her age when she gave birth is not known. It is probable that Catherine was a relatively old bride, because Samuel was her second husband. Previously she had been married to Henry Burgess, who

was buried at Tullow on 30 April 1738. Thus, Catherine married Samuel within eight months of the burial of her first husband, and would appear to have conceived her daughter before their subsequent marriage, and within about four months of Henry's demise.

While Catherine's rapidly changing conjugal fortunes may have been extreme, they were not untypical. Socio-economic opportunities outside the home for single women were limited, but they were often especially curtailed for aged widows. In some cases, widows may have made attractive marriage partners for a bachelor, especially if they were in control of leases or of financial or land reserves which might exceed the dowries of spinsters, but most were disadvantaged. Some young, single women could hope to secure a service position in the locality or through migration to Dublin, but for poor widows, particularly if they had children, the opportunities were narrower. Unless they could secure a coveted paid position within the parish or were favoured to be added to the parish's pension list, their choices were often remarriage, or poverty. Marriage, therefore, provided women with an element of relative financial and social security which was unavailable to most single women.

There were other economic benefits to marriage too. For established families, marriage provided the means to lessen their financial burdens by removing post-pubescent female offspring from the household. Edward Wakefield noted this tendency in the opening years of the nineteenth century, for Ireland generally, while also providing a further view on the seasonal pattern of Irish marriage, considered in chapter five, by recounting that 'when a man has a daughter, whom he considers old enough to be a mother, he gives out that she is to be married before the ensuing Advent'.¹ Neither was this reputed to be a modern trend – Sir William Petty, the enthusiastic observer of late-seventeenth century Irish social conventions, had noted more than a century previously that 'teeming women ... marry upon their first capacity'.² Unsurprisingly, therefore, the age at marriage for females was often low, and it was not unusual for single women to marry as soon as possible after reaching marriage age, or for widows to marry quickly after the demise of their husband.

The bridal age at marriage is a fundamental demographic marker for any early-modern society, because it imposes limits on the potential rate of increase in a community's population. It is important to note, however, that a low bridal age at marriage does not automatically equate to high fertility levels, but simply provides one of the crucial supports required for high levels of fertility.³ The importance of this marker has been stressed by, for example, David Dickson, who comments that 'a shift downwards of even one year in marriage age [of brides] would add the equivalent of a third of a child per family on average, and could make the difference between communal stagnation and population growth'.⁴ Unfortunately, however, determining this demographic lynchpin can prove exceptionally difficult, as bridal age is rarely recorded in either the Catholic or Protestant marriage registers. In fact, usually the only realistic way of estimating the age at marriage of a bride is by examining the baptismal registers to locate the date of her baptism, and presuming the span between the two dates to approximate to her age at marriage (which is only the case if the birth/baptism interval was brief (chapter three)). The difficulties involved in such a task are evident, and substantial. If the baptism and marriage registers commence at the same time it is unlikely that an approximate age at marriage can be determined for any bride for about the first two decades after the commencement of the registers. Gaps in the baptismal registers or poor or incomplete recording will also compromise the determination of age-at-marriage for a generation following the baptismal-gap. Furthermore, it can often be unclear if a name recorded in the baptismal registers is the same person as an individual of the same name recorded in the marital registers, especially if that baptismal record is scant, incomplete, ambiguous or damaged. In particular, it is not unusual for more than one person of the same name to occur in the baptism registers and when this arises it can be difficult (and sometimes impossible) to determine which event represents the baptism of the bride. Finally, the determination of an age at marriage obviously requires a relatively stable social structure, in so far as it usually requires a family to have remained in the same general location for at least a generation in order to identify an individual in both the baptismal and marital registers.⁵ It seems reasonable, therefore, to suppose that there may be both a wealth and a religious bias in any

determination of mean age at marriage, since it is probable that the required occupancy-inertia was more likely manifest in families that were firmly fixed to a location through long rental leases on land in rural areas, or possibly through occupational guilds in urban areas.

Further difficulties emerge too. It is reasonable to speculate that the marriage window for females would have lain approximately between a minimum age of sixteen years and a maximum age of perhaps forty, but this assumption can operate to introduce further biases. If the baptismal register suggests an age at marriage significantly lower or significantly higher than these probable boundaries one is faced with the choice of ignoring the data, or including it. If the former option is chosen then this effectively ensures that the determined age at marriage ultimately complies with convention, regardless of the actual circumstances, but this may result in some exceptional cases being excluded.

There is compelling evidence that family-formation in Ireland could occur at a young age. Edward Wakefield speaks of girls marrying at ages as young as fourteen, and notes that Catholics generally married at an earlier age than Protestants – ‘the Protestant never quits his life of celibacy, until he has a reasonable prospect of maintaining his family, and of giving a decent education to his children. Marriages, therefore, do not take place so early among persons of that persuasion, as among the Roman Catholics’.⁶ Supporting this, Seán Connelly conveniently recounts some evidence, albeit sporadic, that marriage in the mid-teens was fairly common.⁷ In the English context, concern at the early prosecution of marriage and its impact on property rights and succession promoted the passage of the most important statute regulating marriage during the eighteenth century, Lord Hardwicke’s Clandestine Marriages Act, of 1753.⁸ This statute attempted to regularise marriage by making it more public and insisted on parental consent when either of the parties to the marriage were minors,⁹ and voided marriages that breached the specified terms.¹⁰ Prior to Hardwicke’s Act, marriage could freely occur at the age of twelve for a girl and fourteen for a boy and espousal could occur once the betrothed parties had reached the ‘age of discretion’ (seven years of age).¹¹

For Wicklow, despite the many problems associated with the determination of bridal age-at-marriage, it has been possible to determine this estimate for a considerable number of couples recorded in the various Protestant parish registers, although the degree to which the determined statistics accurately represent the actual historical situation remains somewhat opaque. A total of 1,749 marriage entries were used.¹² For each entry the baptismal database was examined to see if a nominal linkage for the bride could be identified, and where it was possible to identify a baptism – with a high degree of confidence – the interval between the date of baptism and the date of marriage was presumed to approximately reflect the age at marriage for the bride. Through this process it was possible to determine the age at marriage in 441 first-time marriage cases, or roughly one in four instances. This hit-rate is significantly above comparable Irish studies,¹³ although some doubt remains, nonetheless, over the degree to which marriage-age statistics derived from this minority of the entire marriage dataset can be presumed to be representative of the situation as a whole. This concern is further compounded when it is remembered, as was shown in chapter five (and appendix 37), that the Protestant marriage records appear to have been deficiently recorded in most, if not all parishes, over prolonged periods of time. Furthermore, the process of nominal linkage must be biased in favour of identifying lower bridal ages because the longer the elapsed time period, the more likely it is that migration would have seen the bride migrate out of the parish of her baptism. Thus, any discussion concerning age at marriage must acknowledge the likelihood that any statistical determinations are likely skewed in favour of early marriage and biased in favour of wealth.

Early marriage, it appears, was common among Wicklow's Protestant women during the eighteenth century (figure 153). The modal age at marriage for brides in the entire dataset was twenty, but marriage could occur throughout the teenage years, and became increasingly common once the bride had reached sixteen, far lower than has been reported in comparable English studies.¹⁴ Although sixteen years of age was not a specific legal age-requirement for marriage, it is notable that a significant number of brides appear to have married within a few days of their sixteenth birthday, implying that popular culture may

have viewed sixteen as the age at which virginity could be appropriately forfeited. Below age sixteen, thirteen marriages of brides who may have been as young as fifteen, four marriages of brides possibly aged fourteen and six marriages of brides possibly aged between eleven and thirteen are also recorded. It may, of course, be the case that these extremely young brides represent either a coincidence of names in the baptismal registers or late baptisms, rather than genuinely representing marriage at very young ages, but since the legal marriage age for girls was just twelve, some marriages in the early teens are to be expected. Furthermore, since the number of marriages for which the bride appears to have been extremely young is low (2.3 per cent of the total for brides aged between eleven and fourteen, inclusive), this does not detract from the idea of a sixteen-years-of-age cultural convention for marriage.

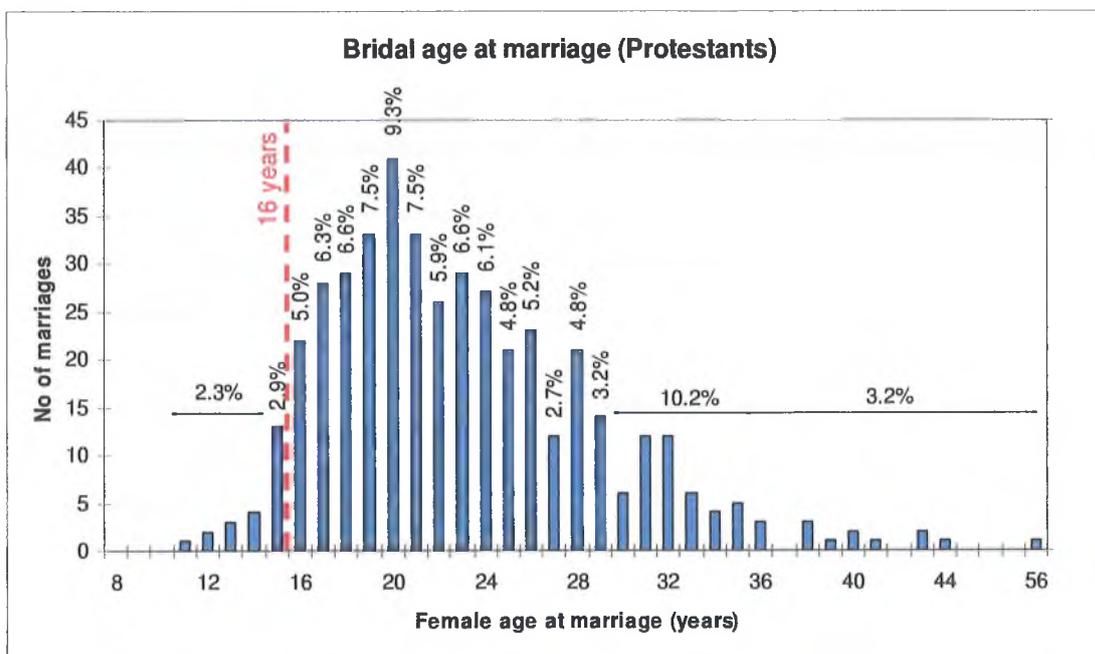


Figure 153 – Age at marriage for females in the Wicklow Church of Ireland parish registers (441 marriages – 25.2 per cent of entire dataset), showing proportion of entire dataset marrying at each integer-age).

Note: Dashed line indicates sixteen years of age.

The age of Protestant brides increased steadily between sixteen and twenty years of age, before then declining for increasing ages. Twenty was the most popular bridal age, with 9.3 per cent of the 441 brides marrying during their

twentieth year, and almost 38 per cent of the total had married before they had reached their twenty-first birthday. After twenty years of age, the number of brides for each successive year-of-age steadily declined with increasing age, but remained relatively high between ages twenty to twenty-eight, and 84.4 per cent of all brides whose baptism/marriage interval can be determined had likely married before they had reached thirty. Five per cent or more of the total marriages occurred for every bridal integer-age between sixteen and twenty-six, with the exception of twenty-five years of age, when a marginal, and insignificant, dip is evident. Brides aged thirty or over were rare, and were exceptionally so above about the age of thirty-two.

Since marriage provided a degree of personal security and social status it is unsurprising to find the very occasional instances in which the bride was forty or more, although such occurrences were exceptional. Only five can be categorically identified, none of whom can be identified as having been previously married. Elizabeth Brannon was at least forty-one when she married, in 1773, Mary Bestial (1747/8) and Mary Millbank (1785), were both at least forty-three, and Mary James was at least forty-four (1764). Oldest of all was Elizabeth Swefield who married at Wicklow in 1758, aged at least fifty-six.¹⁵ Unsurprisingly, none of these five marriages appear to have produced subsequent offspring. Furthermore, the age of the husband can be estimated for just two of these marriages. Millbank married Beaumont Astile, who had previously been married and had fathered two children in the 1730s, so he must have been at least in his late sixties and Robert Styles had previously married Anne Power in 1732, suggesting that he may have been in his late fifties when he married Mary James. It should be remembered, however, that despite these exceptional cases, the primary purpose of marriage was to establish a family, and with brides typically being aged between sixteen and twenty-six, the biological window within which children could be conceived often exceeded twenty years. Although this does not, of course, necessarily equate to a high birth rate, it did provide one of the essentials for high fertility, subject to various other constraints.¹⁶

Fluctuating marriage age, and stagnating population levels

In chapters two and three a relative decline in the Protestant population during the middle decades of the eighteenth century was identified, but the underlying causes of the decline remained elusive. Since changes in bridal marriage age can seriously impact on the demographic prospects of a community, a consideration of trends in the marriage age of women can perhaps provide some explanation for the decline; David Dickson's observation that a shift downwards in bridal marriage age could provide a demographic fillip to a community implies that an upward movement in this marker could precipitate stagnation in population-levels, or even decline.¹⁷ In figure 154 the marriage age data has been re-worked, to identify the likely trends in Protestant bridal age-at-marriage during the eighteenth century. Although the determination of marriage-age for very short periods is compromised by the restricted size of the datasets, the evidence does suggest that a gradual increase in the age of Protestant brides occurred during the course of the eighteenth century. Dataset-size causes particular problems during the early period, and even aggregating the data by bi-decades, commencing in 1681, produces, for the two earliest periods, only eleven and nineteen identifiable bridal ages, representing less than 8 per cent of the total number of marriages recorded.¹⁸ From 1721 onwards, however, the datasets expand considerably in size, and typically become more representative of the total number (ranging from one in five to one in four) of recorded marriages.¹⁹

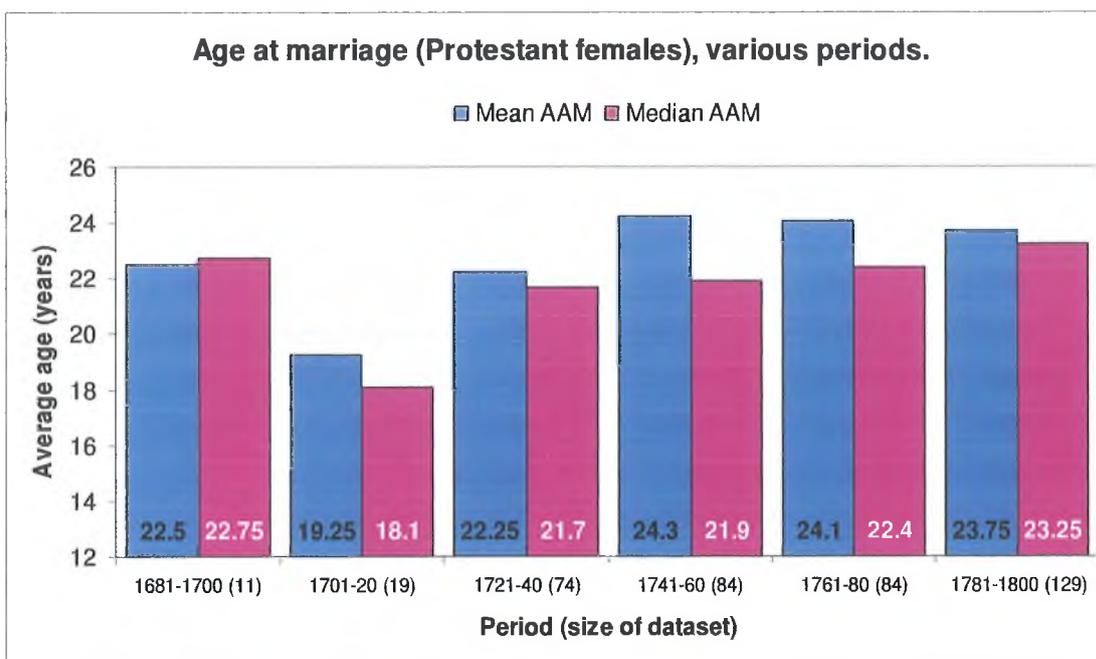


Figure 154 – Calculated mean and median ages of Protestant brides throughout Wicklow, 1681-1800 (AAM represents age at marriage).

When dealing with small datasets, a median represents a more appropriate statistical summary of the data than does a mode, and figure 154 presents the calculated bridal mean and modal age-at-marriage for each bi-decade periods. As can be seen, the median age at marriage appears to have drifted upwards as the eighteenth century progressed, from 21 years 8 months in the 1721-40 period to 23 years 3 months by the closing two decades of the eighteenth century. Thus, this increased bridal age at marriage reduced the period between marriage and menopause by nineteen months between the beginning and the end of the eighteenth century. Based on Dickson's figures, cited above, this lowered the potential family size by half a child per family, or more²⁰, which was more than enough to stifle community growth, and must have been a prime influence on the declining Protestant population levels that were observed in chapter two and the declining Protestant fertility levels, that was detailed in chapter three.

Perceptions concerning the social duties of those brides reaching marriage age are also interesting. In his study of Templemore parish, 1650 – 1750, Colin Thomas observes that one could expect to see a frontier population prioritising

population growth in order to spur political and economic growth in a hostile environment, but that this appeared not to have actually been manifested there. He further notes that in the aftermath of the Williamite Revolution, with the Protestant succession broadly secure, a possible drop in bridal marriage-age occurred, at a time when rapid population growth may have been socially less important for the Protestant community.²¹ Of course, Dr Thomas's hypothesis that population growth could be anticipated during periods when a community was under serious threat runs contrary to the ideas that have been outlined in chapters three and five of this work. In this thesis it been argued that population growth is linked with public confidence and perceptions about the future, and, thus, based on the previous arguments, population growth in a threatened, frontier population should be muted, rather than enhanced, just as Dr Thomas observed to have been the case for Derry. It is interesting, therefore, that the mean age of Protestant brides in Wicklow may also have fallen, in the aftermath of the defeat of James II, and the securing of the Protestant succession (figure 154).²² Furthermore, in chapter three it was also noted that marriages in Delgany reached a level in 1692 that was not subsequently exceeded for 125 years and that a temporary increase in Protestant fertility also appears to have followed the defeat of the James II (figure 48). Thus, the evidence from trends in Protestant bridal marriage-age reinforces earlier suggestions about the link between public confidence in future economic and political conditions and family formation and population growth – populations grew fastest when it was socially unnecessary for them to do so, but were sluggish when social or political circumstances may have warranted a rapid increase.

Sexuality, the public consciousness and popular conventions

Issues surrounding marriage and the formation of family units lead inevitable to a consideration of popular attitudes towards sexuality and sexual morality. Unfortunately, this topic has attracted little attention in the Irish context, although Sean Connolly's consideration of marriage and sexuality in *Priests and people in pre-famine Ireland* and his enlightening study of illegitimacy during the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and David Dickson's 'No Scythians here' stand as impressive oases on a barren landscape.²³ Furthermore, works from elsewhere, and particularly the substantive analyses of early-modern English

social conventions, can again provide useful guidance parameters against which Irish attitudes can be compared.²⁴

Two useful guides for public attitudes towards sexuality are the rates of pre-nuptial pregnancy and of illegitimate births, both of which have been examined by Barry Reay, in *Popular cultures in England, 1550-1750*.²⁵ Reay argues that, in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England, births typically occurred within marriage, illegitimacy rates were low, and even when births occurred outside marriage this often represented 'interrupted intended marriage rather than a blatant disregard for the institution'.²⁶ Furthermore, he suggests that while illegitimacy rates may have been low, a high rate (20 to 25 per cent) of prenuptial pregnancy, was endemic in early modern England,²⁷ and that either sexual intercourse often commenced quickly after the marriage was agreed, or that marriage was often agreed in response to a crisis pregnancy.²⁸ Peter Laslett and Karla Oosterveen agree, suggesting illegitimacy ratios ranging from between 0 and 4 per cent for most of the period between 1560 and 1750, but rising gradually to about 6 per cent by the end of the eighteenth century.²⁹ For Ireland during the nineteenth century, Seán Connolly reports illegitimacy rates which were generally lower than those of Laslett and Oosterveen, with rates rarely exceeding 4 per cent throughout the period 1751 to 1865, for a selection of parishes.³⁰

For Wicklow, there is an absence of literary evidence on the subject, but it is possible to make use of the surviving parish register material in order to gain an insight into popular attitudes towards sexuality, pre-nuptial intercourse and perceptions about the requirement for the formulation of a stable, public union before the commencement of regular sexual intercourse. Inevitably, however, many questions will necessarily remain unanswered. Particularly enlightening in this regard is the interval between the formation of a marital union and the birth of a first child to the marital couple. A child born within the first eight months of a marriage was almost certainly conceived prior to the formation of the marital union, but for children born within the fourth trimester of the marriage, the issues are somewhat more complex. A fourth-quarter birth may indicate not just the immediate consummation of the marriage, but also regular and frequent sexual intercourse during the initial months of married life, specifically aimed at

impregnating the woman. Of course, fourth-quarter births do not preclude the possibility of pre-nuptial intercourse which did not result in pregnancy or birth. There is scant surviving evidence for contraceptive practices in early modern Wicklow, but E. A. Wrigley's study of family limitation in pre-industrial Colyton, in Devon, notes that 'it is quite clear that European pre-industrial populations could severely restrict their family sizes, not merely in the wealthy and leisured families, but throughout a whole community ... by practising *coitus interruptus* or *reservatus*, and no doubt procuring many abortions, possibly also by infanticide'.³¹ This was an issue in Ireland, too, as in 1707 the Irish parliament introduced capital punishment for the 'destroying and murdering' of bastard children by 'lewd women ... to avoid their shame, and to escape punishment'.³²

The social and economic consequences for the parents of a bastard child could be severe. The birth of a child outside marriage merited public scorn and social sanctions. For the nineteenth century, Seán Connolly notes some of the punishments meted out to those who committed this grievous offence, which included public shaming and even excommunication. Typically, 'some ignominious or painful' humiliation was perceived necessary, to dissuade others from following the same path.³³ For the woman, bearing a bastard child removed her from the marriage market, unless the father of the child decided (or could be goaded) to live up to his responsibilities and the social sanctions 'extended not only to the mother of an illegitimate child but also to the child itself... a bastard found it difficult to procure a partner in marriage' and illegitimacy was 'a serious disadvantage in the making of a good match'.³⁴ Illegitimacy, and low sexual standards, imposed a cost on the whole community. A child had to be supported, and if its mother was unable to do so, then the parish was expected to foot the bill. Thus, occasionally, parish vestry minutes record the abandoning of children, and the approval of rewards, sometimes substantial, to identify the parents, such as at Newcastle, in 1748, when the vestry approved a half a guinea for discovering the father and mother of a foundling, or at Wicklow in 1756, when £3:8 reward was offered to the person who 'finds, convicts and lodges in jail the mother of the child left at Mr McGrath's door'.³⁵

A further complication impacting on the determination of marriage/first-birth intervals involves the issue of the typical birth/baptism interval, since the date of birth of a child is rarely known. Thus, the only reflective interval that can be determined is the interval between marriage and the baptism of the first child, which, unless baptism occurred on the day of birth, would always exceed the marriage/first-birth interval. This has the effect of skewing the statistical data in favour of a lengthened interval, which operates to disguise some illegitimate births as pre-nuptial pregnancies, and some pre-nuptial pregnancies as early-marital conceptions. However, since all evidence considered to date suggests a low age at baptism, particularly before about the 1780s (tables 48 and 49 and figure 56), then the marriage/first-birth interval and the marriage/first-baptism interval are unlikely to have widely differed, in the vast majority of cases.

Gaps in, or omissions from, the baptismal register can play havoc with the determination of this interval, however, and so, if there was an identified gap in the baptismal registers (chapter three), marriages occurring within three years of the commencement of the gap were not used. In spite of this, the task of examining the marriage and baptism registers in order to determine the interval between the formalisation of a union and the presentation of the first child at baptism produced 751 identifiable intervals out of a total of 1,432 marriages (52.5 per cent) in the Church of Ireland registers. This represents a considerable dataset with which to work, and the inability to determine marriage/first-baptism intervals for almost half of all marriages should not be a cause for great concern. Statistically, between 10 and 15 per cent of couples would likely have produced no offspring, many of the remaining couples would have migrated to the husband's home immediately after marriage, thereby removing some from local registration and the death of either spouse would have accounted for further deficiencies. Hence, the 52.5 per cent of marriages for which a marriage/first-baptism interval can be identified must present a fairly representative dataset of the marriages ultimately producing offspring in the various regions, although the proviso that the marriages recorded in the registers only represents a sample of all marriages remains relevant.

The marriage/first-baptism interval that was determined from Wicklow's Church of Ireland registers is presented in figure 155. Clearly, early conception was common. The vast majority of marriages (64 per cent) for which the aforesaid interval can be identified produced a child for baptism within two years of marriage, and three in four identified marriages had a child baptised within three years of the marriage. The first year of marriage was the most prolific, with more than forty per cent of unions presenting a child at the baptismal font, and first baptisms within the fourth trimester after marriage accounted for just below one in three of the total. The modal interval between marriage and first-baptism was a brief ten months, with 12.5 per cent of all identified marriage/first-baptism intervals occurring at that interval.

The green vertical line (figure 155) provides a guide to the likely boundary between pre-nuptial and post-nuptial conceptions, but since gestation periods can vary by two or three weeks, and since birth-baptism intervals would have been longer than a fortnight in some cases, this cannot be viewed as a precise demarcation. Notwithstanding this, since the chances of conception from the occasional, random instance of penetrative intercourse among healthy adults is between 2 and 4 percent,³⁶ then the prevalence of a clear modal marriage/first-baptism interval during the fourth trimester after marriage, and skewed in favour of greater intervals, strongly suggests that for the majority of couples, intensive, regular sexual activity, specifically focussed on inducing pregnancy, commenced immediately after marriage. This does not, of course, preclude the widespread practice of '*coitus interruptus* or *reservatus*', but it is certain that pregnancy and family-expansion was viewed as an immediate priority, once the marriage had been prosecuted. Although the evidence is lacking, likely, this desire to establish a family reflects contemporary popular attitudes towards male virility, which differentiated between the man, who was married and had fathered children, and the 'boy', regardless of his age, who remained unwed.³⁷ Perhaps Joseph Mack, of Sroughmore in Castlemacadam parish, had a point to prove in this regard when Jane, his wife of just seven months, gave birth to a baby, fathered by John Byrne. Thus, Jane produced another child within a year of the

baptism of her first, but this time the child was fathered, at least reputedly, by her new husband.³⁸

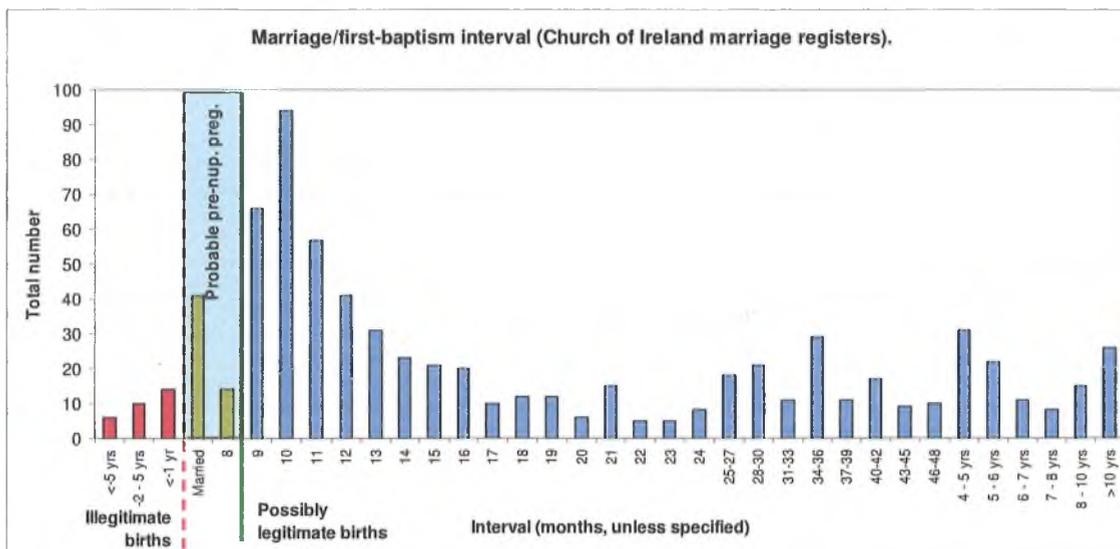


Figure 155 – The interval between marriage and the baptism of a first child for *c.* 750 couples identified in the various Wicklow Church of Ireland marriage registers, 1660 – 1805.

At the other end of the scale, some suspiciously long periods have also been identified, and while some may genuinely represent long intervals between marriage and the birth of the first child, it is probable that many represent either deficiencies in the various baptismal registers, delayed baptisms or temporary migration to locations outside the spatial scope of this study. Notably, a second pronounced, but small, peak in first-baptisms also occurred during the third year of marriage, which, given the temporal lag between this peak and the marriage, probably represents aggregations of second children, rather than first ones. This second peak is likely the result of a combination of poor baptismal record-keeping, leading to the omission of first baptisms, and infant mortality among first-born offspring.

The red, dashed vertical line shows the timing of the marriage, and data to the left of this line indicate children who were baptised to a couple before their marriage had occurred. At first glance, illegitimacy rates may appear to have been low throughout the period, with only 4 per cent ($N = 30$) of the total first baptisms of the children of parents in this marriage dataset occurring before marriage. However, this only represents the illegitimacy rate within this marriage dataset

(the number of marriages for which offspring can be identified), and may differ from the equivalent rates for the entire population. It is notable, however, that this rate is broadly in line with the equivalent statistics which Seán Connolly reported for Ireland during the nineteenth century, when parliamentary inquiries consistently noted illegitimacy rates of about 3 per cent for the entire island.³⁹

The situation is further complicated by the availability of clandestine marriages, which remained strictly legal – subject, of course, to the constraining influence of the various penal statutes concerning the permissions ascribed to Catholic priests⁴⁰ – but which, by their nature, were unlikely to be recorded in any surviving marriage register. Mary Ann Brewster's marriage to Launcelot Gethings, at Tullow in 1789, is illustrative of this point. Brewster and Gethings are recorded as having married in August of that year, but previous to this marriage two of their children had been baptised, in February 1787 and January 1788. Thus, a note in the marriage register informs that:

This couple were before privately married but on her coming of age they were publicly married. This note is made to prevent the legitimacy of the prior children being questioned.

Unfortunately, both Mary Anne and Launcelot avoided the attentions of the baptismal registrar, so a determination of their ages at the time of their public marriage is thereby frustrated.⁴¹ In particular, it is unclear what is meant by 'her coming of age'. This could mean that she had achieved marriage age (twelve) – which is doubtful, as this would imply that her first child was baptised when she was perhaps as young as eight years old – or, more probably, that she turned sixteen, eighteen or twenty-one, implying a first conception at about aged twelve, fourteen or, a more culturally acceptable, seventeen. Two points are of interest in this case. First, it is notable that a clandestine marriage, while technically legal, was considered by these parties to be unsuitable, and could lead to the questioning of the legitimacy of the two children – both females – who had preceded the public marriage. This represents a further comment on contemporary views concerning pre-marital sexual intercourse and bastardy, but also, perhaps, on the difficulties, cited earlier, associated with securing a partner for women who were born out of wedlock. Secondly, it can be concluded that the impact of clandestine

marriages on the determination of illegitimacy rates might be substantial; if they were common – and Connolly notes for the Catholic community that ‘the trade in such marriages was clearly an extensive one’⁴² – then children born within unions that were both legal and stable, will appear in the baptismal records as the illegitimate offspring of erring couples.

Similar marriage-baptism sequencing patterns were exhibited within the Catholic community of Wicklow parish. The nominal linkage process, described above, was repeated for the Catholic records, but proved less successful, caused primarily by the degree of damage to one of the register books, but also because the prevalence of many common surnames and first names in the baptismal records introduced ambiguities and uncertainty.⁴³ Nonetheless, through nominal linkages, it was possible to identify the baptism of a first child for 277 of 686 marriages (40 per cent), the marriage/first-baptism interval data of which is shown in figure 156.

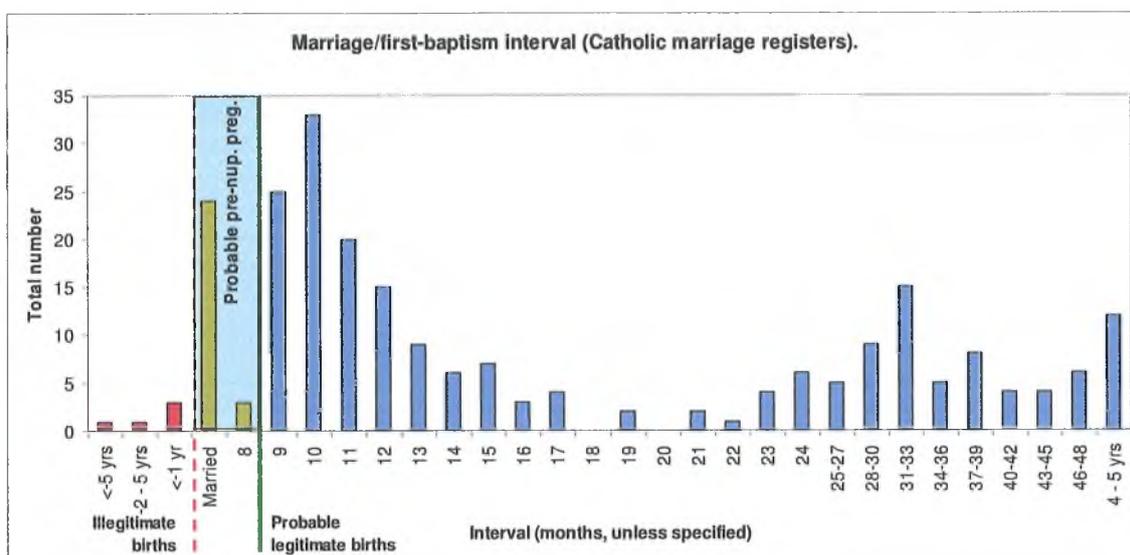


Figure 156 – The interval between marriage and the baptism of a first child for 686 marriages recorded in the Wicklow Catholic marriage registers, 1750 – 1777.

The profiles of the marriage/first-baptism intervals for both the Protestant and Catholic communities appear broadly similar, albeit with some notable distinctions. As was the case with the Protestant community, Catholic marriages appear to have been consummated quickly, with the modal interval between marriage and first baptism equal to the Protestant figure, of ten months. Nine and

eleven months were also popular intervals, as they were, too, for Protestants. Also, as was earlier identified in the Protestant data, a second peak during the third year after marriage is also evident, but it is far more pronounced in the Catholic data than was the case for Protestants (figure 155). Two reasons may explain this. First, poor recording of baptisms would operate to lengthen the marriage/first-recorded-baptism interval, which could operate to artificially boost the relative height of the baptismal peak during the third year after marriage. Alternatively, this may broadly represent the actual position within the Catholic community, particularly if the rate of infant mortality or stillborn births within the Catholic community was higher than among Protestants. If this was the case, then it is feasible that the temporal interval which coincided with the birth of a second child within a newly established sexual union (approximately two years) would exhibit increased relative popularity within the dataset. Although it is uncertain which, if either, of these possibilities are the pre-eminent cause of the enhanced 2-3 year interval peak among Catholics, it should be remembered that the number of baptisms within the Catholic registers during the eighteenth century was seen to be broadly in line with the anticipated number, based on a contemporary population estimate (figure 61), so that would support the latter option.

As with the Protestant profile, illegitimate births within the Catholic marriage dataset were rare – only five of 277 unions can be identified which spawned offspring in advance of marriage – although the Protestant rate was marginally higher. Pre-nuptial sexual intercourse tendencies, however, diverge more significantly. Among Protestants, children baptised within the first 239 days (34 weeks, or 8 months) after marriage accounted for just 6.4 per cent of all legitimate first births of children baptised within the opening five years of marriage, while the equivalent figure for Wicklow parish's Catholics was 10.3 per cent. Although the numbers remain low, this may indicate a more lax attitude among some Catholics towards the issue of pre-nuptial intercourse, particularly after a promise to marry had been given, or may simply be a reflection of less stringent social standards in the vicinity of an urban centre.

Of course, these illegitimacy and pre-nuptial pregnancy rates, for both denominations, have been determined from a dataset which represents only a

sample of the entire population derived from the marriage records. Determining actual illegitimacy rates within the communities with any degree of confidence is next to impossible, as the baptismal registers are ambiguous and inconsistent on the subject. In the Church of Ireland registers the baptism of a 'natural' or a 'bastard' child can be explicitly stated – not always so – but one is on least sure footing when it comes to differing surnames for the mother and the father, which may or may not be an indication of illegitimacy. Under-recording of illegitimate children would also seem to have been more likely, because, although baptism could not be withheld, regardless of the marital state of the parents, it seems unlikely that such baptisms would have been recorded as scrupulously as the baptism of a legitimate infant. Furthermore, it is at least probable that parents, who had offended their community and their parish by engaging in pre-nuptial intercourse, may have been less concerned with presenting the child for baptism than were those parents who had either abstained from such practices, or had had the good fortune to avoid the possible consequences.

A similar strict moral code was evidenced within the Catholic community. Unlike their Protestant neighbours, there was a greater consistency with regard to the recording of the baptism of illegitimate children within the Catholic registers, although substantial difficulties still remain. Clearly, neither the proportion of illegitimate children that was not subsequently baptised nor the numbers of illegitimate children who were not recorded as such cannot be determined, so any calculated rate must err on the side of under-stating the actual position. Furthermore, while the baptism of illegitimates may be explicitly stated, in other instances – the father's and mother's surname differing or the legitimacy of the marriage being uncertain, for example – the situation may be less definite. These baptisms can be viewed as 'possible' instances of illegitimacy, and figure 157 presents the calculated rate of illegitimacy – both certain and possible – for all years between 1749 and 1775, based on all baptisms.

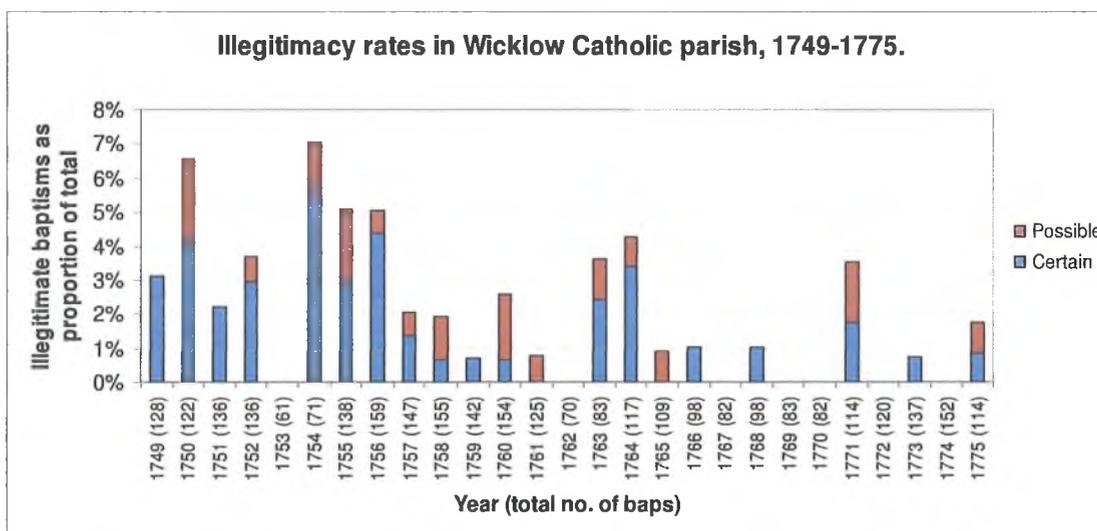


Figure 157 – Illegitimacy rates in Wicklow Catholic parish, 1749 – 1775, from baptismal registers.

The rates remain low, and are broadly in line with the figures that were derived from both the Catholic and the Protestant marriage datasets, and with Seán Connolly’s examination of Catholic illegitimacy rates before 1864. Rates of illegitimacy appear to have been consistently low, and rarely exceeded 4 or 5 per cent of total births during any calendar year. In the initial years after the commencement of Catholic registration the rate averaged about 3 per cent per annum, which is lower than the contemporary rates experienced in the rest of Europe, and broadly in line with the rates exhibited in Irish statistics emerging during the latter half of the nineteenth century.⁴⁴ It seems likely, too, that this low general rate was probably maintained throughout the period, and that the abrupt decline in the rate which is evidenced for the late 1750s and 1760s is more likely evidence of imperfect recording.

Of course, neither birth outside marriage nor marital pregnancy can be viewed as a certain indication of casual sexual intercourse, since, in many instances, the birth was subsequently followed by matrimony. The duration between a pre-martial birth and a subsequent marriage could be brief – John Spring and Sarah Byrne parented a child in March 1773, and married the following month – or prolonged. Darby Doyle and Elizabeth Kelly waited almost nine years after the baptism of Elenor in January 1764, before marrying (August

1772), James Reily married Catherine Hart more than three years after the baptism of Charles, and in 1755 Pat Kenna married his long-time companion, who 'bore 2 children for him before sd marriage'.⁴⁵ In these cases, as in many more, while the commencement of sexual intercourse may have preceded the marriage, it does not represent promiscuous or casual sex, but was contained within stable unions which preceded a formal marital solemnisation.

This point is further reinforced if the 'possible' instances of illegitimacy, highlighted in figure 157 (Catholic registers), are considered. As was earlier noted, this dataset is comprised of a handful of baptisms of children whose legitimacy was uncertain. In a few cases the officiating priest was unsure of the marital status of the couple, usually designating the mother to be a 'supposed wife', and in one case, the marriage of Patrick and Elizabeth Treacy was invalidated by consanguinity laws. In such instances, however, while the baptised child may have been technically and legally illegitimate, a stable family union appears, nonetheless, to have been in existence before the birth of the child.

Similar tendencies were experienced within the Protestant community. A consideration of the chronological sequencing of baptism and marriage for the thirty instances in the Protestant marriage dataset where baptism of one or more children preceded the marriage is illustrative. Again, some of the intervals between the baptism of a child and the subsequent marriage of the parents could be very long (Hogshead Higginbotham waited nine years),⁴⁶ while in other cases the duration between the child's baptism and the subsequent marriage could be very brief. Patrick Foley and Sarah Ward married at Dunlavin on 1 June 1719, the day after the baptism of their first child, and John Elliott married Jane Tyrell on 21 October 1722, just five days after the baptism of their first, of five, children. In fact, fourteen of the thirty marriages occurred within one year of the baptism of a first child, and of these, seven occurred with one month of the baptism and a further three within three months.

On the other side of the marriage fence, similar trends were evident, too, with couples often rushing to the altar before the baptism. In the Protestant dataset, seven couples were married one month or less before the baptism of their first child, with three of these marriages preceding the baptism by less than one week

and two more by less than two weeks. Again, the lack of specific information regarding the age at baptism masks the specifics of these marriage-birth-baptism sequences, but the coincidence of timing suggests that these were attempts to legitimise the union in advance of the imminent expansion of the family.

In the absence of any further evidence, it is difficult to formulate exactly what is going on here. Specifically, it is curious that the marriage of some couples preceded the baptism by a few days, thereby, formally legitimising the children, whilst the marriage of others post-dated the baptism, but by a very brief period. It appears, therefore, that some marriages were deliberately withheld until after the birth of the child whilst others were rushed through before the birth, in order to avoid scandal. But this presents a dilemma. Given the prevalent popular cultures of the time, it seems doubtful that couples, unless out of extreme vanity, would have deliberately delayed a marriage until after the birth of a child, particularly because the death of the mother during childbirth would perpetually blemish the child in the eyes of the local community. However, the presence of a number of, albeit few, marriages following immediately after the baptism suggests that outside influences may have been involved in determining the timing of these marriages. It seems at least possible that either local cultural conventions or the minister's attitude to pre-marital sexual intercourse may have been influential in determining the chronological timings of the baptism and marriage of children conceived outside wedlock. In particular, the decision to delay a marriage until briefly after the baptism of a bastard child may reflect the public shaming that Connolly perceived as an important part of the punishment process for those partaking in pre-marital sex. It may also reflect a requirement that the offending woman first had to be churched, before she could be married, and Connolly's note that the purification of women after the birth of a bastard child could be withheld for a period as punishment, is a likely reflection of the, still brief, but slightly longer intervals that can occasionally be observed between baptism and subsequent marriage.⁴⁷

Between these two coital extremes – of first conception post-dating marriage and first birth preceding marriage – lay a grey area, in which the birth of a child followed the marriage, but promptly afterwards (figures 158 and 159). A

small proportion of the brides in the marriage dataset of both denominations were pregnant at the time of marriage, and, as has been seen, some were heavily so. Variations in the human gestation period, and delayed baptisms, compromise the quantification of this proportion, but 5.5 per cent of all marriages in the Church of Ireland dataset presented a child for baptism before their marriage was eight months old (33 weeks) and an additional 1.9 per cent presented during the ninth month (38 weeks) of the union. The equivalent Catholic (Wicklow parish) statistics were 10.1 and 1.3 per cent. Of course, any delay in baptising a child operates to disguise pre-nuptial pregnancy as early marital conceptions, but, nonetheless, this low statistic contrasts strongly with the English situation, where '20 to 25 per cent of brides were pregnant when they entered the church in the early modern period, but in some parishes the figure was as high as 30 or even 50 per cent'.⁴⁸ While it is clear that some couples in the dataset were participating in penetrative intercourse before marriage, perhaps viewing a promise to marry as a licence for enhanced intimacy, it is equally clear that a large proportion of couples were probably resisting the temptation, although whether which was because of personal conviction, parental authority, church regulation, popular convention, a fear of getting caught or simply an absence of opportunity is uncertain.

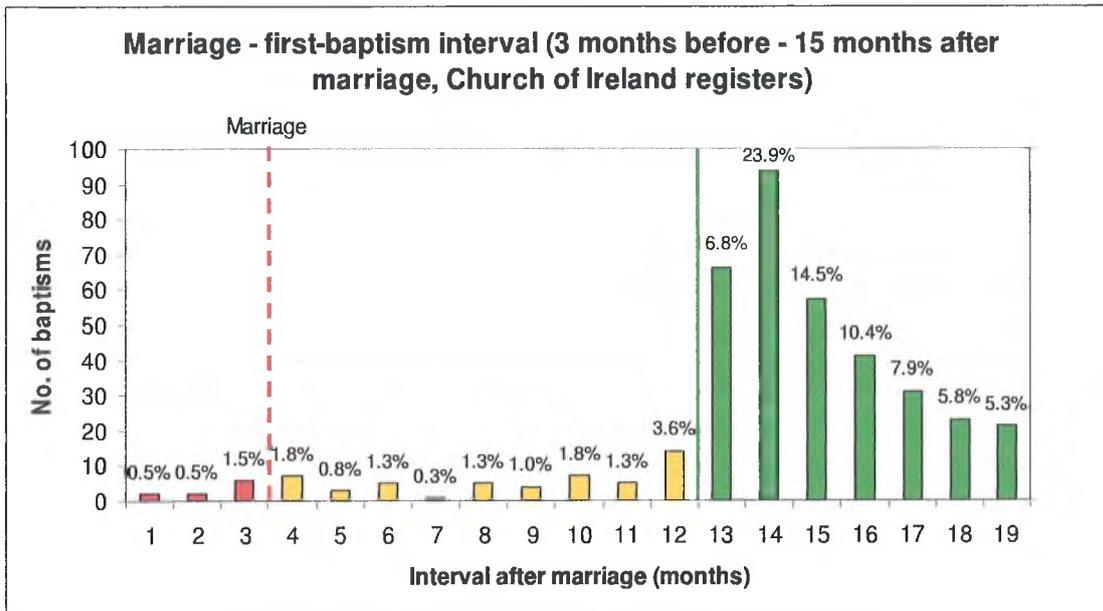


Figure 158 – Number of first baptisms occurring per monthly interval before and after marriage (Church of Ireland registers) (- 3 months – + 15 months).

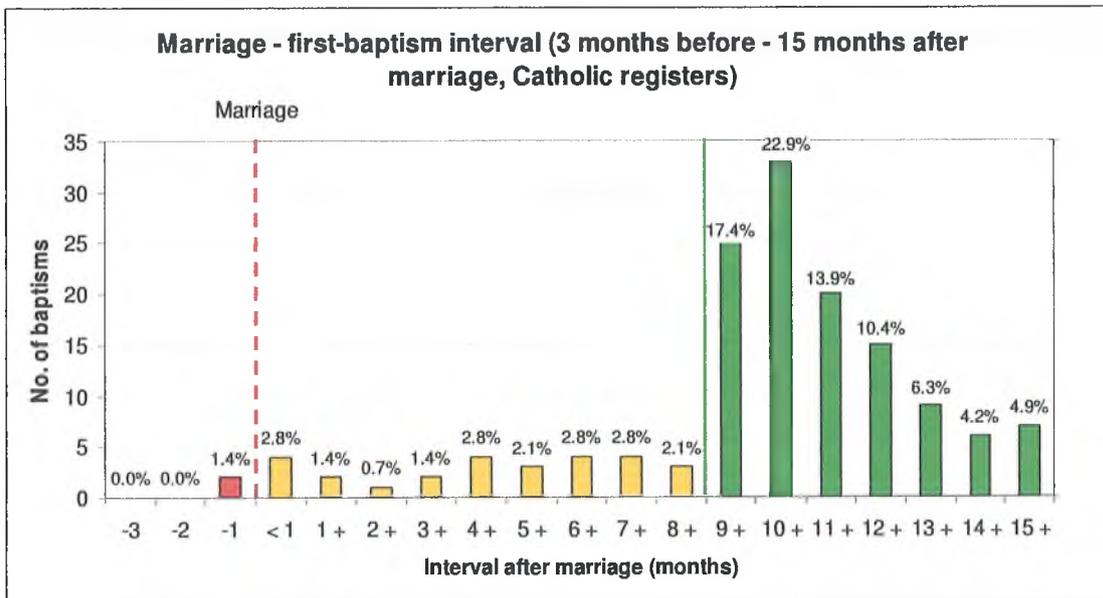


Figure 159 – Number of first baptisms occurring per monthly interval before and after marriage (Catholic registers) (- 3 months – + 15 months).

Gender balances and imperfect unions

Imbalance was built into the early modern family from the outset. During the marriage service a bride promised her husband that she would ‘obey him, and

serve him, love, honour and keep him', while her spouse committed only to 'love her, comfort her, honour, and keep her',⁴⁹ and once the union had been established, a structural hierarchy kicked into place which saw a bride become the property of the husband. 'By marriage, the husband and wife became one person in law – and that person was the husband'.⁵⁰ However, although the position of women within early-modern society was severely curtailed by custom, law and prevailing attitudes – which provided the justification for the withholding of the parliamentary franchise and, doubtless, for the near-total exclusion of women from community politics, at least in Wicklow – circumstances within individual families and within social hierarchies were usually far more complex.

For the social elites, daughters represented an opportunity to enhance the social standing of the family. David Lemmings notes, in his consideration of Hardwicke's Clandestine Marriage Act of 1753, that 'daughters (although no doubt often the focus of masculine [i.e. paternal] affection), remained essential objects of commerce in the accumulation of property that underwrote the power of the male parliamentary elite'.⁵¹ Contemporaries, too, recognised that the freedom to choose one's own life partner generally increased with decreasing wealth – 'among the labourers they choose their own wives' –, and that for all above the cottier and day-labouring classes, some degree of parental control was apparent.⁵² However, this did not, of course, herald an increasingly democratic set of attitudes at lower social levels, and in many households, and perhaps in most, the woman's position was unambiguously to bear children, cook, clean, earn money where possible, and perform tasks determined by her husband.

The involvement of women in anything beyond the various domestic industries was shunned, although, as has been seen, their contribution was so crucial during the busiest times of the agricultural cycle, as to be a likely influencing factor in the timing of conceptions and birth (chapter five). Thomas Radcliff, writing in 1812, mildly rebuked Revd Thomas Quinn of Wingfield (Kilmacanoge) for employing 'female labourers ... at a variety of works, and they seem more handy and expert than in other places. This application of female industry is perhaps not to be defended generally; there are many arguments in favor of having *women* engaged in occupations more suited to their sex'.⁵³

Consequently, earning opportunities for women were curtailed, and typically, where they did exist, any money earned by a wife belonged to her husband, and was usually paid to him. Thus, in Delgany parish Annie Oakes, the wife of the sexton, earned two guineas (£2:5:6) per year for keeping the pews clean, but this money was routinely paid to her husband at the Easter vestry, as part of his annual salary.⁵⁴

In the educational sphere, too, opportunities for girls were circumscribed, and fewer women than men could read or write. In Wicklow parish, in 1688 and 1720, for instance, successive vicars, Charles Whittingham and John Blachford, both committed themselves, on their appointment, to maintaining a facility ‘concerning teaching or instructing of boys’ during their incumbencies, but no similar requirements were outlined for girls.⁵⁵ During the eighteenth century, educational prospects for females did expand,⁵⁶ but the early censuses of the nineteenth century confirm the lower educational achievements among females. In 1821, only one in three of the 8,705 recorded students in County Wicklow were females, and by 1841, 42 per cent of males aged five and over could read and write, compared with just 29 per cent of females (figure 160).⁵⁷

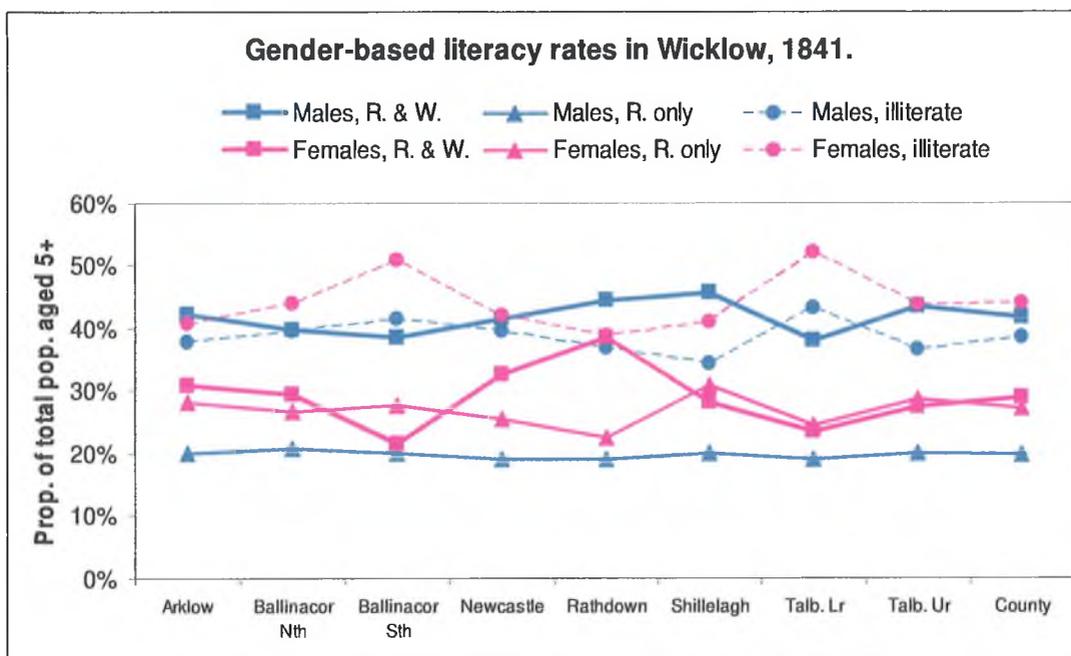


Figure 160 - Female and male literacy levels (age five and over) in 1841 in County Wicklow, by barony (source: *Census Ire., 1841*, p. 141).

On the death of her husband, the woman again became an independent person, although the extent of this independence was influenced by her financial wherewithal. For many, a brief period of widowhood before a subsequent re-marriage was not uncommon. Thus, Catherine Howard's rapid, pregnancy-induced marriage, introduced at the start of this chapter, was far from extraordinary, and Ann Anthony's marriage at Delgany in August 1698, following her husband's burial the previous March (five months), Mary Woodman's marriage to John Dixon, in January 1793, at Dunlavin, after twenty-one months of widowhood and the unique record of a popular divorce in the Wicklow registers, which notes the baptism of a child to John Hill 'and a wife bought from her husband by him,'⁵⁸ equally manifest the social importance of marriage to the single woman. Furthermore, in strict legal terms, once the eldest male heir became of age, he assumed responsibility for the tenancy and for the household. Unsurprisingly, therefore, female householders were relatively rare, and often transient (figure 161).

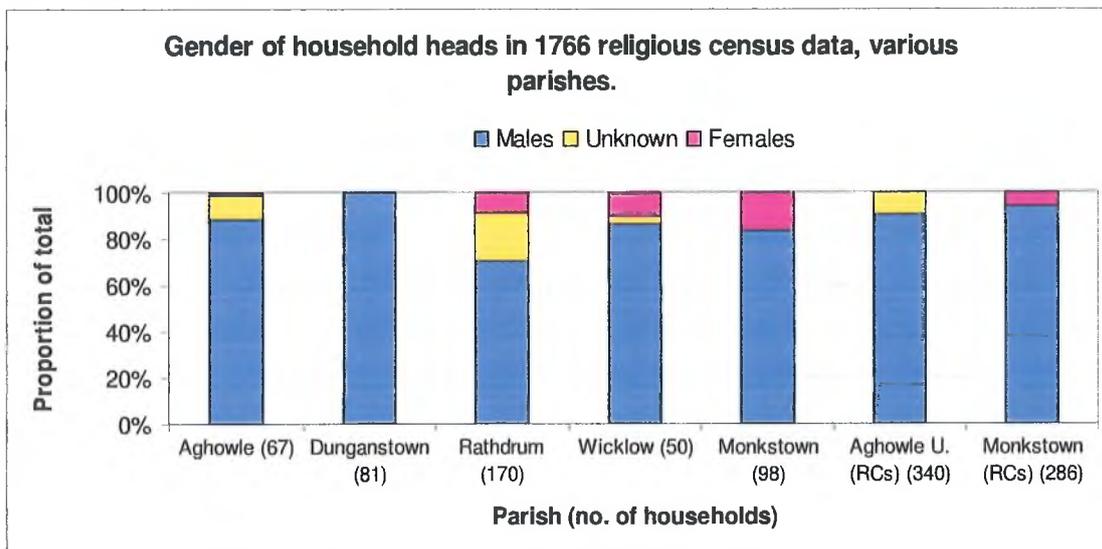


Figure 161 – Householder gender ratios in 1766, various parishes (Protestant data, unless specified).

Female householders, if they had sufficient means, were liable to pay the church rates, but, despite this qualifying them to attend vestry meetings, they usually did not; in fact, not a single woman is recorded as either having attended, or signed, a vestry meeting in any decision-making capacity, in any parish within

County Wicklow during the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries.⁵⁹ On only one occasion was a woman specifically invited to attend a parish meeting, but exceptional circumstances had merited that invitation. In Wicklow parish, in 1779, a deficient cess and a financial crisis prompted the calling of a parish meeting, to resolve the issue, to which some of the wealthiest and most influential parishioners were invited. One of the invitees was Catherine Eaton, who had been a handsome benefactor for the parish for more than two decades, and doubtless it was planned to see if her generosity could be further stretched. It appears, however, that she chose not to subsequently attend.⁶⁰

The ecclesiastical establishments in particular were dubious about the gender that, through their guile, had secured the expulsion of man from Eden. Single women were eyed with suspicion, as a source of temptation for young men, and Seán Connolly has noted that Catholic clergy in the nineteenth century viewed early marriage as one of the bulwarks against sexual infidelities, in spite of the serious social consequences of such early unions.⁶¹ Within the Protestant parish, the non-attendance of women at church did not attract the financial censures that were levied against men,⁶² and their operational involvement with the church was usually restricted to sweeping and cleaning, and washing church linen. In the west of the county, in 1762, Donard parish was employing a woman sexton to clean the church,⁶³ some years later, in Aghowle, following the death of longstanding sexton, David Campbell, in 1788, his wife, Catherine, was employed as joint-sexton and in Donaghmore women from the Plant family were regularly employed in that capacity throughout the nineteenth century.⁶⁴ Similarly, in the east of the county Annie Oakes, whose cleaning responsibilities were previously noted, was employed by Delgany parish and in neighbouring Newcastle, the theft of church ornament in 1778 was discovered by Ann Murray, who had arrived to close up the church for the evening.⁶⁵ In Powerscourt, Elizabeth Mulligan, wife of Thomas, the sexton, succeeded to the position after his death in 1772 and Monkstown parish regularly employed women sextonesses from at least 1744.⁶⁶

It appears that sextoness, or church cleaner, was the only public position that could be aspired to by Wicklow's women during the eighteenth century, although some earned extra money through wet-nursing, or raising foundling

children.⁶⁷ Occasionally, independent women may have been in a position to tender for parish contracts, but the employment in 1709 of Widow Bedford to mend the north windows of Wicklow church, and the payment of £2 in 1754 to Elizabeth Jenkinson for keeping the roof of Rathdrum church in repair and glazing its windows were unique, and exceptional.⁶⁸ Catherine Eaton, in Wicklow parish, was the only woman to sign her name in the vestry book of any Wicklow parish during the eighteenth century, but that was only on one occasion, when, in 1768, she authorised William Hodgins to carry out necessary works to the altar, after the parish had given her permission to ‘what alterations and improvements she shall think proper in the alter [sic]’.⁶⁹

Despite these contemporary attitudes towards women, however, parishes were never shy about accepting women’s charity. Wicklow parish bent its stringent rule concerning parish pews, by permitting Catherine Eaton to maintain possession of a seat in the parish church in spite of her non-residency because of her ‘munificent and charitable disposition’,⁷⁰ and Elizabeth LaTouche’s sponsoring of a school in Delgany, to educate young women in the ‘means of domestic industry’ received ample praise from numerous contemporaries.⁷¹ For the vast majority of women, however, their economic wellbeing was largely determined by their marital status, and as Toby Barnard has noted, ‘the removal of male supports caused some women to slide into indigence’.⁷² Parishes provided pensions for some, but the numbers receiving assistance were low, as were the levels of monetary support.

Typically, women – and more particularly widows – dominated the lists of those favoured by the parish for financial support. The qualifications for receipt of a pension were unspecific, and determined locally, although long-standing linkages with the parish or noble sacrifice for the Protestant cause could help. Martha Salt, whose husband, William, was ‘killed in the Rebellion of [16]88 ... her husband was an ancient inhabitant’, appears on the first extant poor list for Delgany in 1716, and subsequently, on all subsequent surviving lists between then and 1730.⁷³ Also in Delgany, lineage was the qualification sported by Jane Powell – the widow of Owen and daughter of George Anderson, both of whom were ‘ancient inhabitants’ – who received support in 1716, 1718 and 1719, by Margaret

Wybrants – the widow of an ‘ancient inhabitant’ – who received assistance in 1716, and by Gilbert Abernathy, ‘an ancient man & reduced’ who was also an object of the parish’s charity.⁷⁴ Neither were ancient links with the area severed, even if a person migrated out of the area for a period. Elizabeth Jolly, added to Newcastle’s poor list in 1788, had formerly been in receipt of a parish pension, but had been ‘absent in Co. Carlow for years. Now back, and an object of charity’.⁷⁵

Given the limited opportunities available to women, it is to be expected that they would dominate the lists of pensioners, and from the limited data available this appears to have been the case (table 61)⁷⁶. Once a pensioner was added to the list, they generally remained on it until they died, unless their circumstances changed. Thus, it is probable that Martha Salt remained in receipt of charitable assistance until her death in 1746, and since her husband had been killed in 1688, she may have represented a drain on parish resources for almost sixty years. Similarly, Joan Murray, widowed in 1724, was added to the Delgany list in 1726, and remained on it for more than three decades, until her death in 1757.⁷⁷

Table 61 – Gender ratios on poor lists of Delgany, Newcastle Wicklow parishes, various years.

Parish	Year	Males	Females	of which widows	Uncertain	Total
Delgany	1716	6	3	3	0	9
	1718	4	5	at least 3	0	9
	1719	4	6	at least 3	0	10
	1725	2	9	at least 2	0	11
	1726	2	10	at least 4	0	12
	1727	1	10	at least 5	1	12
	1730	3	11	at least 6	0	14
Newcastle	before 1715	0	8	8	0	8
Wicklow	1729	5	18	unknown	7 children	23

Source: Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib. MS P. 917.5.1, ff 65v, 67v, 68v, 76v, 77v, 79v, 82v); Newcastle register and vestry book, 1 (R.C.B. Lib. MS P. 914.1.1, f. 84 (unnumbered pages)); Wicklow vestry book 1, part 1 (R.C.B. Lib. MS P. 611.5.1, p. 146).

The provision of parish funds was only available to the most desperate cases, so any improvement in one’s fortunes, however slight, could result in the termination of a pension. Women were automatically struck off the list if they married, as happened, in Delgany, to both Mary Reed and Isabella Evans, and Robert Reed was also excluded from that parish’s generosity, in 1781, because he

was 'capable of earning his own living'.⁷⁸ In Aghowle, Daniel Campbell, the parish sexton, was removed from the poor list in 1758, when the parish vestry increased his paltry yearly salary of £1:10 by an equally paltry ten shillings.⁷⁹

Charitable poor relief was not, however, simply as a one-way transfer of resources from the wealthy to the poor, and important social benefits accrued to the parish from such schemes. In the first instance, the provision of relief meant that some of those most in need of support and who would otherwise have had no option but to beg publicly were kept off the streets. More importantly, however, with welfare came responsibility. By receiving public relief, the recipients became stakeholders in the parish, and ceded a degree of control over their public actions to the community at large. Once a person was in receipt of public charity then the parish could impose behavioural rules, which it could not have done otherwise. Thus, in 1798 Delgany parish was able to punish Benjamin Bamfield for 'drunkenness and dishonesty' by removing him from the parish poor list for a period of time and in Aghowle Thomas Greene was removed from the list because he was 'disapprov'd of'.⁸⁰

Throughout Wicklow, supplementals for the poor were supplied out of charity collections rather than out of the church cess, and, as such, the number of poor that could be helped was limited by the generosity of the parishioners.⁸¹ Wicklow parish in 1729 could envisage providing monetary assistance to thirty poor, whom were categorised into three classes – presumably corresponding to three levels of support – depending on their needs, whilst smaller rural parishes typically supported about half that level, or less.⁸² Since the provision of charity was limited by the available funds, then, in times of crisis the numbers in need of assistance could rapidly overwhelm the available resources, resulting in increased mortality among the parish's poorest. In Powerscourt, the four and two burials which were respectively funded by the parish in 1736-7 and 1738-9, increased to fifteen in the crisis period of 1741-2, before falling to just one the following year, when the difficulties subsided.⁸³

Additionally, seasonal trends were evident in charity contributions, which were usually collected on Sunday, after church services. The data is scant for most of the period under consideration, but from Easter 1789 a complete set of poor-list

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accounts, detailing the amounts received from the weekly collections and the amounts provided in the periodic distributions, have survived for Delgany parish, which provide a unique insight into the operation of voluntary charity.⁸⁴ Helpfully, the accounts often note the reason – usually weather-related – if lower-than-expected levels of charity were received. Understandably, contributions dipped when church services were poorly attended, and increased around important holy days and penitential times, when the churches filled up. The three days when charity-collections usually peaked were, in rank order, Christmas, Easter and Whit Sunday, and contributions were lowest during February when money was scarce, and the weather was bad (figure 162). Other factors could influence the levels, too. Local pride boosted the collections substantially in July 1791, when the new church was opened, and consecrated, and in August 1802, when the lord lieutenant attended a service, and local circumstances depressed the collection in early 1798, when the disturbed state of the county resulted in poorly attended, or cancelled, services.

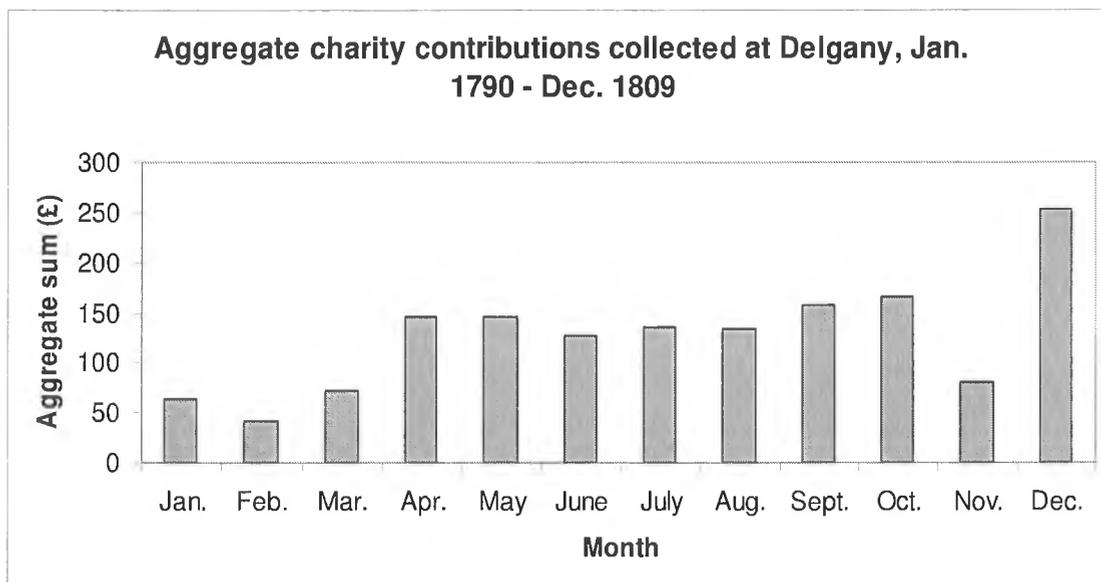


Figure 162 – Aggregate sums received from weekly charity collections at Delgany, January 1790 – December 1809 (source: Delgany parish accounts, from 1789 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917. 7.1, pp 2-99).

Delgany’s charity money was distributed to the appointed poor four times a year, on Easter and Whit Mondays, the first Monday in October and at Christmas. The timing of the payments was significant, being the day following

the four sacrament Sundays in the parish, so attendance at church the previous day was probably expected. Doubtless, too, this money was welcomed by the recipients, but while its provision was regular, it was never guaranteed. The precarious economic status of those in receipt of parish funds is illustrated during the economically disrupted year of 1798 (table 62). Between 1790 and 1797 total contributions at Delgany averaged £68 per year, and a composite sum of £3:5 was paid, each year, to each full pensioner. In 1798, however, because of the disruption to economic activity, the annual aggregate collection fell to under half the usual level, and the parish could only support contributions of just £1:7:1. Even worse, the Whit Monday payment that year could not be made on time 'on acct of the smallness of fund', and had to be postponed until July.⁸⁵ Then, when things settled down again in 1799 the collection recovered, averaging almost £60 in 1799 and 1800, and supports were increased to more than £3:12 during both years (table 62).

The deficiencies in the charity contributions during 1798 were extreme, however, and were probably not reflective of the typical charitable response during crisis-periods. Rather, it appears that the upper and middling sorts made efforts to dig deep at times of greatest need, in order to transfer increased resources to the less privileged. During the serious mortality crisis of 1801-2, for instance, the parish's response was impressive. In 1801, charitable contributions were running at double the mean annual level between 1790 and 1797, thereby permitting an increase in the annual subvention from £3:5 in the early 1790s to £5:4:5 ½ in 1801 and £6:7:6 in 1802, before falling back to normal levels, as the crisis abated (figure 163 and table 62).

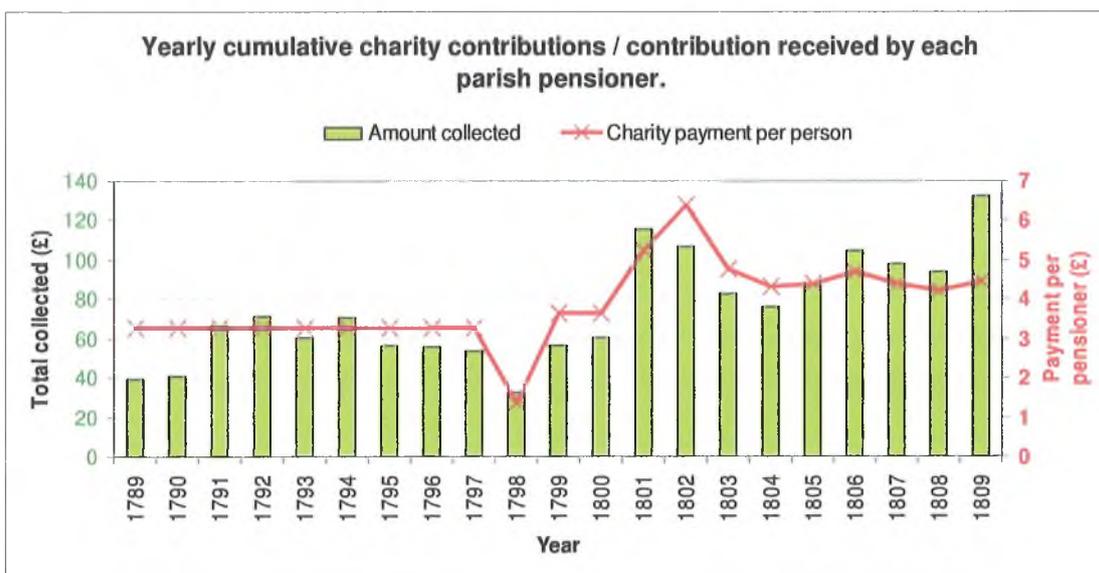


Figure 163 – Cumulative charity contributions (left hand axis) and amounts paid each year per pensioner (right hand axis) for twenty-year period, 1790-1809 (source: Delgany parish accounts, from 1789 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917. 7.1, pp 2-99).

Table 62 – Impact of economic disruption on parish charities, 1790-1800. 1798 disruption was caused by war and 1801-2 disruption caused by subsistence difficulties.

Period	Mean annual collection	Mean annual supplement (per pensioner)
1790-97 (8 yrs)	£67:19:10 ½	£3:5
1798 (1 yr)	£32:14:5 ½	£1:7:1
1799-1800 (2 yrs)	£58:7:5 ¼	£3:12:7 ¼
1801-2 (2 yrs)	£111:2:3	£5:15:11 ¾
1803-9 (7 yrs)	£59:7 2 ½	£4:9:1 ¼

Source: Delgany parish accounts, from 1789 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917. 7.1, pp 2-99).

However, despite this increased benevolence, two problems ultimately remained. First, during times of scarcity, the cost of provisions increases, which reduces the real value of an increased pension. This occurred during 1800 and 1801, for instance, when, despite the nominal increases in the level of the pension ((figure 163), the real value of the contributions actually declined (figure 164). Secondly, the amounts available for distribution were ultimately limited by the size of the voluntary contributions, and during times of severe economic difficulties, the system could be overwhelmed, resulting in increased coffin-counts, such as was earlier noted for Powerscourt. That it was cheaper to

bury people, than to keep them alive was an economic rule of thumb for the eighteenth century.

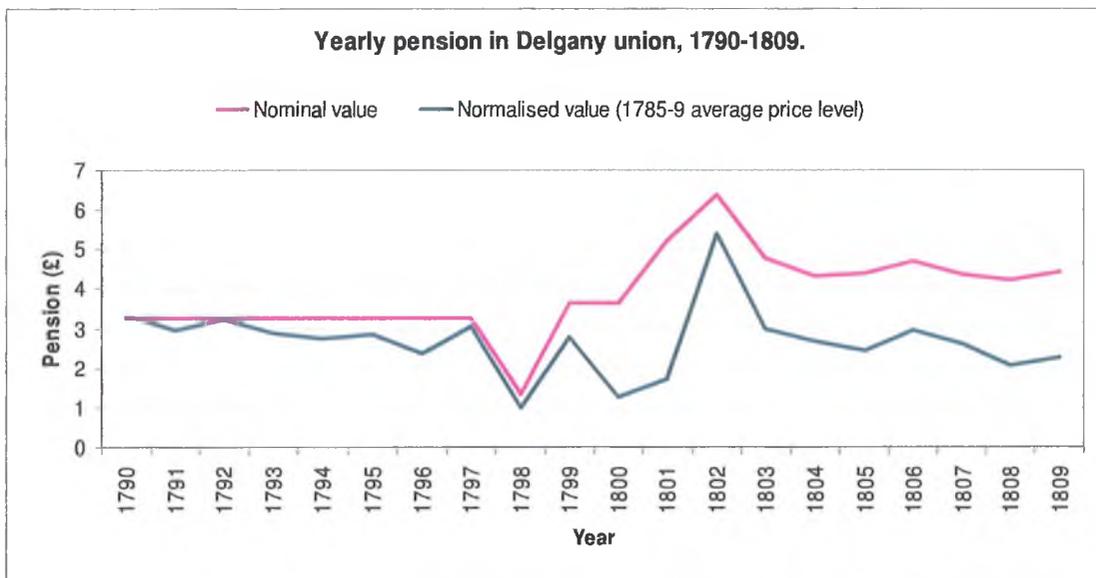


Figure 164 – Nominal and real value (normalised to 1785-9 price levels) of the Delgany union’s pension, 1790-1809.

Source: Delgany parish accounts, from 1789 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917. 7.1, pp 2-99). Note: I am grateful to Professor Liam Kennedy, Queen’s University, Belfast, who provided me with the detailed statistical data underpinning his very useful ‘Cost of living in Ireland, 1698-1998’.⁸⁶

In the next chapter some of the hierarchies underpinning social order in Wicklow will be considered, but it is worth noting here that even among the parish’s poor, social hierarchies were evident. As was noted earlier, the qualifying rules for receipt of parish support were unspecific, and so, despite their poverty, those favoured to receive the patronage of the parish were the fortunate ones. Only a small proportion of those in need of assistance could be helped, and beneath these were the many who, because they were not in receipt of formal benefactions, could only hope to survive through beggary. Within Delgany, for example, the parish poor lists provided funding (table 62) for just sixteen poor.⁸⁷ After the charity funds were periodically allocated to these pensioners, any remaining monies – usually paltry sums – were passed on to the ‘sick and *industrious* poor’ [author’s italics] of the parish. Thus, at Easter 1808, for instance, £3:11:5 ½ was distributed among seventy-one ‘poor people’ (c. one shilling per person), while the sixteen parish pensioners were ‘rolling in it’, with individual contributions for that

period amounting to £1:2:9, and in June 1811 the parish's collective conscience was cleansed by the provision of £1:1:1 ½ for '56 poor people *of every denomination*' [author's italics] (averaging less than 5d. per person), while the sixteen pensioners each received seven shillings.⁸⁸

'Mixed' marriages

Although the odds may have been stacked firmly against women within the community, they could not be described as subservient observers of domestic developments. Within the home, women were primarily responsible for rearing the children, and could profoundly influence their progress, particularly during their formative years. The religious indoctrination of the children of mixed marriages can provide important evidence concerning the power-balances within marital unions. Mixed marriages exercised the concerns of both Protestant and Catholic ecclesiastics, each of which strongly discouraged the practice. On the Protestant side, various penal statutes were devised during the eighteenth century aimed at dissuading Protestants from marrying papists, by imposing sanctions on the offending parties, while, for the Catholic authorities these marriages were considered 'unlawful, wicked and dangerous'.⁸⁹ The fate of the children was of primary concern to both churches, and it was reported that 'frequently the children of such marriages grow up without an attachment, perhaps, to either religion.'⁹⁰

Identifying mixed marriages in parish registers can be difficult, unless they are explicitly noted. In the surviving Protestant marriage registers for County Wicklow, not a single mixed marriage is so identified for the eighteenth century, but, as was noted earlier, these registers are quite deficient. Neither should mixed marriages appear in the Catholic registers – it was unlawful for a Catholic priest to conduct a mixed marriage⁹¹ – and, indeed, for Wicklow parish, they do not. Fortunately, however, a handful of mixed marriages (totalling just twenty-seven) can be identified from the Catholic baptismal registers, where occasionally the presence of a heterodox [Protestant] parent is noted, although comparable distinctions are absent in the Protestant records.

Although the choices taken by these twenty-seven couples were governed by their own particular domestic circumstances, of which nothing is known, the

machinations which may have surrounded the baptism of the children in these marriages merits some consideration, nonetheless. It must, however, be recognised that this mixed-marriages dataset is probably not representative of all mixed-marriages within Wicklow parish, but likely, because it has been drawn primarily from the Catholic baptismal records, has a strong Catholic bias. Also, there was no consistency to the recording of heterodox parents in the registers, and a parent is often identified as a Protestant in one baptismal entry, but not similarly recorded in preceding or subsequent entries. Furthermore, baptism is not denomination-specific, so even the choice of parish church or papist chapel does not imply with absolute certainty any preferential bias towards Protestantism or Catholicism, although it seems reasonable to view such a choice as a pointer to subsequent confessional allegiances.⁹²

Having identified these twenty-seven couples the Catholic and Protestant baptismal registers were examined, to identify any other children born to the couples, which produced a list of eighty-nine children born within 'mixed' marriages. Within this small dataset, more than three in four of the children (sixty-eight Catholic and twenty-one Protestants) were baptised by a Catholic priest (table 63), and regardless of what circumstances are considered, the Catholic chapel appears to have been the favoured location for the sacrament. In three instances, the first *child* of a Protestant father was baptised at the parish church, yet eighteen similar couples favoured the Catholic priest as their first port of call. In five instances – and perhaps with an eye towards inheritance issues – the first *male* child of a Protestant father was baptised at the church, but for fourteen other couples, the Papist chapel was preferred. Richard and Dorothy Behan's first child, a son, for example, was baptised at Rathdrum parish church, while their subsequent family – three boys and two girls – appear in the Catholic baptismal registers of Wicklow town, and Francis Parents' first child, also a boy, was baptised at Wicklow church in 1749, but the remaining children – two boys and two girls – were baptised by the Catholic priest.

Table 63 – Mixed union children baptised by priest or minister (twenty-seven couples).

Children baptised ...	Prot. male parent	Cath. male parent
in parish church	19	2
baptised by Cath. priest	56	16

In fact, the most common scenario in this ‘mixed’ marriage dataset saw all of the children baptised by the Catholic priest. For seventeen of the family groupings, no children are recorded in the Protestant registers while forty-eight children were baptised at the Catholic chapel, and for twelve of these seventeen families the male parent was a Protestant. It is uncertain, based on the available data, whether the female parent was the dominant influence on the decision concerning the baptism of the child, although the evidence does favour this interpretation. In unions where the male parent was Protestant, nineteen children were baptised by a Protestant minister, but fifty-six were baptised by the priest. There does appear to be a slight suggestion that the gender of the child may have influenced the choice of baptism, but the numbers are too small to conclusively verify this (table 64). Furthermore, special circumstances may have overridden all other concerns about choice, which may account for the decision of James and Mary Williams to have their first child – a daughter – baptised by the priest (2 June 1756) and their three subsequent children baptised by the pastor (25 April 1759, 6 November 1761, 21 May 1766).⁹³ What does seem clear, however, is that while the evidence is insufficient to formulate definite conclusions, it is sufficient to suggest that the woman in a mixed union was not a passive observer of crucial decisions concerning the child’s upbringing, but was actively influencing these decisions, if not being solely responsible for them.

Table 64 – Baptism of children by gender, indicating the religion of the male parent.

Children baptised ...	Sex of child	Rel. of male parent (N = 27)	
		Prot.	Cath.
... in parish church	F	5	2
	M	14	0
... by Cath. priest	F	24	9
	M	32	7

Inside the eighteenth-century household, a view on south-Wicklow

It is important to conclude this chapter with a consideration of how households were structured within Wicklow in the eighteenth century, although, unfortunately, information on the structure of households is sparse before the commencement of statutory censuses in the nineteenth century. For four parishes in the north-east of the county (Delgany, Kilmacanoge, Kilcoole and Newcastle), the 1766 religious census provided data on household size, but this was not generally the case (figure 183, appendix 3). Prior to this, the only surviving survey that provides adequate household structure information is a survey of the Malton estate, conducted *circa* 1729, which reputedly lists the individual households within a large swathe of south County Wicklow, while also detailing the number and gender of the occupants.⁹⁴

While it is doubtful that this survey is as accurate as has previously been presumed⁹⁵ – it lists only one layer of tenants under the chief tenant, although the true social structure was likely more stratified – it does, nonetheless, present a unique view of household structures in an expansive part of early eighteenth-century Wicklow (figure 165). According to the survey, more than 95 per cent of a total of 1,162 households consisted of the typical nuclear family, containing just one or both parents, and their offspring. Just 3 per cent of households contained additional relatives, and the remainder of the households (1.5 per cent) contained both family members and servants. Furthermore, the mean household size (total population divided by total number of houses) throughout the entire region emerges as 4.5, with a median household size of 4. Figure 165 shows the household size data distributed by townland that is suggested by the survey.

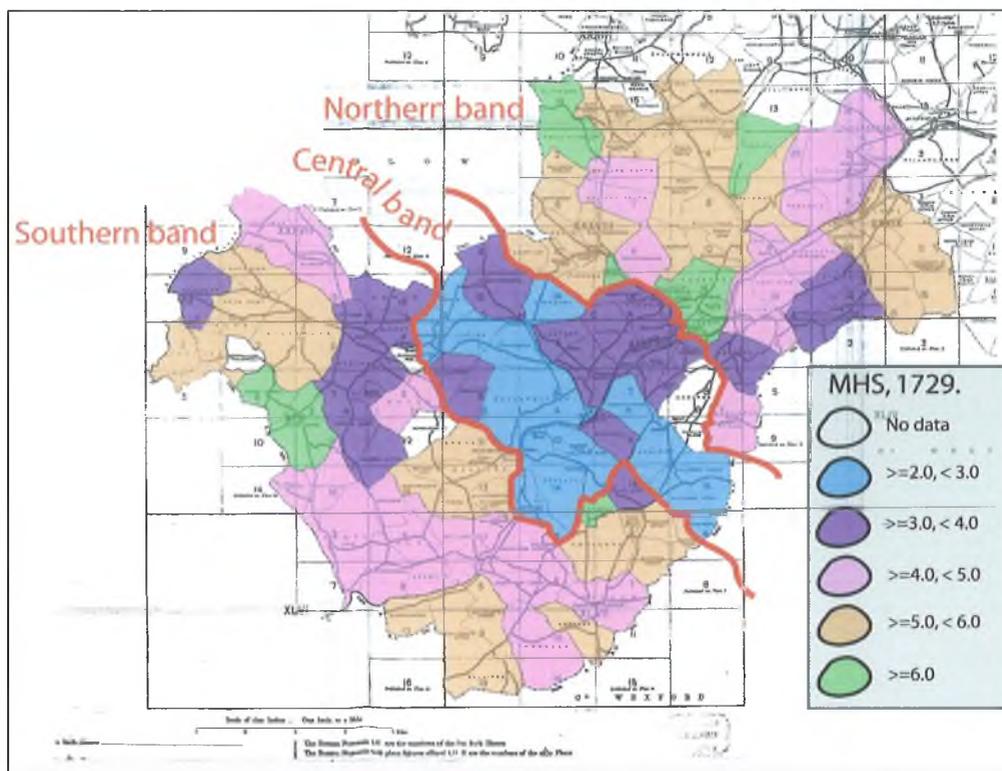


Figure 165 – Mean household size (MHS) in south Wicklow, c. 1729. Three regions, each evidencing similar household-structure characteristics are identified by the thick red lines (source: Survey of Lord Malton’s estate, c., 1729 (N.L.I. MS 6054)).

The accuracy of these figures is, however, open to serious question. It can be clearly seen from figure 165 that considerable regional variations in mean household size are evidenced in the survey. Through both the northern and the southern parts of the estate, mean household size appears to have been reasonably large but in a central band, which included Coolatin and parts of Kilcommon and Mullinacuff parishes, household-size was reputedly smaller. This is unlikely to have been reflective of the true situation. Certainly, regional variations are to be expected, but the variations in this case are of such a scale as to be less likely the product of distinctive demographics, than of inattention. It would be implausible, for instance, to argue that more than half of all households in any extensive stretch of territory in the eighteenth century could have contained just two people (table 65), and that the mean household size of an extensive tract of territory could be as low as 2.9, yet this is what is implied for much of the central band. The household size data for the northern and southern stretches of the estate – mean household

size of 4.9 and median household size of 5 in both regions – however, appear more realistic, and are more in line with comparable contemporary statistics (table 5 for the figures stemming from a national survey, the 1813-5 census).⁹⁶

Table 65 – Regional variations in household size, south Wicklow, c. 1729.

Household size	Proportion of total		
	Central band	Northern band	Southern band
1	1.9%	0.3%	0.6%
2	51.2%	11.3%	9.2%
3	21.3%	12.9%	12.6%
4	14.0%	20.7%	20.1%
5	4.7%	19.2%	23.9%
6	4.7%	15.7%	14.1%
7	1.6%	9.2%	11.9%
8	0.4%	6.3%	4.8%
9	0.4%	2.9%	1.7%
10	0.0%	1.0%	0.6%
11	0.0%	0.5%	0.4%
12	0.0%	0.0%	0.2%
No. of households	258	381	523
Mean	2.9	4.9	4.9
Median	2	5	5
Mode	2	4	5

Source: Survey of Lord Malton's estate, c., 1729 (N.L.I. MS 6054).

Furthermore, despite their greater accuracy, even for both the northern and southern regions the household sizes seem likely to be underestimates. Live-in servants were a fairly typical aspect of the eighteenth-century rural household; male servants and labourers were required in a labour-based agricultural economy and even the 'smallest farmers were commonly employers of labour',⁹⁷ while in the domestic situation, female servants were common, particularly among the strong farmer economic class. A detailed survey of the diocese of Elphin, conducted in 1749, for example, reported more than 9,000 servants in 16,800 households.⁹⁸ One could also expect to find multiple family household-units occurring with reasonable regularity. In this survey, however, both servants and multiple-family units are conspicuously absent. For the extensive southern band, for instance – encompassing part or all of Aghowle, Ardoyne, Crecrin, Mullinacuff, Liscolman, Carnew, Moyacomb parishes – only three of 523 households are recorded as employing servants (only forty-eight servants are

recorded in the entire survey), and it seems equally improbable that not one of these 523 households contained any extended relatives, although it is, of course, possible that determining the details of family structure lay outside the remit of the surveyor. Table 66 shows the regional distribution of households, categorised by nuclear (parents and offspring only), extended (includes in-laws and other relations) and enlarged (includes servants).

Table 66 – Household types in south Wicklow, c. 1729.

Household type	Central band	Northern band	Southern band	Total
Enlarged (contains servants)	1	14	3	18
Extended (contains relations)	26	13	0	39
Nuclear	231	354	520	1,105
Total	258	381	523	1,162

Source: Survey of Lord Malton's estate, c., 1729 (N.L.I. MS 6054).

Bearing these deficiencies in mind, it seems certain that mean household size in extensive tracts of both the northern and southern parts of the Malton estate must have been well above 5.0. Even if a conservative estimate for the number of servants in the region (say 5 per cent) is chosen, then the mean household size in the northern and southern regions increases to 5.1, a figure which exceeds both the 1766 census data for parts of north-east Wicklow and south-east Dublin, and the working estimate of household size for Leinster in 1732, employed by Dickson et al. in their study of pre-census Irish population change.⁹⁹ Furthermore, it is interesting to observe that, albeit from very limited data, the advance in household size between the mid-eighteenth century and the commencement of statutory censuses appears to have been more pronounced in the north-east of the county, than in the southernmost parts (see figure 166). In chapter two it was proposed that population growth was greater in the coastal areas than in the inland regions of the county in the latter half of the eighteenth and the early decades of the nineteenth centuries (table 43), and these regional trends in mean household size would appear to support that contention.

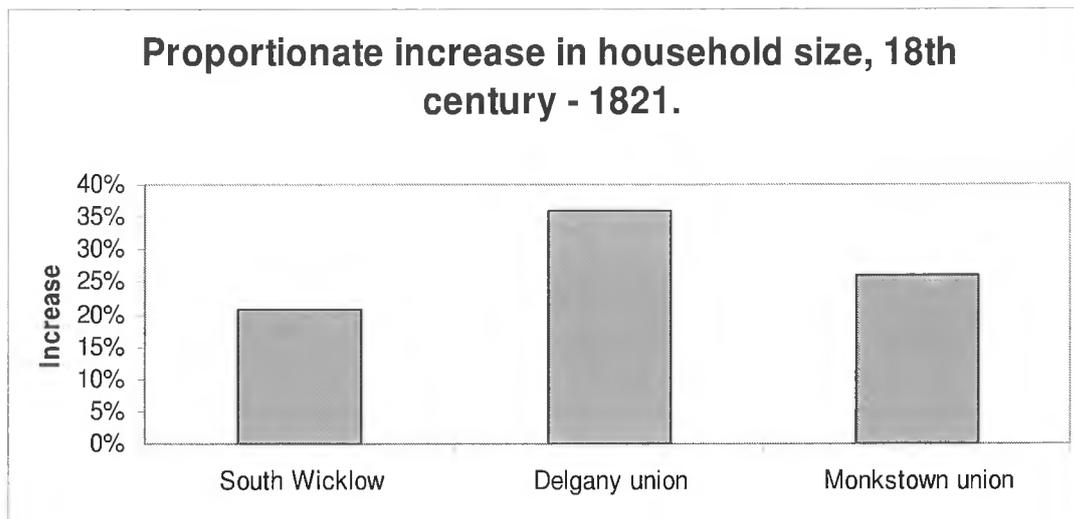


Figure 166 – Proportionate increase in household size in three areas of greater Wicklow between 1766 and 1821 (source: Guinness, *Registers of Monkstown*, pp 93-7; Gurrin, ‘Three eighteenth-century surveys of Wicklow’ in *Anal. Hib.*, xxxix, pp 99, 116-119; *Census Ire., 1821*, pp 18, 126, 128).

Note: the south Wicklow figures are for 1729 and the Delgany (including Newcastle parish) and Monkstown figures for 1766. Also, the south Wicklow figures may be substantially less than the 20 per cent figure indicated here, thus compounding the contrast between household-size developments in the coastal parts in the closing decades of the eighteenth century, although the south Wicklow figures are for similar, but not precisely coincident, territories.

Of all the data provided in this survey, the information on the structure and size of the nuclear family – householders and their children – for the northern and southern bands (figure 165) appears to be the most accurate. This data is summarised in figure 167. As can be seen, large families, while not unknown, were rare, and most households contained between four and six live-in members of the nuclear family (spouse and offspring) of the householder (50 per cent of the northern and 58 per cent of the southern bands). Four or five persons per nuclear family were the most common constructs in both areas. In both areas, too, three children living at home was the modal distribution (figure 168), and the mean number of children-at-home per household ranged from 3.1 in the northern part of the estate, to 2.9 per cent in the southern part, which included Carnew, the only urban area of any significance on the estate.

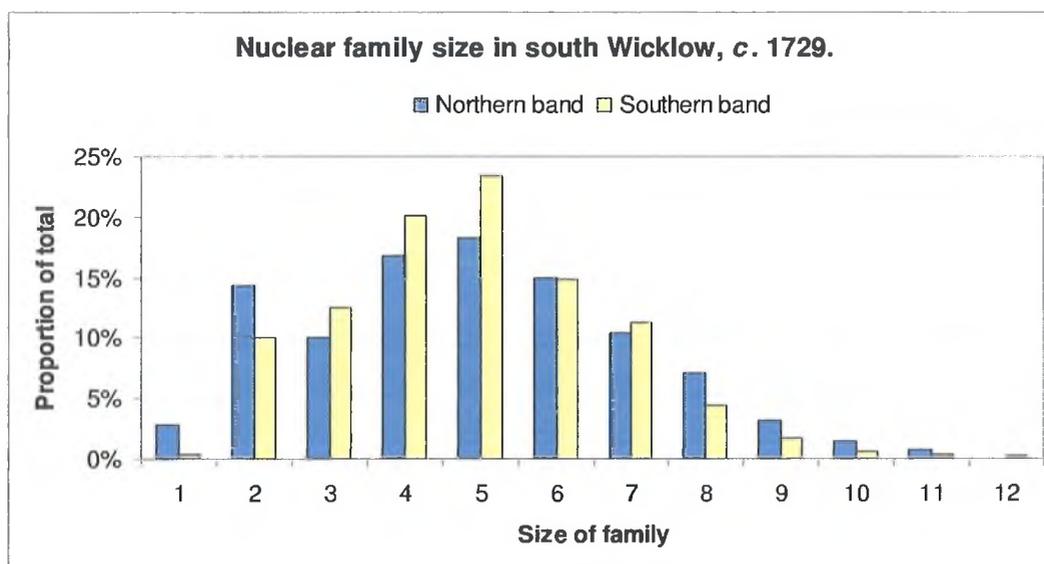


Figure 167 – Nuclear family size in two areas of south Wicklow, c. 1729 (source: determined from Survey of Lord Malton’s estate, c., 1729 (N. L. I. MS 6054)).

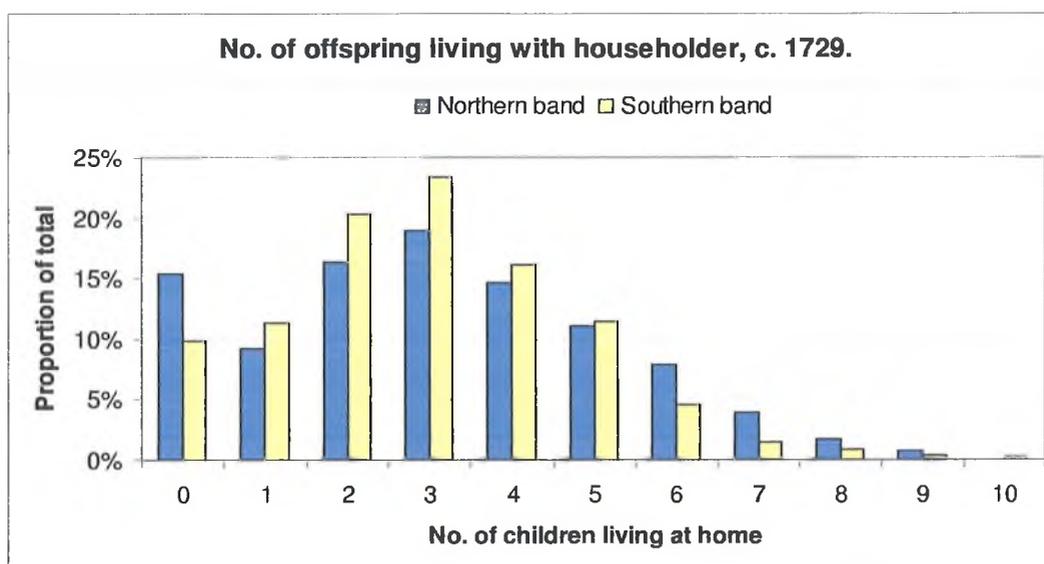


Figure 168 – Number of offspring living with one or both parents in two areas of south Wicklow, c. 1729 (source: determined from Survey of Lord Malton’s estate, c., 1729 (N. L. I. MS 6054)).

Conclusion

Regular national censuses or detailed social inquiries were conspicuously absent from the administrative landscape of eighteenth-century Ireland. In the absence of such sources, determining the social fabric of family life in the eighteenth century can be challenging. However, one source which can provide

unique insights into the organisation and operation of families during the period under consideration are parish registers. In this chapter parish registers, both Catholic and Protestant, have been employed, to unearth some of the hidden features of eighteenth-century family life, in Wicklow. One of the more important facets of societal organisation concerns sexuality and popular perceptions about contemporary morality, and parish registers can present a unique opportunity to examine these influences. Thus, it has been possible to show, for example, that while illegitimacy rates in the region were low, and comparable to rates that Seán Connolly has reported for other parts of Leinster, pre-nuptial pregnancy was common within both denominational communities. In spite of this, it appears that a strict popular moral code operated to pressure sinning couples into formalising their union, either before the birth of a child outside wedlock, or soon afterwards.

Those were the minority, however, because, in general, both illegitimacy and pre-nuptial pregnancies were avoided, either through design or good fortune, by most (figures 158 and 159). It is true that this cannot be viewed as confirmation that pre-nuptial penetrative sexual intercourse was uncommon. However, the peak in births that occurred during the fourth trimester of marriage again provides important pointers as to contemporary perceptions and attitudes. Marriage was clearly upheld in popular convention as a prelude to the spawning of a new generation, and that process was vigorously pursued as soon as the option was legitimately available.

This chapter also commenced the process of examining the hierarchical structures that supported Wicklow's communities in the eighteenth century. In a class conscious society, inequality was widespread. At face value, a woman's place was in the home, where her labours were usually expended. Fewer females than males received an education or were literate, and although some could earn money, usually through employment within the parish, that did not secure their financial independence. This was typified by Annie Oakes' recompense for washing church linen being aggregated with her husband's salary as sexton, and paid to him. A consideration of the upbringing of the children born within mixed marriages, however, suggested a more complex picture. It was seen, for instance, that the children born to a Protestant father were not necessarily raised as

Protestants, which would be reasonable to expect if women were passive observers within the domestic sphere.

Hierarchies were not just evident within families, of course, and this chapter also commenced the examination of hierarchies within communities, through a consideration of the operation of poor relief. It was seen, for example, that, because of the narrower employment options that were available to poor women, they dominated the parish poor-lists. However, gender inequality was only one of the keystones underpinning the hierarchical stratification of communities in the eighteenth century. There were other hierarchies, too, and some of these will be further pursued in the following chapter.

References, chapter 6

- ¹ Wakefield, *Account of Ire.*, ii, p. 764.
- ² Charles Hull (ed.), *The economic writings of Sir William Petty* (2 vols, Cambridge, 1899), ii, p. 608 (Hull (ed.), *The econ. writings of Petty*).
- ³ Other factors imposed too, including mortality levels, economic circumstances and the nutrition levels within the community (Thomas, 'Family formation in Londonderry', pp 93-4).
- ⁴ David Dickson, 'No Scythians here: women and marriage in seventeenth century Ireland' in Margaret MacCurtain and Mary O'Dowd (ed.) *Women in early modern Ireland* (Dublin, 1991), pp 225-6 (hereinafter cited as Dickson, 'No Scythians here').
- ⁵ In this analysis, since the parish registers for a number of parishes are being considered, then some geographic movement can be tolerated.
- ⁶ Wakefield, *Account of Ire.*, ii, p. 577.
- ⁷ Wakefield, *Account of Ire.*, ii, p. 764; S. J. Connolly, 'Marriage in pre-Famine Ireland' in Art Cosgrove (ed.), *Marriage in Ireland* (Dublin, 1985), p. 78 (hereinafter cited as Connolly, 'Marriage in pre-Famine Ireland'; book cited as Cosgrove (ed.), *Marriage in Ireland*).
- ⁸ David Lemmings, 'Marriage and the law in the eighteenth century: Hardwicke's Marriage Act of 1753', in *The Historical Journal*, xxxix, no. 2 (1996), pp 339-60 (hereinafter cited as Lemmings, 'Hardwicke's Marriage Act').
- ⁹ Lemmings, 'Hardwicke's Marriage Act', p. 341.
- ¹⁰ Lemmings, 'Hardwicke's Marriage Act', p. 345-6.
- ¹¹ Tate, *Parish chest*, p. 62.
- ¹² The marriage data for Athy, Naas or Carlow were not used, and marriages which occurred within 8 years of the commencement of the baptismal register have also been excluded.
- ¹³ Note that in an exercise performed on the Templemore registers, Co. Londonderry, the hit rate (149 out of 2,575 marriages) was just 5.8 per cent (Thomas, 'Family formation in Londonderry', p. 94).
- ¹⁴ Wrigley, 'Family limitation in pre-industrial England', pp 86-8.
- ¹⁵ There is always the possibility of error when using nominal linkages to estimate ages. What is clear is that Elizabeth Swefield was baptised at Wicklow on 16 August 1702 (R.C.B. Lib., Wicklow parish registers, 1655-1832, MS P. 611.1.1, p. 26) and that Elizabeth Swefield also married Samuel Scully on 19 November 1758. They may not have been the same person. However, no children subsequently appear in any of the surviving baptismal registers for Simon and Elizabeth. If they were living in the vicinity and had children then it could be reasonably expected that their baptisms would be recorded in any of the Protestant registers or Wicklow or Rathdrum parish or the Catholic registers for Wicklow parish. Samuel Scully's name is conspicuously absent from the baptismal registers, so determining his age is not possible. However, it is not unreasonable that a couple could marry to provide them with some stability in their old age.
- ¹⁶ Thomas, 'Family formation in Londonderry', p. 93.
- ¹⁷ Dickson, 'No Scythians here', pp 225-6.
- ¹⁸ The shorter the period chosen, the better, but it is important to avoid working with very small, and unrepresentative, datasets. Colin Thomas opted to use decades as his period, but this reduced the size of his datasets. In this cases, bi-decades present the best trade off between temporal accuracy, and statistical accuracy (Thomas, 'Family formation in Londonderry', p. 94).
- ¹⁹

Period	1681-1700	1701-20	1721-40	1741-60	1761-80	1781-1800
Proportion of total	7.3%	4.2%	22.4%	24.1%	20.1%	24.9%

- ²⁰ Dickson, 'No Scythians here', pp 225-6.
- ²¹ Thomas, 'Family formation in Londonderry', pp 93, 94.
- ²² Although the size of the datasets are very small (figure 154).
- ²³ S. J. Connolly, *Priests and people in pre-Famine Ireland* (2nd ed., Dublin, 2001), 173-207 (hereinafter cited as Connolly, *Priests and people*); S. J. Connolly, 'Illegitimacy and pre-nuptial pregnancy in Ireland before 1864: the evidence of some Catholic parish registers' in *Ir. Econ. & Soc. Hist.* vi (1979), pp 5-23 (hereinafter cited as Connolly, 'Illegitimacy and pre-nuptial pregnancy in Ireland before 1864'); Dickson, 'No Scythians here'.

- ²⁴ Particularly useful works are Barry Reay, *Popular cultures in England, 1550-1750* (London, 1998) (hereinafter cited as Reay, *Popular cultures*); Barry Reay (ed.), *Popular culture in seventeenth-century England* (Beckenham, 1985); Laurence Stone, *The family, sex and marriage in England, 1500-1800* (London, 1977) (hereinafter cited as Stone, *Family, sex and marriage*).
- ²⁵ Reay, *Popular cultures*, p. 4-35.
- ²⁶ Reay, *Popular cultures*, p. 8.
- ²⁷ Reay, *Popular cultures*, pp 7, 9.
- ²⁸ Reay, *Popular cultures*, pp 10-11.
- ²⁹ Peter Laslett and Karen Oosterveen, 'Long-term trends in bastardy in England: a study of the illegitimacy figures in the parish registers and in the reports of the Registrar General' in *Population Studies* xxvii, no. 2 (July 1973), p. 260, figure 1.
- ³⁰ Connolly, 'Illegitimacy and pre-nuptial pregnancy in Ireland before 1864', p. 8.
- ³¹ Wrigley, 'Family limitation in pre-industrial England', p. 104.
- ³² An Act to prevent the destroying and murdering of bastard children (6 Anne c. iv (*Stat. Ire.*, iv, p. 120). Swift refers to the maintenance of the practice of infanticide in the 1720s in Swift, *Modest proposal*, p. 5.
- ³³ Connolly, *Priests and people*, pp 178-9.
- ³⁴ Connolly, *Priests and people*, p. 184.
- ³⁵ Vestry meetings, 11 April 1748 (Newcastle vestry book 1); 19 April 1756 (Wicklow vestry book 1, part 2, p. 253).
- ³⁶ Stone, *Family, sex and marriage*, p. 608.
- ³⁷ Connolly, 'Marriage in pre-Famine Ireland', p. 92; Kevin Danaher, *The year in Ireland* (Cork, 1972), pp 47-52; Caoimhín Ó Danachair, 'Some marriage customs and their regional distribution' in *Béaloidéas*, xlii-xliv (1974-6), pp 170-5.
- ³⁸ Mack married Jane Tyndal on 30 November 1800, and Jane's first child, fathered by John Byrne, was baptised on 3 July 1801. Jane's next child, presumably fathered by Mack, was baptised on 26 June 1802 (Castlemacadam parish registers, book 1, pp 28, 30, 37).
- ³⁹ Connolly, *Priests and people*, pp 184-5.
- ⁴⁰ Patrick Corish, 'Catholic marriage under the penal code' in Cosgrove (ed.), *Marriage in Ireland*, pp 71-2 (hereinafter cited as Corish, 'Catholic marriage').
- ⁴¹ Lancelot Gethings was buried in Tullow churchyard, but the date of his interment was indecipherable in the 1890s (*Journal of the Irish Association for the Preservation of Memorials of the Dead, 1894*, ii, no. 3 (n.d.), p. 440) (hereinafter cited as *Jn. of Irish Assoc. for Preserve. of Mem. of Dead*).
- ⁴² Connolly, *Priests and people*, p. 198.
- ⁴³ About one in five of all surnames appearing in the baptismal registers were Byrnes and five names, Mary, Elizabeth, Margaret, Catherine and Anne, accounted for more than half of the identified first names.
- ⁴⁴ Connolly, *Priests and people*, pp 184-5.
- ⁴⁵ Wicklow Catholic parish registers, book 1; Wicklow Catholic parish registers, book 2[f. 69].
- ⁴⁶ Hogshead Higginbotham's only (recorded) child was baptised in October 1784, but he did not marry Mary Byrne, the child's mother until October 1793 (Donaghmore parish registers, book 1, pp 49, 277 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 274.1.1)). Nor was Higginbotham's tardy proposal unique. James Saunders and Doran Bury, for example, delayed their marriages to their partners for more than seven and more than four years respectively after the birth of their first child.
- ⁴⁷ Connolly, *Priests and people*, p. 177.
- ⁴⁸ Reay, *Popular cultures*, p. 9.
- ⁴⁹ *The book of common prayer, and administration of the Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the Church of Ireland* (Dublin, 1773), the form of solemnisation of matrimony (pages unnumbered).
- ⁵⁰ Stone, *Family, sex and marriage*, p. 195.
- ⁵¹ Lemmings, 'Hardwicke's Marriage Act', p. 343.
- ⁵² Connolly, *Priests and people*, p. 189.
- ⁵³ Radcliff, *Report on agriculture and livestock of Wicklow*, pp 199-200; Wallace (ed.), *Clergy of Dublin and Glendalough, by Leslie*, p. 997.
- ⁵⁴ Vestry meeting, 1 April 1793, 21 April 1794, 28 March 1796, 17 April 1797 (Delgany vestry book 1, ff 168v, 169v, 171v, 173).

⁵⁵ Rooke, *Gleanings from the past*, pp 19, 23.

⁵⁶ See chapter one for a discussion on the development of educational facilities on the Fitzwilliam estate, for example.

⁵⁷ *Census Ire., 1821*, p. 131, *Census Ire., 1841*, p. 141.

⁵⁸ Rathdrum parish registers, book 1, p. 23.

⁵⁹ This is not certain evidence of the non-attendance of women. Women may, for instance, have attended, but not signed, or may have attended as proxies for their husbands, but signed their husband's name. Two women ("Mrs. Easterby" and "Miss Kells") attended a vestry meeting at Donnybrook in 1828 (Beaver Blacker, *Brief sketches of the parishes of Booterstown and Donnybrook* (2nd ed., Dublin, 1874), p. 92 (hereinafter cited as Blacker, *Brief sketches, Booterstown and Donnybrook*)).

⁶⁰ Vestry meetings 10 March 1779, 19 March 1779 (Wicklow vestry book 1, part 2, pp 226-7, 228, 229).

⁶¹ Connolly, *Priests and people*, p. 180.

⁶² Fines of 12d. were introduced for non attendance at church (An act for the uniformitie of common prayer and service in the church, and the administration of sacraments (2 Eliz. I, c. 2 (*Stat. Ire.*, i, p. 287)) but these were only levied against householders (N. J. Pounds, *A history of the English parish* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 262 (hereinafter cited as Pounds, *Hist. of English parish*)).

⁶³ Vestry meeting, 12 April 1762 (Donard vestry book, book 1, R.C.B. P. 275.4.1, p. 18). She was still in the position at the vestry meeting of 9 April 1765.

⁶⁴ McCormack (ed.) *Memories of west Wicklow: Hanbidge and Hanbidge*, pp, 44, 100, note 28.

⁶⁵ Newcastle vestry book 2, loose sheet. The robbery can be dated from reference to the minutes of the vestry meeting on 13 April 1789 (*ibid.*).

⁶⁶ Étain Murphy, *A glorious extravaganza: the history of Monkstown parish church* (Bray, 2003), p. 394. Castleknock paid their sextoness, Margaret Connor, a substantial £4 salary in the 1760s (Castleknock vestry minutes, 1744-1808 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 352.5.1, p. 101)).

⁶⁷ Elsewhere, employment opportunities for women within the parish may have been greater – Tallaght, in south Dublin, employed a woman pound-keeper in 1782, for example – but within Wicklow, all surviving evidence suggests that they were curtailed (William Handcock, *The history and antiquities of Tallaght, in the County of Dublin* (repr. of 2nd ed., Dublin, 1991), p. 22 (hereinafter cited as Handcock, *History of Tallaght*)).

⁶⁸ Wicklow vestry book 1, part 1, p. 24; Rathdrum vestry meeting, 14 April 1754 (Rathdrum vestry book 1, loose sheet inserted in vestry book, and presumably from an older, now lost, book (R.C.B. Lib., p. 377.5.1).

⁶⁹ Vestry meetings, 9 September 1767, 8 October 1768 (Wicklow vestry book 1, part 2, p. 100.

⁷⁰ Vestry meeting, 15 April 1760 (Wicklow vestry book 1, part 2, p. 6).

⁷¹ John Ferrar, *A view of ancient and modern Dublin ... to which is added, a tour to Bellevue* (Dublin, 1796), pp 100-1; Fraser, *General view of Wicklow*, p. 64; Judith Flannery, *Christ Church, Delgany, 1789-1900, between the mountains and the sea* (Delgany, 1990), p. 46 (hereinafter cited as Flannery, *Delgany*).

⁷² Toby Barnard, *A new anatomy of Ireland: the Irish Protestants, 1649-1770* (London, 2003), p. 275 (hereinafter cited as Barnard, *Anatomy of Ireland*).

⁷³ Delgany vestry book, book 1, ff 65v, 67v, 68v, 76v, 77v, 97v, 82v. Martha Salt died in 1746 and was likely in receipt of support until her death. She may, in fact, have been in receipt of parish support for almost 60 years.

⁷⁴ Delgany vestry book, book 1, ff 65v, 67v, 68v.

⁷⁵ Newcastle vestry book, book 2, f. 104.

⁷⁶ The Newcastle poor list cannot be definitely dated. A number of poor lists are contained on two pages of the vestry book, all of which are undated. The first 8 names, all written in the same hand, appear to be the first recording of a poor list for the parish. The parish was established in 1696, so the listing could be from any time after that date, but must have predated October 1715, the date of the burial of Martha Marsden, the first name appearing on the list.

⁷⁷ Delgany vestry book 1, ff 77v, 106.

⁷⁸ Delgany vestry book 1, ff 123v, 138v, 138v.

⁷⁹ Vestry meeting, 27 March 1758 (Aghowle vestry book, 1707-1813 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 522.5.1).

- ⁸⁰ Bamfield was removed from the poor list on 2 July 1798 and subsequently reinstated on the poor list at the Easter vestry, 1799. Interestingly, the 1799 vestry minutes do not record the readmission of Bamfield to parish relief, illustrating that the vestry minutes are no more than brief synopses of vestry decisions (Delgany parish accounts, from 1789 (R.C.B. MS P. 917. 7.1, p. 32)); vestry meeting, 21 April 1794 (Aghowle vestry book, 1707-1813 (R.C.B. Lib. MS P. 522.5.1)).
- ⁸¹ This was not always the case elsewhere, of course (McCorry, *Parish registers*, p. 35).
- ⁸² Vestry meeting, 8 April 1751 (Delgany vestry book 1, f. 97v); Powerscourt vestry book 2, f. 71; R.C.B. Lib., Newcastle vestry book, book 1.
- ⁸³ Vestry meetings, 30 May 1737, 11 June 1739, 7 June 1742, 23 May 1743 (Powerscourt vestry book and parish registers 1, ff 63v, 67, 71-71v, 73v).
- ⁸⁴ Delgany parish accounts, from 1789 (R.C.B. MS P. 917. 7.1, pp 2-135).
- ⁸⁵ Delgany parish accounts, from 1789 (R.C.B. MS P. 917. 7.1, p. 38).
- ⁸⁶ Kennedy, 'Cost of living, Ireland, 1698-1998', pp 249-76.
- ⁸⁷ Vestry meeting, 8 April 1751 (Delgany vestry book, book 1, f. 97v). In reality, the four Catholic parishioners may not have received any support, as the parish accounts record only twelve poor for 1788, increasing to 14 poor in 1789 (Delgany parish accounts, from 1789 (R.C.B. MS P. 917. 7.1, pp 2, 3, 4)).
- ⁸⁸ Delgany parish accounts, from 1789 (R.C.B. MS P. 917. 7.1, pp 86, 112).
- ⁸⁹ Corish, 'Catholic marriage', pp 71-2; Connolly, *Priests and people*, p. 190.
- ⁹⁰ Connolly, *Priests and people*, p. 190.
- ⁹¹ Connolly, *Priests and people*, p. 191. By an act of 1725 (12 Geo. I, c. 3) a Catholic priest officiating at the marriage of a Protestant was deemed guilty of a felony and could be put to death and by 19 Geo. II, c. 13 (1745) the marriage of a Protestant by a Catholic priest was declared null and void (Corish, 'Catholic marriage', p. 72). This statute remained in place until 1833, when the 3 & 4 William IV, c. 103 removed the threat of death, but left mixed marriages celebrated by a Catholic priest as void.
- ⁹² Interestingly, three of the entries recorded in the Bray Church of Ireland baptismal registers for 1747 and 1748 were performed by a 'Popish priest' (Bray parish registers, book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 580.1.1, p. 27)).
- ⁹³ R.C.B. Lib., Wicklow parish registers, book 1, pp 96, 99, 106.
- ⁹⁴ Malton estate survey, 1729 (N. L. I. MS 6054).
- ⁹⁵ Dickson, Ó Gráda and Daultrey, 'Hearth tax, household size and Irish population change', p. 147.
- ⁹⁶ Dickson, Ó Gráda and Daultrey, 'Hearth tax, household size and Irish population change', p. 151.
- ⁹⁷ Connolly, *Priests and people*, p. 44.
- ⁹⁸ Brian Gurrin 'An examination of the 1749 census of the diocese of Elphin' in Marie-Louise Legg (ed.), *The census of Elphin, 1749* (Dublin, 2004), pp xxvii, xxxii (hereinafter cited as Gurrin, 'An examination of the census of Elphin, 1749').
- ⁹⁹ Dickson, Ó Gráda and Daultrey, 'Hearth tax, household size and Irish population change', p. 153.

Chapter 7 – Communities, relationships, and the organisation of local societies

The previous chapter considered gender based hierarchies within the family and within the parish, but many other hierarchies contributed to the smooth running of local communities during the eighteenth century. One of the most important administrative units during this period was the local parish. All, regardless of their confessional allegiances, were considered parishioners, and had a part to play in the organisation of that local community. However, as an administrative unit, the parish was highly stratified, and operational hierarchies were especially evident in Wicklow, with its large Protestant population, and its large number of small landowners. This chapter examines the organisation and governance of the community of the parish, and considers how interdenominational and inter-class linkages, and tensions, impacted on the development of the structural organisation of local communities. It will be shown that different organisational rules, rooted in religion, wealth or tradition, governed the interaction between parishioners and their parish in its ecclesiastical and secular spheres.

The parish as a social network

The territorial hierarchy constructed for the new County Wicklow in 1606 matched contemporary hierarchies in shired land throughout the country,¹ and comprised, in reducing size, the county, the barony, the parish and the townland.² The relative importance of these different administrative regions to the everyday life of its inhabitants in the early-modern Ireland varied, however, depending on a person's social standing, and often by their religion. The more intimate a person was with, and the more interaction they had with, the legislative underpinnings of a particular administrative division, the stronger was their sense of identification with that region. Thus, the largest administrative area – the county – was of little consequence to the vast majority of the population, whose interaction with that division rarely amounted to anything more than the payment of the annual county cess.³ Underneath the county was the barony, an administrative region that was also quite removed from the consciousness of most, although each barony had a

high constable who was responsible for applying the law within his area of responsibility.⁴ Patrick Duffy, has noted that ‘their [the political territories of Gaelic Ireland] shadowy reflections can be seen in many of the barony boundaries’⁵ but this is untrue in the case of Wicklow because the barony boundaries were drawn without recourse to the location of historical Gaelic boundaries. In fact, bearing in mind the history of trouble and rebellion, it is probable that the new barony boundaries were plotted in order to divide Gaelic territories, rather than to recognise ancient, tribal integrities. The O’Byrne country, for example, was defined in 1626 as fourteen coastal parishes, running from Delgany to Arklow,⁶ but when the county was shired, (both the abortive county, created in 1579, and the successfully created county, in 1606), this integral Gaelic territory was subdivided into three baronies.

The smallest territorial administrative unit was the townland, which also had its origins in medieval times.⁷ Originally the ‘extensive remnants of a fundamental landholding layer in the middle ages’,⁸ the number of townlands increased with time – with each strong farm holdings, came a new townland as a means of territorial identification – until they became less mutable following their official delineation by the Ordnance Survey in the nineteenth century. In popular culture and public consciousness, however, it was the place with which most people – except, perhaps, those occupying the lowest level of the social hierarchy, who may have had no firm attraction to any location, or just a fleeting attraction, through conacre leases – were intimately connected. These local loyalties and rivalries were periodically manifested through violence and faction fighting at fairs, patterns and other regional gatherings.⁹

Between the barony and the townland came the third administrative stratum, and unit with which most people were most intimately involved – the civil/ecclesiastical parish. Everybody, regardless of their beliefs, was a parishioner and had a contribution to make to parish life, and parish administration, parish legislation and parish politics impacted on the lives of all. Following Henry VIII’s break with Rome in 1531, and following the Irish parliament’s acceptance of the King’s supreme position at the head of the Church at the beginning of 1536,¹⁰ the parish, previously exclusively responsible for ecclesiastical concerns, began to be

developed as an organ of civil government. This devolution of civil responsibilities to parochial administrative units ensured that the parish was to become an essential, and increasingly important, instrument of the machinery of the state, and so it was to remain until the early years of the twentieth century.¹¹ As Toby Barnard has succinctly observed, ‘the parish may seem but a small cog in the increasingly complicated state machine of Britain, Ireland and its expanding empire. Nevertheless, it was the place where most were likely to come into contact with the operations of the massive engine’.¹²

The parish’s secular responsibilities were progressively expanded, so that by the eighteenth century its responsibilities were various, and diverse, and included ensuring that the principal through-roads within its boundaries – the ‘highways’ – were in adequate repair, or at least passable, that the public streets were not overrun by the sick and indigent and that public order was maintained, and laws were enforced. At the core, however, there was a fundamental weakness underlying attempts to involve an ecclesiastical organ in issues of local governance, especially in a region where the majority of the population withheld their spiritual allegiances from that church. In England, most had responded favourably to the Reformation, and had adjusted their focus from Rome to Canterbury, but in Ireland, no such outcome ultimately emerged, despite conditions in the latter country being no less favourable.¹³ Consequently, while the ultimate unit of local governance in England attracted the loyalties of most of the population relatively soon after the Reformation, in Ireland the newly reinforced and enhanced parish structures remained unattractive to most of the native population, and to a considerable majority of the entire population.¹⁴

This presented a problem. In England, the subscribed loyalty of the majority of the population to their parish church meant that a critical mass of worshipers, necessary to support a clergyman and a vibrant parish community, could be contained within relatively small geographical spheres.¹⁵ In the Irish context, however, with many historical parishes having only a handful of Protestant parishioners, sustainable, self-governing parishes were rare, particularly outside parts of Ulster and some urban areas. Lancelot Bulkeley’s inquiry into the lamentable condition of the church in Wicklow in 1630, for instance, highlights

not just a decaying church infrastructure, but also a declining number of adherents to the Established Church.¹⁶ As a consequence, unions of parishes were deemed essential, in order that the requisite *critical mass* of Protestant parishioners could be gathered, and Irish benefices were often very expansive, and typically bigger than their English equivalents (figure 4). However, while this may have resolved issues regarding the paucity of Protestant parishioners for the ecclesiastical community, the expansive unions presented difficulties of administration and organisation within the secular world. Rathdrum union, for example, spanned more than 53,000 acres of central Wicklow, much of which was thinly populated, and Derrylossary parish, immediately to the north, was 4,000 acres larger. The unions of Wicklow and Blessington each covered more than 35,000 acres to the east and the west of the uplands, and even compact Delgany and Newcastle, with their substantial Protestant populations, spanned an impressive 14,000 and 17,000 acres of mostly fertile lowland, in the north-east of the county. Thus, parish administrative structures and parish denominational characteristics meant it was a serious challenge for secular duties to be fulfilled in such huge regions.

Parish administration, and the canons of 1634

The alienation of the majority from the established religion further complicated the efficient running of the civil parish. The dual roles invested in the parish required the employment of a variety of officials, both clerical and civil. Central to parish life was the clergyman, without whom the parish could not operate. In the ecclesiastical realm, he was supreme, and in the civil sphere, he governed the parish, in communion with his parishioners, particularly after 1634, following the introduction of new canonical rules.¹⁷ Closely modelled on the English canons of 1603, these Irish canons represented a crucial stage in the reform of a church, which had been shown by Bulkeley's Dublin visitation a few years previously (figure 3) to be essential.¹⁸ Ecclesiastical circumstances in the two kingdoms were, however, very different in the early seventeenth century, and by that time it was evident that the Reformation was not gaining ground in Ireland, having failed even to garner the support of Old English loyalists.¹⁹ Thus, although the 1634 canons (or, some of them, at least) had been the subject of some considerable debate before they were approved,²⁰ many of the articles, while apt

for contemporary English conditions, were little more than flighty aspirations in recalcitrant Ireland.²¹

Of the 100 new canons, the first forty-six were concerned with matters relating to how the minister was to present himself, and how his sacerdotal duties were to be performed. Canon 40, for instance, detailed that any minister with ‘popish recusant or recusants in his parish ... shall labour diligently with them from time to time, thereby to reclaim them from their errors’²² and canon 46, crucial for the purposes of this project, required that, ‘in every parish church and chapel within this realm shall be provided one parchment book at the charge of the parish, wherein shall be written the day and year of every christening, wedding, burial’.²³ Twenty-nine canons (canons 47 – 75) were concerned with matters of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, outlining strict rules governing marriage, divorce and excommunication and the crimes that henceforth were to be judged by ecclesiastical courts. Canons 77 through 99 governed the appointment and responsibility of various parish officials, including the parish clerk (canon 86), the churchwarden (canons 87 – 97) and the parish schoolmaster (canons 98 – 99).²⁴

The canons also ordered the holding of organised, formal meetings of the inhabitants of parishes (vestry meetings), with each parish required to have at least one meeting – at Easter – during the year,²⁵ although more frequent meetings were common. Required attendees at vestry meetings were the parish minister, at least one churchwarden and some – the number is unspecified, and has been the source of some speculation and debate – parishioners. Vestry decisions were agreed by a majority of those who had the right to vote at the meeting – ‘the major part present will bind the whole parish’, and only parish tax payers (the parish tax was known as the ‘cess’) were eligible to vote.²⁶ Since many of the decisions taken at the vestry had legal standing and since the election of parish officials was of ecclesiastical and civil significance, the minutes of the meeting were supposed to be recorded by the vestry clerk in a book, and the minutes were then to be signed. Unfortunately, however, vestry minutes are often bland, routine notes, providing the ultimate details of the principal decisions, while offering little evidence about the operation and procedures of the vestry. In many cases, the minutes were prepared in advance, according to rote, and the specific details – the names of the

churchwardens elected, for instance – were filled in at the meeting, thus operating to disguise any debate or conflict that may have occurred.²⁷ Because of this, vestry minutes can often give the impression that the meetings were sedate affairs, devoid of rancour, where the parishioners assembled and unanimously approved policy decisions, but this is doubtful, and meetings were likely to be often highly charged affairs, especially when controversial issues – such as the details of the cess, the censure of parish officers, or, as has been seen, the parishioners’ social pecking order – were being considered.²⁸

The issue of attendance at the vestry merits consideration, as this assists an understanding of the operation of local social hierarchies in the early-modern period. Explicit statements on the numbers attending vestry meetings, or required to constitute a quorum, are rare.²⁹ It has often been presumed that the signatures approving vestry meetings represent *all* of the attendees, but this assumption is incorrect, at least in the case of a number of vestry meetings in County Wicklow. Even the strict legal position, as defined by statute, is unclear, and to further complicate matters, differing attendance requirements and rules operated for different types of meetings. For the general, run-of-the-mill meeting notice need be given the previous Sunday and, thus, notice of a day or two (at Easter Sunday service, ‘in time of divine service’) was all that was required for the typical Easter vestry meeting. At these meetings, law required that the signatories to the minutes need only have been those who agreed with the decisions of the vestry, with dissenters not being obliged to sign – ‘every parish act there be entered in the parish book of accounts, and every man’s hand consenting to it be set thereto’.³⁰ Evidence for this representing general practice is elusive, as references detailing the specific results of a vote are rare. The only unambiguous example for any Wicklow parish occurred at a vestry meeting in Delgany in 1791, called to distribute seats in the church, which divided 18-17 on the issue.³¹ There must, therefore, have been at least thirty-five attendees at this meeting, but the minutes were subsequently signed by just seventeen [should have been eighteen] people.³²

Meetings to consider parish cess applotments, however, had different rules, particularly after 1729, when a statute specified that notification of meetings to consider the applotment of a cess had to be published ten days prior to the meeting

and that the applotment need only be signed 'by the minister, the church-wardens, and three of the protestant parishioners then present'.³³ The operation of this rule is evidenced in a vestry meeting in Donard parish on 25 April 1759, where the signatories were clearly specified as only being representative of a larger audience

the applotment of the cess for the present year was examined into & approved of by all the Protestant parishioners then present & signed by the minister, the church wardens & three of the Protestant parishioners³⁴

However, this statute also required that the applotment of the cess be performed by persons (usually termed applotters) selected at an earlier meeting, 'by the major part of the Protestant parishioners in vestry assembled'.³⁵ While there is some ambiguity surrounding this requirement, it seems probable that the approval of a significant number of Protestant parishioners would have been required to give any applotment moral weight.³⁶

Later, in 1771-2, a statute concerning the erection of chapels of ease in large parishes, was more explicit, and less ambiguous, in detailing the attendance requirements for a specific vestry meeting, stating that sums can be assessed by 'the rector or incumbent of such parish, or his curate, and the churchwardens and the majority of the Protestant inhabitants of each of the said intended new parishes, assembled in vestry'.³⁷ Evidently, therefore, a majority of the total Protestant inhabitants of a prospective parish had, after 1771, to approve the decision to construct a chapel of ease.

For County Wicklow, it is rare for any of the surviving vestry minutes to be signed by more than a dozen or so parishioners,³⁸ and occasionally the vestry minutes themselves can be coaxed into revealing that the signatories to minutes were only a sample of the entire attendance at the meetings. In 1760 a Rathdrum vestry meeting considered the removal of the parish clerk, among other issues. The motion to remove the clerk was passed in the affirmative, with sixteen signatures recorded, but the actual minutes of the meeting were only signed by nine vestrymen.³⁹ Similarly, in Delgany the minutes of a meeting held in 1790 to discuss the distribution of pews in the new parish church in 1790 imply a wider attendance than might be presumed from the signing parties. The meeting was

attended by 'a great number of the parishioners', but was signed by just ten.⁴⁰ Thirty four pews were available for distribution, and it was an opportunity for parishioners to justify their claims for the limited accommodation, so attendance at this meeting was likely to have been considerable. A marginal note also records that one of the signatories, Thomas Bell, was also present at the previous distribution of seats in Delgany in 1726, but he did not sign the minutes of that meeting.⁴¹

Also in Delgany, in 1811, a meeting, called to appoint overseers of the public houses, had to be adjourned because of poor attendance – 'in consequence of the extreme severity of the weather, wch has prevented the attendance of many of the parishioners' – even though seven parishioners signed the minutes. However, this number of signatories was fairly typical of most meetings at that time, and the reconvened meeting, which had sufficient attendees to proceed with the appointment of the overseers, was also signed by just seven parishioners, but appears not to have had the same quorum-difficulties.⁴² Similarly, a vestry meeting in 1774 in Wicklow parish, called to approve a cess applotment, but adjourned because of insufficient numbers attending, was signed by the minister, two churchwardens and four parishioners.⁴³ The subsequent meeting, held later that evening, and which approved the cess, was signed by the minister, two churchwardens and just five parishioners, only one of whom had signed the meeting earlier in the day.⁴⁴ Minutes of a vestry held at Newcastle, in March 1783, were signed by just eleven parishioners, but 'several others present [were] also consenting'.⁴⁵ At Donard, in west Wicklow, the sense of excitement at the 1798 Easter vestry meeting, 'which was more numerously attended by the parishioners of all religious persuasions than any ever remembered', is palpable, although the minutes of the meeting were signed by only six, of which, three of whom were either vicar, churchwarden or sidesman.⁴⁶

Neither is this cavalier attitude towards signing the minutes unique to County Wicklow (a Dundalk vestry in 1783, for example, was signed by just sixteen people although 144 participated in a vote during the same meeting),⁴⁷ and it seems probable that many of the attendees at vestry meetings were not overly concerned about whether or not they signed the minutes whilst others were

incapable of signing the record. Notwithstanding developments in the provision of education during the eighteenth century, it is dubious that literacy levels would have improved to the extent suggested by the various vestry minutes. Forty-three of 161 signatures (27 per cent) to vestry meetings held at Delgany during the seventeenth century, representing twenty different individuals (out of a total of seventy-six individuals attending, or 26 per cent), had to indicate their approval, by means of a distinctive mark rather than a signature. By the decade 1720-9 the number of illiteracy marks had fallen substantially, but remained significant – twelve out of 206 (5.8 per cent), or seven of sixty-eight attending parishioners (10.3 per cent) were marking, rather than signing – but after that decade, illiteracy marks rarely occur in the records. In fact, only six of the signatories to all of the meetings held between 1730 and 1799 were unable to sign their name, and for thirty-seven years, between 1750 and 1787, all vestrymen could sign. In Newcastle, the situation was even better; only fifteen of the 230 individuals signing vestry minutes between June 1699 and May 1793 were unable to apply a signature, and Wicklow parish raised the standards even further, with just three of the 2,223 names recorded against vestry minutes between and October 1708 and September 1767 being the marks of illiterates. In the south, in rural Aghowle, the number of illiterate vestrymen held up somewhat more, but even there the figures for illiteracy-marks dipped after 1740, falling from 11.5 per cent and 11.3 per cent of all signatures in the periods 1707-20 and 1721-40, to 4.5 per cent in 1741-60 before dropping again to just 2.1 per cent in 1761-75.

It is true, of course, that an ability to sign one's name is not an indication of functional literacy, but the dramatic improvement in the ability of vestrymen to sign their names, evidenced most particularly in Delgany after 1730 and in Aghowle after 1740 is less likely a reflection of increased educational levels, and more likely an indication that the signatures of only a few parishioners were required to legally confirm the thrust of the minutes, and it was easier if those indicating their approval could actually read the minutes and sign them on their own. Even by 1861 when reliable denomination-specific literacy figures first become available (table 67), 14 per cent of all Protestant males over 5 years of age

were fully illiterate, in spite of nearly three decades of national education, and the Catholic illiteracy rate was nearly three times higher.

Table 67 – Male literacy rates in Wicklow, 1861.

	Established church			Catholics		
	R&W	RO	N. RoW	R&W	RO	N. RoW
Arklow	72.5%	11.5%	16.1%	38.7%	21.2%	40.1%
Ballinacor Nth	69.8%	12.5%	17.7%	38.5%	25.2%	36.4%
Ballinacor Sth	68.3%	16.1%	15.6%	42.4%	22.4%	35.1%
Newcastle	78.6%	9.3%	12.1%	39.5%	18.5%	42.0%
Rathdown	76.3%	11.1%	12.6%	48.6%	16.3%	35.1%
Shillelagh	75.0%	9.7%	15.3%	45.7%	20.2%	34.1%
Talbotstown Lr	83.4%	7.7%	8.9%	43.7%	17.3%	39.0%
Talbotstown Ur	77.4%	7.0%	15.6%	50.5%	18.1%	31.4%
County Wicklow	75.0%	10.6%	14.4%	42.7%	19.9%	37.3%

Source: *Census Ire., 1861*, pt iv, vol. i, pp 189-91, 193-4, 196-7, 199. Note: R&W indicates read and write; RO indicates read only and N. RoW indicates neither read nor write.

Steve Hindle notes another difficulty which may have been encountered by the vestry clerk at the end of a meeting. In Frampton in 1716 six persons signed the vestry book, but the clerk noted that ‘near twenty more men ran away to the alehouse before the work was half done’.⁴⁸ Such a scenario seems neither incredible, nor incredulous. The Easter vestry meeting, for example, marked the end of seven weeks of penitence and denial, so a spirit of revelry and celebration would not be out of place.⁴⁹ Furthermore, in an era when travel was difficult, meetings provided an opportunity for social intercourse. It seems at least likely, therefore, that attendees at the meeting would be more concerned with their social relationships than with their social responsibilities.

Thus, it would appear that the number of signatures against vestry minutes cannot be viewed with any certainty as representing the totality of the meetings’ attendance. Certainly, after 1729 the signatories to meetings that approved the applotment of the parish cess does not give any indication at all of the total number of attendees. For other meetings, it may be the case that if the vestry divided on a controversial issue, the number of signatories may possibly represent something between 50 and 100 per cent of the total attendance.⁵⁰ But for run-of-the-mill meetings, however, where decisions were approved by large majorities – likely the most common type of meeting – the number of signatories

to the minutes may have been representative of a larger, but unquantifiable, body of parishioners.

It is most likely to have been the case, therefore, that the numbers attending vestry meetings, though probably small, still represented either a majority of the Protestant, tax-paying parishioners in a parish, or included representatives of the parish's upper social classes, and that if sufficient numbers did not materialise, the meeting was adjourned. Toby Barnard has noted that 'important issues drew in the crowds. The humdrum meeting of the vestry – by far, the majority of occasions – held less allure', which, he argues, explains the seventy-two attendees at a meeting in St Nicholas, Cork, in 1748 to discuss a possible union and the 135 attendees at a 1715 meeting at Clones, held to discuss the construction of a new church.⁵¹ If, however, there were no contentious issues on the agenda, it probably proved more difficult to attract attendees, and vestry-meeting adjournments on account of poor attendance became increasingly frequent throughout the county during the peaceable times in the latter half of the eighteenth century. The repeated abandonment of vestry meetings because the parishioners failed to show further reinforces the argument that vestry meetings had to be reasonably representative of at least a large section of Protestant, cess-paying public opinion.

A creeping disenfranchisement: vestry politics, and the problem of Catholic pluralities

Of course, Catholics were parishioners too, regardless of whether they chose to enjoy the fruits of the reformed church or not, and, as parishioners, they had civil rights and responsibilities as well. But this presented difficulties. It was both sensible and desirable, for both confessional communities, that non-adherents to the Church of Ireland would be removed from involvement in the operation of the ecclesiastical affairs of a parish, but their exclusion from civil responsibilities was less desirable, and occasionally the involvement of Catholics in parish affairs attracted the close scrutiny of authorities, in order to ensure that the parish's ecclesiastical operations were not compromised by its contradictory secular responsibilities.

At the outset of the eighteenth century Catholics, as parishioners, were statutorily entitled to participate on an equal basis with Protestants in all votes at vestry meetings,⁵² although places with a sufficiency of Protestant parishioners doubtless adapted legal regulations to suit their local requirement.⁵³ Vestry participation was available, therefore, to those who funded the parish, irrespective of their confessional allegiances. Whilst this scenario may have been tolerable in areas where Protestantism was numerically strong, it could present difficulties if Protestants were heavily outnumbered by Catholics, and outvoted in the vestry. In order to resolve this problem, from the 1720s onwards, moves were initiated to more clearly delineate the civil and pastoral affairs of the parish, so that Catholic influence on matters pertaining to church affairs could be minimised, while leaving their participation in secular issues untouched. Creeping disenfranchisement provided the key, and proceeded as follows:

Table 68 – Disenfranchising Catholics in the vestry

Year	Statute	Catholics disbarred from ...
1723	10 George I, c. 6,	... voting on issues regarding the construction of new churches
1725	12 George I, c. 9	... voting on issues regarding the repair of existing churches
1749	23 George II, c. 12	... voting on payments for parish clerks
1785	25 George III, c. 58	... voting for the election of churchwardens

It is noticeable that all of these areas were associated with various aspects of the management of the ecclesiastical functions of the parish, but Catholic participation in the civil aspects of the operation of the parish was never legally curtailed. Neither were Catholics ever formally disallowed from attending vestry meetings and this included meetings which were called to consider ecclesiastical issues. John Finlay, barrister and author of numerous law books and guides,⁵⁴ observed that ‘the statuteable disability ... is confined to the act of voting, and there seems to be no legal objection to Roman Catholics, as members of vestry, attending and giving their opinions on those subjects; although they are disabled from voting upon them: indeed it often may be useful to do so, in order that any objections applying to the assessment or applotment may be obviated in the first instance’.⁵⁵

This gradual exclusion of Catholics from participation in various vestry votes was based, not on religious prejudice, but on a requirement to ensure the

efficient running of local units of the Established Church. Of course, legal rights are one thing, but having the right to attend a meeting does not necessarily imply attendance, and some parishes may have resolved the problems of overwhelming Catholic voting-strength at earlier times, or in their own ways.⁵⁶ There is, however, evidence – sometimes certain, more often circumstantial – of Catholic attendance at parish meetings in some parishes in Wicklow. In Donard parish, for example, the vestry minutes for the 1760s and 1770s regularly hint at the presence and participation of Catholics at vestry meetings. A 1763 vestry notes that the churchwardens accounts [for 1762] were ‘made up ... to the satisfaction of the *parishioners*’ whilst the applotment of cesses, from which Catholics had been excluded (table 68), were ‘approved by ... the *Protestant parishioners*’ [my italics].⁵⁷ This distinction between ‘parishioners’ and ‘Protestant parishioners’ is important, suggesting an attendance which included Catholics, who were permitted to consider and approve the accounts, but who could not participate in the approval of the cess applotment.⁵⁸ The Easter vestry in the same parish in 1798, called to affirm a belief in the ‘blessings of the British constitution’ and which was ‘more numerously attended by the parishioners of all religious persuasions than any ever rememb[ered]’, explicitly confirms that at the end of the eighteenth century, and after the various disenfranchising initiatives, the vestry door still remained ajar for recusants.⁵⁹

The change in emphasis in the vestry minutes – between ‘parishioners’ and ‘Protestant parishioners’ – is not unique to Donard. Similarly examples can be seen in Bray parish, where most vestry meetings note that decisions were approved by the ‘parishioners’ until 1777 after which approval was granted by the ‘Protestant parishioners’ and in Carlow, where the same distinction was introduced after 1778.⁶⁰ Also, in Delgany from 1751 the parish clerk’s salary was usually assessed at separate meetings, and approved by Protestant parishioners (table 68), and in Aghowle separate signatures can be observed against the election of churchwardens and the approval of the cess, permitting different people to participate in either votes.⁶¹ Delgany parish often went so far as to hold a separate vestry meeting to approve the clerk’s salary, and sometimes the meeting regarding the clerk’s salary was held on the same day as meetings held for other

purposes.⁶² Presumably, the purpose of the separate meetings allowed for the smooth exclusion of Catholics from the meeting considering the clerk's salary, while permitting their participation in the civil aspects of parish business.

Catholic participation at vestry meetings can be more rigorously determined by examining the signatures of those approving the vestry minutes, but two difficulties emerge with this approach. First, as has been noted earlier, there is considerable doubt that the list of signatures approving vestry minutes fully represents the attendance at those meetings, so even failure to identify Catholics does not imply their non-attendance, and the lower Catholic literacy rates (table 67) would further reduce the likelihood of Catholics signing the records. Secondly, determining the religious persuasion of attendees is fraught with difficulties. Surnames and first-names may give indications as to likely religious backgrounds, but those determinations can never be definite. For Wicklow parish the Catholic parish registers are available, and these can be used to identify the attendance of probable Catholics at the vestry, but, as was seen in chapter six, even the presence of names in a baptismal register can occasionally be misleading.⁶³ The 1766 religious census provides more certainty about confessional allegiances, but appropriately complete name-listings from this survey for the region under study are only available for Rathdrum and Aghowle in County Wicklow, and for Monkstown in south Dublin, so attempts to definitively identify Catholics at parish meetings must be limited to just a handful of regions.⁶⁴ Furthermore, these four parochial unions, Aghowle, Monkstown, Rathdrum and Wicklow, contained un-representatively large Protestant minorities, so Catholic attendance at meetings in these parts is likely to have been more curtailed than in many other areas of Wicklow, and particularly in the west of the county.

In Aghowle, a strongly Protestant region in the south of the county, and the scene of considerable disruption during the civil war in 1798, exclusion of Catholics from participation at the vestry appears to have been nearly total, and in Rathdrum, also containing a strong Protestant element, Catholic exclusion was also very substantial (figure 57 for Protestant proportions). In Aghowle, of the fifty-two different signatories to vestry minutes held between January 1760 and December 1771, thirty-five were certainly Protestants, a further ten were likely to

have been Protestant and only two may have been Catholics, although none definitely were (table 69). In Rathdrum, during the course of a slightly longer period (1758-1775), only four of 113 individual attendees may have been Catholic, and while there is a little more certainty about the denominational allegiance of these few Rathdrum attendees, some of them may yet have also been Protestants (table 69). One of the four, James Bennett, was a regular attendee at meetings, signing the minute of nine meetings between 1758 and 1763. Importantly, he was living in Rathdrum town rather than in a rural area because it seems probable, given the denominational bias associated with land-holding at that time, that Catholics would more likely have achieved the fiscal qualification for participation in vestry votes by virtue of wealth accumulated through manufacture or the provision of tertiary services, than through agriculture.⁶⁵ The evidence also points to the total exclusion of Catholics from parish involvement in Wicklow parish, where none of the near-100 signatories at meetings held between 1760 and 1767 can be identified unambiguously as Catholics (table 69).

Only in Monkstown in south Dublin can the certain attendance of Catholics be definitively observed (table 69). At parish meetings held in the dozen years between 1760 and 1771 at least nine Catholic individuals attended one or more meeting, including Christopher Byrne (two meetings), Daniel Byrne (two meetings), Robert Monahan (three meetings) and Walter Burke (three meetings), each of whom can be definitively identified in the 1766 census. The most prolific Catholic attendee was John Cunniam, who signed eight minutes between 1763 and 1770.⁶⁶ At one meeting during this time Catholics may even have formed the majority of the attendees, but that meeting only sought to consider the erection of a wall between William Cunniam's tenancy and the churchyard. Cunniam was a Catholic, and the meeting was signed by four Catholics and just three Protestants. It is not possible to pass definitive judgement on the attendance of Catholics in any of these parishes, because of the doubts, highlighted above, which remain over the representative nature of the signatories to minutes, but from what evidence is available, it would appear that, Catholic participation while not unknown, was probably not common either.

Table 69 - Catholic participation in the vestry in four parishes in Wicklow region, c. 1766.

Parish	Protestant		Unk.	Catholic		Total
	Probably	Certainly		Possibly	Certainly	
Aghowle (1760-71)	10	35	5	2	0	52
Rathdrum (1758-75)	25	75	9	4	0	113
Wicklow (1760-7)	5	79	12	0	0	96
Monkstown (1760-71)	8	40	12	2	9	71

Note: The figures indicate the number of individuals attending the meetings. Thus, seventy-one different people attended Monkstown's vestry meetings between 1760 and 1771, of which nine were certainly Catholics.

Parish pews and parish politics: the social hierarchies underpinning community order

So, the workings of the parish vestry were clearly primarily governed by a confessional hierarchy, but there were other hierarchies too – social hierarchies – and these became more apparent, and more imposed, with the passage of time. Within the parish, and within the church, two hierarchies, at times complementary, at other times, competitive, were evident. During divine service, the seating arrangements within the parish could reflect a family's wealth or their historical links with the parish, or both. Church pews during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were not available on a first-come-first-served basis, but were the personal property of parishioners, who had had either the wherewithal or the good fortune to purchase them, and they could be, subject to local rules, sold or exchanged, just like any other type of property.

The typical eighteenth-century pew was large, containing a door, and perhaps even glazed windows – 'high square erections in which our ancestors concealed themselves from the gaze of their neighbours'.⁶⁷ Two factors governed the cost of purchasing a pew – its location and its size. The more central the pew and the closer it was to the chancel, the greater was its attraction. God may have been omnipresent in the eighteenth-century parish church – but a prominent pew, close to the minister, and close to the serious action, was also desirable, just in case! Size mattered, too, and, unsurprisingly, the larger the pew, the more it cost. In 1698 a vestry meeting in Powerscourt authorised that Lord Meath's seat 'should be enlarged something more' and in 1725 in Bray, John Edwards was permitted to

expand his pew by twelve inches, thus shifting his neighbours' pews further from the chancel.⁶⁸ In Wicklow in 1715, Jeremiah Enerdorn, who possessed part of seat number 27, far removed from the chancel, enhanced his social standing within the community, by purchasing John Craddock's part of a seat, located nearer the chancel, when Craddock died, and in the same parish in 1753 Isaac Marks, having being churchwarden in 1751 and 1752, was permitted to enlarge his seat.⁶⁹ Visual and public changes such as these must surely have impressed on all parishioners the social importance of the respective families, and their elevated status within the community. Pomp and ceremony similarly surrounded the allocation of new seats to their owners. In Powerscourt in 1709 newly constructed seats were to be distributed among various parishioners, and the vestry specified that on the Sunday of their distribution each of the new owners were to be publicly presented with their seats, ordering 'that the sexton ... shew the said seats the next Sunday to the severall parishionrs therein mentioned [in the schedule]'.⁷⁰

In other cases, the pew was not owned by a family, but was attached to property or was in the possession of a guild.⁷¹ Pews attached to property passed into new ownership when the property was sold or transferred. In Newcastle, a reallocation of seating arrangements in the parish church in 1783, specifically notes that the pews were linked to houses or estates, rather than to people. Thus, for example, seat 21 was 'appurtenant to the mansion house of Woodstock, in the possession of Arthur Knox esq', or seat 24 was 'appurten[an]t to Leamore, in Mr Hartley's possession'.⁷² In Delgany, however, at about the same time, Skeffington Smyth, the new owner of Altidore House, claimed a prominent pew in the church, on the basis of his new purchase, but was unsuccessful.⁷³

In Aghowle, in 1725, if anyone in possession of a seat left the townland then the seat was to be first offered to the new occupants of the townland, and only if the offer was refused could the current proprietor proceed to sell the seat to any other parishioner'.⁷⁴ Trade-ownership is evident in a 1725 allocation of seats in Bray church; a seat which had been part-owned by Mathew Casson, the miller of Bray, was allocated to William Gracewood, as 'ye present miller ... is a papist & hath no occasion for a seat'. The seat remained allocated to the town's miller, however, as Gracewood was only granted the seat 'until said miller of Bray or his

successors millers of Bray shall become Protestants & enjoy Casson's holding'.⁷⁵ Also, in Bray, seats were allocated to the inhabitants of named townlands – Old Court, Rahanaclegg and Newtown Kilruddery, and families, being Protestant – and the back seat on the north side was reserved for the parish, for use by the poor.⁷⁶ In similar fashion, in neighbouring Powerscourt in 1736 the inhabitants of Killough townland were granted a seat in the gallery, provided they funded the construction themselves.⁷⁷

Selling church accommodation could be profitable for the parish. Wicklow parish paid for the construction of new pews in 1709, and made a handsome profit, which helped fund a substantial church rebuilding project, by selling the rights to the pews for £108:5:00. The construction cost of the pews had only amounted to £52.⁷⁸ Once a seat was purchased, it effectively belonged to the owner or owners (they could be shared),⁷⁹ and could not be used by the general public, except in exceptional circumstances. Furthermore, rights to a pew, and to the location of a pew within the church, were recognised by the parish as being customary and enduring. Since a church pew was a form of property, it typically could not be usurped by new arrivals, or 'new money', and ancient inhabitants and hereditary rights were given strict precedence. The evidence for this is substantial, and compelling. In Wicklow parish, when seats were being distributed in 1709 following the rebuilding of the church, the vestry dictated that 'parishners who formerly had seats in the old church shall have their seats situated in the new church as they were in the old'.⁸⁰ Bray parish opened a new vestry book in 1739, but was careful to ensure that the names of pew-owners were carefully recorded from the old book before it was discarded 'in order to prevent disputes for seats for ye time to come by any of ye said parishioners, but that unity and amity may be ... among them'.⁸¹ In Delgany towards the latter end of the eighteenth century, when the pews were being distributed in the new parish church, first call on the new pews was given to those who were in possession of seats in the old church, which were held according to a distribution of 1726 ('the said seats to be held in the order specified in the Act of Vestry of the 4th of April 1726'), some six decades previously.⁸² Only Newcastle retained the option of bucking this trend – 'it has been the usage time immemorial for the minister, churchwardens &

majority of parishioners of the Parish of Newcastle assembled in vestry finally & inalterably to dispose of the seats in the church' – although even there, precedents and historical rights to property appear to have held sway at redistribution of pews, following the construction of a new parish church in the 1780s.⁸³

The arrangements for the many parishioners misfortunate enough not to possess a seat are less clear, and it is not known if the provision of seating for the poor was commonplace, or whether pew-less worshipers typically had to stand at the back of the church.⁸⁴ Blessington provided seating for the poor ('two new pews' from 1720, Bray certainly had a parish pew and 'two little seats or pues' from 1725 and Rathdrum's new church, constructed at the end of the eighteenth century, included accommodation for those without their own personal pew.⁸⁵ Newcastle, authorising the building of a new church in 1783, provided a new pew – just one, of about three dozen seats – for 'the use of the inhabitants in general of the sd parish' and Delgany ambitiously planned to provide five seats for 'the poor & domestics' in its new church, but the demand for seats proved so great that those ambitions were later considerably curtailed.⁸⁶ Bearing in mind the social hierarchies within the eighteenth-century community, it is no surprise to find that the parish seat at Newcastle was located at the back of the church, on the north side, as was also the location of the parish seat in Bray in 1725.⁸⁷ By 1757 the Bray pew had become dilapidated, and was granted to William Hodson of Oldcourt, 'provided he do repair the same at his own charge and do fit up another seat instead thereof for the poor of the parish under the Church Wardens pue and at the back of the gallery'.⁸⁸ Thus, Bray's poor were shifted from the back of the church, up the stairs and out of the way. Such was the case too in Newcastle, too, when the parish authorised the provision of two additional 'seats in the gallery – for the use of the parish at large'.⁸⁹ Other parishes remain silent on the issue of church accommodation, but it seems probable that most parish churches would have provided rudimentary benches for non-pew owners at the very least.⁹⁰

Doubtless, such an arrangement would have been considered acceptable for any parish's poor. However, since pews were only redistributed occasionally, the seating arrangements within the church more often reflected an historical social hierarchy, rather than a contemporary one. Pews usually only became

available following church reconstruction or when an owner left the parish, and, thus, new parishioners, regardless of how wealthy they were, could find it difficult to have their social status reflected within their church's premises during divine service, and it was not uncommon for the status of ancient parishioners to be exalted over than that of newcomers, regardless of their respective standings within the community. Church rebuilding in Wicklow in 1709 and in Delgany in the late 1780s provided an opportunity to redistribute seating, but in both instances, it was determined that the order of seating in the new churches would be the same as in the old.⁹¹ The conflicts, disputes and rancour surrounding the distribution of pews in Delgany is particularly well documented in the parish's minutes, and provides the clearest example for any part of County Wicklow of the importance that was placed by contemporaries on pew-ownership in the eighteenth century.

Limited accommodation in the new building meant that there were few seats available for 'new parishioners' – meaning those who did not possess a pew in the old church – but since church-accommodation had previously been distributed in 1726, families could have been based in the parish for generations by the 1780s and still not have secured a pew.⁹² The initial proposals for reallocation of seats, adopted by the vestry in 1787, guaranteed seats to all who could trace their claims back to the 1726 distribution provided a pro-rata charge of eight guineas per seat was paid.⁹³ That was not the end of the matter, however, and further discussion on the issue proceeded during construction of the church, and continued even after the church was opened, on 3 July 1791, four years after the issue was first considered. The debate proved so contentious that ultimately an emergency vestry meeting had to be held on 25 July 1791, just six days before the archbishop arrived to consecrate the church, in order to settle outstanding issues of proprietorship. Likely, this was a heated meeting, too, as the claims of two old proprietors were dismissed because they were paupers, a vestry vote was held to decide the merits of competing claims on another seat,⁹⁴ and another vote – which divided 18 against 17 – was held, to adopt the following resolution:

No claim to a pew in the new church be admitted as valid, in preference to, & before we have adjusted, the several claims of the heirs at law of the original proprietors, which heirs at law are at present possessed of house or land within the union...⁹⁵

and families even fell out over the issue. Widow Jones of Killincarrig claimed her late husband's seat, but the vestry rejected her claim, in favour of her son, William.⁹⁶

Thus, for four years the issue of church accommodation had exercised the parish, provoking unprecedented wrangling among the parishioners. At its core, this conflict was essentially about whether ancient property rights or contemporary wealth should hold sway. It was particularly important because, since the previous distribution of seats had occurred more than six decades previously, this distribution was likely to represent the only opportunity for many to have their importance and status publicly recognised by the parish. Decisions that were taken by the vestry regarding status and social standing would remain evident for a long time after the unseemly squabbling had faded from immediate memories. The ultimate allocation is interesting, too. Once the dust had settled, Delgany chose primarily to respect longevity within the parish as the basis for receipt of a pew in the new, but the removal of seating rights from two paupers shows that ancient rights were considered conditional on proprietors having some limited level of wealth, and social respectability.

The social inertia that underpinned the possession of a church pew was also an inspiration for new parishioners or converts to Protestantism to quickly fill the position of churchwarden. Most parishes – and probably all – provided a dedicated, and prominent, seat for the churchwarden, to reflect his elevated position within the parish community. Since newcomers could not expect to rapidly acquire their own personal accommodation within the church, their election as a churchwarden immediately resolved such difficulties, ensuring that they did not have to mingle with the plebeian parishioners, huddled at the back of the church. In Monkstown, for example, John Malpas, a wealthy Catholic merchant, was excluded from local office before 1768, but in that year he

converted to Protestantism and was appointed churchwarden. Similarly, in Crumlin parish, Francis Purcell, a wealthy Catholic parishioner, converted to Protestantism in 1768, and was subsequently elected as churchwarden in 1769, 1770 and 1771.⁹⁷

Being an outward sign of the place held by a family within the community, pews were jealously guarded, and could be the subject of intrigues. At Newcastle, John Armstrong's possession of a half-seat in the gallery was approved by the vestry in April 1753, but was overturned the following October, because 'the late act made in favour of John Armstrong was fraudently [sic] obtained'.⁹⁸ Some parishes provided locks on the pew doors to discourage trespass,⁹⁹ and although the evidence is inconclusive, locks were probably commonplace. In Wicklow parish in 1729 the churchwardens were instructed to lock up vacant pews lest people 'who have no right to the said seats to sit in same', and Richard McGrath, churchwarden in the same parish in 1763, included a payment of 13*d.* for two keys for the churchwardens' seat in his annual accounts.¹⁰⁰ In Delgany, an initial attempt to agree the allocation of the new church's seats, in 1790, decided not to include two seats in the distribution, ordering 'the keys to remain, till further orders, with the rector'.¹⁰¹ Later, in 1816 in Powerscourt, a dispute over a seat was resolved with the instruction that 'you [Henry Evans, who was awarded the seat] might have the seat properly registered [recorded in the vestry book] and then immediately put a lock on it' and in 1829 in Newcastle a pew owner, Colonel Whaley, was requested to 'allow his pew to be left open [unlocked], for the accommodation of the parishioners who are in want of seats'.¹⁰²

Ownership of a pew was not absolute, however, and with ownership came responsibility. The owner had to be resident and once the family left the parish, the pew was, depending on local rules, either surrendered to the vestry or sold to another parishioner.¹⁰³ In Wicklow, the departing owner had to return the pew to the churchwardens, and would receive a part-reimbursement, although this requirement could be waived if considered expedient.¹⁰⁴ Thus, the wealthy and benevolent Catherine Eaton, introduced earlier in chapter six, was departing the parish in 1760, but she was permitted to maintain possession of the seat, and 'to decorate the same in such manner as they shall think proper, providing always the

key of said seat shall remain (during the absence of Miss Eaton) with the sexton of said church for the admission of such parishioners as shall be approved of'.¹⁰⁵

Doubtless, social standing was an important consideration for those 'approved of' parishioners.¹⁰⁶ Also in Wicklow, the proprietors were expected to ensure that their pews were well maintained, although painting and decorating the pews, which had earlier been the practice, was disallowed in 1771.¹⁰⁷ Similarly, in Rathdrum in 1784 the vestry clerk was instructed to warn pew-owners to 'have them repaired before Easter Sunday next [6 days later] on pain of forfeiting such seat as is not repaired'.¹⁰⁸

Parishes also tried to maintain control over the subsequent sale of seats, even after parishioners had initially purchased them. A vestry meeting in Aghowle in 1725, for example, forbade pew-owners from selling their seats unless prior approval for the transaction had been granted by the parish, and similar rules were adopted in other parishes.¹⁰⁹ The reasoning behind decisions such as these was practical, rather than authoritarian, however, because, since disputes over pew-ownership were not uncommon, it was imperative for the parish to be aware of the identity of the proprietors.¹¹⁰ It is notable, therefore, that when a new vestry book was purchased, it was common for the list of pew-owners to be carefully transcribed into the new book, before the old one was discarded.¹¹¹

Also, in exceptional circumstances, a pew could be commandeered and the proprietors compensated, if the good of the parish necessitated such action, although this was rare. In Wicklow in 1725, the erection of a new gallery to accommodate the parish's free school, required that 'liberty be given for erecting and carrying up a pair of stairs to ye afores'd gallery in the seat nobr 9 [seat number 9] & that reparation be made for said seat'.¹¹² It is perhaps a further indication of the importance of property rights, however, that at the next vestry meeting it was decided that the stairs would be rerouted through the vestry room, thus preserving pew number nine intact.¹¹³ Pew-access rights could be temporarily suspended, too, if circumstances deemed it necessary. In 1767, the ubiquitous Catherine Eaton was granted permission to construct a vault in the church, under some pews, and was permitted to remove these pews during the construction

period, although no arrangements are recorded for the discommoded pew-owners.¹¹⁴

There were other methods, too, whereby one could gain the rights to a pew, but most involved the investment of, sometimes considerable, sums of money. As a reward for funding the reconstruction of Bray church, Thomas Tisdall, Forster Adair and William Philips were each, in 1770, granted ground within the church for the construction of a pew 'uniform with the other seats in the said church'.¹¹⁵ In the same parish, Mr Hill, in 1751, was granted a 'small waste [dilapidated] seat at the west end of the church ... provided he erects a new pue thereon', and, as was seen earlier, William Hodson was similarly favoured, in 1757, when permitted to rebuild the dilapidated parish pew for his own purposes.¹¹⁶ These agreements between Hodson and Hill and the parish vestry are illuminating. First, they present a fleeting glimpse inside the eighteenth-century parish church, in which dilapidated seats may have been not uncommon. Secondly, they suggest a higgledy-piggledy seating infrastructure within churches, with seats constructed at different times, to different design standards. In Delgany, in 1725, with Catholics no longer permitted to vote down money for church improvement, a vestry meeting approved the raising of £15 to replace the seating in the church, 'the old seats also being inconveniently built, to the intent the whole may be done regular and uniform'.¹¹⁷ Also, Hodson's new seat is revealing, as to contemporary perceptions of the parish's social hierarchy. A dilapidated pew may have been adequate for the parish poor, reflecting their low social status, but it was not sufficient for William Hodson!

Hierarchies were also evident within the vestry meeting, but unlike those governing the seating arrangements in the church, these were hierarchies based on contemporary social status rather than on historical chance. Despite the voluminous material that has been written about the vestry, much remains unknown about the operation of the vestry meeting in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The key sources for the operation of the vestry meeting are the minutes of the meetings, but, as has been seen, these can be, for various reasons, misleading. In spite of this, however, there is evidence to suggest that those in attendance at the vestry were aware of the solemnity of the occasion, and

were attentive to the customs and traditions upon which the operational rules of the parish's governance were constructed. Earlier it was observed that there is substantial doubt that the signatories approving vestry minutes represented the total number of attendees at the meetings, and may often be incomplete. In spite of this, however, the order in which the signatories signed their names appears usually to reflect an operational hierarchy within the vestry. Typically, vestry minutes were signed first by the minister, and then by the churchwardens, the most exalted of the parishioners.¹¹⁸ If the parish clerk signed, his was usually the last signature. Most importantly, however, the signatures of the parishioners that follow those of the churchwarden were usually presented in a strict hierarchical order. In the Delgany vestry minutes, the representatives of the Scotts of Ballygannon first sign vestry minutes in 1682, and subsequently, any time a member of the Scott family signed minutes, their signature is almost always presented immediately after the churchwardens. This pre-eminent positioning of the Scotts remained through generations, with the signatures of Richard Scott (signed in 1682), followed by Hopton Scott (signed between 1700-19) followed by John Scott (1737-67), followed by Hopton Scott (1769-89) followed by John P[endred] Scott (1790-2) usually heading the list of approving parishioners.

Occasionally, an attending Scott was knocked off the top spot. A 1792 vestry meeting, called to discuss a grievous problem with the new church, was attended by two baronets, Sir Skeffington Smyth of Tinny Park, and Sir Robert Hodson, of Hollybrook, and both signed the minutes before John Pendred Scott.¹¹⁹ This was the only meeting that Hodson attended, but Smyth had previously attended two other meetings, in 1790 and 1791, and at both of these he was also the first parishioner to sign the minutes. It is telling that at the first of these two meetings John Pendred Scott signed ahead of Smyth, because he was churchwarden that year, but at the second meeting Scott's signature immediately follows Smyth's.¹²⁰ It is noteworthy, too, that the three meetings that were attended by either of the two baronets were ones at which serious issues were up for debate. In the case of Smyth's attendance at the earlier meetings, the attraction on both occasions was the issue of pew ownership, and at the second of these meetings Smyth secured the second seat on the south side of the new church, just behind the

earl of Meath's, although his claim to a second seat – the front one on the north side – which was based on his recent purchase of Altidore demesne, was rejected.¹²¹ Hodson, however, was not allocated a seat at this time, representing further evidence that while title may have predominated in the vestry, longevity took precedence in the church.¹²² Neither was Smyth the only titled person to show a belated interest in the proceedings of the vestry when pew-ownership was at stake. When the parish seats were being allocated in 1726, Lord Meath, the largest, and wealthiest, landowner in the area, was in attendance, the only occasion when he attended a vestry meeting in person, and in neighbouring Newcastle, William Wainright, Lord Fitzwilliam's agent, made a rare appearance at a parish meeting in March 1783, which was called to consider the rebuilding of the church, and the distribution of pews.¹²³

There may even be significance to the sequencing of the two baronet's signatures at the 1792 Delgany vestry meeting, with Smyth signing before Hodson, who had only recently acquired the title. In exceptional circumstances, too, rank could be overturned and the honour of being the first signatory of the minutes, after the churchwardens, could be presented to an individual who had performed a considerable public service. The minutes of the Delgany vestry meeting in April 1787, which authorised acceptance of Peter LaTouche's proposal that he be permitted to fund and build a new church for the parish, were signed by LaTouche, immediately after the churchwardens, and ahead of Hopton Scott, and his benefactions were further honoured, later, by his appointment as churchwarden in 1789, 1791 and 1799.¹²⁴ These were probably shrewd appointments by the parish because LaTouche's claim to a prominent pew in the new church, despite his having 'expended five thousand pounds on the spot',¹²⁵ had been rejected in favour of Miss Morris of Rathdown, whose family had been based in the region at least since the 1660s. LaTouche ultimately only managed to acquire a family seat when he was curmudgeonly granted the rear seat on the north side, following the rejection of a claim by an old proprietor.¹²⁶ At the very least, the parish could not have been accused of breaching historical traditions, or selling its soul to uppity, wealthy newcomers.

Neither is this hierarchical authorisation of vestry minutes just a feature of the Delgany vestry meetings. All parishes practised it. William Patrickson was usually first to sign the Powerscourt minutes, after the churchwardens, unless Viscount Powerscourt attended, in which case Patrickson signed immediately after Powerscourt's.¹²⁷ In Monkstown, Viscount Ranelagh was a regular attendee at meetings in the 1760s, and was churchwarden twice, in 1766 and 1767.¹²⁸ He was always the first parishioner to sign the meetings' minutes, immediately after the churchwardens,¹²⁹ and in Newcastle, the Archers of Mount John, ancient inhabitants, were notably prominent.

The social hierarchy within the vestry that operated between titled parishioners operated at lower levels, too, although with less consistency. In the early years of the Delgany parish, for example, Richard Massey signed after Hopton Scott, unless James Fox senior was present, in which case, he took precedence, as did John Bunn, of Kindlestown.¹³⁰ James Fox senior usually signed before Bunn, and James Fox junior signed after him. The order of appearance of signatures cannot be said to be as clear-cut at middling social levels, and other, less prominent and less frequently occurring, signatures are less formally ordered. There remains sufficient consistency, however, to support the contention that vestry meetings, while they may often have been contentious, and even raucous, were, nonetheless, conducted subject to strict guidelines, which were firmly rooted in traditions which respected title, and the social importance of the attending individuals. Perhaps this social ordering accounts for the probability that the list of signatures approving vestry minutes was less representative of the true attendance at meetings than has hitherto been presumed. If just a handful of the parishioners – especially if they were eminent – at a meeting put their names to the minutes, this may have been viewed as sufficient authorisation by the entire parish.

No taxation without representation: the declining loyalty of the Protestant parishioner

Earlier, it was noted that from about the latter half of the eighteenth century an increasing number of meetings were adjourned or postponed because of insufficient numbers attending. If this trend is analysed, one is left with a distinct impression that ideas of the function, duties and powers of the parish changed

radically during the course of the eighteenth century. During the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries a strong commitment to the parish amongst Protestants is evident, but this appears to have weakened over time. While the reasons underlying this change are uncertain, they may be related to the evolving political fortunes of Irish Protestantism. During the seventeenth century, the Protestant position had withstood three serious challenges to their authority, which ultimately lead to the subjugation of organised Catholic resistance by the commencement of the eighteenth century. It seems probable, therefore, that Protestants initially viewed parish structures as a bulwark against Catholic influence, and a means by which a sense of Protestant identity could be reinforced and protected. As the eighteenth century progressed and the Catholic threat to Protestant authority receded, however, the perceived need for Protestant solidarity in the face of hostile Catholicism declined.

At the outset of the eighteenth century the parish appears to have functioned reasonably smoothly throughout Wicklow. There are few recorded instances of parish meetings being adjourned on account of the non-attendance of parishioners. The annual cess was, in the main, collected diligently and churchwardens' accounts were, with some exceptions, presented on time, and with little trouble. When large cesses were levied for church reconstruction, expansion or repair they were borne magnanimously by parishioners and many vestries appear to have been content to authorise church expansion and the construction of new pew-accommodation, despite these improvements usually being of benefit just to the wealthiest inhabitants of the parish. Evidence also suggests that there was a belief current that all inhabitants of the parish, regardless of their religion, were parishioners, although how widespread this belief was, is far from clear.¹³¹

As the century progressed, however, parishioners' concepts regarding the importance of the parish changed to such a degree that the methods of operation within parishes had to be adjusted to meet these newly evolving perceptions, and the declining relative strength of Protestantism throughout the region (chapter two) must also have been a factor. Attendance at vestry meetings fell, and, as has been noted, adjournment of vestry meetings, even the all-important Easter vestry meeting, became more common. At Powerscourt in 1778, for example, the Easter

vestry meeting called to select churchwardens was adjourned for one week, 'there not being sufficient numbers of persons to hold a vestry' and the postponement of the Easter vestry the following year in Wicklow parish ('only two parishioners appearing') are an illustration of an increasingly familiar trend.¹³² Cesses, too, were a source of further concern, and since parishes could not operate without funds, the postponement of meetings for setting the level of the cess exaggerated administrative problems. In Wicklow parish, meetings to approve the annual cess were regularly postponed from the 1750s onwards because of poor attendance¹³³ and in 1774 a meeting to confirm that parish's applotment was adjourned for a number of hours, to allow the clerk and sexton to tout for attendees at the reconvened meeting – 'in order to procure the attendance of more parishioners than what the law required'.¹³⁴ In strongly Protestant Rathdrum (figure 57) the rot appears to have set in at a later date, with adjournments because of poor attendance not becoming commonplace until the 1780s.¹³⁵

Problems with parish-officers failing to produce their accounts on time also became more common during mid-century, although moral persuasion and threats of legal action were usually sufficient to spur recalcitrant churchwardens into organising the collecting of the necessary tax. Recompense for expenses and payment for service was also required. Rathdrum parish had to introduce annual payments to churchwardens in 1764, for instance, following a number of instances of churchwardens failing to settle their accounts.¹³⁶ The costly option of pursuing a defaulting churchwarden in the courts was always open to a parish, but was only ever reluctantly pursued.¹³⁷

Trends towards increased exclusivity are evident, too, and in the latter decades of the eighteenth century the social standing of the churchwardens appears to have generally increased, likely as a result of the narrowing of the parish franchise. There was also a growing tendency for extra parish accommodation to be funded by the new pew owners, rather than by the parish at large, and for pew owners to be requested to pay disproportionately for church repair and capital expenditure projects. In Delgany, for instance, the rebuilding of the church in the 1660s and the construction of a gallery in 1695 were both funded by the levying of taxes on the parish at large. Within a generation of the latter

construction, however, another gallery was required, but this time the construction was to be funded by those who were to have pews in the new gallery.¹³⁸

Exclusivity was also evident in the qualifications for poor relief, and, in line with the progressive disenfranchising of Catholics at the vestry meeting (table 68), there was also an observable tendency for Catholics to be removed from Protestant charity lists. Throughout Wicklow poor relief was provided out of charity collections on Sundays and holy days rather than out of parish cesses, so available funds were exclusively contributed by church-going Protestants. In Carlow parish, in 1695, the vestry resolved that 'It is further unanimously agreed ... that noe pson shall be entred into the Poore book of the sd Parrish to be releiv'd out of the Collections and offrings of ye said Church but such as are of ye Comunion of ye church and doe duly attend the srvice', and in Aghowle, Thomas Lenon was to be paid relief for clothing him, 'provided he attends the Church on Sundays regularly'.¹³⁹ Bray parish followed the same course in 1756, instructing that money from charity collections would henceforth be restricted to Protestants, implying that Catholics had previously been in receipt of relief.¹⁴⁰ Elsewhere, greater magnanimity was evidenced. In neighbouring Delgany in 1751 the vestry instructed that no more than sixteen persons were to be admitted to the poor list, of which only twelve were to be Protestants,¹⁴¹ and three decades later, in 1780, Powerscourt parish also imposed a limit on the number of people eligible for poor relief, specifying that ten were to be Protestants and ten, 'papists'.¹⁴² These decisions by the Powerscourt and Delgany parishioners appear as remarkably magnanimous gestures, in an era not known for blatant religious tolerance, although two factors may make them less magnanimous than they may at first appear. First, it is possible that Catholics were participating in the vestry meetings, and influencing the decisions. Although the evidence presented earlier for Catholic participation at meetings in County Wicklow strongly implied Catholic disenfranchisement, the evidence from Monkstown does suggest that individual parishes may have applied their own, bespoke solutions.¹⁴³ It should be remembered that Catholic disenfranchisement from parish votes was legally restricted to issues concerning church capital investment, the election of churchwardens or the determination of the clerk's salary (table 68),¹⁴⁴ so no

practical bar should have been presented to Catholic voting on issues of poor relief. Secondly, although Delgany voted to permit four Catholics to receive relief, it is doubtful if this decision was ever implemented, and even if it was, the decision must have subsequently been overturned – but unrecorded – at a later parish meeting. For a decade and a half following the sanctioning of poor relief to Catholics there is no further mention in the vestry minutes of any transactions regarding the poor list. From 1765 onwards, however, the minutes regularly record new additions to the list in the place of recipients who were removed from the list, usually on account of their death, during the year. Virtually all of the names (Elizabeth Holmes, John Dable and Rachel Dunwiddle,¹⁴⁵ for example) can either be identified as Protestants or, at least, sound distinctly non-Irish. More conclusively, the minutes of a meeting of May 1789 noted that charity subscriptions were running at such a level as to facilitate the expansion of the poor list from twelve to fourteen names.¹⁴⁶ However, since the parish had authorised in 1751 that the poor list could only hold sixteen names, including twelve Protestants, then the fact that the poor list was limited to just twelve in 1789 must indicate that the magnanimous gesture of 1751 decision had either been abandoned or never implemented in the first place.

Of course, many of the changes in parish organisation, including the disenfranchising of Catholics from Church-related issues, made sense. If only a handful of practising parishioners were permitted to use the seats in a newly erected gallery, why should the cost of construction be borne by the entire parish? Why should an insurmountable Catholic plurality be permitted to block expenditure on essential repairs required to maintain the capital assets of the legal church, or frustrate the levying of taxation, vital for the smooth operation of the parish? Why should Catholics receive the benefits of Protestant charity if they freely opted to forego the benefits of an enlightened reformed religion? Changing attitudes, such as these, reflect an evolving metamorphosis in the Protestant consciousness as to the duties and rights of parishioners, which were biased towards residence at the beginning of the eighteenth century and biased towards religion by its close.

This idea is reinforced by an examination of the fiscal operations underlying the government of the parish. Since attendance and voting at the vestry meetings was restricted to those who paid church rates,¹⁴⁷ the parish could determine how widely the vestry franchise was to be spread, by deciding who was eligible to pay the cess; if the tax was restricted to the wealthiest properties and land owners, then the lower social strata would be excluded from vestry participation.¹⁴⁸ In County Wicklow there is evidence that the tax base was progressively narrowed, at least in some parishes, as the eighteenth century progressed. In Powerscourt in 1733, for example, the vestry agreed ‘that the first leasees residing in the parish shall be accountable for all cesses which are now or may hereafter be raised on the said parish’, thereby excluding sub-tenants – the vast majority of parishioners – from vestry politics, and in 1751 that parish’s vestry also agreed that the parish clerk’s salary was only to be funded by tenants whose rent was at least forty shillings per year.¹⁴⁹ The futility of involving the lower orders in church taxes was also recognised in Rathdrum in 1777, when a vestry ‘earnestly recommended to the more wealthy parishioners and others who have property in the said parish to subscribe in aid of such tax as shall be thought reasonable to be raised of the said parish’.¹⁵⁰ Similarly, in Delgany, the parish cess was being levied widely in the 1660s, thus enfranchising large numbers at the vestries,¹⁵¹ but a century later, in the 1770s, the cess was only being levied on about forty of the principal inhabitants in the parish, with no indication that the charges were further cascaded down to the sub-tenantry level.¹⁵² In Bray, too, by the mid-eighteenth century, the cess was being levied on a townland and was usually payable by the chief inhabitant within that townland and in Wicklow in 1781 the applotters were empowered ‘to omit in the applotment the names of such persons in ye town of Wicklow as shall appear to them real objects of charity’.¹⁵³

Thus, since voting at the vestry was dependent on payment of parish taxes, if the tax burden was narrowing during the eighteenth century, then the qualification for the vestry franchise must have been narrowing too, and movement towards a selective method of apportioning the cess biased attendance, and voting, at the vestry in favour of the wealthier members of the parish’s community.¹⁵⁴ Two further advantages accrued to the parish from this, also. First,

limiting the cess-burden to parishioners higher up the social hierarchy, made it easier and quicker to collect the tax. Thus, William Fairbrother, grand juryman for the county and churchwarden in Wicklow parish in 1764, spent two days collecting the cess in Rathnew parish, but could use the time as a social opportunity to meet with acquaintances.¹⁵⁵ Secondly, although it was not strictly denominationally based, by limiting the franchise to the elevated social levels within the parish, Catholic influence in areas where they constituted the majority of the population, could be drastically reduced, if not eliminated altogether.

This is a crucial issue. Although Catholics had been excluded from vestry participation on ecclesiastical matters (table 68) they still retained membership of the vestry, and could participate in votes on secular issues. However, by narrowing the franchise, and biasing it in favour of wealth, then a Catholic plurality could be reduced or removed. Unfortunately few cess-lists listing the personal names of the taxpayers survive for any Wicklow parishes, so demonstrating denominational biases in the payment of the cess is difficult, although a number of lists for Wicklow town for the late 1750s and early 1760s illustrate this point for that specific urban area.¹⁵⁶ The town listing for 1761, for example, records 150 names within the borough, and the confessional allegiances of most of these can be determined from the Catholic and Protestant parish registers, and from a surviving fragment of the 1766 census. In that year, Protestant tax-payers were numerically dominant within the borough, but not by much. Seventy-four of the total number of taxpayers in the town were definitely Protestants and a further handful may have been of that persuasion. However fifty cess-payers were certainly Catholic, as may have been up to thirteen other taxpayers. In theory, therefore, these Catholic taxpayers should have been permitted to attend vestry meetings, but, as was observed earlier, none did; or, at least, none of them have left a record of their attendance.

However, despite the confessional distribution of the borough's taxpayers being roughly comparable, the amount of the cess collected from both confessional groups was tilted in favour of Protestants, reflecting the higher social standing of that community. The seventy-four taxpayers who were certainly Protestants contributed £5:10:8 ½ in 1761 but the fifty Catholics' contributions

amounted to just £2:0:5, and the average cess payable by Wicklow town's Protestants was 18*d.*, while the average Catholic figure was less than half that. Thus, since the Wicklow vestry moved in 1781 to exclude 'real objects of charity' from the cess, then a proportionately greater disenfranchisement of Catholics must have been an inevitable result of this change. In the 1761 cess applotment, for example, thirty-six of the fifty Catholics (72 per cent) paid less than 1 shilling in tax, but only thirty-seven Protestants (50 per cent) paid less than that sum (figure 169). Only two Catholic cess-payers paid more than 2 shillings, but twenty-two Protestants did. It must also be remembered that this represents only the confessional allegiances of the cess-payers within the borough of Wicklow, so it is likely that the Protestant position in the vestry room would likely be further enhanced if rural tax-payers could be similarly considered. It appears, therefore, that the various moves by Bray, Delgany, Powerscourt, Rathdrum and Wicklow – and presumably others – to reduce the tax burden on poorer parishioners must have operated to reduce Catholic influence in the civil aspects of parish governance, although whether this was a specific aim of the change is unclear.

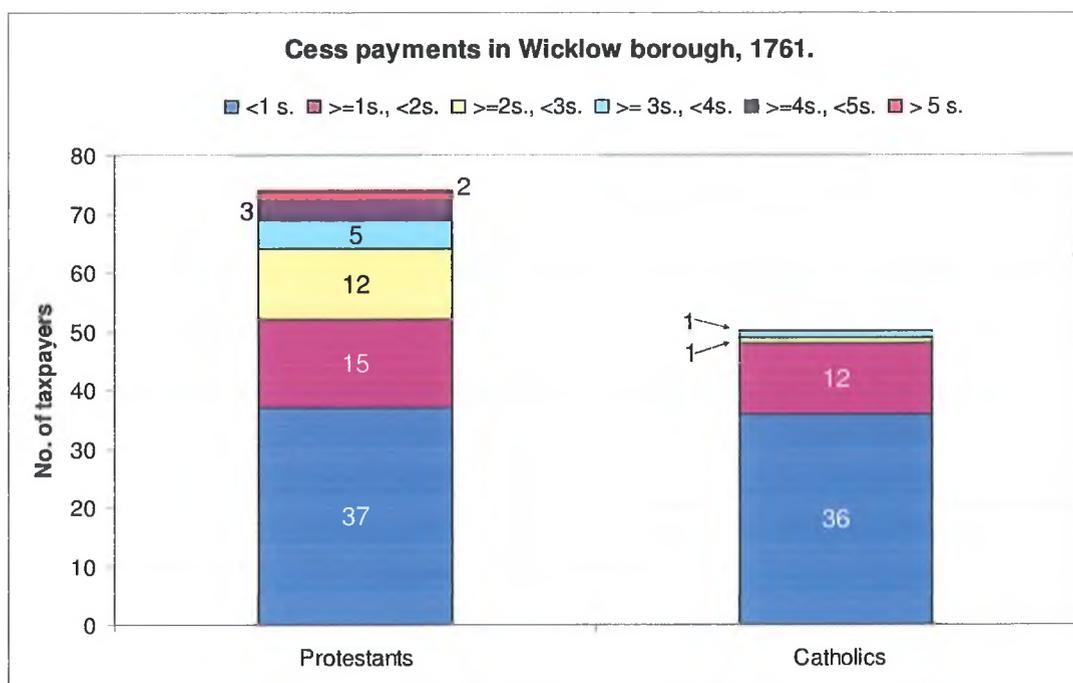


Figure 169 – Numbers of both denominations Vs amount of cess paid, Wicklow town, 1761 (source: Wicklow vestry book 1, part 2, pp 20-1).

Parish officials – the churchwarden, and his assistant

The typical post-1634 parish should have had a minimum of two ‘churchwardens’, two ‘sidesmen’, a schoolmaster and a parish clerk. These positions were not invented by the canons,¹⁵⁷ but rather were they standardised by them. Since ecclesiastical order was the prerogative of the canons, they remain silent on the wholly lay positions within the parish, such as the ‘overseers of the highway’, the parish auditors and the sexton, but as early as the 1660s such positions were being filled, in Delgany at least.¹⁵⁸ Gradually further lay-positions, including ‘overseers of the poor’ and ‘overseers of public houses’, were established, as the state came to increasingly rely on the parish as the local instrument through which public policy could be implemented.

The most important of the various lay-positions within the parish was that of churchwarden, with each parish or union required to choose two churchwardens every year. Because of the size of rural Irish parish unions, in many instances the two churchwardens were responsible for very expansive territories, and in rare circumstances more than two churchwardens were appointed.¹⁵⁹ It was usual for the two churchwardens to be chosen from different parts of the parish, thus reducing the distances travelled by them when performing their various duties, but also ensuring that they would be reasonably intimate with the part of the parish for which they were responsible. In Bray, for example, it was customary for one warden to be chosen for the Wicklow part of the union and for the other warden to cover the Dublin part, in the four-parish union of Aghowle one churchwarden was usually appointed from Aghowle parish with the other churchwarden living in one of the remaining three parishes and in Wicklow from 1753 it is explicitly stated that one churchwarden was ‘for the towne’ and the other for the country.¹⁶⁰ Furthermore, parishes usually rotated the position spatially, to ensure that the burdens of office were distributed equably (see figure 170).

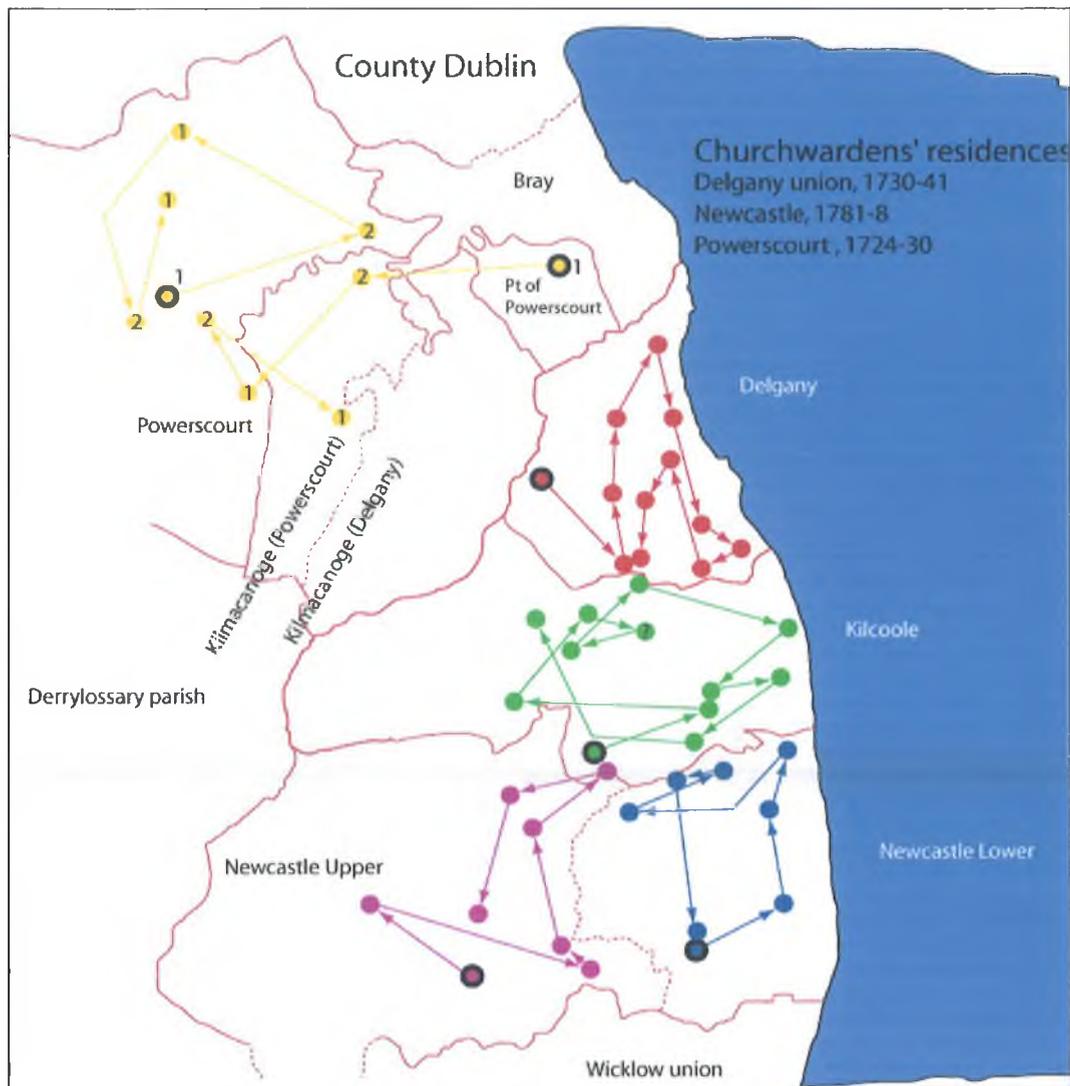


Figure 170 – Sequential residence of the churchwardens elected in various parishes in north-east Wicklow, for various periods. The geographic rotation of the position is evident, particularly in the coastal parishes.

Note: The location of one churchwarden in Killoole is unidentified (marked with ?). In Powerscourt the numbers shown indicate the number of years for which the churchwardens were elected. Starting years are indicated by outlined circles.

The position of churchwarden had both status and power.¹⁶¹ 'Parochial offices had the effect of differentiating an elite from the generality of the inhabitants of the parish'.¹⁶² Originally the churchwardens' responsibilities were exclusively for the 'benefits and advancement of religion' but statutory legislation increasingly expanded their responsibilities into the civil sphere,¹⁶³ to such an extent that by the late seventeenth century the position had become onerous and taxing. Furthermore, the position, requiring the investment of not inconsiderable time and effort, was often, but not exclusively unrewarded, and if recompense was provided, it was modest. Some parishes paid the churchwarden a small annual salary, which was supposed to cover any expenses incurred in collecting the parish cess and performing other duties. If a salary was paid it was typically about a mark [13s. 4d.] for the two churchwardens, and rarely exceeded £1. Within Wicklow, Delgany parish paid recompense for 'gathering church money' as far back as 1665, when a large assessment for rebuilding the church was being collected, although churchwardens' payments in that parish are not consistently recorded until 1701.¹⁶⁴ The amount of the payment varied for a few years, but by 1711 the combined churchwardens' salary in Delgany was 13s. 4d.¹⁶⁵ Similarly, in Powerscourt parish, the accounts of Samuel Tillcoat presented in November 1695 record the payment of a churchwarden's salary to him amounting to 6s. 8d., which, with a similar salary paid to the other churchwarden, totalled 13s. 4d. and most churchwardens' accounts in that parish after 1704 record aggregate payments of 13s. 4d. for their fees.¹⁶⁶ Bray was also paying a combined payment of 13s. 4d. to its churchwardens from 1734, and in 1712, in Delgany, two sidesmen were also receiving a salary, totalling 6s. 8d. (a half a mark, or 3s. 4d. each).¹⁶⁷

Two further factors concerning churchwardens' fees are noteworthy. First, some parishes, which had not been paying churchwardens' fees at the outset of the eighteenth century, introduced them during the middle years of that century. Secondly, around the beginning of the nineteenth century the fees paid to churchwardens appear often to have increased substantially. In 1734, for instance, Bray introduced a combined annual salary of 13s. 4d. [one mark] for the union's two churchwardens¹⁶⁸ and Rathdrum parish, experiencing difficulties in persuading

churchwardens to settle their accounts in the late 1750s and early 1760s, paid its churchwardens 10s. each (aggregate of £1) from 1764.¹⁶⁹ In Delgany, a parish with a longstanding tradition of paying churchwardens' fees, a salary of £1.1.8, being paid to the two churchwardens in 1796, was increased to two guineas (£2.5.6) by 1799, and was doubled to four guineas (£4.11.0) in 1811.¹⁷⁰ These two changes provide further evidence of the evolving conceptions with regard to lay parochial duties, which has been discussed earlier. What may have been stoically undertaken *gratis* in 1700, had, by 1800, to be paid for!

Of more significance to the churchwarden than this modest salary; most parishes allocated to them the use of a church pew for the duration of their term.¹⁷¹ In Wicklow, a specific seat was allocated to the churchwarden from at least as early as 1709 and in Delgany a vestry meeting was held in April 1726 for the 'disposal of the seats (beside[s] the minister and churchwardens)'.¹⁷² In Bray the churchwardens' seat was located immediately inside the door, presumably to permit them to perform their various functions, including recording the names of those attending church services, and perhaps presenting the keys of the pews to their owners.¹⁷³ Since possession of a church seat was an important symbol of status in the eighteenth-century parish, the provision of complementary seating in the church was perceived as a genuine benefit, particularly when the inbuilt inertia in pew-ownership, discussed earlier, is borne in mind. By serving as churchwarden, one was automatically divorced from the pew-less rabble elbowing for space in the public areas.

Being a serving officer in a cog of the machinery of the state, new churchwardens were supposed to present themselves at the bishop's consistory court to take the oath of office, although individual parishes may have waived this requirement.¹⁷⁴ It must be significant that the terms of the official oath remained innocuous to Catholics, at a time when other oaths were designed specifically to exclude Catholics from public office, and there was no reason why Catholics could not serve as churchwardens, provided they were prepared to undertake the duties.¹⁷⁵ In fact, the contrast between the churchwarden's oath – 'You shall swear truly and faithfully to execute the office of a churchwarden within your parish, and according to the best of your skill and knowledge present such things and persons

as to your knowledge are presentable by the laws ecclesiastical of this realm'¹⁷⁶ – contrasts starkly with the oath rejecting 'idolatrous' practices, which was required for other public offices.¹⁷⁷ This distinction may well serve as recognition that while it may have been practical for all national and even county public positions to be filled exclusively by Protestants, confessional demographics within many parishes would have conspired to leave the parish ungovernable without a substantial Catholic input. Even in urban Dublin, St John's parish – one of the most Protestant areas of the city – may have had Catholic churchwardens in the first half of the seventeenth century, and St Michan's, with its large Catholic majority, certainly had one in the 1790s.¹⁷⁸ In rural areas there is conclusive evidence that Catholics served as churchwardens, including in Castlemartyr, County Cork, and Termonfeckin and Charlestown, County Louth and Navan, County Meath, during the 1760s (appendix 43).

On being chosen churchwarden, one was expected to graciously fulfil the required duties, once the oath of office was sworn, and the previous occupants had vacated their positions. If the selected person was morally prevented from taking the oath – Quakers, for example – statutory legislation permitted such objectors to fulfil their responsibilities by appointing a deputy who was acceptable to the vestry.¹⁷⁹ The churchwarden-elect had to have confidence in his proxy, however, as he remained ultimately responsible for the money collected by the proxy, even though he may not have been involved in collecting it.¹⁸⁰ Specific categories of people were not obliged to serve, including clergymen, be they Protestant or dissenter, peers and members of the Commons, lawyers, felons and people who did not live permanently in the parish.¹⁸¹ Fulfilling the tasks of churchwarden was a duty that one was obliged to perform, if chosen and it was rare for elected persons to refuse to serve. The unprecedented refusal of an appointed churchwarden could cause something of a crisis within the vestry. In Blessington, in west Wicklow, Colonel Richard Eustace's 1698 refusal to serve as churchwarden for Blessington, for example, seems to have been the first such instance in that parish, and there was no precedent for dealing with the situation. The vestry disbanded for two months, meeting again in June 1698 to select new wardens and at this extraordinary meeting, 'to prevent a precedence being set', a

stiff financial punishment of £2 was imposed on any other refusing appointees, although a retrospective sanction against Eustace is not recorded.

Excommunication from the church was also an option.¹⁸² A few years later in Powerscourt a similar refusal caused less fuss. John Burfield and Timothy Green were chosen as churchwardens in 1705 and the following year they were reappointed, having 'not served according to election last year'. Neither Green nor Burfield appear to have suffered undue punishment for their recusancy.¹⁸³

The typical Wicklow churchwarden was a churchgoing, responsible, trustworthy male parishioner. In fact, although women were permitted to attend vestry meetings and vote on the same basis as men,¹⁸⁴ it would seem improbable that they were regularly attending in significant numbers. Of course, to be eligible to vote, the woman would have had to be both a taxpayer and a widow or spinster, because if her husband were alive he would be the enfranchised party at the meeting, but not a single woman's signature appears on any of the surviving pre-nineteenth century vestry minutes for any parish in County Wicklow, although Toby Barnard has noted the rare presence of eleven women out of 72 attendees at a meeting in Cork. The appointment of Ann Murray as parish poundkeeper in Tallaght in 1782 may also have been unique.¹⁸⁵ On the balance of evidence, therefore, it seems safe to conclude that women remained minor players in vestry politics throughout the eighteenth century.¹⁸⁶ Steve Hindle notes that contemporaries believed 'women's incapacity to learn the law rendered them incapable of exercising discretion'¹⁸⁷ but it is more likely that women were not considered suited to performing the tasks, some onerous, others dignified, of the churchwardens.¹⁸⁸

These tasks were many, and varied. Some of these were outlined in the 1634 canons, and others evolved over time. The tasks outlined by the canons were primarily focussed on the smooth running of the church and church services and on ensuring that holy days and Sundays were appropriately honoured. The Land of Saints and Scholars had a plethora of state-approved Holy Days – thirty-three in all by a statute of 1695 – and Catholics also celebrated, albeit illegally, their own feast days and local saints' days.¹⁸⁹ Sunday should have been a particularly busy day for the churchwarden, who was supposed to ensure that services were not

profaned by peddlers selling their wares, persons idling near the church or by taverns selling alcohol (canon 90) while simultaneously ensuring that all those present at service behaved themselves, and did not disrupt the service.¹⁹⁰

All parishioners were required to attend divine service every Sunday and to receive communion at least three times during the year (canon 18)¹⁹¹ (even though the parish minister was only required to host divine service and administer communion twice a year)¹⁹² and the churchwardens was obliged to record those attending (canons 18 and 95).¹⁹³ Failure to attend service could incur a fine of 12*d.*, payable to the churchwarden for the use of the parish poor, although dissenting Protestants were later exempted from the provisions of this statute, provided they were prepared to subscribe to standard oaths of allegiance.¹⁹⁴ Outside divine service the churchwardens had a responsibility to ensure that church property was protected (canon 92), that the churches and churchyards were kept in repair (canon 93) and that the church had sufficiency to enable service to be ministered (canon 94). The churchwardens were also responsible for parish alms (canon 96) and for ensuring the integrity and accuracy of the entries of baptisms, marriages and burials made by the parish minister in the registry (canon 46).¹⁹⁵

Aside from these tasks, other responsibilities fell to the churchwarden too. In spiritual terms, he acted as assistant to the minister in 'the suppression of sin and wickedness in their several parishes' (canons 64, 65, 66 and 67)¹⁹⁶ and in his civil roles, his most important task was the collection of the annual cess. He was the guardian of the parish's property, was the public face of the parish, and could also be called upon to represent the parish in ecclesiastical or secular court. He was the guardian of the parish property, too, as instanced by a decision of the Blessington vestry which instructed the churchwardens to prosecute Mr Henry Gradon if he failed to return the parish's ladder to the sexton within four weeks.¹⁹⁷ Furthermore, vestries interpreted relevant national legislation locally, so if legal disputes arose within the parish, the churchwarden could be called upon to acquire a copy of the statute for the parish to inspect,¹⁹⁸ and in some parishes he was responsible for the care of the parish's vestments, books and plate. He was also responsible for signing contracts with service suppliers, for organising periodic collections for the parish poor and for distributing the sums collected, and for

paying parish salaries out of the cess.¹⁹⁹ In effect, therefore, the collected cess represented the parish's petty-cash account, out of which all annual current and capital expenditure had to be met.

At the end of his term in office, he was required to present his accounts to the vestry, usually within one month of the Easter vestry which appointed his successor.²⁰⁰ If he was responsible for the parish's vestments and plate, this too had to be accounted for before leaving office.²⁰¹ Usually, if his accounts balanced he was discharged from the position, but if they did not he could be prosecuted, retained in the position for another year, or discharged, but instructed to make good the outstanding balance. Powerscourt parish adopted a novel approach to defaulting churchwardens from 1727 when they discharged them from office but refused to pay them their salary if they did not assist the new churchwardens in collecting the cess arrears.²⁰² Wicklow parish experienced considerable difficulties in the 1750s, when a number of churchwardens were repeatedly censured by vestry meetings for not presenting their accounts. Numerous deadlines and threats of legal action were made, but the wardens appear to have been unconcerned. In desperation a vestry meeting authorised the presentation of a memorial to the archbishop, requesting a visitation, which succeeded in spurring some of the churchwardens into presenting accounts but ultimately the parish had to take legal action against two of the defaulters.²⁰³ Some decades later, in the same parish, the two churchwardens for a particular year both failed to collect large amounts of the cess, 'which they alledge [sic] they could not collect'. Nonetheless, they still remained responsible for the arrears. The parish threatened legal recourse and demanded payment of the outstanding sums.²⁰⁴ The cess had to be collected, even during difficult economic times, when its burden fell heaviest. Thus, Newcastle parish authorised court action in the early 1740s against Anthony Clement, churchwarden in 1741, who owed the parish seven shillings, John Lewisly, who served in 1742, and had collected the cess, but had since died, leaving the money unpaid to the parish, and George Mason, who had served in 1743, but refused to present his accounts.²⁰⁵ Furthermore, the difficulties experienced during 1741, 1742 and 1743 may have been the reason why John Thompson refused to accept the position of churchwarden, to which he was appointed in 1744. The parish

authorised court action to compel Thompson to perform the service, and he relented.²⁰⁶

On being discharged, any excess money was passed on to the succeeding churchwardens, and any authorised overspend was reimbursed.²⁰⁷ In some instances emergency expenditure was necessary during the year, and, as such, it was beneficial if the churchwarden was reasonably wealthy. Samuel Tillcoat, churchwarden in Powerscourt in 1695, had to overspend by a considerable £3:7:11¾ during the year (the money was not refunded to him until the cess was collected the following year) and in 1737-8 the two churchwardens in the same parish overspent by £1:17:2½.²⁰⁸ Occasionally, unexpected expenses also arose, which, unless the churchwarden was of sufficient means, either could not be met, or required the holding of an emergency vestry meeting, to authorise an additional cess. Such a scenario arose in Delgany in 1763, when John Elliot paid £2:12:7 of his own money ‘on extra repa[irs] wch ... last winter it is allow’d were absolutely necessary’. Elliot had to wait until the Easter vestry for the reimbursement of his expenses to be authorised, and, doubtless, further time for the payment to be received.²⁰⁹

New churchwardens, chosen at the Easter vestry, did not take up their responsibilities until the previous incumbents had discharged their accounts. Thus, although elected at the Easter vestry, typically a churchwarden’s term lasted one year from about the beginning of May. In some parishes, if a churchwarden’s accounts did not balance his penalty was another year in the position, and the churchwarden elected to succeed him would not have to serve. Thus, in Blessington Benjamin Everard and Robert Gilbert avoided service in 1744, by dint of Jonathan Revill and John Scarf failing to discharge their accounts for the previous year, and in Aghowle in 1779 the former churchwardens were continued ‘as they cannot pass in the cess for the former year in full’.²¹⁰ From 1772 the new churchwardens elected in Delgany were appointed, ‘provided [the old churchwardens] pass their accounts ... to the approbation of the parishioners in vestry’.²¹¹

Since the job of churchwarden was so time-consuming and as many parishes, particularly rural ones, were so expansive, some parishes also appointed

'sidesmen' to assist the churchwarden in his tasks. The office of sidesman was mentioned in the 1634 canons²¹² but it is doubtful that the office was widely allocated, except perhaps in the more populous, urban parishes, prior to the post-Restoration period. Sidesmen were also to be appointed at the Easter vestry (canon 88),²¹³ and, like their mentors, were to be 'discrete persons',²¹⁴ swearing that they 'will be assistant to the church-warden, in the execution of their office, so far as by law you are bound'.²¹⁵ Thus, the sidesman's oath, like the churchwarden's, contained nothing that was anathema either to Catholics or to most dissenting Protestants.

So intimately were sidesmen engaged with their churchwardens during their year of service that it was not unknown for a sidesman to progress to the more coveted position of churchwarden, soon afterwards. In Rathdrum parish, for instance, James Wingrove, sidesman in 1760, was elected churchwarden in 1762, and in the same parish, John Hornsby's public career followed a similar progression between 1762 and 1763, as did Robert Sharp's in 1769 and 1770.²¹⁶ More often, however, a person's position within the parish's social hierarchy determined the parish offices the level of the office that was available to him, and for most of the middling ranks, the lofty heights of churchwardenship remained out of reach. In Delgany, Edward Burke served three terms as sidesman between 1775 and 1791, but was never appointed churchwarden,²¹⁷ and in neighbouring Newcastle, James Byrne served four sidesman's terms between 1764 and 1781, but never attained the higher office.²¹⁸ It is significant that whilst the typical church provided a pew for the churchwarden, none was similarly available for the sidesmen, and few benefits went with the position, other than, at best, a modest recompense. It is also notable that sidesmen were often appointed from peripheral areas of the parish, whereas churchwardens tended to be located close to the centre, and close to the church. Although this may reflect a desire to have the churchwarden living close to the church, because of their primary importance during divine services, more likely is it a reflection of the social hierarchies that ultimately determined which lay positions were available to each parishioner. Being a more exalted position, it seems inevitable that churchwardens would have been drawn from more central locations, and from the more valuable lands. The

contrast between the residences of churchwardens and sidesmen is clearly illustrated in figures 170 and 171, which presents this information for three parochial unions in north-east Wicklow for various periods. In Delgany and Kilcoole, in particular, the churchwardens were all located in the eastern stretch of both regions (figure 170), whereas the sidesmen were distributed over a wider geographical area (figure 171), and were drawn from the more marginal areas of the parishes (figure 17).

Because of the social stratification between churchwardens and their sidesmen it seems probable that it was the sidesman rather than the churchwarden who would have done most of the 'donkey work' involved in collecting the parish taxes.²¹⁹ That was certainly the case in Dunleckney, in Carlow, when a payment of £1:2:9 was authorised in 1780 to the newly appointed sidesman, 'for assisting the churchwardens in coll[ectin]g the above sums'.²²⁰ In Wicklow from 1764, a fee of 11s. 4½d. was paid to each sidesmen for horse hire, suggesting that the sidesman was heavily involved in collecting the cess in that parish, and possibly indicating that the sidesman was not expected to own his own horse.²²¹ To lessen the burden of the position, parishes usually rotated the appointments between geographic locations, and, providing a sidesman performed his duties with diligence, he was not expected to serve again for some time. Valentine Bourk, of Grove Hill (Kilmacanoge), filled one of the two sidesman positions in Delgany in 1757, but was re-elected at the Easter vestry, four years later. Bourk immediately protested, and a replacement was found, by a vestry held eight days later.²²² It is notable, in the light of the earlier discussion concerning the degree to which the list of signatures represents the attendance at a meeting, that Bourk did not sign the minutes of either of these meetings in 1761, although it is probable that he attended the latter one, at least, to plead his case.

The principal of geographic rotation of the sidesman's position (figure 171) got William Brown [Bourn], of Ballyronan, also in Delgany, off the hook a few years after Bourk's avoidance of a second term. Brown was chosen at the 1764 Easter meeting, but the vestry changed its mind, and appointed John Kelly instead, because 'Ballironan had serv'd the previous year', when Edward FitzWilliams of Ballyronan had served as sidesman.²²³ His respite was only

temporary, however, as he was re-elected a decade later, in 1774, and this time he was obliged to serve, receiving recompense of ten shillings for his efforts.²²⁴

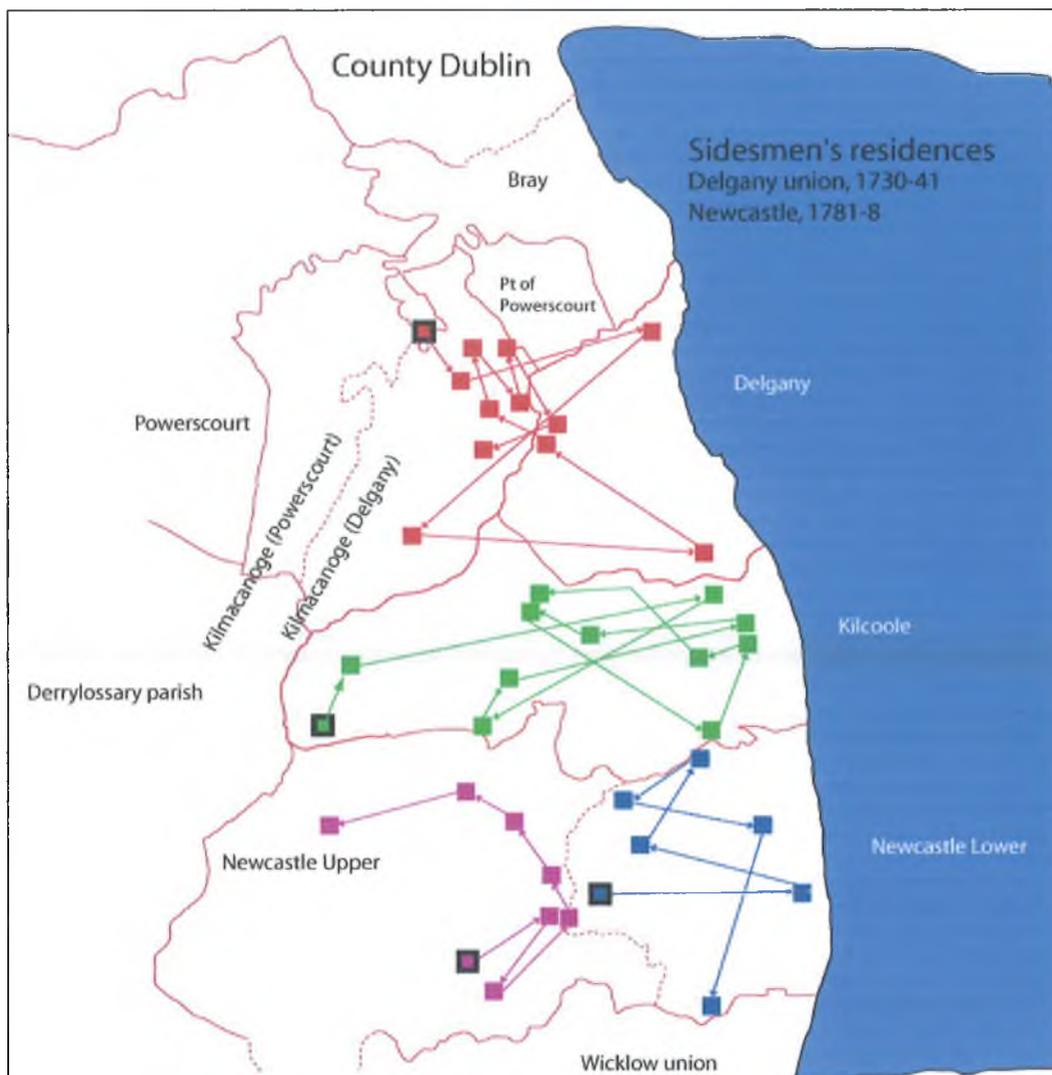


Figure 171 – Sequential residence of sidesmen elected in various parishes in north-east Wicklow, for various periods. The geographic sphere covered by the sidesmen is far wider than that of the churchwardens (see figure 170).

Note: Powerscourt was not electing sidesmen in the 1720s, and the abode of Patrick Cooney, the sidesman elected for Newcastle Lower in 1788, is not recorded. Starting years are indicated by outlined squares.

Parish officials – other officers

Since both churchwardens and sidesmen had ecclesiastical responsibilities it was desirable for the Protestant parish that these positions would be filled by Protestants, although, as has been noted (also in appendix 43), it is probable that

Catholics were recruited to fill these offices if Protestant numbers were low. There were other lay positions available within the parish, however, that were exclusively secular, and, as such, there should have been no bar preventing Catholics from filling these positions. The specifically secular offices available for distribution varied, depending on individual parish structures, but could include pound-keepers, parish constables, cess applotters, parish schoolmasters, sextons and, before the mid-1760s, overseers of the highways. The latter position was one of the more influential jobs. In 1612 the parish was made statutorily responsible for ensuring that main roads within its bounds, leading to market towns, were kept in good order, although subsequent interpretation considered all main roads as highways.²²⁵ Under this legislation each parish was obliged to choose ‘two honest persons of the parish, to be surveyors and orderers of the works for the amendment of high ways ... in their parish’ although customary methods for appointing overseers continued in some places.²²⁶ These ‘honest persons’ were responsible for organising the repair of the parish roads on the days specified by the parish constables and churchwardens, with the work to be carried out in late spring or early summer (before 24 June, the feast of St John the Baptist).²²⁷ The position was unpaid until 1759, after which date an optional payment was permitted.²²⁸ The burden for providing the labour to repair the roads fell on the parishioners – each parishioner being obliged to provide six days unpaid labour for that purpose:

every householder, and every cottier and labourer of that parish able to labour, and being noe hired servant by the yeare, shall by themselves, or one sufficient labourer for every one of them, upon every of the said six daies worke and travel in the amendment of the said highways

and landowners were also expected to provide carts for removing rubbish.²²⁹

Before 1727 the overseers were usually appointed at the annual Easter vestry, but a legislative change that year adjusted the timing of their selection to the first Tuesday or Wednesday after Michaelmas (29 September).²³⁰ As a result of this act, each parish was thereafter obliged to hold a minimum of two vestry meetings, although compliance was not immediate in some cases.²³¹ There is a double significance to the change in the timing of this meeting. In the first instance, Catholics had been removed from participating in vestry meetings

relating to church rebuilding a few years previously, but since the office of highway-overseer had no ecclesiastical responsibilities, the involvement of Catholics in the selection process was less contentious. Thus, by divorcing the selection process of overseers from most other parish business, Catholics could be free to attend the October meeting, while being excluded from meetings with an ecclesiastical agenda. This would have been more problematical had the overseers continued to be appointed at meetings which also elected churchwardens or approved cesses. Also, the meeting was to be held on a working-day, which made it more difficult for labourers to attend. While this may or may not have represented an official attempt to exclude the lower social orders from participating in the vestry meeting, this must have been a likely result.

The statutory requirement for parishes to repair their roads was modified by parliament in 1759²³² as it had become inoperable in many parts of the county and was proving 'burthensome to the poor',²³³ although in most Wicklow parishes for which vestry minutes have survived, the six-day labour requirement was still being implemented.²³⁴ In spite of these changes, the system failed to improve, and in 1665 the requirement for parishioners to contribute their six days of labour annually was statutorily abandoned, by which act the position of overseer of the highways as a parish official was changed substantially (in most places it was annulled), and responsibility for the organisation of road-maintenance and planning passed to the county grand juries.²³⁵ It should not be construed, however, that the parish was exclusively responsible for the maintenance of its roads system prior to 1765, because it was not. The quality of the highways through any region was too important an issue to be left for individual parishes, often poorly organised, to decide on their own, and in practice, the parish's duty, prior to the 1760s, was to organise the maintenance of the roads that were specified by a higher authority (the grand jury), rather than to determine the roads to be maintained themselves. The parish could propose routes that required priority attention – as in Wicklow parish in 1729, when the vestry requested that the overseers repair the lane to the church²³⁶ – but could not specifically determine the routes that were to be worked on. The funds and materials required were provided to the parishes through grand jury presentments. Furthermore, the grand jury

remained centrally involved in the entire road-maintenance process; the local overseers had to provide a written report on the details of their road-maintenance program to the grand jury at each assizes, and, in Wicklow, at least, the jury appear to have regularly checked the thoroughness of the workmanship.²³⁷ In 1712-3, for example, the grand jury inquired 'whether the road leading from Dunganstown to Corragower in ye Bary of Arklow be repaired by ye six days labour of ye inhabitants of ye united parishes', noting that it was 'part done and ye rest doing' and in 1737 a new bridge was approved at Ardairry, in Ennereilly parish, on the great road between Wicklow and Arklow, because sand dunes had made transit difficult, 'as lately viewed'. Furthermore, if parish's failed to maintain roads in a sufficient state of repair, the Wicklow grand jury hired private contractors to perform upgrades, as occurred in 1740, when John Hayes and W. Pluck were paid £49:12 for repairing 398 perches of the 'Great Road from Fox Hall to Ashford', in Wicklow parish, which, considering the timing, may have been a public relief scheme.²³⁸

A second important position which was available in many parishes was that of constable. The constable was the instrument through which law and order was maintained in the localities, and the position was initially unpaid and purely secular.²³⁹ Loyalty and fidelity to the law were key requirements of a constable, and hence Catholics, who were eligible for appointment, were, by a 1715 statute, disbarred from the position for three years, after 24 June 1716.²⁴⁰ The ostensible reason for this change was that Papist constables were failing to implement laws against their co-religionists, although concerns stemming from the threat of an imminent Jacobite invasion were more likely the catalyst.²⁴¹ In some places, this legislation may simply have formalised customary local arrangements, but throughout much of the rural parts, the position had heretofore been filled primarily by Catholics – 'the said offices [high and petty constables] in most parts of this kingdom, and especially in such places as are for the greatest part inhabited by papists, are placed in the hands of persons of the popish religion.'²⁴²

It is notable, however, that this statute was only to remain in place for three years – surely evidence that the reputed reason for the introduction of the statute was probably false – because it would prove 'very burthensome and chargeable to

the protestants'.²⁴³ Protestants were simply too thin on the ground throughout most of the country to enable them to monopolize the maintenance of law at the local level. Thus, to soften the pain for the suffering Protestant, during this three-year period a proportion of the sum of £4, equal to the proportion of Catholic householders in the parish, was to be apportioned on the Catholic parishioners, which was paid to the serving Protestant constable each year.²⁴⁴ This was neither sectarian, nor penal, but represented a clever compromise between the need for confidence in the implementation of law at the local level, and the reluctance to impose too great a burden on Protestant citizens. Since Catholics were to be temporarily excluded from the position, they had to pay a charge for this benefit, which would be used to recompense the suffering Protestants. And it was implemented, too, as is testified by a County Wicklow grand jury note from March 1717, which ordered that 'constables [are] to return nos of Prots & Papists in their baronies'.²⁴⁵

Despite the temporary introduction of a payment, the various duties remained essentially disagreeable. The administration of justice was public, and peer pressure and public shaming contributed in equal measure to the maintenance of public order. Some parishes – perhaps most – invested in stocks, which were erected in a public place, and where felons could be displayed, and ridiculed.²⁴⁶ The constable held the key, and it was his job to lock up these miscreants, many of whom would have been known to him. They had other responsibilities, too, primarily in the realm of public safety, the collection of taxes, or the implementation of legislation,²⁴⁷ and Nicholas Pounds suggests that 'few offices can have offered such an array of unpleasant duties as the constableness'.²⁴⁸ Unsurprisingly, therefore, the position of constable was firmly fixed at the lowest levels of the hierarchy of parish responsibilities, as is explicitly indicated in this 1741 vestry minute for St Michan's parish

Whereas several persons of this parish for several year past have got themselves elected sidesmen or directors of the watch in order to prevent their being made constables & whereas it is manifest that severals of them afterwards have neglected their duty particularly in not attending church on Sundays

Agreed, that such sidesmen as shall hereafter frequently neglect their sd duty shall be propos'd for constables the year following.²⁴⁹

Parish office, confessional loyalty and the hierarchy of wealth

Earlier, two aspects of the involvement of Catholics in the parish in Wicklow were examined, and it was shown that while Catholic attendance at vestry meetings may have been unusual, and was probably, unwelcome, their money was not. Of course, this breached a developing tenet in eighteenth century philosophical thinking – ‘no taxation without representation’ and must inevitably have been a source of tensions. The other side of the vestry coin merits examination, too, as the apportioning of the various parish offices can provide an insight into contemporary perceptions regarding the operation of social and even denominational hierarchies.

As has been noted, the parochial-office hierarchy placed churchwardenship at the summit, and parish constables at the base, with the position of sidesman located between these two extremes. Being a public face of the parish, parishes aspired to promote parishioners of merit or public stature to serve as churchwardens. In 1793, for instance, Henry Grattan, M.P. for County Dublin who had become a parishioner in 1782 with the gift of an estate at Tinnehinch, was selected as churchwarden for Powerscourt parish.²⁵⁰ Some decades earlier, in the union of Monkstown, Viscount Ranelagh served two terms as churchwarden in the 1760s, despite being an active member of the House of Lords, and, consequently, not obliged to serve,²⁵¹ and in Newcastle parish in 1714 Lord Howard, a transient resident, served that parish in the same capacity.²⁵² The cases of John Malpas in Monkstown and Francis Purcell in Crumlin were also cited earlier as illustrating the importance of the position of churchwarden in the social hierarchy of the parish. Another benefit accrued to the parish, too, as titled and important parishioners could exert a powerful moral and social influence on the lower social orders, thus smoothing the implementation of unpopular parish edicts and decisions.²⁵³

As has been noted, in areas where Protestants were few, Catholics may have been recruited to fill the position of churchwarden (appendix 43), but, within

Wicklow, at least in the parishes where confessional allegiances can be confidently identified, this office appears to have been maintained exclusively in the preserve of Protestants. In the absence of alternative sources, the 1766 religious census and the Catholic and Church of Ireland parish registers can be used to identify the denomination of serving officers during the 1760s in Aghowle, Rathdrum and Wicklow, and in the union of Monkstown. In the three Wicklow parishes, there is no evidence that any were electing Catholic churchwardens, and even in Monkstown parish, where Catholics were observed attending the vestry, albeit in small numbers, and infrequently, it appears likely that no Catholics were chosen to serve in this capacity. John Malpas' and Francis Purcell's appointment as churchwarden in their respective parishes, on their conforming to the Church of Ireland, provides further evidence that Catholics were considered unsuited to fill this office if Protestant alternatives were available. The specifics of the confessional allegiances of churchwardens in these four parishes are summarised in table 70.

On the second rung of the lay-office hierarchy, the situation differed only marginally. The sidesman, who was supposed to assist the churchwarden in both his ecclesiastical and civil duties, was not exclusively the preserve of the Protestant; Catholic sidesmen were rare, but they were not unknown. Aghowle and Wicklow, which parishes had effectively excluded Catholics from the vestry room, also remained aloof from promoting 'papists' to this position, but Monkstown and Rathdrum, operated slightly different processes. Certainly, Catholic sidesmen were exceedingly rare in these two parishes, also, but they were occasionally appointed. Between 1758 and 1775, Rathdrum elected thirty-three different sidesmen. Of these, Miles Byrne of Mongnacool, who was appointed at Easter, 1765, and Garret Forde, from Greenane, elected ten years later, were almost certainly Catholics. No complaints are recorded in the minutes about their performance, so they appear to have performed their duties with appropriate diligence. Also in Monkstown, more open to Catholic attendance at the vestry, John Cunniam, listed in the 1766 census as a Catholic, and a regular attendee at vestry meetings throughout the 1760s, was selected to serve as sidesman in 1765.²⁵⁴ Other than these three individuals, no other Catholics can unambiguously

be identified in either churchwarden or sidesman positions in Aghowle, Monkstown, Rathdrum or Wicklow during the 1760s (table 70).

Table 70 – Confessional allegiance of churchwardens and sidesmen in four parish unions in Wicklow region, 1760-75.

Churchwardens in ...	Protestant		Unk.	Catholic		Total
	Probably	Certainly		Possibly	Certainly	
Aghowle (1760-71)	4	14	3	0	0	21
Rathdrum (1758-75)	2	34	1	0	0	37
Wicklow (1760-7)	2	17	1	0	0	20
Monkstown (1760-71)	0	16	8	0	0	24
Sidesmen in ...						
Aghowle (1760-71)	0	2	0	0	0	2
Rathdrum (1758-75)	4	26	1	0	2	33
Wicklow (1760-7)	3	10	1	0	0	14
Monkstown (1760-71)	1	17	5	0	1	24

Note: It is not possible to unambiguously determine the religion of all serving churchwardens and sidesmen, so Catholic involvement may be greater than is indicated here, although that remains unlikely.

At the level of parish constable, however, the situation was considerably different, and the contrast between the doling out of the plum parish jobs and the allocation of this unpopular office gives some insight into Protestant perceptions about the position occupied by Catholics within the social hierarchy of the local community. Unfortunately, of the four parishes under consideration here, only Monkstown records the appointment of constables during the 1760s, but the selection of candidates in this parish is enlightening, nonetheless, particularly when contrasted with the near-exclusion of Catholics from the offices of churchwarden and sidesman. Within the Monkstown union four constables were appointed during most years between 1760 and 1771 – one for each of the parishes of Monkstown, Kill, Killiney and Tully – totalling forty-six constables in all. Typically Monkstown’s constables served for just one year, although Mark Kelly held the position in Tully for three years between 1667 and 1770, and Terence Kavanagh served twice, in 1761 and 1768.²⁵⁵

More than half of these forty-six appointees were Catholics, and the Protestant contribution to the total was much less significant. The confessional allegiances of nine constables between 1760 and 1771 cannot be identified, but of the remaining thirty-seven, as many as twenty-nine (75 per cent) may have been

Catholic, and twenty-four (65 per cent) definitely were (figure 172). While at first glance this may appear a case of Protestants monopolising the socially acceptable jobs and distributing some of the less amenable tasks to Catholics, the underlying situation was somewhat more complex, and may not have been as discriminatory as may initially appear. First, while the union of Monkstown had a significant Protestant minority (approximately 25 per cent) in 1766, in some of the parishes Protestants were scarce, thus narrowing the denominational options in those areas (figure 57). Secondly, the post of petty-constable was not open to all parishioners, but just to those from the more modest social levels.²⁵⁶ Thus, since it is likely that Catholics were disproportionately occupying the lower levels of the parish's social hierarchy (figure 169 for Wicklow town), it is to be expected that constableships would have been disproportionately awarded to Catholics. In fact, if the distribution of constables among the confessional groupings is compared with the religious census data for the individual parishes in the union, Catholics do not appear to have been disproportionately awarded this position, which appears to have been distributed equably, broadly in line with the proportional denominational strengths (figure 173).

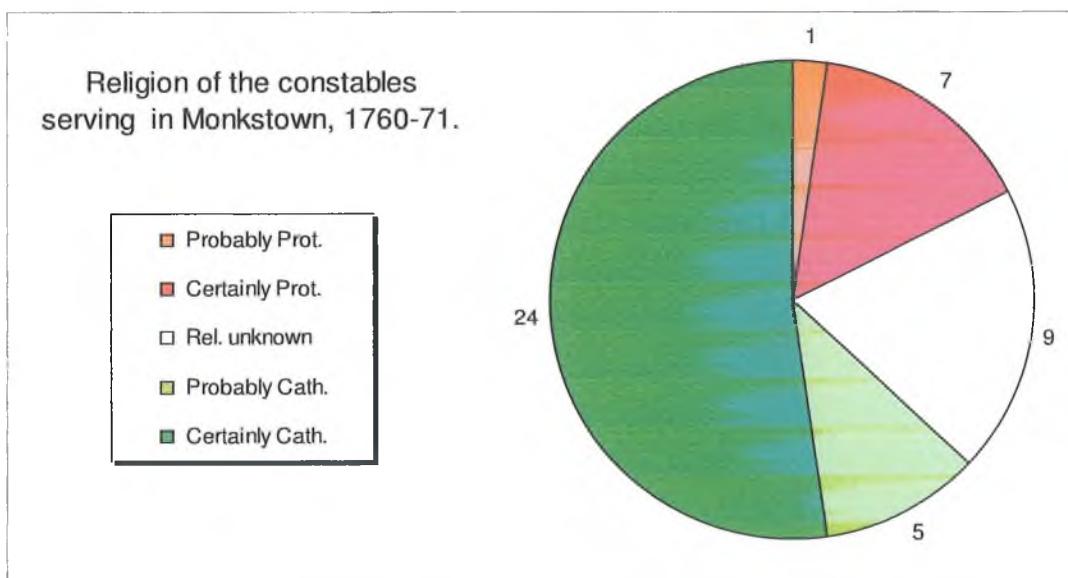


Figure 172 – Confessional allegiances of constables in Monkstown union, 1760-71 (source: Monkstown vestry book 1; Guinness, *Registers of Monkstown*, pp 93-7).

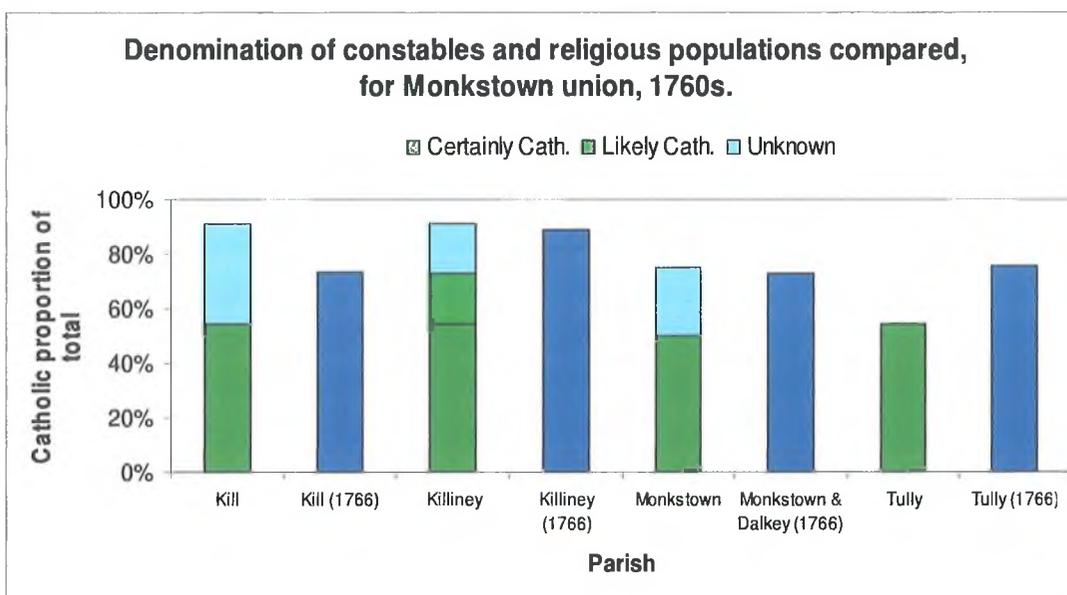


Figure 173 – The distribution of the constableness among confessional groupings in Monkstown, 1760-71. For all four parishes, the proportion of Catholics appointed constable was probably lower than would be expected, based on the relative strength of the Catholic community in 1766, which is shown by dark the blue columns.

Less definitively than for Monkstown, evidence from other parishes at other periods, also supports the idea that Catholics were being appointed as petty-constables. Both Newcastle and Delgany had been appointing constables at about the time of the Jacobite scare, but both ceased filling the position soon after the passage of the 1715 statute which temporarily disbarred Catholics from the position. The Newcastle vestry book records the appointment of constables for only four years; 1713, 1715, 1716 and 1717 (table 71). Only one of the appointed constables can be located in the parish's baptismal registers, and that is George Storey, who was appointed after the ban on Papist constables had come into effect.²⁵⁷ Notably, the 1713, 1715 and 1716 appointments, of Thomas Quinn, Maurice Byrne and Martin Loughlin, all predate the coming into operation of the ban on the appointment of Catholics. Loughlin's appointment, in April 1716, occurred only a few weeks before the commencement of the ban on 24 June.²⁵⁸ Only Storey was certainly a Protestant, and the absence of Quinn, Byrne and Loughlin from the parish records, coupled with their distinctive surnames and the coincidence of the timing of their appointments relative to the introduction on the ban on Catholics, all suggest that these were probably Catholics, although

Loughlin subsequently served as churchwarden in 1720. It should be remembered, that the Wicklow grand jury had instructed the compiling of a list of Catholic and Protestant householders in March 1717, presumably for the purpose of implementing the ban.²⁵⁹

Table 71 – Constables appointed in Newcastle, 1713-17.

Date selected	Constable	Comment
6 April 1713	Thomas Quinn	Not in baptismal registers (probably Catholic).
6 April 1713	Maurice Byrne	Not in baptismal registers (probably Catholic).
18 April 1715	Blackditch	Ambiguous, this is a townland name.
2 April 1716	Martin Loughlin	In neither registers nor vestry minutes (probably Catholic).
Statutory ban on Catholics serving as constable for 3 years, from 24 June 1716.		
22 April 1717	George Storey	In baptismal registers. Certainly a Protestant.
No more constables are recorded in the parish's vestry minutes.		

Source: Newcastle register and vestry book, 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 914.1.1).

In neighbouring Delgany, the union's vestry appointed one constable for each of the parishes of Delgany and Kilcoole for four years, between 1713 and 1716, and then ceased appointing (table 72).²⁶⁰ In a similar fashion to Newcastle, all of these eight constables, including the two appointed in 1716, were selected before 24 June 1716. Only three of these eight surface in the parish's baptismal registers and were certainly Anglican, but others served in other capacities within the parish, including overseer of the highway and sidesman. It seems likely that some of the remaining five, including Laughlin Busby and James Ennis may have been Catholics. Even John Cullen, Miles Barnwall and David Murray may have been Catholics, despite their involvement with other parish offices, including that of sidesman. This opens up the possibility of the involvement of Catholics in lay-office, up to the level of sidesman, in a parish with a substantial Protestant population during the early eighteenth century, although notably Murray, Busby, Ennis or Barnwall did not sign any vestry minutes, so their appointment to parish office may have been unwelcome, or unsolicited.

Table 72 – Constables appointed in Delgany and Kilcoole, 1713-16.

Date selected	Constable	Comment
6 April 1713	Thomas Hodgson	In baptismal registers and overseer of highway, 1710, 1711 and 1712. Attended vestry meeting, 26 December 1709.
6 April 1713	John Cullen	Not in baptismal registers. Sidesman, 1706 and 1710. Attended vestry 28 July 1707, 26 December 1709.
29 March 1714	Joshua Bell	In baptismal registers. Overseer 1717-21, 1729-30 and churchwarden 1733.
29 March 1714	Owen Nugent	In baptismal registers.
18 April 1715	David Murray	Not in baptismal registers. Sidesman 1708 and 1709, but did not sign any vestry minutes.
18 April 1715	Laughlin Busby	Not in baptismal registers. Served in no other capacity, and signed no vestry minutes.
2 April 1716	James Ennis	Not in baptismal registers. Served in no other capacity, and signed no vestry minutes.
2 April 1716	Miles Barnwall	Not in baptismal registers. Sidesman in 1703 and 1704 but signed no vestry minutes.
Statutory ban on Catholics serving as constable for 3 years, from 24 June 1716.		
No more constables are recorded in the parish's vestry minutes.		

Source: Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, ff 63v, 64, 65, 66).

It is interesting that both Delgany and Newcastle ceased appointing constables at virtually the same time, and contemporaneously with the commencement of the temporary ban on Catholics.²⁶¹ Of course, being a purely civil position, there was no reason why Catholics should not have been expected to serve. Furthermore, being free of any ecclesiastical role, it could be speculated that it may have made sense to allocate this position to Catholics, while maintaining positions which required involvement with the structures of the Established Church for Protestants. Appointing Catholics may also have served as a way of involving Catholics in the operation of the parish, while avoiding any contention in the spiritual realm. Toby Barnard has noted the probable importance of this aspect of parish office, speculating that it may have been viewed as 'a device through which the arts of citizenship could be learned and practised',²⁶² and, thus, Catholics assuming predominance in some aspects of civil organisation and Protestants dominating confessional positions would seem to represent a reasonable balance in the ordering of a body which had both secular and religious functions. However, the evidence from the other principal civil post within the parish rebuts any such presumptions of fairness.

Like the constable, the position of overseer of the highway was also exclusively secular, so if non-ecclesiastical positions were being assigned to Catholics one would also expect to see a preponderance of Catholics acting as highway-overseer, until the position changed in the 1760s. This, however, does not appear to have been the case, as can be illustrated from a consideration of the confessional allegiances of overseers in the four parishes (Aghowle, Rathdrum, Wicklow and Monkstown) during the 1760s. Although Catholics were involved in the organisation of road maintenance in some places, in all four parishes the majority of overseers were Protestants. The reason for this is evident. While this position was exclusively civil, unlike the constable, the overseer was a figure of substantial social authority, being responsible for planning and ordering the operation of large bodies of men during the appointed six days, and was the key interface between the parish and the grand jury, communicating progress and receiving instructions. It comes as no surprise, therefore, to observe the involvement of parishioners occupying rarefied heights on a parish's social pyramid which this position – it was better to be issuing instructions, than to be receiving them – and, uniquely, this parish position was also open to clergymen. Thus, in the Aghowle union in 1760 and 1761, Lorenzo Nickson, Samuel Patrickson and Thomas Whelan, all substantial landholders in the region, acted as overseers, as did the grand juryman, William Fairbrother, in Wicklow, in 1758.²⁶³ In Delgany, Honourable Robert Butler, of Hermitage served for six of the nine terms 1750 and 1758 and James Piggot, of Hollybrook, served three successive terms, between 1747 and 1749.²⁶⁴ Also in Delgany, Revd Francis Corbett, the parish rector, filled the post in 1734 and 1735 and in Wicklow, the curate, Revd Holt Truell (1737, 1738 and 1744), and the prebendary, Revd John Walls, (1758) were both appointed to the position.²⁶⁵

There was little homogeneity between parishes in the organisation of the road-works. Aghowle appointed two overseers for each of the four parishes in the union in 1760 and 1761, but did not appoint overseers thereafter.²⁶⁶ Wicklow union appointed two overseers each year between 1710 and 1728, but in 1729 twelve were chosen. After 1729 the Wicklow vestry only occasionally appointed overseers, but when they did, they were usually appointed in substantial numbers,

such as occurred in 1735 and 1737, when seventeen, and 1742, when fourteen, were selected. In 1753 the parish appointed just three overseers, and twelve were appointed in 1758, after which, no further appointments were made.²⁶⁷ In Rathdrum, overseers were appointed every year between the consistent commencement of the vestry minutes, in 1758, and 1765, after when, no further appointments were required. In that parish, two overseers were appointed for specified stretches of road, radiating from Rathdrum town, which meant that substantial numbers of overseers were required, amounting to eight each year between 1758 and 1762, fourteen in 1763, twelve in 1764 and sixteen in 1765. The list of roads receiving attention is impressive, although the quality of the operation may have been less so.²⁶⁸ Delgany was fairly diligent in appointing overseers, usually selecting two officers for each of the three constituent parishes, and the vestry approved a cess of £2 in 1734 to fund the purchase of tools for the work,²⁶⁹ but Newcastle only appointed overseers for seven years in the seven decades between the establishment of the parish and the annulment of the office.

Only Monkstown parish maintained an obvious involvement with the quality of the roads after the abandonment of the six-days voluntary labour, in 1765. Prior to 1765 the vestry was appointing between eight and twelve overseers each year; two for each parish. After 1765 the parish continued to choose parishioners to examine the quality of the network, although the title of the position was changed from 'overseer' to 'overseer and appraiser'.²⁷⁰ While it is certain that the parish was not still organising voluntary labour after 1765, it seems likely that the job of the appraiser was to be the conjugate through which the grand jury and the parish could communicate about the quality of the infrastructure. Thus, just as the grand jury's involvement with the maintenance of the roads-system did not commence in 1765, neither, would it appear, did the parish's involvement necessarily cease at that time, at least in Monkstown.

In the three Wicklow parishes of Aghowle, Rathdrum and Wicklow, Protestants dominated this position during the 1760s. In Aghowle, none of the sixteen overseers appointed in 1760 and 1761 were Catholics, and in Rathdrum, at least sixty of eighty-two overseers selected between 1758 and 1765 were certain to have been, and a further ten were likely to have been, Protestants.²⁷¹ Furthermore,

none of these eighty-two can be definitively identified as Catholics. In Wicklow, Richard Goodman, one of the fourteen overseers appointed in 1742 and 1744 may have been Catholic, but none of the other overseers appointed in 1753 or 1758 appear to have been.²⁷² Only in Monkstown did Catholics comprise a significant proportion of the total number of highway-overseers appointed, but even in that parish, Protestant names still dominated (figure 174).

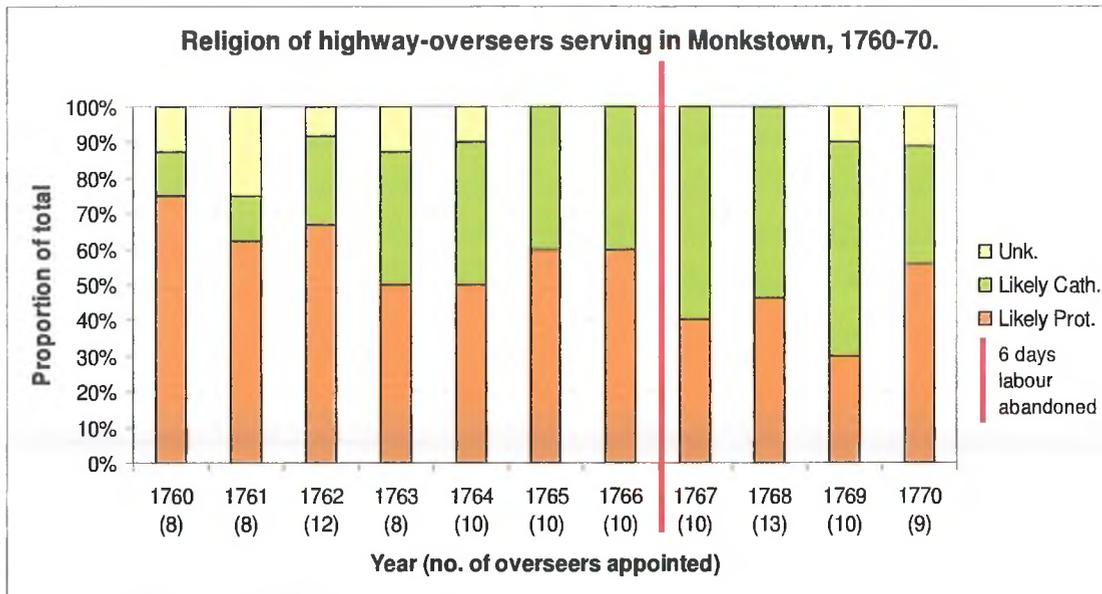


Figure 174 - Confessional allegiances of overseers / appraisers in Monkstown union, 1760-70.
Note: although overseers were meant to be appointed on the Tuesday or Wednesday after Michaelmas (1 George II, c. 13, sect. 2), Monkstown continued to appoint them at the Easter vestry. Thus, in 1766 overseers were appointed on 31 March, but the acts requiring the appointment of overseers were not formally abolished until 1 July 1766 (*Stat. Ire.*, ix, p. 324).

It is notable that while Protestants cannot be said to have monopolised the office of overseer in Monkstown, there was a significant increase in Catholic involvement during the latter half of the 1760s. In 1760, for instance, only one of the eight overseers was a Catholic, while six were Protestants. Protestant dominance of the overseers' office was consistently maintained throughout the 1760s, until the year 1767, when Catholics, for the first time, provided the majority of the union's overseers. There is a significance to the timing here, particularly in relation to the appointment of overseers in 1766 and 1767. The 1765 act which abolished the six-days public labour specified that responsibility for the repair of the highways was to be maintained within the remit of the parish

until 1 September 1766, so the overseers appointed in 1766 were to be the last to have executive responsibility for the organisation of the parishioners' voluntary labours.²⁷³ It cannot be a coincidence, therefore, that Protestants comprised at least half of the overseers appointed during all years between 1760 and 1766, inclusive, but as soon as the parish's responsibility for organising road-maintenance was revoked, the proportion of Catholic overseers within the union was immediately promoted. For Dalkey parish before 1767, for example, all the overseers were Protestant, but between 1767 and 1769 one Catholic was appointed each year. Similarly, in Kill parish, just one Catholic was appointed each year between 1762 and 1766 inclusive, but in 1767 and 1768 both of the overseers were Catholic. It seems clear, therefore, that when the position of overseer involved the management and instruction of labour, Catholic involvement was evident, but tempered. However, once the character of the position was changed – from being one of labour-management, into a less influential administrative role – the bar for Catholic involvement was lowered. If it is borne in mind that all surviving evidence points to Protestant votes predominating in the vestry, then the inevitable conclusion must be that Protestants were passing comment on the social and confessional qualifications for civil office. Churchwardens and sidesmen, by dint of their ecclesiastical role, should be communicants, but the role of a constable, the lowest level of the parish-office hierarchy, was apt to be filled by a Catholic. A highway-overseer was different, however. When it was a position of some executive authority, it was desirable that Protestants should be heavily involved, but as soon as once the power of the overseer was substantially revoked, it immediately became suitable for Catholics.

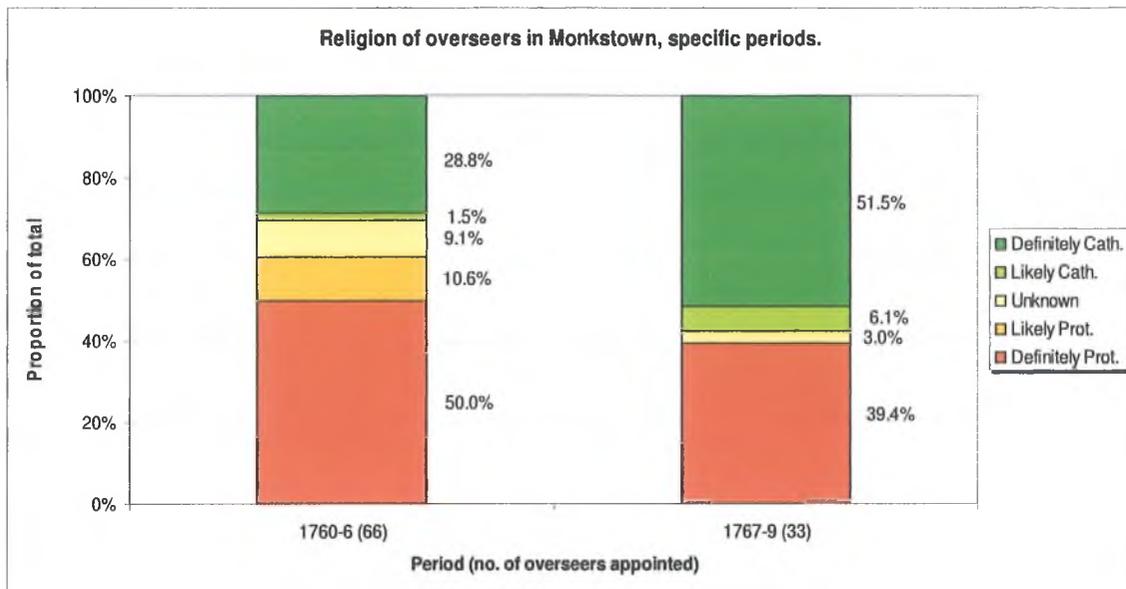


Figure 175 - Changing denominational focus in the appointment of overseers in Monkstown union, 1760-9.

The absence of complete confessional name-listings for any Wicklow parishes, other than those available for Aghowle, Rathdrum and Wicklow for 1766, frustrates any examination of how parish offices may have been distributed among the confessional communities at any other periods, or for any other geographic locations. It might be presumed that nominal linkage with entries in the various parish registers might provide an opportunity to identity confessional loyalties but attempts to do this proved highly unsuccessful, with very low hit rates. There is some scope for making sweeping assumptions about peoples' confessional loyalties based on their surnames and first names, but this would have to be highly qualified, and could be seriously inaccurate. Nonetheless, there are strong suspicions for suggesting that in post-Restoration Ireland the exclusion of Catholics from parish office less complete than it appears to have been in the 1760s. Delgany, the parish with the earliest vestry minutes in the county, provides evidence in this regard. For that parish, there is a clear distinction between the likely ethnic origin of the surnames of those individuals who served as churchwardens on the one hand and of the highway overseers on the other, in the immediate years after the Restoration. The relevant nominal information is presented in appendix 44. Twenty-eight churchwardens appear in the vestry

records between 1665 and 1680 inclusive (twenty-three different individuals), but all of them either appear in the parish's baptismal registers or have names which distinctively identify them as likely to have been of non-Irish origin. So distinctive is the ethnic origin of the surnames of these early churchwardens – Massey, Wingfield, Bunn, Wilson, Brass and Palmer, for example – that only one of them, Thady Byrne, could reasonably be presumed to possibly have been a Catholic, but he appears five times in the baptismal registers between 1666 and 1672, and so, his confessional allegiances are clear.

A contrasting trend is evident for the highway-overseers, however, particularly during the first decade of the parish's restoration. While only one of twenty-eight churchwardens appointed was called either Byrne or Toole, these two surnames were the most popular for overseers, accounting for thirteen of the total of seventy-two appointed before 1680. Similarly, parishioners like Murtagh Doyle, Laughlin Doyle, Denis Neile, Teigh Roe McDonagh, and Murtagh Savage all served as overseers, but none of them were ever elected to serve as churchwarden, and neither do they appear in the parish registers. David Toole served as overseer for six terms, between 1668 and 1678, and Patrick Byrne served three terms between 1670 and 1678, but neither was promoted to any higher office. While it would be unwise to view surnames as offering conclusive evidence of religious persuasion, even in this early, post-Restoration, era, the contrast between the surnames of those appointed as churchwardens compared with the surnames of overseer does suggest that an ecclesiastical and secular apportioning of parish responsibilities may have been operating in the earliest years of this reconstituted parish, and as was seen in table 72, this apportionment may have been maintained, at least until the 1710s.

One final position where Catholic involvement in the operation of the parish might be expected to be observed is that of applotter of the cess. It was noted earlier that the participation of Catholics in votes regarding the setting of cess-rates was progressively restricted during the eighteenth century, but once the cess was agreed at vestry, it had to be proportionately distributed on the parishioners. That distribution was the job of the applotter. No legal bar was ever

raised to disbar Catholics filling the post, and the only requirements, one can assume, were that the officials were trustworthy, diligent, literate and numerate.

The typical patterns of denominational involvement which were observed earlier are also evident in respect of this position. Neither Aghowle nor Wicklow appointed any Catholics as applotters during the 1760s, whereas Rathdrum and Monkstown did, but in limited numbers. In Monkstown, at least three of twenty-four individuals appointed as applotters between 1764 and 1769 were certainly Catholics, and there are strong grounds for suspecting that another two may have been of that persuasion.²⁷⁴ In Rathdrum in 1759, 1761, 1762 and 1763 two applotters and in 1764 and 1765 four applotters were appointed by the vestry, all of whom were Protestants.²⁷⁵ During the 1760s, however, that parish became mired in financial difficulties, which necessitated the introduction of significant administrative changes. Thus, a churchwarden's salary was authorised from 1764, to encourage the collecting of the cess,²⁷⁶ and four years later, in 1768, the process of applotting the cess was decentralised. In that year, responsibility for applotting the cess was devolved to the localities, with one or two parishioners being appointed to divvy out that year's cess in their immediate area. Thus, twenty-six applotters were appointed, and each was required to applot a proportion of the cess justly, on his neighbours. The impact of this, of course, was that Protestants, who were disproportionately concentrated on the fertile lands in the east of the union (appendix 45), were unavailable to applot the cess in many rural areas and consequently, Catholics, who had been excluded from the applotment process prior to 1768, comprised at least eleven of the total number that year. Unfortunately, it is not recorded whether this democratic leap was maintained or abandoned, because no further appointment of cess-applotters are recorded in subsequent vestry minutes, but it does suggest that even in parishes with substantial number of Protestants (figure 57), the complete exclusion of Catholics from parish affairs could be difficult, and was probably not even desirable.²⁷⁷

Based on the above consideration of Catholic involvement in parish life, a number of scenarios emerge, albeit in four unions with substantial, and, unfortunately, unrepresentatively large, Protestant communities, each boasting unique characteristics (figure 176). First, in the union of Aghowle, in south

Wicklow, an exclusively rural region with a very substantial Protestant minority (figure 57 and appendix 30), Catholic exclusion from parish life appears to have been absolute. No Catholics can definitively be identified as having signed the vestry meetings (although this is not certain evidence of Catholics non-attendance) and all parish offices were closed to them. Even in Crecrin and Liscolman parishes, home to only eight and nine Protestant families respectively in 1766, it was resident Protestant gentlemen rather than Catholics who filled the position of overseers of the six days highway labour. Removed from Aghowle both by geography and demographics, the union of Wicklow contained Wicklow's most prominent town, its principal borough, its principal port and was the regional focus for the county's roads' network and of the administration of justice. It was also the most populous and the wealthiest parish in the county. Notwithstanding the evident differences between Aghowle and Wicklow, the structures for denominational politics within both were comparable. In Wicklow, as in Aghowle, Catholics were probably excluded from both participation in the vestry and from parish office.

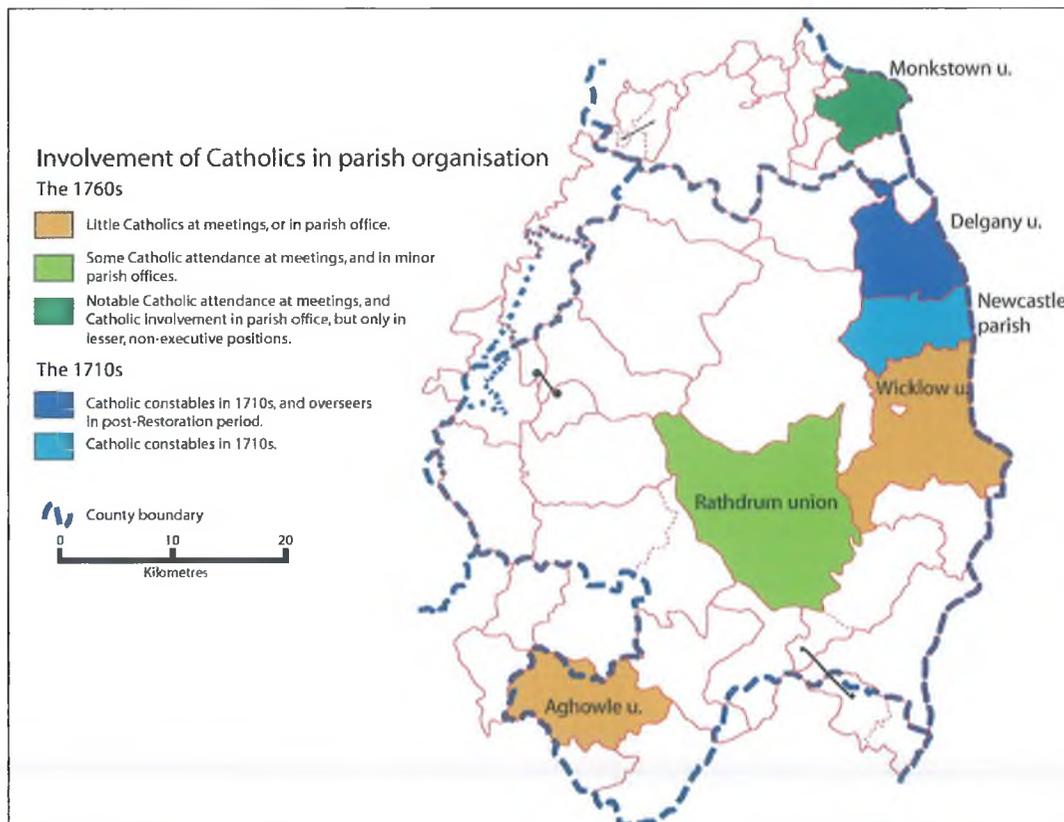


Figure 176 – Catholic involvement in the operation of parish structures and local government in various Wicklow parishes during the 1760s (earlier periods for Delgany and Newcastle).

Located between these geographic extremes was the large, but thinly populated, union of Rathdrum, which contained the small, Protestant-dominated town of Rathdrum. This union had a substantial Protestant population, but Protestants were heavily concentrated in the east of the region, leaving large swathes of territory exclusively occupied by Catholics (figure 57 and appendix 30). Although the town was dominated by Protestants, Catholics appear to have played a greater role in parish life here than in either of Aghowle or Wicklow. Catholic attendance at the vestry was restricted, but, nonetheless, a handful of Catholics appear occasionally to have attended, and participated, at meetings. More clearly, however, Catholics certainly made a contribution towards the efficient running of the parish, including providing two sidesmen and a larger number of highway overseers and cess-applotters during the 1760s and early 1770s.

Closer to Dublin, Monkstown, in south Dublin proved even more egalitarian. In this parish Catholics were unambiguously turning up at the vestry and signing the vestry book during the 1760s. Furthermore, they were more heavily involved as parochial officers than in Rathdrum, although John Malpas' promotion to churchwarden about the time of his conformity implies the exclusion of Catholics from this office. More tellingly, however, the predominant involvement of Catholics as constables – the least desirable of the various lay-offices – and their promotion from a minority to a majority position within the field of highway-overseer once the responsibilities of that position were curtailed can both be viewed as the clearest commentary available for contemporary Protestant perceptions regarding their Catholic neighbours. Catholics had a part to play in the efficient running of civil society, but it was on terms that were dictated by a politically dominant Protestant coterie within the walls of the vestry room.

Catholic Church structures in eighteenth-century Wicklow

However, identifying the denominational requirements for various parish offices is one thing, but what remains to be determined is how the interactions between Catholics and Protestants at the local level impacted on the organisation of contemporary society. It is notable that Wicklow, despite its substantial Catholic under-class and its large number of small gentry estates, had remained aloof from the 'primitive, almost medieval non-sectarian disorder' which had characterised wide areas of Leinster and Munster during the middle decades of the eighteenth century.²⁷⁸ For centuries this region had been the sharpest, deepest-embedded thorn in the skin of English authority in Ireland, and twice during the half-century before the arrival of Cromwell, Wicklow's clans had constructed challenging sub-plots within the framework of national disputes. After the Restoration and the land settlement, however, heavy Protestant settlement in the region had pushed County Wicklow off the administration's radar screen, and to outside observers, the county lay dormant, and peaceful.

But despite this veneer of calm, tensions bubbled under the surface during the eighteenth century, which ultimately led to an explosion into civil war at its

close. Many causes for this can be hypothesised, but religious tensions ultimately triumph over all others. It may have been convenient for the law to presume that Catholics did not exist, but they did, and in substantial numbers. Even worse, though, when the variety of penal legislation was not being rigorously implemented, Catholics were brimming with confidence, and even at times of heightened tensions they could prove stubbornly uppity. Raids on Catholic patterns or the locking up of Catholic priests may have assuaged Protestant insecurities during crisis periods, but to Catholics, such actions cannot have been viewed as anything but provocative, and were occasionally resisted. An attack by the county sheriff and justices of the peace on the annual pattern at Glendalough in 1714 did not dissuade Catholics from continuing to support the festival in large numbers in subsequent years.²⁷⁹ An epilogue to the closure of a papist mass house in Wicklow town in 1702 saw the destruction of eight houses by a fire lit 'on purpose by the Papists' in an outhouse of the portreeve. Afterwards, no Catholic chapel was permitted within the town, and in 1744 the parish priest was living four miles distant, at Ballycullen, in Rathnew parish, but by 1760 a chapel had been constructed within Wicklow, and another surfaced in orange Bray, at least, by the early 1780s.²⁸⁰

In the first half of the eighteenth century, the 1731, Lords' inspired inquiry into the state of Popery reported a strong Catholic church, within the non-urban part of Dublin and Glendalough diocese. Unfortunately the Dublin returns contain little information, other than the number of mass houses and their vintage, the number of priests and the number of popish schools in each parish but it remains clear from the returns, nonetheless, County Wicklow was home to a significant number of mass houses and, in spite of disbarring legislation, at least thirteen popish schools, including one at Kiltegan where Patrick Krelly [Kelly?] taught Latin.²⁸¹ At the time of this survey, the structures of the Catholic establishment appear to have been resting on firmer foundations in the populated east coast, in comparison to some of the more remote locations (see figure 177). Eight of the thirteen schools were located along the east coast, between Bray and Dunganstown, and a liberal sprinkling of chapels east of the mountains contrasted with a sparser distribution in the west and south. The quality of chapels to the east

of the uplands may also have been better. They were certainly newer; five of the thirteen chapels located in the east of the county had been constructed since the commencement of the reign of George I (1714), but only one was of comparable vintage elsewhere in the county. Neither was a 'covering for ye altar in ye fields' which served for a mass house in the union of Hacketstown similarly noted anywhere along the east coast. Notably, too, church infrastructure scarcely improved at Hacketstown, until the opening of a new church in 1803 – before this the Catholic's place of worship was 'nothing better than a mere shed, without doors and windows, and was often used by the neighbouring farmers during the week as a place for threshing corn'.²⁸² In terms of parish administration, the east of the county probably fared better, too. The earliest extant Catholic parish registers in Wicklow, for example, are for the parishes of Wicklow (1747), Avoca (1778), Bray (1792) and Rathdrum (1795), all of which are located east of the mountains, but in the west, sacramental recording typically did not commence until the early nineteenth century.²⁸³

In Shillelagh, on the Fitzwilliam estate which had firmly backed Protestant settlement in the beginning of the eighteenth century, Catholic infrastructures appear to have been particularly weak. Only three chapels were reported to the Lords' Committee in the entire barony of Shillelagh and the most Protestant part of the barony, the union of Aghowle (figure 57), there was no chapel, and only one priest. The priest, Phelim (Felix) Nowlan, must have been fairly busy, too, because he ministered not just to Aghowle, but also to the extensive union spanning Hacketstown, Haroldstown, Clonmore and Kiltegan, immediately to the north (figure 4).²⁸⁴ Educational opportunities for Catholics were equally circumscribed in the region, and no popish schools are recorded in the county, south of Dunganstown, Rathdrum and Haroldstown.²⁸⁵

particularly prevalent in the western part of the county, where Catholic infrastructure was weakest, and were notably sparser along the east coast.²⁸⁶

Although little is known about the operation of any of these patrons – with the singular exception of the Glendalough festival²⁸⁷ – the period of their demise merits comment. The ‘riotous assembly’ of ‘papists’ had been banned during the eighteenth century, and efforts, usually unenthusiastically and sporadically pursued, had been made to suppress Catholic patrons. The earlier noted 1714 raid on the Glendalough pattern, for example, was not a prelude to permanent oppression, but reflected heightened Protestant insecurities over the Jacobite threat, and once that threat subsided, the pattern was allowed to continue unimpeded.²⁸⁸ In fact, so public was the Catholic pattern during the eighteenth century that many, including events at Cronebane and Glendalough, were advertised in prominent, widely circulated publications and directories.²⁸⁹ As can be seen in figure 178, aside from a panicked response during 1798, when a number of patrons, including those at Dunganstown, Ballymanus and Clonegal were terminated, there is little evidence to suggest that Catholic patterns attracted much official attention during peacetime. In fact, it is notable that the majority of patterns were ultimately brought to an end by a resurgent, and reorganising, Catholic Church during than nineteenth century than through the substantive official actions during the earlier period. Ancient traditions, hankering back to a penal past, had little place in a resplendent, forward-looking new order, and Eugene O’Curry notes during the course of the Ordnance Survey that patrons at Oldconnaught, and elsewhere, were terminated less by Protestant sheriffs, but by ‘the interference of the Catholic priests’.²⁹⁰

It is also notable that patterns proved more resilient in the west and south of the county, where many survived into the middle of the nineteenth century, and beyond, in contrast to the situation in the east of the county, where most patterns had demised before the commencement of the nineteenth century. Even for those patterns which had ended before the commencement of the Ordnance Survey, the surveyors were usually able to determine the period when the pattern was terminated in the west and south, but this proved more difficult for the pattern-sites along the east coast, implying the earlier demise of these practices in

This official tolerance of the Catholic festival does not, however, imply ambivalence towards patterns and Catholic assembly on the part of Protestants. One of the more regular criticisms proffered by Protestants against Catholicism revolved around the perceived similarities between Catholic beliefs and ‘disgusting superstition’,²⁹¹ and the pattern was viewed by many Protestants as the contemporary embodiment of Catholicism’s grossest failings, although Protestants occasionally participated in some of the rituals.²⁹² To the outsider, an annual pattern provided not just an opportunity to practice one’s faith – regardless of how idolatrous that may have been –, but it also tempted participants with secular distractions, far removed from divine matters. A pattern at Dunganstown, for instance, was terminated about 1800 when a riot resulted in a fatality, and one at Tornant, near Dunlavin, was terminated by the Catholic clergy ‘as serious faction fights took place at it’.²⁹³ Gabriel Beranger used to frequent the pattern at Glendalough and remain ‘until the faction fights were likely to commence, about 3 o’clock P.M. ... when it was rather an unsafe locality ... religious observance, and even refreshments were at an end’, and one of the more striking elements of Peacock’s portrayal of the Glendalough patron is the well-attended fight among the headstones in the background.²⁹⁴ To compound matters, attending the pattern could prove expensive, and helped ensure that poor Catholics were maintained in a state of pecuniary. Henry Inglis, a Protestant, and no sympathiser of the patron, decried the opportunity cost of attendance at Lough Derg, thus

I am not going to write a tirade against Popery, and Catholic superstitions; but when I see thousands assembled at a place like this, far distant from their homes, I cannot but regret the loss of time so fruitlessly spent ... July is the period of the hay harvest; and the loss of employment during that month must have been a loss to many of at least 22s. 6d.

Even the spiritual benefits did not come free, and priests usually had to be generously recompensed for providing their services.²⁹⁵

Further substantial information on the development of Wicklow’s Catholic community is available for the 1760s, with Jacob Nevill’s *Map* (1760) identifying Catholic chapels and the 1766 religious census indicating the distribution of priests in the region. Notwithstanding the occasional bout of persecution, and the

odd witch-hunt in pursuit of priests or bishops, the situation for Catholics had generally improved in the course of the generation following 1731, although a straightforward comparison between the capital assets of the Catholic church in the 1730s and the 1760s is circumscribed by the patchiness of the surviving returns from the 1766 census. In those locations for which data for both surveys has survived, however, the number of chapels had increased and, although the towns, typically Protestant dominated, had still remained broadly free of popish chapels, one had, apparently, resurfaced in the county's capital town, and another had been constructed at Arklow, the county's largest urban area. Contrary to the law, a Catholic bishop was resident, and ministering, at Tullow, and some of the more populous parishes, including Wicklow, Rathvilly and Bray, also contrary to law, were employing curates and assistants.²⁹⁶ Even in the Protestant south, progress could be reported. Although Felix Nowlan, now aged seventy-six,²⁹⁷ was still ministering in Aghowle, and was still non-resident, a coadjutor had been appointed for that parish and a chapel had been erected at nearby Mullinacuff.

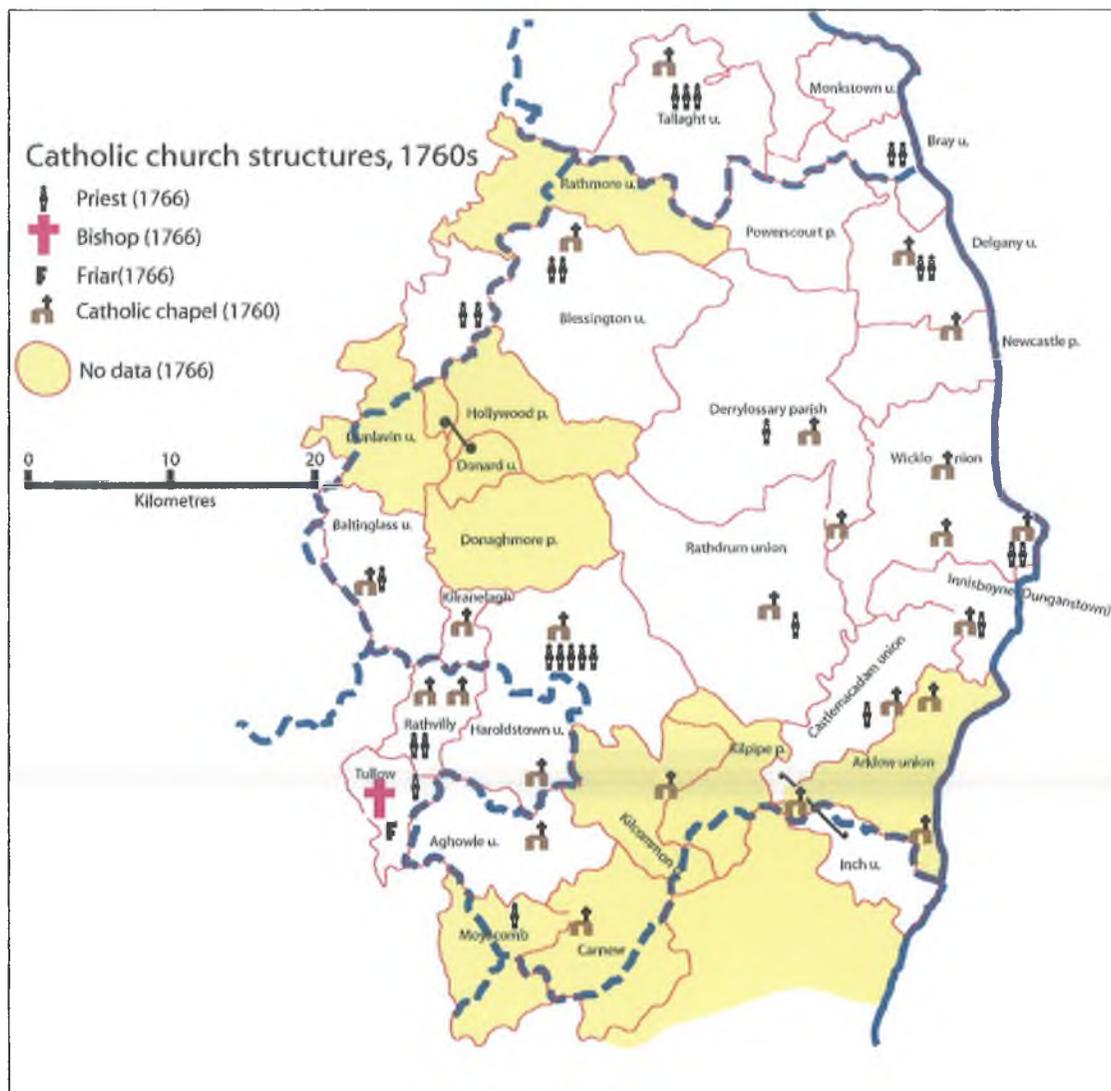


Figure 179 – Catholic church structures in the 1760s (source: N.A.I., MS M 2476 (i); Comerford, *Kildare and Leighlin*, iii, pp 404-6; R.C.B. Lib, MS 37, ff 7-8; Nevill, *Map of Wicklow, 1760*).

Information regarding either the quality of these various chapels or the operation of the eighteenth-century Catholic parishes in Wicklow is scarce, but what is clear is that it was costly to be a Catholic. As has been seen, Catholics not only had to fund expenditure on Protestant capital investments and to pay parish cesses which were used to support officeholders in the Protestant parish, but they also had to pay for the maintenance and upkeep of the parochial infrastructure of their own church. In terms of capital assets, the Catholic mass house, if one existed at all, was probably a fairly simple structure, which could be easily

constructed, and easily demolished during the occasional periods of heightened inter-denominational tension.²⁹⁸ Before the nineteenth century they were modestly decorated, and constructed. In the 1830s, a new chapel at Carnew, providing accommodation for 1,200 worshipers at a cost of £574, for example, compared favourably with the £2,420 expended on a new Protestant church in the same parish, which only had seating for four-hundred.²⁹⁹ Current expenditure, however, was a different matter. The priest had to be maintained, in some cases in reasonable comfort, and necessities had to be provided for mass. Fr William Ryan, parish priest in Wicklow in the 1750s, was sufficiently endowed to be able to employ a female servant to cook his meals and tidy his house, and must have been fairly settled, too, as he had a swarm of bees at his disposal.³⁰⁰ This represented a marked improvement in living standards in little more than a decade, as Ryan's predecessor, Denis Doyle, was unable had been unable even to live in the town.³⁰¹ Some religious services had to be paid for too, and at 2s. 2d. for a baptism and 5s. 5d. for a wedding in Wicklow,³⁰² the costs exceeded the equivalent fees charged by the Protestant minister.

Hidden tensions, and the portents for civil war

Any examination of social relationships during the eighteenth century in Wicklow is incomplete without a consideration of the underlying causes of the brutal civil war which erupted in the county at its close. Although nationally, the second half of the eighteenth century had witnessed a rise in agrarian unrest, Wicklow, in spite of its troublesome confessional make-up and its tradition, albeit an ageing one, of involvement in rebellion against centralised authority, remained quiet. Nonetheless, in spite of Wicklow's serene air, relationships within the region were not as placid as may have initially appeared.

Interdenominational relationships within the county during the eighteenth century operated at a number of different levels, and were filled with contradictions. There were also marked regional contrasts. At one level, it has been seen that, although discrimination against Catholics was widespread, in general the Catholic community appear to have been left alone, and their religious practices, both formal and populist, was tolerated, except during brief periods of heightened tensions. In some areas, Catholics were assembling at vestry meetings

and participating in vestry votes, while in other places local politics, and local service, was monopolised by Protestants. In order to explain the outbreak of sectarian killings, however, it is necessary to examine how both communities may have viewed the other, and to consider contemporary concepts about the parish community.

This issue of whom was a 'parishioner' is particularly interesting at the lowest social levels in the parish's hierarchy, where people were more likely to represent a drain on finite resources. As has been seen, Protestantism (or more particularly, regular attendance at divine service) could be laid down as a prerequisite for parish relief,³⁰³ but some parishes, including Bray, Delgany and Powerscourt, had opted to distribute relief to Catholics at specific periods during the first half of the eighteenth century. It was also seen that Protestant perceptions regarding the functions, duties and powers of the parish and their responsibilities towards the parish evolved during the course of the eighteenth century. When the threat to their position was perceived to be enhanced, Protestants rallied to the parish, the vestry and the church, as bulwarks against Catholicism, but when the threat receded, many decoupled themselves from an active involvement in the operation of parish structures, resulting in financial and administrative difficulties, particularly after the 1740s.

In part, these changing concepts of what constituted the 'parish' may have necessitated the introduction of Catholics into the positions of trust, which occurred about the middle of the eighteenth century, although it remains uncertain whether this represented an exercise in Protestant domination, or an attempt to remove barriers which had been established during the first half of that century. The selection of Catholic sidesmen in 1765 and again in 1775 in Rathdrum indicates a willingness to involve Catholics in one of the more important, and politically sensitive, posts available to lay people. In the same parish, the introduction of substantial numbers of Catholics into the process of cess-applotment in 1768 could also indicate a willingness to devolve responsibilities for the principal aspect of parish funding to the localities, although desperation, in the face of repeated failures to collect the cess in previous years were more likely the primary factor. Most tellingly, however, was the appointment

of Catholics to lay positions in Monkstown. Although only one Catholic, John Cunniam, served as sidesman, his co-religionists were repeatedly appointed as highway-overseers, particularly after 1766, when the responsibilities of the position were reduced, and were disproportionately favoured as constables, the least agreeable position available. Whether the appointment of Catholics to any of these positions represented coercion, or compliance, cannot be definitively known, although it is interesting to note that Catholic constables were rarely appointed for successive terms. If the positions were being filled by a coterie of compliant Catholics, it seems reasonable to presume that a small number of individuals would have been regularly appointed, in contrast to the single-term appointments that were characteristic. On the balance of probability, therefore, it is likely that Catholic employment within the Protestant parish was primarily imposed, and may have been a source of some interdenominational contention.

However, although inter-denominational tensions were sure to have been omnipresent during the eighteenth century, and were likely synchronised with fluctuating political tensions at the national and international level, there are few obvious instances of serious inter-community strife within the county until the latter years of the eighteenth century, although occasionally, Catholic chapels, conveniently roofed with flammable thatch, presented too good an opportunity to be ignored by some dedicated Protestants.³⁰⁴ It is likely that in some areas Catholics and Protestants operated within exclusively sectarian spheres, having minimal inter-community discourse or contact, as was the situation in Donaghmore, a rural parish in west-Wicklow, in the early years of the nineteenth century, where 'the Protestants of Donough[more] had but little intercourse with their Romanist neighbours'.³⁰⁵ The sectarian distribution of land, such as at Powerscourt, where the Protestants 'hold the best part of the lands, the Catholics being principally located on the mountain aides, and in the rugged bottoms of Glencree', or at Rathdrum, where Protestants were concentrated on the fertile lands, in the east and south (appendix 45), must have been a source of further tensions.³⁰⁶ Even quirky denominational distinctiveness was fostered, such as at Donaghmore, where left-handedness was encouraged among Protestants because it was viewed as 'proof of descent from the original Protestant settlers'.³⁰⁷

Certainly, in the latter decades of the eighteenth century a distinct ratchetting up of tensions within the county is evident, which coincided with the increased visibility of both physical and doctrinal Catholic infrastructures. Protestants, enduring shrinking numbers during the middle decades of the eighteenth century (chapter two), also had to witness the construction of numerous Catholic chapels throughout the county during the closing decades, while Catholic worship, previously populist and often practised in remote locations, had become more organised within the developing parochial structures, at least in the east of the county. At this time, there was a marked increase in the number of attacks on churches and theft of parish property, 'as had happened during the Confederate and Williamite wars',³⁰⁸ but often the stolen items were of little more than symbolic importance, implying a religious or political motivation rather than a financial one. The church at Powerscourt, located proximate to Powerscourt house, was robbed in 1779, 1787 and 1790.³⁰⁹ Details on these crimes are typically scant, but the cess levied to replace the goods stolen in the 1787 raid, amounting to more than £7:10, was substantial.³¹⁰ They were viewed with the utmost seriousness, too. A reward of twenty guineas was offered for information leading to the conviction of the perpetrators of the 1779 raid, which netted just £1:4 from the parish's poor box, and a Delgany vestry meeting sanctioned a reward of ten guineas for the conviction of those who robbed the church in that parish in 1786.³¹¹ Stolen on this occasion were the velvet cover of the communion table and the minister's surplus (valued at £5:10), objects of ecclesiastical, rather than secular, significance.³¹² The surplice was typically stored in the vestry room,³¹³ as was the parish poor box, but that appears not to have been interfered with. The following year Wicklow church was targeted – a vestry meeting in October 1787 authorised the reinforcement of the vestry room window with iron bars, and the subsequent Easter meeting approved the purchase of 'a table cloth and a napkin for the communion table in the room of those stolen out of the vestry room'.³¹⁴ The following year again, thieves again targeted church ornaments, this time in the neighbouring parish of Newcastle, where the cess for 1789 included a requirement for a new 'crimson velvet pall for pulpit & reading desk – fringed – the former being stolen'.³¹⁵ Protestants couldn't be expected to take the advances of pushy

'papists' lying down, and responded in kind, regularly rampaging against Catholic properties on 12 July.³¹⁶

By the 1790s, therefore, Wicklow contained all of the harbingers of civil discord. A strong, minority Protestant population, concerned about the growing strength and confidence of an oppressed Catholic majority, and frustrated by the concurrency of the steady encroachment of Catholic infrastructures, and the attacks on Protestant churches, turned to the newly formed Orange Order, while Catholics, particularly in the west and south, piled into the United Irishmen.³¹⁷ Once the fighting started in Kildare in May 1798, Wicklow moved rapidly, and inevitably, to the fore, as the polished veneer which had typified the relationships between Wicklow's inter-denominational communities quickly shattered, revealing a turmoil which had lain latent since the 1640s. Cooperation within the vestry, shared responsibilities in the realm of parish service or the theft of surplices and communion-table ornaments were a foreign country compared with the destruction of property, the violence and the sectarian conflict and murder which characterised the region during and after the 1798 Rebellion. The most serious violence occurred in the west of the county and in the inaccessible mountains, but, as Louis Cullen has noted, it was most vicious, and most explosive, in areas where 'Catholic and Protestant communities intermingled at all social levels'.³¹⁸ Thus, Shillelagh, the two Talbotstown baronies, and Rathdrum, all primary centres of militancy, were the regions which experienced the greatest tumults, and the highest number of claims for recompense for losses emanated from these areas, including 142 claims from Carnew parish, eighty-three from Arklow, seventy-three from Donard, and more than sixty from Kilcommon, Rathdrum and Kiltegan. The level of claims at Donard, where earlier it was noted that a widely attended vestry had been held to express support for the British constitution, represented almost 40 per cent of the total number of householders in that parish, reported by the 1821 census.³¹⁹



Figure 180 – Claims for losses arising from 1798 Rebellion, by barony (source: *List of persons who suffered losses in County Wicklow*).

Table 73 – Claims for damage arising from 1798 Rebellion, in worst affected parishes.

Parish	Total claims		Avg claim (£)	No of claims with property damage	No. of houses, 1821	Claims per house (%)	Houses damaged (%)
	Value	No.					
Donard	3,086	73	42.3	31	195	37.4	15.9
Carnew	15,613	142	109.9	74	739	19.2	10.0
Blessington	20,313	36	564.3	13	303	11.9	4.3
Kilcommon	8,049	68	118.4	25	616	11.0	4.1
Kiltegan	6,205	64	97.0	36	553	11.6	6.5
Kilpipe	3,280	49	66.9	9	493	9.9	1.8
Arklow	5,005	83	60.3	21	918	9.0	2.3
Crosspatrick	222	16	13.9	2	177	9.0	1.1

Source: *List of persons who suffered losses in County Wicklow*. Notes: The Kilcommon parish is the one in Ballinacor South. The value of claims is a poor guide to the level of disturbance. The largest claim in the county was the Marquis of Downshire's claim for £10,076 compensation for the destruction of his house at Blessington, which accounted for almost 50 per cent of the value of claims from that parish.

Property damage was extensive, too. Almost one hundred claims for damage to houses and capital infrastructure were received from the baronies of Shillelagh, and the two Talbotstowns, and lesser, but still substantial numbers, of properties were damaged in Ballinacor South, Ballinacor North, and elsewhere. Donard and Carnew were again to the fore in this regard; in Carnew parish more than one in ten houses were damaged or destroyed, and in Donard the destruction was even more widespread. Catholic-chapel, an occasional pursuit during the

Neither did Orange forces waste the opportunity proffered by the Rebellion to unleash a tide of blood-letting and sectarian killings throughout the county, including conducting massacres in Newcastle, in the aftermath of their victory at Newtownmountkennedy, and at Carnew and Dunlavin. The bitterness felt at the time of the rebellion took time to subside, too, and even the defeat of the rising elsewhere did not bring about the ending of the terror. Attacks on Catholic property continued through 1799 and 1800, and included the burning of Catholic chapels throughout the east coast; 'in the extent of nearly fifty miles from Bray to Wexford, almost every Roman Catholic chapel was laid in ashes'.³²¹ At the core, however, the underlying reasons for the outbreak of this period of vicious violence were demographic in nature.³²² Although essentially peaceful for a century and a half before the rebellion, the greater Wicklow region was imprisoned by its demographic and denominational structures, which were largely unique within non-Ulster Ireland. Wicklow was neither a community nor a society, but rather was it a number of overlapping societies, divorced from each other, and in competition for land, power and political and social influence. Rising Catholic prosperity and rising Catholic confidence during the second half of the eighteenth century had helped to further ratchet up tensions between the two primary confessional groupings, so that by early 1798, with Orange and United groupings heavily armed, the stage was set for a radical readjustment of the demographic scales, once hostilities had commenced in Kildare.

References, Chapter 7

¹ Most of Ireland had been shired at this stage although there were alternative administrative regions in some areas, such as the palatinate in the Cross of Tipperary.

² Beneath the townland, invariably, there would have been further micro levels of subdivision and topographical delineation, but these were unimportant for national and often for formal local administrative purposes (P. J. Duffy, 'Perspectives on the making of the Cavan landscape' in Raymond Gillespie (ed.), *Cavan, essays on the history of an Irish county* (Dublin, 1995), p. 30 (hereinafter cited as Duffy, 'Making of Cavan landscape'). Many of these micro-names are noted in Price, *Place-names of County Wicklow*, and many others can be identified on Jacob Nevill's *Survey of County Wicklow, 1760*. Another notable source, which has, to date, remained largely unexploited are the *Patent rolls of James I*).

³ This is particularly true for Catholics after 1727. Prior to that year freeholders, of 40 shillings or more, regardless of religious persuasion had the parliamentary franchise, but between 1727 and 1793 Catholics were disbarred from voting in parliamentary elections. For Protestants, the continuation of their enfranchisement ensured that an appreciation of the importance of county boundaries was maintained, even at relatively modest social levels, although parliamentary elections were infrequent before the 1760s. At the upper levels of the social hierarchy, Protestant gentry also involved themselves in the county-based grand jury system, an infrequently meeting body with wide-ranging responsibility in the fields of law, communications and justice.

⁴ Joseph Byrne, *Byrne's dictionary of Irish local history* (Douglas, 2004), p. 78.

⁵ Duffy, 'Making of Cavan landscape', p. 27.

⁶ *Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Chas I*, p. 49.

⁷ Duffy, 'Making of Cavan landscape', p. 29.

⁸ Duffy, 'Making of Cavan landscape', p. 29.

⁹ Parish of Killiskey, by H. W. Huband (R.C.B. Lib, MS P. 549.28.2, f. 131); Dickson, *Life of Michael Dwyer*, p. 185; Comerford, *Kildare and Leighlin*, iii, p. 406; Eoin Grogan and Annaba Kilfeather, *Archaeological inventory of County Wicklow* (Dublin, 1997), p. 166 (Grogan and Kilfeather, *Archaeological inventory of County Wicklow*); O'Flanagan (ed.), *O.S. letters, Wicklow*, p. 128.

¹⁰ 28 Henry VIII, c. 5, An act authorizing the king, his heirs and successors, to be supreme head of the Church of Ireland (*Stat. Ire.*, i, pp 90-1); Moody, Martin and Byrne, *A new history of Ireland*, viii, p. 197.

¹¹ Duffy, 'Making of Cavan landscape', p. 27.

¹² Barnard, 'The eighteenth-century parish', p. 298.

¹³ Steven Ellis, *Tudor Ireland, crown, community and the conflict of cultures, 1470-1603* (London, 1985), pp 192-3.

¹⁴ Duffy, 'Making of Cavan landscape', p. 27.

¹⁵ Tate, *Parish chest*, pp 9-12; Pounds, *Hist. of English parish*, pp 67-112. Note that some English parishes, particularly in Lancashire and Northumberland, were very extensive (*ibid.*, pp 85-6, 87 (note)).

¹⁶ Ronan (ed.), 'Archbishop Bulkeley's vistingation', pp 80-93. Of the Wicklow parishes, only Powerscourt (Stagony) and Wicklow parishes boasted substantial number of regular church-goers, although 200 that reputedly attended at Powerscourt may be a misprint (twenty would make more sense) (*ibid.*, p. 84).

¹⁷ The new canons of the Church of Ireland, 1634, codified the operation of the parish and moved to standardise the responsibilities of many of the lay officials, while also aiming to homogenise the operation of parishes, and end the bewildering array of local customs and traditions which determined local parish governance and organisation. See Raymond Gillespie (ed.), *The vestry records of the parish of St John the Evangelist, Dublin, 1595-1658* (Dublin, 2002), pp 10-1 (hereinafter Gillespie (ed.), *St John's*) for some examples of the variations in parish organisation.

¹⁸ Bray (ed.), *Anglican canons*, p. lxvii.

¹⁹ Bray (ed.), *Anglican canons*, pp lxiv-lxv.

²⁰ Bray (ed.), *Anglican canons*, pp lxvi.

²¹ It would appear, however, that the individual parishes often viewed the canons as laying down the general guidelines for parish management, from which each individual one could dine *à la*

carte, modifying the code to suit specific local circumstances (T. C. Barnard, 'Parishes, pews and parsons: lay people and the Church of Ireland, 1647-1780' in Raymond Gillespie and W. G. Neely (ed.), *The laity and the Church of Ireland, 1000-2000* (Dublin, 2002), p. 81 (hereinafter Barnard, 'Parishes, pews and parsons')).

²² Bray (ed.), *Anglican canons*, p. 506, no. 40.

²³ Bray (ed.), *Anglican canons*, p. 508, no. 46.

²⁴ Bray (ed.), *Anglican canons*, pp 520-30.

²⁵ Bray (ed.), *Anglican canons*, p. 525. Earlier statutory legislation had also required an annual Easter meeting (An act pertaining to the maintenance of public roads required an Easter vestry to be held annually (11, 12 and 13 James I, c. 7, sect. 1 (*Stat. Ire.*, i, pp 444-5)).

²⁶ Bullingbrooke, *Ecclesiastical law*, i, p. 302 [note that the pagination is incorrect, there being two pages numbered 301 and two pages numbered 302, immediately after each other. It is the second page 302 that is referenced here].

²⁷ See for instance, vestry meeting of 17 April 1775, and successive Easter vestries, at Powerscourt (Powerscourt vestry book 2 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 109.5.2, f. 54v)), for an example of this widespread practice.

²⁸ A vestry meeting in Wicklow on 11 June 1753 appears to have considered forcing the churchwardens, who had failed to deliver their accounts, to serve another term – a note to this effect is contained in the vestry book. This note is struck out, however, and another note provided the churchwardens with more time to present their accounts (Wicklow vestry book 1, part 2 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 611.5.1, pp 228-9)). This would suggest that the issue was the subject of some debate at the vestry meeting. Also in Wicklow parish, the 1766 cess was to be charged on parishioners in the same way as the 1765 cess with the exception of nine persons, for whom their cess charges were to be increased. Certainly this 1766 meeting was probably highly charged (vestry meeting, 28 May 1766 (*ibid.*, part 2, p. 85); Pounds, *Hist. of English parish*, p. 192). In the nineteenth century legislation determined that vestry meetings should not be held in either the vestry or the church because of the raucous scenes which frequently occurred at such meetings ('the holding of vestry or other parochial meetings in the parish church or chapel, or in the vestry room attached to such church or chapel, is productive of scandal to religion') (13 and 14 Victoria, c. 57, sect 1 (*A collection of the public general statutes passed in the thirteenth and fourteenth year of the reign of her majesty Queen Victoria*. London, 1850, pp 331-4)). This act was restricted to England but similar scenes were doubtless played out in Irish vestry meetings.

²⁹ A vestry meeting of 1787 in Donard approved a re-valuation of the parish, because of complaints that the previous valuation was unjust. At that meeting, a committee was appointed to carry out the new valuation. The meeting to consider the valuation required the presence of 'not less than twenty parishioners' (vestry meeting, 9 April 1787 (Donard vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 275.5.1, pp 89-90)).

³⁰ Edward Bullingbrooke, *The duty and authority of justices of the peace and parish officers for Ireland* (revised ed., Dublin, 1788), p. 154, sect 6 (hereinafter Bullingbrooke, *Duty of parish officers*).

³¹ Delgany vestry meeting, 25 July 1791 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, ff 163-4)).

³² Delgany vestry meeting, 25 July 1791 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, f. 164)). The attendance may have been even greater because, aside from some who may have been noncommittal, it is noted that the 35 voting were those who paid the church cess. Likely, therefore, the attendance was even greater than the 35 voters.

³³ A 1729 statute, 3 George II, c. 11, sect. 3 (*Stat. Ire.*, v, pp 389-90), specified that once the cess has been agreed by a vestry it was to be apportioned on the parishioners within 10 days, and the apportionment returned to the minister. The minister then had to give public notice of another vestry meeting the Sunday after he received the apportionment. This meeting was to be held within 10 days of the public notice, and was to consider and approve the apportionment. When approval was granted by this meeting, the apportionment was to be signed by three Protestant signatories 3 George II, c. 11, sect. 3 (*ibid.*, pp 389-90).

³⁴ Vestry meeting, 25 April 1759 (Donard vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 275.5.1, p. 9)). In this case Donard was operating according to 3 George II, c. 11. Similarly, the Wicklow parish cesses from 1779 onwards were typically 'confirmed in vestry by the minister, churchwardens and three

creditable parishioners' (see, for instance, vestry meeting, 10 March 1779 (Wicklow vestry book 1, part 2 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 611.5.1, p. 228))).

³⁵ 3 George II, c. 11, sect. 3 (*Stat. Ire.*, v, pp 389-90).

³⁶ It could either mean that a majority of Protestant parishioners had to approve of the applotters, or, perhaps more likely, that a majority of the Protestant parishioners attending the meeting had to approve.

³⁷ 11 and 12 George III, c. 16, sect 4 (*Stat. Ire.*, x, pp 205-6).

³⁸ There was also the possibility for people who did not attend a meeting in person to register preferences, as votes could also be cast by proxy. A vestry meeting, 20 November 1786, in Newcastle was signed by 9 parishioners with a further 7 proxy votes listed (Newcastle vestry book, book 2 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 914.5.2)).

³⁹ Vestry meeting, 8 April 1760 (Rathdrum vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 377.5.1, p. 11)).

⁴⁰ Vestry meeting, 27 September 1790 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, ff 157v-8v)).

⁴¹ Vestry meetings, 4 April 1726, 27 September 1790 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, ff 78v, 158v)).

⁴² Vestry meetings, 30 January 1811, 6 February 1811 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, ff 204-204v)).

⁴³ Vestry meeting, 19 October 1774 (Wicklow vestry book 1, part 2 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 611.5.1, p. 173)).

⁴⁴ Vestry meeting, 19 October 1774 (Wicklow vestry book 1, part 2 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 611.5.1, p. 174)). If insufficient numbers attended the first meeting, then surely most of those same parishioners would have attended the second meeting, if that was possible. That only one of the four signatories signed the subsequent meeting, even though they were likely to have been in attendance, suggests that were attending, but did not sign.

⁴⁵ Vestry meeting, 21 March 1783 (Newcastle vestry book 2 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 914.5.2)).

⁴⁶ Vestry meetings, 17 April 1797, 9 April 1798 (Donard vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., P. 275.5.1, pp 139, 141-2)).

⁴⁷ In Lusk parish in north Dublin, for instance, a vestry was adjourned in 1768 because of the non-attendance of either churchwarden, and although it is recorded that 'several of the parishioners' had attended, only two parishioners signed the minutes (vestry meeting, 5 April 1768 (Lusk vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 453.5.1, p. 232))). The Dundalk meeting was held on 2 April 1783. At that meeting eighty-four voted in favour of a motion which was opposed by sixty. The minutes, however, were signed by the curate, two churchwardens and thirteen other parishioners (H. G. Tempest, *Tempest's Dundalk Annual, 1935* (Dundalk, 1935), pp 32-3).

⁴⁸ Steve Hindle, *The state and social change in early modern England, c. 1550-1640* (Basingstoke, 2000), p. 214 (hereinafter cited as Hindle, *State and social change, England*).

⁴⁹ Lusk parish in north Dublin, for instance, saw the Easter vestry as opportunity to reward the parish officers with a complementary dinner after the meeting (vestry meeting, 1 April 1771 – 'the sum of three pounds henceforth be allowed out of the oconomy [fund] towards an entertainment on every Easter Monday for the officers of the parish' – (Lusk vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 453.5.1, p. 244); see also *ibid.* p. 250 for these charges appearing in the annual accounts).

⁵⁰ The Wicklow vestry meetings are a case in point. Most are signed by no more than ten parishioners, and often by only about five. The Easter vestry meeting of 6 April 1779 had to be abandoned, 'only two parishioners [sic] appearing at said vestry besides the church wardens, parish clerk, the sexton and clerk of the vestry' (Wicklow vestry book 1, part 2 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 611.5.1, p. 233)). A Wicklow vestry meeting of 14 November 1787 was signed by one churchwarden whereas it is explicitly stated in the minutes that both churchwardens had approved the cess applotment (*ibid.*, p. 280).

⁵¹ Barnard, 'The eighteenth-century parish', p. 305. It is actually doubtful that the 1748 list of names for St Nicholas is the minutes of a vestry meeting, but rather does it appear to be a petition from a number of inhabitants of St Nicholas and surrounding parishes requesting the establishment of a parochial union (St Nicholas vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib. MS P. 498.5.1, loose sheet affixed to p. 26)).

⁵² A statute concerning the union and division of parishes considered the question of the construction of new parish churches and laid the responsibility for funding the capital construction costs on the vestry (2 George I, c. 14, sect. 3 (*Stat. Ire.*, iv, p. 384); Bullingbrooke, *Ecclesiastical*

law, i, pp 302-3. By the early nineteenth century, despite a century of penal legislation introducing various disabilities against Catholics, Catholics could still participate in all vestry votes, except those concerning the election of churchwardens and parish clerks (John Finlay, *The office and duty of church-warden and parish officer in Ireland* (new ed. with supplement., Dublin, 1827), p. 178 (hereinafter cited as Finlay, *Office and duty of church-warden*)).

⁵³ In Cloyne in 1724, for example, Dean Henry Maule bemoaned the presence of Catholics at his vestry, but, dining *à la carte* from statutory and canon law, resolved the issue by administering oaths of allegiance and abjuration to the attendees (Barnard, 'Parishes, pews and parsons', p. 81).

⁵⁴ W. N. Osborough, 'Publishing the law: John Finlay, 1780-1856' in Martin Fanning and Raymond Gillespie (ed.), *Print culture and intellectual life in Ireland, 1660-1941* (Dublin, 2006), pp 53-73.

⁵⁵ Finlay, *Office and duty of church-warden*, p. 25).

⁵⁶ At the Easter vestry meeting of 10 April 1787 in Stabannon and Richardstown parishes it was noted that vestry meetings would henceforth only consist of Protestant parishioners. This would imply that Catholic parishioners were attending the vestry meetings prior to them being disbarred from voting in churchwarden elections (James Leslie, *History of Kilsaran, union of parishes in the County of Louth* (Dundalk, 1908), p. 136). See, also, Barnard, 'Parishes, pews and parsons', p. 81 for the localised application of an oath to remove Catholics from vestry participation.

⁵⁷ Vestry meeting 1763 [date lost at top margin] (Donard vestry book (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 275.5.1, p. 25)). This distinction is not just a once off, as the 'parishioner'/'Protestant parishioner' distinction is similarly recorded in the vestry meeting of 9 April 1765 (*ibid.*, p. 31). In 1766, the churchwardens' accounts were settled 'to the satisfaction of the vestry' (*ibid.*, p. 35). By 1775, however, decisions of all types of meetings are reported as being approved by the Protestant parishioners (*ibid.* p. 53).

⁵⁸ It is logical that this was standard procedure. As Catholics had to pay the cess, then their presence at a meeting to verify the parish accounts could hardly be denied.

⁵⁹ Vestry meeting, 9 April 1798 (Donard vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 275.5.1, pp 141-2)). Clearly, therefore, Catholics were considered parishioners. Also, providing further evidence that the number of signatories to vestry meetings is not representative of the numbers attending, this numerously attended meeting was signed by just six people.

⁶⁰ Vestry meeting, 1 April 1777 (Bray vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 580.1.1, f. 129v)); Carlow, R.C.B., P. 317.5.2.

⁶¹ Vestry meeting, 27 March 1751 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS 917.5.1, f. 97)). For Aghowle, see, for instance, vestry meeting of 24 April 1739 (Aghowle vestry book, 1707-1813 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 522.5.1)). Also in Aghowle, vestry meetings for the election of the churchwardens and the clerk's salary could be held separately, such as occurred on 23 March 1761 (*ibid.*).

⁶² See, for instance, the two vestry meetings held on 17 April 1786 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, f. 147)).

⁶³ Bray parish registers, book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 580.1.1, p. 27).

⁶⁴ The situation is even worse than suggested here, as only the 1766 return for Monkstown is complete. For Aghowle, the margins of the MS return are damaged, resulting in a loss of data and for Rathdrum the first names of the Catholics are not recorded. Also, for Rathdrum, about 16 of the Protestant names have been omitted, which further complicates the exercise (Summary, Dublin diocese, 1766 census (N.A.I., MS M 2476 (i))); (R.C.B. Lib., MS 37, ff 9-17)).

⁶⁵ It should be remembered that even signing the minutes does not definitively imply that the person took part in the voting process.

⁶⁶ In fact, the identification of confessional loyalties is problematic. Cunniam is recorded in the 1766 census, which was compiled by the parish minister, as a Catholic, but he also appears in the Protestant baptism registers in 1764 and 1767 (Henry Seymour Guinness, *The register of the Union of Monkstown (Co. Dublin)* (London, 1908), p. 38 (hereinafter cited as Guinness, *Monkstown parish registers*)). It is possible, therefore, that his confessional allegiance was dubious. He may have considered himself a Protestant, but may have failed to fulfill the various legislative and ecclesiastical obligations that were required of Protestants.

⁶⁷ Vestry meeting, 28 March 1758 (Rathdrum vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 377.5.1, p. 2)); Francis Elrington Ball, and Everard Hamilton, *The parish of Taney: a history of Dundrum, near*

Dublin, and its neighbourhood (Dublin, 1895), p. 59 (hereinafter cited as Ball and Hamilton, *Parish of Taney*).

⁶⁸ Vestry meeting, 23 September 1698 (Powerscourt register and vestry book, 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 109.1.1, f. 5v)); Copy of order from vestry meeting of 30 March 1725 (Bray vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 580.1.1, f. 38)).

⁶⁹ Vestry meetings, 18 April 1715, 31 October 1753 (Wicklow vestry book 1, part 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 611.5.1, pp 92, 233)). Enderdorn moved from seat 27, valued at £3, to seat 8,, valued at £4:10:0 (ibid, first page in book).

⁷⁰ Vestry meeting, 9 May 1709 (Powerscourt register and vestry book, 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 109.1.1, f. 13)).

⁷¹ Ball and Hamilton, *Parish of Taney*, p. 56.

⁷² Vestry meeting, 21 March 1783 (Newcastle vestry book 2 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 914.5.2)).

⁷³ Delgany vestry meeting, 14 June 1791 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 517.5.1, f. 160v)).

⁷⁴ Vestry meeting, 7 January 1724/5 (Aghowle vestry book, 1707-1813 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 522.5.1)).

⁷⁵ Copy of order from vestry meeting of 30 March 1725 (Bray vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 580.1.1, f. 38)).

⁷⁶ Copy of order from vestry meeting of 30 March 1725 (Bray vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 580.1.1, ff 38-38v)).

⁷⁷ Vestry meeting, 14 June 1736 (Powerscourt register and vestry book, 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 109.1.1, f. 47v)).

⁷⁸ Wicklow vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 611.5.1, pp 1-4, 13). It is clear that new pews have been constructed from the note concerning the payment to Mr Middleton 'for building of the 30 seats' (ibid., p. 14). The church repairs are detailed in the accounts of Thomas Theaker, churchwarden for 1709-10 (ibid., pp 22-4).

⁷⁹ Seats could also be shared, i.e. a person could buy rights to half a seat or a third of a seat, and in such cases, priority within the seat could also be prescribed (Bullingbrooke, *Ecclesiastical law*, i, pp 269-70)

⁸⁰ Vestry meeting, 27 February 1711, which ordered the transcription of a decision of a vestry of 16 October 1708, which was in the old (now lost) vestry book (Wicklow vestry book 1, part 1 (R.C.B. Lib. MS P. 611.5.1, p. 51)).

⁸¹ Copy of order from vestry meeting of 30 March 1725 (Bray vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 580.1.1, f. 37v)). Note the record against the fifth seat on the south side.

⁸² Vestry meeting, 9 April 1787 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, f. 150)).

⁸³ Vestry meeting, 9 April 1787 (Newcastle vestry book 2 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 914.5.2)).

⁸⁴ In Seirkieran parish in Ossory, for instance, 'the poorer part of the congregation has no place to sit down or rest themselves' (Leslie, *Ossory clergy*, p. 360).

⁸⁵ Vestry meeting, 18 April 1720 (Blessington registers and vestry book, 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 651.1.1, p. 8)). The approved cess included the cost of building two pews 'for the common use of the parishioners'. Copy of note on distribution of seats in Bray church, dated 30 March 1725 (Bray vestry book 1 (R.C.B. MS P. 580.1.1, f. 38v)); vestry meetings, 5 July 1797, 22 February 1805 (Rathdrum vestry book 2 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 377.5.2, pp 90, 155)). Castleknock vestry authorised the construction of a churchwardens' seat in 1759, 'and three open seats for the poor' (Castleknock vestry minutes, 1744-1808 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 352.5.1, p. 81)).

⁸⁶ Vestry meeting, 21 March 1783 (Newcastle vestry book 2 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 914.5.2)). Twenty-nine seats are distributed, but 'the distribution of the residue of the seats ... in the sd gallery shall be considered at a future meeting'. Likely, the number of additional seats in the gallery would have been few, so, the total number of pews would not have exceeded three dozen. Vestry meeting, 27 September 1790 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, f. 157v)). Later, the number of seats available for the Delgany poor was reduced at a meeting on 4 October 1790 (ibid., f. 159), which left just one seat, the clerks, available for 'strangers' (14 June 1791 (ibid., f. 161)), and after a further redistribution, the clerk's seat was closed to the strangers, too (25 July 1791 (ibid., f. 163v)). It appears, therefore, that no pews were made available to the poor, although this does not rule out the possibility of open benches being provided at the back of the church.

⁸⁷ Copy of order from vestry meeting of 30 March 1725 (Bray vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 580.1.1, f. 38v)).

⁸⁸ Vestry meeting, 31 May 1757 (Bray vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 580.1.1, f. 50v)).

⁸⁹ Vestry meeting, 5 April 1790 (Newcastle vestry book 2 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 914.5.2)).

⁹⁰ Barnard, 'The eighteenth-century parish', p. 318.

⁹¹ Vestry meeting, 16 October 1708 (Wicklow vestry book 1, part 1 (R.C.B. MS P. 611.5.1, p. 51)).

⁹² Vestry meeting, 14 June 1791 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, f. 162v)).

Also, when a new church was authorised for Rathdrum the vestry minutes noted the requirement for a gallery 'for the use of the poor of the parish'. However, that line was struck out and replaced with 'for the accommodation of such persons as have no pews'. Not having a pew did not automatically mean that one was poor (vestry meeting, 5 July 1797 (Rathdrum vestry book 2 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 377.5.2, p. 90)).

⁹³ Vestry meeting, 9 April 1787 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, f. 150)).

⁹⁴ See the reason for the alteration recorded against seat 14, where Adrial Martin's claim was rejected, in favour of Francis Ellis (vestry meeting, 25 July 1791 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, f. 163v)).

⁹⁵ The church was opened on 3 July 1791 and on 25 July a vestry meeting was held to sort out pew-ownership issues days before the church was consecrated, on 31 July (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, ff 163-163v; Delgany parish accounts, 1789-1804 (R.C.B. MS P. 917.7.1, p. 12)).

⁹⁶ Vestry meeting, 14 June 1791 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, f. 160v)).

⁹⁷ 1766 Census (R.C.B. Lib., MS 23, f. 104); *Jn. of Irish Assoc. for Preserve. of Mem. of Dead, 1900*, iv, no. 3 (n.d.), p. 408; Eileen O'Byrne, *The convert rolls* (Dublin, 1981), p. 235 (Note that the conformity date should be 1768, and not 1748).

⁹⁸ Vestry meetings, 23 April 1753 (Newcastle register and vestry book, 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 914.1.1)), 22 October 1753 (Newcastle vestry book 2 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 914.5.2)).

⁹⁹ See, for instance, vestry meeting, 1 May 1782 (St Mary's, Athlone, vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 392.5.1, p. 211)). At a meeting on 12 May 1786 the vestry appointed a beadle who was to retain the keys of the seats (*ibid.*, p. 236)

¹⁰⁰ Vestry meetings, 22 October 1729, 23 April 1763 (Wicklow vestry book 1, part 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 611.5.1, p. 158; *ibid.*, part 2, pp 48-9)).

¹⁰¹ Vestry meeting, 27 September 1790 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, f. 157v)). The new pews in Powerscourt church had doors (note payment for painting the number on the doors). Although it is not clear that they contained locks, it would seem most likely (vestry meeting, 16 September 1779 (Powerscourt vestry book 2 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 109.5.2, f. 72)). Also in Delgany parish the churchwardens' accounts for 1808 included expenditure for repairing a pew and putting a lock on it (vestry minutes, 3 April 1809 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, f. 200)).

¹⁰² Letter from Robt Corbet to Henry Evans (the recipient of the seat), 23 November 1816 (loose sheet in Powerscourt vestry book 2 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P.109.5.2)); vestry meeting, 28 April 1829 (Newcastle vestry book 3 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 914.5.3)).

¹⁰³ 'A seat may not be granted by the ordinary, to a person and his heirs absolutely: for the seat doth not belong to the person, but to the inhabitant; otherwise, if he and his heirs go away, and dwell in another parish, they shall yet retain the seat, which is unreasonable', Bullingbrooke, *Ecclesiastical law*, i, p. 269.

¹⁰⁴ Vestry meeting, 27 February 1711, (transcription of decision of vestry of 16 October 1708) (Wicklow vestry book 1, part 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 611.5.1, p. 52)). The initial owner of the seat would receive $\frac{2}{3}$ of the initial cost of the seat when leaving the parish, and the vestry would sell the seat to a new parishioner. If the new owner was leaving the parish, he would receive just $\frac{1}{3}$ of the initial cost of the seat, regardless of what he paid for it.

¹⁰⁵ Vestry meeting, 15 April 1760 (Wicklow vestry book 1, part 2 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 611.5.1, pp 5-7)). Similarly, although not stated, Colonel Whaley in Newcastle was probably an absentee.

¹⁰⁶ Local leasing arrangements for the pews could be influenced by local parish circumstances. In the 1780s Athlone parish church, St Mary's, was bursting at the seams, requiring the addition of new galleries to increase capacity and the construction of a new church in St Peter's parish. Thus, in 1782 the owners of pews in St Mary's were asked to surrender the keys of their pews to the sexton who would open their pew to the public, if the owners were not in attendance. What better

way to encourage church attendance among the elites, than to threaten them that any class of ruffian could use their property if they were not present? (Vestry meeting, 25 September 1782, R.C.B., St Mary's parish vestry book, p. 392.5.1, p. 215. A vestry meeting of 21 August 1786 noted that there 'is not sufficient accommodation in this church for all the inhabitants of the parish' (ibid., p. 240); In St Mary's parish, Athlone, the keys of the pews were retained by the churchwarden and others could use the seats if the owners were not present (vestry meeting, 2 April 1782 [Tuesday in Easter week] (St Mary's, Athlone, vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 392.5.1, p. 211))). Barnard, 'The eighteenth-century parish', p. 318).

¹⁰⁷ Vestry meeting, 17 May 1714 ('the seats of the sd parish church be well painted by the several proprietors of the sd seats') (Wicklow vestry book 1, part 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 611.5.1, p. 81)). By 1771, however, it was ordered that 'all pews be of a uniform couler, & that no person be permitted to paint their own seat' (vestry meeting, 25 September 1771 (Wicklow vestry book 1, part 2 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 611.5.1, p. 150))).

¹⁰⁸ Vestry meeting, 12 April 1784 (Rathdrum vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 377.5.1, p. 205)). Easter Sunday fell on 18 April in 1784.

¹⁰⁹ Vestry meeting, 7 January 1724/5 (Aghowle vestry book, 1707-1813 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 522.5.1)). Delgany adopted a similar ordinance when a new church was being constructed (vestry meeting, 27 September 1790 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, f. 158))).

¹¹⁰ Vestry meeting, 25 July 1791 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, ff 163-163v)).

¹¹¹ Copy of order from vestry meeting of 30 March 1725 (Bray vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 580.1.1, f. 37v)). Note the record against the fifth seat on the south side.

¹¹² Vestry meeting, 18 May 1725 (Wicklow vestry book 1, part 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 611.5.1, p. 136)).

¹¹³ Vestry meeting, 16 June 1725 (Wicklow vestry book 1, part 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 611.5.1, p. 137)).

¹¹⁴ Vestry meeting, 27 February 1767 (Wicklow vestry book 1, part 2 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 611.5.1, p. 91)). Eaton was a generous benefactor in the parish. Later that year she subsidised further church repair (vestry meeting, 9 September 1767 (ibid., p. 100)), in 1771 she constructed a porch for the church (vestry meeting, 11 September 1771 (ibid., p. 147)), in 1774 she is recorded as having constructed a steeple (vestry meeting, 29 September 1774 (ibid., p. 171)) and in 1776 she received authorisation to construct a wall (vestry meeting, 18 December 1776 (ibid., p. 205)). A vestry meeting of 31 March 1777 decided to construct a 'plate of marble' recording her generous benefactions (ibid., p. 206). Her charity continued. A vestry meeting of 13 September 1782 (ibid., p. 255) noted her construction of a 'magnificent entrance into the churchyard'.

¹¹⁵ Copy of petitions (Bray vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 580.1.1, ff 88-9)).

¹¹⁶ Vestry meetings, 8 April 1751, 31 May 1757 (Bray vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 580.1.1, ff 42v, 50v)).

¹¹⁷ Vestry meeting, 3 September 1725 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, f. 77)). The replacement of the seats was undertaken on the instructions of the archbishop (vestry meeting, 4 April 1726 (ibid., f. 78)).

¹¹⁸ Francis McCorry has identified similar trends in Shankill, Co. Armagh, but with the landlord signing before the minister (McCorry, *Parish registers*, p. 134).

¹¹⁹ Vestry meeting, 29 May 1792 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, ff 167-167v)).

¹²⁰ Vestry meetings 27 September 1790, 14 June 1791 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, ff 158v, 162v)).

¹²¹ Vestry meeting, 14 June 1791 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, ff 160v, 161)); Taylor and Skinner, *Maps of the roads of Ireland*, p. 140.

¹²² A seat had also been granted to the heirs of Forster Adair, but this was revoked at a subsequent meeting (vestry meetings, 14 June 1791, 25 July 1791 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, ff 160v, 163v))).

¹²³ Vestry meeting, 4 April 1726 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, f. 78v)); 21 March 1783 (Newcastle vestry book 2 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 914.5.2)).

¹²⁴ Vestry meetings 9 April 1787, 13 May 1789, 25 April 1791, 23 March 1799 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, ff 150v, 155, 160, 175v)).

¹²⁵ Flannery, *Delgany*, p. 72.

¹²⁶ Vestry meetings, 14 June 1791, 25 July 1791 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, ff 160v, 161, 163v)). Caleb Reed's claim was subsequently rejected, thereby freeing a slot for LaTouche.

¹²⁷ Vestry meetings, 12 April 1696, 5 April 1697, 13 May 1697, 7 August 1698, 26 April 1699 [sic, really 1698] (Powerscourt registry and vestry book, 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 109.1.1, ff 3, 3v, 3v-4, 5)).

¹²⁸ Vestry meetings, 31 March 1766, 20 April 1767 (Monkstown vestry book 1 (in local custody in Monkstown parish)).

¹²⁹ See, for instance, vestry meetings, 29 December 1763, 25 June 1764, 6 September 1764, 8 April 1765 (Monkstown vestry book 1 (in local custody in Monkstown parish)).

¹³⁰ Vestry meeting, 1 April 1700, 6 April 1702, 29 March 1703 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, ff 53, 55)).

¹³¹ 'Roman Catholics went to church before they went to chapel, and the ancient law, which is still the law in this respect, contemplates the Roman Catholics among the congregation of the church' (Finlay, *Office and duty of church-warden*, p. 197).

¹³² Vestry meetings, 20 April 1778 (Powerscourt vestry book 2 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 109.5.2, f. 65)); 6 April 1779 (Wicklow vestry book 1, part 2 (R.C.B. Lib. MS P. 611.5.1, p. 233)). The Wicklow parish Easter vestry of 1781 also failed to attract sufficient numbers to appoint churchwardens (vestry meeting, 17 April 1781 (*ibid.*, p. 248)).

¹³³ A huge cess (£163) was authorised in Wicklow in 1747 in order to clear the parish debts (vestry meeting, 22 July 1747 (Wicklow vestry book 1, part 1 (R.C.B. Lib. MS P. 611.5.1, p. 206)), but another meeting, 18 September 1747, cancelled that cess as 'there was no applotment of the cess in ten days after [the July meeting]' and levied another cess of the same amount to discharge the debts. A similar problem arose in 1752 when a cess of £120 was levied, annulled and re-levied, again on account of the non-attendance of parishioners at the meeting called to approve the cess (vestry meetings 20 September 1752, 18 October 1752 (*ibid.*, pp 222, 223)). In 1758 further trouble was encountered with regard to a cess. A cess was approved by a meeting of 28 March 1758 (Wicklow vestry book, part 1, p. 263) but the cess was not approved 'by reason of the parishioners not attending' (vestry meeting, 16 June 1758 (*ibid.*, p. 266)). Another vestry was called to re-levy the cess but this had to be adjourned 'by reason of a sufficient number of parishioners not attending' (*ibid.*, p. 266).

¹³⁴ Vestry meeting, 19 October 1774 (Wicklow vestry book 1, part 2 (R.C.B. Lib. MS P. 611.5.1, p. 173)). The meeting was postponed until 5.00 pm, at which reconvened meeting the applotment was approved (*ibid.*, p. 174).

¹³⁵ See, for instance, vestry meetings in Rathdrum on 2 May 1786, 23 May 1786 and 13 July 1786 where meetings called for the various purpose of approving applotments, replacing a deceased churchwarden and auditing churchwardens' accounts were all adjourned (Rathdrum vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 377.5.1, pp 230, 232, 242, 243)).

¹³⁶ Vestry meeting, 2 August 1764 (Rathdrum vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 377.5.1, p. 39)).

¹³⁷ Wicklow parish had to pursue churchwardens in the courts for outstanding sums on two occasions during the eighteenth century. On both occasions the churchwardens were given numerous opportunities to settle the accounts prior to the commencement of legal action. Thomas Cotter and Daniel Gilbert were elected as churchwardens at the Easter vestry of 1758, and the parish did not prosecute them until 1760 (vestry meeting, 8 February 1760 (Wicklow vestry book 1, part 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 611.5.1, p. 292); *ibid.*, part 2, p. 11). John Darragh and William Jones were appointed churchwardens in 1777 and were prompted numerous times to clear their accounts before being prosecuted in late 1779 (vestry meetings, 31 March 1777, 24 November 1779, 20 September 1780 (Wicklow vestry book 1, part 2 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 611.5.1, pp 206, 240, 243))).

¹³⁸ Vestry meetings, 25 March 1695, 22 April 1717 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, ff 47, 67)). Francis McCorry notes a campaign by a leading papist to frustrate designs to levy a cess for pew construction on the parish at large in Tynan parish (Co. Armagh) in 1702 (McCorry, *Parish registers*, p. 49).

¹³⁹ Vestry meetings, 8 June 1696 (Carlow vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib. MS P. 317.5.1, p. 55); vestry meeting, 5 April 1790 (Aghowle vestry book, 1707-1813 (R.C.B. Lib. MS P. 522.5.1)).

¹⁴⁰ Vestry meeting, 19 April 1756 (Bray vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P.580.1.1, f. 48v)).

¹⁴¹ Vestry meeting, 8 April 1751 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, f. 97v)). It is not clear how widespread the practice of providing parish poor relief to Catholics was.

Castlemartyr parish poor list of 1755 contained nine Protestants and three 'poore popish inhabitants' and another list [undated] contains eight Protestant and five Catholic entries (Castlemartyr vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 607.5.1, last pages in book)).

¹⁴² Vestry meeting, 27 March 1780 ('the number of persons on the poor list shall hereafter be reduced to twenty persons only, viz. ten Protestants & ten Papists') (Powerscourt vestry book 2 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 109.5.2, f. 71)). At least two of the thirteen on the poor list in Clones parish in 1736 were Catholics, as the priest (McDonnell) was named as guarantor of the brass badges distributed to two parishioners.

¹⁴³ Note the involvement of a papist in the scuppering of plans to lay a cess for constructing new pews on the parish as a whole in Tynan (Armagh) in 1702 (McCorry, *Parish registers*, p. 49).

¹⁴⁴ Finlay, *Office and duty of church-warden*, p. 25.

¹⁴⁵ Vestry meetings, 29 April 1765, 20 April 1772, 4 April 1774 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, ff 115, 123v, 128v)).

¹⁴⁶ Vestry minutes, 13 May 1789 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, f. 155)).

¹⁴⁷ Bullingbrooke, *Ecclesiastical law*, i, p. 302 [second page 302].

¹⁴⁸ In Carlow parish, in 1669, a specific call was made to the principal inhabitants of the parish to attend a vestry for applotting the cess – 'ye churchwardens & sidsmen give due notis to ye cheife inhabitants of dath p[ar]ish [to meet for] applotting of ye aboue sums', and Athlone parish in 1786 abandoned efforts to tax those whose annual wealth was less than £10 (vestry meetings, 20 July 1660 (Carlow vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib. MS P. 317.5.1, p. 17)). It is not certain whether this call to the 'cheife inhabitants' to attend a vestry for applotting the cess indicates the operation of a select vestry, or whether it indicates that their attendance was particularly desirable, to give the applotment their seal of approval. Either may be the case, but the latter seems more likely. For Athlone, see Barnard, 'The eighteenth-century parish', pp 309-10; vestry meeting, 28 August 1786 (St Mary's, Athlone, vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 392.5.1, p. 240)).

¹⁴⁹ Vestry meetings, 2 July 1733, 27 March 1751 (Powerscourt registry and vestry book, 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 109.1.1, f. 42v)); Powerscourt vestry book 2 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 109.5.2, f. 12)).

¹⁵⁰ Vestry meeting, 20 September 1777 (Rathdrum vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 377.5.1, p. 147)).

¹⁵¹ The cess applotments for that parish for the 1660s specify the amount payable out of each townland, but the records for arrears and non-payers occasionally specify the people in each townland who failed to pay. Thus, the 1667 cess levied 18s. 9d. on Ballynorrin townland in Kilcoole, while the subsequent arrears for that townland record Thomas Derbyshire and Thomas Paine defaulting on payments of 9s. 5d. and 1s. respectively. Clearly, therefore, the cess was being levied on sub-tenants rather than just on the townland proprietor (vestry meetings, 29 May 1667, 21 May 1668 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, ff 11-3, 16)).

¹⁵² Vestry meeting, 1 November 1776 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, f. 133v)).

¹⁵³ For Bray, note the difference between the cess list for 1746 and 1760, for example (Bray vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 580.1.1, ff 34, 56v)); vestry meeting, 16 November 1781 (Wicklow vestry book 1, part 2 (R.C.B. Lib. MS P. 611.5.1, p. 249)).

¹⁵⁴ Since it was 'not the lessor, but the tenant' who was to pay the tax, it was simply a matter of deciding whom the tenant was – the tenant, leasing land from the landowner, or the sub-tenant, leasing from the head tenant (Bullingbrooke, *Duty of parish officers*, p. 155, sect. 10).

¹⁵⁵ Parish of Killiskey, by H. W. Huband (R.C.B. Lib. MS P. 549.28.2, ff 85v-6).

¹⁵⁶ For that parish a series of cess listings are available for the 1760s, which record the amounts payable, and the personal names of the taxpayers for the town. Unfortunately, however, the charges are only recorded per townland for the rural parts of the parish (vestry meeting, 29 July 1761 (Wicklow vestry book 1, part 2 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 611.5.1, pp 20-3))).

¹⁵⁷ Caulfield (ed.), *Council book of Youghal*, p. 52.

¹⁵⁸ Memorandum, 24 March 1667 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, ff 230v, 231v)).

¹⁵⁹ This occurred, for instance, in the union of Aghowle in south Wicklow, where in 1708 and 1709 the parish chose four churchwardens, one to represent each of the four parishes in the union, and in Mulrankin (Ferns) where seven churchwardens were annually appointed for a number of years (the union comprised seven parishes), but both parishes ultimately reverted to the standard rule (vestry meetings, 12 April 1708, 25 April 1709 (Aghowle vestry book, 1707-1813 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P.

522.5.1)); James Leslie, *Ferns clergy and parishes* (Dublin, 1936), p. 272 (three churchwardens were appointed in 1775-7 (ibid. p. 273)).

¹⁶⁰ See, for example, vestry meeting, 23 April 1753 (Wicklow vestry book 1, part 2 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 611.5.1, p. 227)). For Bray, the appointment of Thomas Scott of Oldcourt and John Barry of Bray was in 1741 and 1742 and Henry Pain of Bray and Darby Doyle of Ballyman in 1743 were typical of the geographic division (Bray vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 580.1.1, f. 23v, 25, 27)). For Aghowle, see the vestry meetings of 12 April 1708 and 25 April 1709, for example, where four churchwardens were chosen, one for each of the four parishes in the union (Aghowle vestry book, 1707-1813 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 522.5.1)).

¹⁶¹ It was also of ancient origin. Revd Samuel Hughes, rector of St Werburgh's, Dublin, has listed churchwardens for the parish, from as early as 1461 (S. C. Hughes, *The Church of St Werburgh, Dublin* (Dublin, 1899), pp 143-52).

¹⁶² Barnard, 'The eighteenth-century parish', p. 298.

¹⁶³ Finlay, *Office and duty of church-warden*, pp 1-2.

¹⁶⁴ Accounts, 1665, 1701 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P.917.5.1, ff 9, 53v)).

¹⁶⁵ Leslie notes churchwarden's fees in Mullavilly, County Armagh, as being 13 s. 7 d. (James Leslie, *Armagh clergy and parishes* (Dundalk, 1911), p. 389 (hereinafter cited as Leslie, *Armagh clergy*)), but one is tempted to suggest that this may be a misprint and should be 13 s. 4 d. instead. The churchwardens in Pomeroy received the princely sum of £1:10 in 1792 (ibid., p. 397).

¹⁶⁶ Vestry meeting, 4 November 1695 (Powerscourt register and vestry book, 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 109.1.1, f. 2v)). A subsequent meeting ordered that 'not any ch:warden should for the future, demand discount, or receive any sum of money upon the accot of salary (vestry meeting, 13 May 1697 (ibid., f. 4)), but practicality saw to it that this decision was quickly overturned. The salary paid to churchwardens was intended as a payment for expenses incurred in collecting the cess. In 1778 Robert Walker was appointed as churchwarden for Powerscourt parish, but by April 1779 Walker had not collected his part of the cess 'on account of his infirmity'. Valentine Loftus was appointed in his place and the subsequent churchwardens' accounts record a payment of 6s. 8d. (the full salary of a churchwarden) to Loftus (vestry meetings, 20 April 1778, 29 April 1779, 25 May 1779 (Powerscourt vestry book 2 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 109.5.2, ff 65, 68v, 69)). Payment for tax collection was not reserved to the churchwardens. Vestry meetings of 19 September 1803 and 29 April 1805 approved parish cesses of £56:3:5 and £40:19:00 for supporting men in the army reserve. William Naylor was authorised to collect the cesses, being granted 9d. per pound for collecting the sums.

Vestry minutes from 27 May 1806 still record churchwardens' fees of 13s. 4d., so the sum had not increased over the course of a century (Powerscourt vestry book 2 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 109.5.2, ff 108v, 111, 114)).

¹⁶⁷ Vestry minutes, 15 April 1734 (Bray vestry book 1, (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 580.1.1, f. 7)); churchwardens accounts, 1711-2 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, f. 76)).

¹⁶⁸ Some years earlier, difficulties had been encountered with churchwardens' accounts. In 1730, for instance, James Brennan, churchwarden for the union of Bray in 1729 refused to present his accounts to the vestry and so the vestry, having giving Brennan three opportunities to comply, instructed that Brennan be 'prosecuted according to law for refusing to come in and give up his accounts, the vestry being thrice adjourned'. Two years later, in January 1732, John Turner, churchwarden for the same parish for 1730 was also threatened with legal proceedings if he failed to deliver his accounts. Perhaps instances such as these persuaded the parish to introduce rewards for diligent servants (vestry meetings, 19 May 1730, 1 January 1732 (Bray vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS 580.1.1, f. 2v, 5v))).

¹⁶⁹ The Rathdrum vestry meeting (2 August 1764) resolved that 'hereafter the churchwardens of said parish who shall collect, pay in and discharge the several presentments as duly and regularly applotted within their year shall be entitled each of them to the sum of ten shillings sterling' (Rathdrum vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib. MS P. 377.5.1, p. 39)). However, this meeting also considered the case of three late churchwardens who had failed to settle their accounts. It seems likely, therefore, that the parish felt it necessary to introduce churchwardens' fees, because it was becoming increasingly difficult to get churchwardens to fulfil their obligations. That this was occurring in the 1760s provides further evidence that the commitment to parish-duty was waning as the eighteenth century progressed.

¹⁷⁰ Vestry meetings, 28 March 1796, 25 March 1799, 15 April 1811 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib, MS P. 917.5.1, ff 172, 175v, 205)). Before the standardisation of the currencies, an Irish guinea was worth £1:2:9. Note that the fees in 1811 are recorded at £4:11:6 but this may be a mistake as all subsequent fees are given as £4:11:0.

¹⁷¹ Other rewards could also be available to church officers. Lusk parish, for instance, rewarded the parish officers with an annual dinner after the Easter vestry (Lusk vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 453.5.1, pp 244, 250)).

¹⁷² Wicklow vestry book, book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P 611.5.1, p. 22 (payment of 1s. for work under churchwardens' seat)); vestry meeting 4 April 1726 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, f. 78)).

¹⁷³ Copy of old record of distribution of seats, dated 30 March 1725 (Bray vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 580.1.1, f. 38v)).

¹⁷⁴ Barnard, 'Parishes, pews and parsons', pp 82-3. The requirement for churchwardens to take the oath in the consistory court was quite explicit, however (Finlay, *Office and duty of church-warden*, pp 12-3; Bullingbrooke, *Ecclesiastical law*, i, p. 298), so it is possible that churchwardens took an oath in public in the vestry before presenting themselves at the consistory court on the next consistory day.

¹⁷⁵ Catholics were never legally disbarred from being elected churchwardens, but just from voting on their election (Finlay, *Office and duty of church-warden*, pp 8, 25).

¹⁷⁶ Bullingbrooke, *Ecclesiastical law*, i, p. 302 [first page 302].

¹⁷⁷ 'I do believe, that in the sacrament of the Lord's-Supper, there is not any transubstantiation of the elements of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ ... and that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary, or any other saint, and the sacrifice of the mass, as they are used in the church of Rome, are superstitious and idolatrous', see 2 Anne, c. 6, *Stat. Ire.*, iv, p. 21.

¹⁷⁸ Gillespie (ed.), *St John's*, p. 12; Ronan (ed.), 'Archbishop Bulkeley's vistingation', p. 58; Jacqueline Hill, *From patriots to unionists, Dublin civic politics and Irish Protestant patriotism, 1660-1840* (Oxford, 1997), pp 174-5, and footnote 44. In fact, Hoey was elected as churchwarden, and served a full term (St Michan's vestry book, 1777-1800 (R.C.B. Lib, MS P. 276.4.3, pp 447, 449, 453-7, 459, 463-75, 477-84, 498-9)).

¹⁷⁹ 6 George I, c. 5, sect. 4 (*Stat. Ire.*, iv, p. 511).

¹⁸⁰ 6 George I, c. 5, sect. 6 (*Stat. Ire.*, iv, p. 511).

¹⁸¹ Bullingbrooke, *Ecclesiastical law*, i, p. 299.

¹⁸² Vestry meeting, 15 June 1698 (Blessington registers and vestry book, 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 651.1.1, p. 1)); Bullingbrooke, *Ecclesiastical law*, i, p. 302 [first page 302].

¹⁸³ Vestry meetings, 10 April 1705, 25 March 1706 (Powerscourt register and vestry book, 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 109.1.1, ff 11, 11v)).

¹⁸⁴ Finlay, *Office and duty of church-warden*, p. 171. Women were even entitled to vote on the election of a churchwarden (*ibid.*, p. 25).

¹⁸⁵ Barnard, 'The eighteenth-century parish', p. 305; St Nicholas vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib. MS P. 498.5.1, loose sheet affixed to p. 26). In fact, this was probably not a vestry meeting but instead appears to be a petition from a number of parishioners. For Tallaght, see Handcock, *History of Tallaght*, p. 22. Also, note the attendance of two women at Donnybrook vestry (Blacker, *Brief sketches, Booterstown and Donnybrook*, p. 92).

¹⁸⁶ Records of women participating in the operation of the parish, outside the traditional jobs that were allocated to women including the washing of linen and the nursing and fostering children, are rare in Wicklow. A note in the accounts of Thomas Theaker, churchwarden for Wicklow parish in 1709-10, recording the payment of 5s. 6d. to Widow Bedford for mending the north windows of the church, suggests that women could have tendered for contracts to repair the church, sending their servants to perform the work (Wicklow vestry book 1, part 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 611.5.1, p. 24)). In 1779, following a poor cess-collection, a vestry meeting was called for 19 March and some parish notables, including Mrs Eaton, were requested to attend. Eaton had been a significant benefactor over the previous dozen years, which probably accounted for her inclusion in the list. It is probably significant, too, that Eaton's name appears to have initially been omitted, but was added as an afterthought. Her name does not appear as a signatory at the meeting on 19 March (Wicklow vestry book 1, part 2, , pp 226-7, 228, 229)).

¹⁸⁷ Hindle, *State and social change, England*, p. 214.

- ¹⁸⁸ It is doubtful, for example, if the eighteenth century parish would have considered it desirable for women to be entering public houses to ensure that no alcohol was being served during divine service, or to ensure that people were not congregating in the churchyard.
- ¹⁸⁹ 7 William III, c. 14, *Stat. Ire.*, iii, pp 286-8.
- ¹⁹⁰ Bray (ed.), *Anglican canons*, pp 526-7.
- ¹⁹¹ 2 Elizabeth, c. 2, sect. 3, *Stat. Ire.*, i, p. 287; Bray (ed.), *Anglican canons*, p. 496; Bullingbrooke, *Ecclesiastical law*, i, pp 370, 475.
- ¹⁹² Bray (ed.), *Anglican canons*, p. 494, no. 13.
- ¹⁹³ Church attendance was required by 2 Elizabeth I, c. 2 (Ir. Stat., i, pp 284-90, esp. p. 287); Bray (ed.), *Anglican canons*, pp 496, 528. 7 William III, c. 17 instructed that no labour be carried out in Sunday (*Stat. Ire.*, iii, pp 314-7).
- ¹⁹⁴ Act of Uniformity, 2 Elizabeth I, c. 2 (Ir. Stat., i, p. 287); 6 George I, c. 5, sect. 1 (*ibid.*, iv, pp 508-10); Bullingbrooke, *Ecclesiastical law*, i, p. 664. In reality the fines were rarely being levied by the latter part of the seventeenth century (Maureen Wall, *The penal laws* (Dundalk, 1976), p. 3).
- ¹⁹⁵ Bray (ed.), *Anglican canons*, pp 508, 529.
- ¹⁹⁶ Bray (ed.), *Anglican canons*, pp 515, 515-7.
- ¹⁹⁷ Vestry meeting, 2 April 1700 (Blessington registers and vestry book, 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 651.1.1, p. 3)).
- ¹⁹⁸ See, for example, the vestry meeting of 1 December 1830 (Newcastle vestry book 3 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 914.5.3)).
- ¹⁹⁹ Seamus Pender (ed.), *Council books of the Corporation of Waterford, 1662-1700* (Dublin, 1964), p. 222, no. 1520 (hereinafter cited as Pender (ed.) *Council bks, Waterford*).
- ²⁰⁰ Bullingbrooke, *Ecclesiastical law*, i, p. 298; *idem*, *Duty of parish officers*, p. 159.
- ²⁰¹ Raymond Gillespie (ed.), *The vestry records of the parishes of St Catherine and St James, Dublin, 1657-1692* (Dublin, 2004), pp 26, 32, 40, 45-6, 58, 79, 100, 105, 111, 115, 127, 135-6, 144, 151-2, 188. An inventory of Blessington parish's possessions in 1783, fairly typical of most parishes, listed two large flagons, a pair of challices, two plates, fine linnen, velvit carpitt and cushions, a faire Church Bible, six Common Prayer books and six tuneable bells (vestry meeting, 17 September 1683 (Blessington registers and vestry book, 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 651.1.1, page not numbered (fourth fixed page in the book)))).
- ²⁰² Vestry meetings, 29 May 1727, 1 July 1728 (Powerscourt register and vestry book, 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 109.1.1, ff 32, 34v)).
- ²⁰³ Vestry meeting, 18 October 1760 (Wicklow vestry book 1, part 2 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 611.5.1, p. 11)).
- ²⁰⁴ The two churchwardens were John Darragh and William Jones. See vestry meetings, 24 February 1779, 10 March 1779, 19 March 1779, 22 March 1779 (Wicklow vestry book 1, part 2 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 611.5.1, pp 226-31)). A vestry of 14 April 1779 adjudged that the defaulting churchwardens 'neglect to appear, or give any satisfactory reasons for doing so' (*ibid.*, p. 234). The case against Darragh and Jones was processed in court, and it was not until 20 September 1780 that a meeting recorded the receipt of promissory notes from Darragh and Jones for the outstanding sums (*ibid.*, pp 240, 243, 245).
- ²⁰⁵ Vestry meetings, 24 May 1742, 3 July 1744 (Newcastle register and vestry book, 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 914.1.1)).
- ²⁰⁶ Vestry meeting 3 July 1744 (Newcastle register and vestry book, 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 914.1.1)).
- ²⁰⁷ Once discharged, he could not be called to re-account for his term, unless fraud was subsequently uncovered (Bullingbrooke, *Duty of parish officers*, p. 161, sect. 11).
- ²⁰⁸ Powerscourt register and vestry book, 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 109.1.1, ff 2v-3, 65v (22 May 1738)).
- ²⁰⁹ Vestry meeting, 3 May 1763 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, f. 112v)). In Castleknock in 1764 one churchwarden 'forgave four or five poor people who were unable to pay, which he chargd himself with' (Castleknock vestry minutes, 1744-1808 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 352.5.1, p. 100)).
- ²¹⁰ Vestry meetings, 27 March 1744, 15 May 1744 (Blessington registers and vestry book, 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 651.1.1, pp 30, 32)); vestry meeting, 5 April 1779 (Aghowle vestry book, 1707-1813 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 522.5.1)).

- ²¹¹ Vestry meeting, 20 April 1772 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, f. 123v)) and subsequent Easter vestry meetings.
- ²¹² Bray (ed.), *Anglican canons*, pp 525-6, canon 88.
- ²¹³ Bray (ed.), *Anglican canons*, p. 526.
- ²¹⁴ Bray (ed.), *Anglican canons*, p. 525.
- ²¹⁵ Bullingbrooke, *Ecclesiastical law*, i, p. 301 [first page 301].
- ²¹⁶ Vestry meetings, 8 April 1760, 13 April 1762, 4 April 1763, 27 March 1769, 17 April 1770 Rathdrum vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 377.5.1, pp 11-2, 23-4, 28, 72, 80)).
- ²¹⁷ Vestry meetings, 17 April 1775, 17 April 1786, 25 April 1791 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, ff 129v, 147, 160)).
- ²¹⁸ Vestry meetings, 23 April 1764, 8 April 1765, 27 March 1769, 16 April 1781 (Newcastle vestry book 2 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 914.5.2)).
- ²¹⁹ See account of Richard Magrath, Wicklow churchwarden for 1763-4, where he paid 11s. 4½d. for horse hire for his sidesman (Wicklow vestry book 1, part 2 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 611.5.1, p. 49)). Also, the churchwardens for Wicklow in 1765, John Usher and Daniel Beddy, both record payments of 11s. 4½d. to their sidesmen. In Usher's accounts, he records a payment of 11:4½ to Daniel Beddy for 'collecting the cess' and Archer records a similar payment for his sidesman for 'horse hire to collect the cess' (ibid., pp 63, 81, 83). All subsequent churchwardens' accounts record a similar amount, usually for horse hire. Also, at a vestry meeting on 24 September 1783 Peter Pigeon cleared his accounts for the previous year, when his sidesman 'persented [presented] his promissory note for the sum of two pounds three shillings and sixpence halfpenny'. Thus, Pigeon was the churchwarden, but the sidesman had collected at least part of Pigeon's cess (ibid., p. 259).
- ²²⁰ *Jn. of Irish Assoc. for Preserve. of Mem. of Dead, 1888*, i, no. 4 (1893), pp 302-3.
- ²²¹ See churchwardens' accounts from 1763-4 (Wicklow vestry book 1, part 2 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 611.5.1, p. 49)).
- ²²² Vestry meetings, 24 March 1761, 1 April 1761 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, f. 110v)).
- ²²³ Vestry meetings, 4 April 1763, 23 April 1764 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, ff 112, 113v)).
- ²²⁴ Vestry meetings, 4 April 1774, 20 June 1775 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, ff 128v, 130)).
- ²²⁵ 11, 12 and 13 James I, c. 7 (*Stat. Ire.*, i, pp 444-8), although Bullingbrooke observes that highways did not have to lead to market towns, as 'there were highways before there were market towns' and that 'the lord of a market, by forfeiting or surrendering his charter, might cause that to cease to be a highway' (Bullingbrooke, *Duty of parish officers*, p. 398, sect. 2). This legislation was similar to that introduced in England in 1555 (2 & 3 Philip and Mary, c. 8) (*Stat. of realm*, iv, pt 1, pp 284-5).
- ²²⁶ The legislation specified that the constables and churchwardens would call together 'a number of the parishioners' and choose the overseers (11, 12 & 13 James I, c. 7, sect. 1 (*Stat. Ire.*, i, p. 444)). See Caulfield (ed.), *Council book of Youghal*, p. 87, where the corporation of Youghal was appointing the 'surveyors of ways' in 1623. Furthermore, in 1653 the parish constables were organizing the muster for the maintenance of the roads and the corporation was specifying the roads that were to be maintained by the labour from various parts of the town. In Cork city overseers were appointed by the corporation in 1609, three years before the legislation came into effect (Caulfield (ed.), *Council book of Cork*, p. 11), and were still appointing overseers in 1623, if not later (ibid., p. 105).
- ²²⁷ 11, 12 and 13 James I, c. 7, sect. 1 (*Stat. Ire.*, i, p. 444).
- ²²⁸ 'as they are not entitled to any recompense for their trouble' (An Act to alter and amend the laws for the repair of highways (33 George II, c. 8, sect. 6 (*Stat. Ire.*, vii, p. 670)).
- ²²⁹ 11, 12 and 13 James I, c. 7, sect. 1 (*Stat. Ire.*, i, pp 444-5). This act was amended by 9 Anne, c. ix (*Stat. Ire.*, iv, pp 268-72).
- ²³⁰ 1 George II, c. 13 (*Stat. Ire.*, v, pp 239-49). Timing of the vestry meeting specified in section 2, p. 239.
- ²³¹ Delgany began appointing overseers according to the statute in 1730 (vestry meeting, 30 September 1730 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, f. 83v)), Bray, not until 1734 (vestry meeting, 7 October 1734 (Bray vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 580.1.1, f. 7v))).

²³² 33 George II, c. 8 (*Stat. Ire.* vii, pp 668-74). Earlier legislation had modified some of the terms of the initial legislation (4 Anne, c. 6; 9 Anne, c. 9; 1 George II, c. 13; 13 George II, c. 10 (*Stat. Ire.*, iii, pp 78-81, 268-72; *ibid.*, v, pp 239-49; *ibid.*, vi, pp 519-22)).

²³³ 33 George II, c. 8, sects 1, 2 (*Stat. Ire.*, vii, pp 668-9). Day labourers were also freed from their labour-obligations (*ibid.*, sect. 2).

²³⁴ In Delgany overseers were last appointed at a vestry meeting on 2 October 1764 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, f. 114)), in Bray overseers were not appointed after the meeting of 4 April 1763 (Bray vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 580.1.1, f. 68)), Rathdrum appointed overseers on 2 October 1763 (Rathdrum vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 377.5.1, p. 30)) and Aghowle did not appoint overseers after 1761 (vestry meeting, 30 September 1761 (Aghowle vestry book, 1707-1813 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 522.5.1))). Donard, however, seems to have last appointed overseers on 2 October 1759 (Donard vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 275.5.1, p. 9)).

²³⁵ 5 George III, c. 14 (*Stat. Ire.*, ix, pp 324-341). This statute repealed 11, 12 and 13 James I, c. 7 (the act which initially introduced the statutory requirement) and placed the responsibility for the repair of the roads on the county's grand jury (sect. 2). Note that the overseer of the highway position was still maintained, although it does not recur in vestry politics after 1765 (sect. 2). It is unlikely to be a coincidence that these changes coincided with the renewed surveying of the communications infrastructure of some counties, including, for County Wicklow, Jacob Nevill's *Map*, surveyed in 1760 and, for Dublin, John Rocque's *Map of the County of Dublin, 1762*.

²³⁶ Vestry meeting, 8 October 1729 (Wicklow vestry book 1, part 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 611.5.1, p. 157)). In many instances it may appear from the vestry minutes that the parish was specifying routes but it is more likely that the vestry was ratifying routes which had been predetermined. In this instance, in Wicklow, the parish vestry requested that they apply to the directors and overseers of the highway labour to repair the lane.

²³⁷ 1 George II, c. 13, sect 12 (*Stat. Ire.*, v, p. 244).

²³⁸ Stanley Lane Poole's notes on County Wicklow (N.L.I., MS 7227, unnumbered pages (68th page in notebook)). This notebook is filled with notes and records concerning the maintenance of the roads system within County Wicklow, dating from as early as 1712-3, when the Grand Jury was inquiring into the works on the road from Dunganstown to Corragower.

²³⁹ Pounds, *Hist. of English parish*, p. 193.

²⁴⁰ The importance of this date will become evident later, when the confessional allegiances of constables is considered.

²⁴¹ 2 George I, c. 10, sects 1-2 (*Stat. Ire.*, iv, pp 342-3).

²⁴² *Council bks Waterford*, p. 179, no. 1307; 2 George I, c. 10, sect 1 (*Stat. Ire.*, iv, p. 342).

²⁴³ 2 George I, c. 10, sect. 3 (*Stat. Ire.*, iv, p. 344).

²⁴⁴ The process operated as follows. The petty constable compiled a list of all persons within the parish who were 'of ability to serve ... as petty constable', implying that there was an appropriate social level for the constable. The payment of £4 was reduced by the proportion represented by the number of Protestants of ability to serve as constable compared to the number of Catholics of the same level. This reduced charge was then apportioned on all Catholics on the list. This, if there were 90 Catholics and 10 Protestants who could serve as constable, then the salary was to be £3:12 (reduced by 10 per cent), which was to be funded by the 90 Catholics.

²⁴⁵ Stanley Lane Poole's notes on County Wicklow (N.L.I., MS 7227, unnumbered pages (56th page in notebook), 4 March 1717).

²⁴⁶ Vestry meeting, 1 April 1793 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, f. 168v)); vestry meetings of 29 June 1750, 23 April 1764, 6 June 1774 (Bray vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 580.1.1, f. 41v, 7v, 118v); vestry meeting, 4 May 1775 (Rathdrum vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib. MS P. 377.5.1, p. 124)).

²⁴⁷ From 1634 they were obliged to ensure that vagrants and beggars who were not entitled to beg within the parish bounds were apprehended and transported to the county's house of correction. Begging was frowned upon, and actively discouraged. Tudor legislation and a 1628 proclamation from lord deputy Henry Falkland required that beggars had to have local permission to beg (33 Henry VIII, c. 15 (*Stat. Ire.*, i, pp 196-7); Steele, *Tudor & Stuart*, ii, pp 30-1, no. 279. Full proclamation of Falkland given in Caulfield (ed.), *Council book of Youghal*, pp 144-5). From at least the mid-seventeenth century local authorities in urban areas began to distribute badges to those favoured to beg. In 1682 badges were distributed to those authorised to beg in Dublin

(anyone not in possession of a badge who was caught begging was to be arrested) and in Waterford that same year churchwardens were instructed to 'provide badges for their begging poor according to a former order'. In Dublin, St John's parish had been distributing badges in pre-Cromwellian times, St Catherine's parish had implemented a badge system by 1681, and St Michan's was using comparable identification by 1725, and in Cork 200 badges were distributed among the poor by 1721. (Steele, *Tudor & Stuart*, ii, p. 117, no. 923; *Council bks Waterford*, p. 219, no. 1512; Gillespie (ed.), *St John's*, pp 18, 167; Barnard, *Anatomy of Ireland*, p. 319; Caulfield (ed.), *Council book of Cork*, p. 416).

Badging was also practiced in rural parishes, and was probably widespread, although the evidence for it is scarcer. A badging system may have been particularly used when short-term economic crises temporarily increased the number of destitute. Finglas parish in Dublin introduced a 'blew coat' uniform for beggars in 1682, Tynan, County Armagh, had badging in place by 1703, Clones, in 1736, and Castlemartyr, County Cork, initiated badging in 1766, the parish 'having of a long time known that great numbers of vagrants & strolling beggars infest the said parish, to the annoyance of the inhabitants' (Vestry book, parish of Finglas, 1657-1758 (R.C.B., Lib., MS P. 307.1.1, p. 114) ('no person be esteemed as poor of this parish & allowed to beg, but such as shall have blew coats & badges given them by ye churchwardens wth ye approbation of ye ministers & parishioners at a vestry and that all other beggars be reputed as vagabonds'); Leslie, *Armagh clergy*, p. 435; Vestry book, Clones (R.C.B. Lib., P. 804.1.1, p. 256; vestry meeting, 18 November 1766 (Castlemartyr vestry book 1, R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 607.5.1)).

In the Wicklow region, a vestry meeting in September 1742 in Leixlip parish recorded the names of the parish poor, distinguishing between those who were to be funded from the parish poor box and those who were authorised to beg with their badges (Suzanne Pegley, *Register of the parish of Leixlip, Co. Kildare, 1665-1778* (Dublin, 2001), pp 43-4, 44-5). This implies that badging was a flexible solution to the problem of fluctuating numbers requiring assistance; the long-term poor were to be funded out of the weekly poor collection, while those temporarily destitute were received a temporary authorisation to beg (Tynan, County Armagh, distributed the money collected for the poor to 'those who receive the Church badges at ye discretion of ye Minister ad Churchwardens' (Leslie, *Armagh clergy*, p. 435)). The following year, Bray parish invested 2s. of the cess on badges for the poor in 1743 (2s. would not have paid for many badges, so the numbers authorised to beg must have been small) and a similar process, using printed forms rather than badges, was funded in Newcastle parish (10s. of cess spent) in 1754 (vestry meeting, 24 May 1743, (Bray vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 580.1.1, f. 27))); vestry meeting, 15 April 1754 (Newcastle vestry book 2 (R.C.B. Lib. MS P. 914.5.2)). Indeed, it is probably more than coincidental that both Leixlip and Bray parishes introduced badging systems to control the distribution of parish relief in the early years of the 1740s, when the country was emerging from a catastrophic economic famine, and traditional local relief methodologies were strained. Badging was still being applied in some parishes in the nineteenth century (Mullavilly, County Armagh introduced badging in 1820 (Leslie, *Armagh clergy*, p. 389). The parishioners were requested not to provide alms unless the beggar produced a parish badge). Also, see 10 and 11 Charles I, c. 4, sect. 8 (*Stat. Ire.*, ii, p. 148).

Also, in 1662 they became instrumental in the collection of excise, and later in that year they were incorporated into the process of the collection of hearth-money (14 and 15 Charles II, c. 8, sect. 60 (*Stat. Ire.*, ii, p. 394); 14 and 15 Charles II, c. 17, sects 2-3 (*Stat. Ire.*, ii, pp 504-5)). In 1695 they were authorised to, along with the churchwardens, enter public houses and detain the master and patrons, if alcohol was being served during Sunday divine service (7 William III, c. 17, sects 8-10 (*Stat. Ire.* iii, pp 316-7)). They were to ensure that recalcitrant parishioners turned up to provide their six days labour for maintaining the highways. They were involved collecting the cess, and could seize goods and possessions if a person defaulted on their obligations (see, for example, vestry meeting, 31 March 1746 (Newcastle registry and vestry book, 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 914.1.1)); vestry meeting, 14 April 1718 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, f. 68)); vestry meeting, 4 June 1734 (Powerscourt register and vestry book, 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 109.1.1, f. 43v)).

²⁴⁸ Pounds, *Hist. of English parish*, p. 194.

²⁴⁹ St Michan's vestry book, 1724-1760 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 276.4.1, p. 223).

²⁵⁰ R. B. McDowell, *Grattan, a life* (Dublin, 2001), p. 72; vestry meeting, 1 April 1793 (Powerscourt vestry book 2 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 109.5.2, f. 89v)).

²⁵¹ Guinness, *Monkstown parish registers*, p. 5; Francis James, *Lords of the Ascendancy: the Irish house of lords and its members, 1600-1800* (Dublin, 1995), p. 179.

²⁵² Peers, by nature of their powerful social influence, could also be called upon, in desperation, by parishes to help overcome public opposition to vestry policies. In the late eighteenth century John Ball, vicar of Attanagh (County Kilkenny), persuaded Lord Kilkenny to serve as churchwarden, noting that 'the late Lord Mountgarrett countenanced the people in their opposition to the payment of the parish cess but I got Lord Kilkenny to act as Churchwarden and hope by that to silence the opposition' (Leslie, *Ossory clergy*, p. 197).

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²⁵⁴ Vestry meeting, 23 April 1765 (Monkstown vestry book 1 (in local custody)).

²⁵⁵ Vestry minutes, 20 April 1767, 28 March 1769, 16 April 1770 (Monkstown vestry book 1 (in local custody)).

²⁵⁶ This is clear from the instruction that denominational listings were to be drawn up of those 'who are of the ability to serve ... as petty constables' and from the specified annual salary of £4 (2 George I, c. 10, sect. 3 (*Stat. Ire.*, iv, p. 344)).

²⁵⁷ The three constables who can not be identified in the parish registers are Thomas Quinn, Maurice Byrne and Martin Loughlin (vestry meeting, 6 April 1713, 2 April 1716, 22 April 1717 (Newcastle register and vestry book, 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 914.1.1))).

²⁵⁸ Loughlin does not appear in the parish registers, and neither did he attend any vestry meetings. However, he was appointed churchwarden in 1720. He may, therefore, be a Catholic serving as a churchwarden. Neither Quinn nor Byrne appear in the parish registers, nor as attendees at vestry meetings, and neither did they serve the parish in any previous or future capacity.

²⁵⁹ Stanley Lane Poole's notes on County Wicklow (N.L.I., MS 7227, unnumbered pages (56th page in notebook)), 4 March 1717.

²⁶⁰ Vestry meetings, 6 April 1713, 29 March 1714, 18 April 1715, 2 April 1716 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, ff 63v, 64, 65, 66)).

²⁶¹ Constables occasionally recur in the vestry minutes, so they still existed, and were still implementing local law. However, after this period the appointment of constables by the vestry is not subsequently recorded. In Newcastle John Thompson complained about the applotment of the cess by the constable in 1746 (31 March 1746 (Newcastle registry and vestry book, 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 914.1.1))) and a vestry meeting in Delgany in 1718 made the constables responsible for collecting the cess (14 April 1718 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, f. 68))).

²⁶² Barnard, 'The eighteenth-century parish', p. 298.

²⁶³ Vestry meeting, 28 March 1758 (Wicklow vestry book 1, part 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 611.5.1, p. 264)).

²⁶⁴ Vestry meetings, 6 October 1747, 4 October 1748, 3 October 1749, 3 October 1750, 1 October 1751, 31 March 1752, 9 October 1755, 11 October 1756, 2 October 1758 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib. MS P. 917.5.1, ff 95, 95v, 96, 96v, 98, 98v, 104, 105, 108v)).

²⁶⁵ Vestry meetings, 8 October 1737, 4 October 1738, 3 October 1744, 28 March 1758 (Wicklow vestry book 1, part 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 611.5.1, pp 175, 177, 192, 264)).

²⁶⁶ Vestry meetings, 1 October 1760, 30 September 1761 (Aghowle vestry book, 1707-1813 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 522.5.1)).

²⁶⁷ Vestry meetings, 10 April 1710, 1 April 1711, 21 April 1712, 6 April 1713, 18 April 1715, 3 April 1716, 22 April 1717, 14 April 1718, 30 March 1719, 18 April 1720, 10 April 1721, 26 March 1722, 29 June 1722, 6 April 1724, 29 March 1725, 11 April 1726, 3 April 1727, 22 April 1728, 1 October 1729, 2 October 1734, 1 October 1735, 8 October 1737, 4 October 1738, 6 October 1742, 3 October 1744, 3 October 1753, 28 March 1758 (Wicklow vestry book 1, part 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 611.5.1, p. 10, 25, 63, 73, 79, 92-3, 103, 105, 113, 119, 125, 127, 129, 130, 132, 135, 138, 140, 141, 145, 168, 170-1, 175, 177-8, 187, 192-3, 232, 264)).

²⁶⁸ Vestry meetings, 3 October 1758, 2 October 1759, 1 October 1760, 30 September 1761, 5 October 1762, 4 October 1763, 2 October 1764, 1 October 1765 (Rathdrum vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 377.5.1, pp 4, 10, 17, 21-2, 30, 33, 42, 48)).

- ²⁶⁹ Vestry meeting, 2 October 1734 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, f. 86v)).
- ²⁷⁰ Vestry meetings, 23 April 1764, 17 April 1765 (Monkstown vestry book 1 (in local custody)).
- ²⁷¹ Vestry meetings, 1 October 1760, 30 September 1761 (Aghowle vestry book, 1707-1813 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 522.5.1)). In Rathdrum, Thomas Grant and Laurence Byrne may have been Catholics (vestry meetings, 3 October 1758, 1 October 1760, 20 September 1761, 4 October 1763, 2 October 1764, 1 October 1765 (Rathdrum vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 377.5.1, pp 4, 17, 21, 30, 42, 48))).
- ²⁷² Vestry meetings, 6 October 1742, 3 October 1744 (Wicklow vestry book 1, part 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 611.5.1, pp 187, 193)). Richard Goodman appears in the Wicklow Catholic parish registers as the father of a child baptized 16 May 1750.
- ²⁷³ 5 George III, c. 14, sect. 33 (*Stat. Ire.*, ix, pp 340-1).
- ²⁷⁴ Monkstown vestry book 1. George Tool (25 September 1764, 31 March 1766 and 20 April 1767), James Fagan (20 April 1767 and Edward Carthy (28 March 1769) were almost certainly Catholic and Christopher Clark (31 March 1766 and 20 April 1767) and William Byrne (25 September 1764) probably were (vestry book in local custody).
- ²⁷⁵ Vestry meetings, 2 October 1759, 30 September 1761, 2 October 1763, 5 October 1762, 2 October 1764, 1 October 1765 (Rathdrum vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 377.5.1, p. 10, 21-2, 30, 33, 42, 48))).
- ²⁷⁶ The Rathdrum vestry meeting (2 August 1764) resolved that 'hereafter the churchwardens of said parish who shall collect, pay in and discharge the several presentments as duly and regularly applotted within their year shall be entitled each of them to the sum of ten shillings sterling' (Rathdrum vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib. MS P. 377.5.1, p. 39)). However, this meeting also considered the case of three late churchwardens who had failed to settle their accounts. It seems likely, therefore, that the parish felt it necessary to introduce churchwardens' fees, because it was becoming increasingly difficult to persuade churchwardens to fulfil their legal obligations.
- ²⁷⁷ The 1766 census recorded 181 Protestant (25 per cent) and 546 Catholic families in the union (Summary, Dublin diocese, 1766 census (N.A.I., MS M 2476 (i))).
- ²⁷⁸ Cullen, *Emergence of modern Ireland*, p. 210.
- ²⁷⁹ William Burke, *The Irish priests in the Penal Times (1660-1760)* (Waterford, 1914), pp 309-10 (hereinafter cited as Burke, *Irish priests*).
- ²⁸⁰ Burke, *Irish priests*, p. 310; Nevill, *Map of Wicklow, 1760*; Wilson, *Post-chaise companion*, 1st ed., p 192.
- ²⁸¹ 7 William 3, c. 4, sect. 10 (*Stat. Ire.*, iii, pp 259-60); Bullingbrooke, *Ecclesiastical law*, ii, pp 1426-7.
- ²⁸² Comerford, *Kildare and Leighlin*, iii, p. 235.
- ²⁸³ Brian Mitchell, *A guide to Irish parish registers* (2nd printing, Baltimore, 1988), pp 132-4.
- ²⁸⁴ 'Report on state of popery, 1731, Dublin', p. 155.
- ²⁸⁵ 'Report on state of popery, 1731, Dublin', pp 152-5.
- ²⁸⁶ Bearing in mind the ancient origins of many patrons it is likely no coincidence, too, that the highest concentration of patron-sites, in the surrounds of Baltinglass, is coterminous with Wicklow's heaviest concentration of extant Bronze Age settlements.
- ²⁸⁷ Crawford, 'The patron of St Kevin', pp 37-47; Wilde (ed.), 'Memoir of Gabriel Beranger' in *R.S.A.I. Jn.* ii, 4th series (1872-3), pp 449-50.
- ²⁸⁸ Burke, *Irish priests*, p. 310.
- ²⁸⁹ *The gentleman's and citizen's almanack*, various years.
- ²⁹⁰ O'Flanagan, *Letters containing information relative to the antiquities of the County of Dublin, collected during the progress of the Ordnance Survey in 1837*, p. 37.
- ²⁹¹ Philip Dixon Hardy, *The holy wells of Ireland* (Dublin, 1840), p. 58 (Hardy, *Holy wells*).
- ²⁹² O'Flanagan (ed.), *O.S. letters, Wicklow*, pp 80, 109.
- ²⁹³ O'Flanagan (ed.), *O.S. letters, Wicklow*, p. 128; O'Flanagan (ed.), *O.S. name books, Wicklow*, ii, p. 177.
- ²⁹⁴ Wilde (ed.), 'Memoir of Gabriel Beranger' in *R.S.A.I. Jn.* ii, 4th series (1872-3), p. 449-50. Also, see Comerford, *Kildare and Leighlin*, iii, p. 406; Grogan and Kilfeather, *Archaeological inventory of County Wicklow*, p. 166).
- ²⁹⁵ Hardy, *Holy wells*, p. 65.
- ²⁹⁶ Summary, Dublin diocese, 1766 census (N.A.I., M 2476 (i)); Comerford, *Kildare and Leighlin*, iii, p. 405.

²⁹⁷ Comerford, *Kildare and Leighlin*, iii, p. 182.

²⁹⁸ Some structures were substantial. Such as the new, cruciform mass house, 92 feet long and 72 feet wide, which had been constructed in the union of Tipperary ('Report on the state of Popery in Ireland, 1731, dioceses of Cashel and Emly' in *Archiv. Hib.*, ii (1913), p. 110 (hereinafter 'Cashel and Emly, 1731'). Also in 1731, in Aghavoe [Aghaboe] parish in Queen's County, 'there was a very large mass house said to be as long as the parish Church, which parish Church is longer than most in the diocese' (Leslie, *Ossory clergy*, p. 192).

²⁹⁹ O'Flanagan (ed.), *O.S. name books, Wicklow*, i, pp 276, 279. The Catholic chapel was built in 1828 and the Protestant one in 1834.

³⁰⁰ Wicklow Catholic registers, book 2, pages unnumbered, first page (book in local custody).

³⁰¹ Burke, *Irish priests*, p. 310.

³⁰² Wicklow Catholic registers, book 1, pages unnumbered, first page, last page (book in local custody).

³⁰³ For instance, Thomas Lennon was to receive poor relief in Aghowle, 'provided he attends regularly at divine service' and Mary Manly, added to the list in 1792 was specified as being 'a Protestant' (vestry meetings, 26 April 1791, 10 April 1792 (Aghowle vestry book, 1707-1813 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 522.5.1)).

³⁰⁴ Redmond, 'Notes on the parish of S.S. Mary and Michael, Rathdrum', p. 193; Ruan O'Donnell (ed.), *Insurgent Wicklow, 1798: the story as written by Luke Cullen* (Bray, 1998), p. 68.

³⁰⁵ McCormack (ed.) *Memories of west Wicklow: Hanbidge and Hanbidge*, p. 78.

³⁰⁶ O'Flanagan (ed.), *O.S. letters, Wicklow*, p. 6 (Eugene Curry's letter from Enniskerry, 15 December 1838).

³⁰⁷ McCormack (ed.) *Memories of west Wicklow: Hanbidge and Hanbidge*, p. 100, note 29.

³⁰⁸ Barnard, 'The eighteenth-century parish', p. 297.

³⁰⁹ Vestry meetings, 11 November 1779, 8 November 1787, 7 September 1790 (Powerscourt vestry book 2 (R.C.B. Lib. MS P. 109.5.2, ff 70v, 81v, 87)).

³¹⁰ Vestry meeting, 8 November 1787 (Powerscourt vestry book 2 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 109.5.2, f. 81v)). The cess of 1¼ per pound rent on a total parish rental of £1,035 (ibid., first page, unnumbered) equated to £7:10:11¼.

³¹¹ *Saunders's Newsletter*, 15 November 1779, p. 3, col 2; vestry meeting, 15 May 1786 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, f. 147v).

³¹² Vestry meeting, 15 May 1786 (Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, f. 148).

³¹³ Bullingbrooke, *Ecclesiastical law*, i, p. 301 [second page 301].

³¹⁴ Vestry meeting, 31 October 1787 (Wicklow vestry book 1, part 2 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 611.5.1, p. 279)).

³¹⁵ Vestry meeting, 13 April 1789 (Newcastle vestry book 2 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 914.5.2)). This was stolen in 1788, because there is a receipt (loose sheet) for £4:3:0 for the cover, dated 13 October 1788. This was, therefore, the robbery that was committed on 20 September 1788, during the day.

³¹⁶ Redmond, 'Notes on the parish of S.S. Mary and Michael, Rathdrum', p. 195.

³¹⁷ L. M. Cullen, 'Politics and rebellion: Wicklow in the 1790s' in Hannigan and Nolan (ed.), *Wicklow history and society*, pp 460, 469-72.

³¹⁸ Cullen, *Emergence of modern Ireland*, p. 222.

³¹⁹ *Census Ire. 1821*, p. 128.

³²⁰ O'Donnell, *Rebellion in Wicklow, 1798*, p. 190.

³²¹ William Lecky, *A history of Ireland in the eighteenth century* (5 vols, London, 1892), iv, p. 472.

³²² Cullen, *Emergence of modern Ireland*, pp 218-9.

Conclusion

By any standards Wicklow was unusual. For centuries the region had proved irksome to the authorities in Dublin, stubbornly resisting encroachment from foreign elements and regularly proffering itself as a willing partner in rebellions against centralised authority. By the early years of the seventeenth century, however, Wicklow had been subdued and sustained Protestant colonisation commenced. The establishment of the new county in 1606 was quickly followed by land seizures in the north, at Powerscourt, and, more significantly, in the south, in Shillelagh, where a substantial and extensive Protestant community was established, and prospered. Continued encroachments on Gaelic territories eroded the confidence of the natives, forcing them into a last desperate attempt to reverse their declining fortunes, by again revolting during the 1640s. Following another defeat, further, extensive land confiscations ensued, which completed the revolution in landholding within the region. Thus lay Wicklow at the time of the Restoration.

However, land confiscation was not unique to Wicklow, and extensive lands were seized from the native Irish throughout the country during the 1650s. Where Wicklow was unique, however, was in the extent of the Protestant settlement and colonisation. Throughout most of Ireland, with the exception of Ulster, Protestant settlement was limited, and often confined to the upper levels of the local social hierarchy, but within Wicklow extensive settlement ensured that Protestants would not just be socially and economically powerful, but that they would be numerically strong also, and would be liberally peppered throughout the social and economic stratifications within all local communities. Thus, when confessional head-counts first become available for the region in the 1730s, Wicklow had emerged as the most Protestant county outside Ulster, comfortably clear of Dublin County, the second most Protestant county, and well advanced of neighbouring Carlow, Wexford and Kildare.¹

With one third of the hearth-tax paying public in the county being Protestant, it could be assumed that Protestantism was sufficiently entrenched to enable it to maintain its position, but that appears not to have been the case, and

the next series of national religious censuses, held during the 1760s, showed Protestant numbers to have stagnated, and Protestantism to have declined in relative terms, during the preceding thirty years (chapter two). The social and political impact of this decline was profound. While previously, Protestants had been sufficiently numerous, and enthusiastic, to monopolise local administrative responsibilities, by the middle years of the eighteenth century their options had narrowed. Compounding this, however, increasing numbers of Protestants appear to have progressively divorced themselves from the day-to-day running of the parish during the eighteenth century, which was manifested by the 1750s and 1760s both in an increased tendency for vestry meetings to be postponed due to the non-attendance of a quorum of parishioners, and in a greater resistance among some parishioners to perform the duties required by parish office. As such, it became increasingly necessary to incorporate Catholics in the administrative operation of the parish, but on terms that were dictated almost exclusively by Protestant vestrymen. Although the attendance of Catholic at the vestry was not unknown, and although it was shown that there is considerable doubt that the actual attendance at meetings is fully represented by the list of signatures approving the minutes, Catholic attendance was likely to have been circumscribed, and their input was certain to have been a minority one.

This study of County Wicklow is the culmination of an attempt to cast light on the development of the social and economic order within this unique area of southern Ireland between the Restoration and the Act of Union. In common with any other region, Wicklow's human history was forged by its settlement patterns, its agricultural and industrial potential, its intrinsic and extrinsic linkages and its economic structures. Through a consideration of these various aspects of Wicklow's character, it has been attempted to explain how Wicklow's local communities were formed, and how they subsequently developed, through the interaction between people and the local and regional landscapes. Along the way, it has been possible to provide tentative answers to some of the enduring questions underpinning the organisation of Irish communities in the past.

Being a predominantly mountainous area, the agricultural opportunities available through most of the region were limited. Tillage predominated along the

eastern coastal strip, but elsewhere, grass and pastoral agriculture was king, and as both practices exhibited their own distinctive temporal cycles, these differing cycles imposed differing temporal restrictions on the distinctive economic regions. Thus, it was shown in chapter four that formalised economic order within a locality, best manifested by the scheduling of fairs in rural areas and markets in urban settings, was closely tied to the typical agricultural practices of the locality. Since economic potential is governed by presence of a market for produce, the development of communications infrastructures also required detailing, and this was undertaken in chapter one, where it was shown that Wicklow's human and infrastructural landscape developed within the constraints of its fundamental physical shape.

Human landscapes are, however, only a reflection of human settlement, and it is people who are the real heroes of this story. The chance survival of a considerable body of early Protestant records and the early commencement of Catholic records in Wicklow parish have permitted an in-depth examination of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century demographic trends for this region to a far greater extent than has been heretofore undertaken for any part of Ireland. The earlier demographic exploits of other historians have proved exceptionally useful, however, and were it not for the way-markers provided earlier researches of, among many others, David Dickson, William Macafee, Valerie Morgan and Colin Thomas this study would have been considerably more difficult. In many instances the demographic findings have verified anticipated results. Thus, for example, it was shown in chapter six that, as S. J. Connolly has previously shown for various other parts of the country, illegitimacy in early modern Wicklow was rare, and that family formation and expansion usually occurred within the confines of marriage.² The most significant demographic interactions within the region during the period under examination revolved around the establishment and development of families, regardless of the independent demographic developments within distinctive regions. Children rarely pre-dated matrimony, and when they did, it was common for them to be subsequently legitimised.

It has also been seen that the course of population change was closely coupled with perceptions about the future economic and social developments.

Thus, it was observed in chapter three that Protestant marriages dipped during the 1680s, when concerns about the impact of the Catholic succession on Protestant privilege were at their height, and rallied in the immediate aftermath of the defeat of James II, when the Protestant position had been secured. Simultaneous with this, the Protestant bridal age at marriage may also have been high (chapter six, figure 154), thereby further reducing the potential level of Protestant population expansion. Since marriage was a pre-requisite for population advance and since a low bridal marriage age was a pre-requisite for *substantial* population advance, then contemporary perceptions about the future – levels of public confidence – were a primary influence on future population trends. This runs counter to alternative suggestions that population growth should be driven by public needs, and that population growth should be ‘in a nervous frontier ... a priority in attempting to achieve political dominance and economic stability in the shortest possible time’.³ At other times, however, Wicklow’s regional populations appear to have rebounded rapidly in the aftermath of subsistence crises, supporting findings that have been reported elsewhere.⁴

It must be stated that these varied demographic responses were not unexpected, but they greatly assisted in the formulation of the overarching theme running through this study – that people usually acted rationally, when confronted by social or economic challenges. There is nothing original about this concept, and it has long been a fundamental tenet of economic theory. What is new in this work, however, is that it has been attempted to uncover some of the physical, emotional, organisational and statistical reflections of the rational decisions that were taken by individuals, families and communities. In chapter five, for example, the seasonal patterns of baptisms, marriages and burials were examined in the light of climatic seasonality and the seasonality of the agricultural cycle, with particular emphasis placed on the timing of baptisms and marriages, the two celebrations over which the key participants had the greatest control. Ann Kussmaul’s 1990 examination of the link between local agricultural practices and the timing of marriage proved particularly useful in this regard.⁵ Kussmaul suggested that in past time people married when they were not busy with work and this appears to have been the case, too, for Wicklow. It was observed that the normalised

distribution of marriages among the months of the year differed between pastoral areas and arable areas, with marriages consistently peaking when the local demand for labour was low.

However, Kussmaul's examination of marital timing only looks at one aspect of timing and 'choice', and her theory involving marital timings proffers more avenues for consideration. If people avoided marriage during periods of peak labour-demand and peak wages, then it seems probable that they also would also have organised their marriages for days when labour demand was lowest. This was shown to have been the case in Wicklow, for both Catholics and Protestants (chapter five, figure 151). Furthermore, if marriage was timed so as not to impact on wages, then it does not seem unlikely that conceptions could also have been timed so as to avoid the birth of children during periods of high wages. E. A. Wrigley's study of family limitation in early modern England clearly implies that early modern societies were sufficiently sophisticated to avoid high levels of births when such levels were socially undesirable.⁶ Verifying this for County Wicklow, it was shown in chapter five that baptismal seasonality was, like the timing of marriages, closely tied to the seasonality of agricultural demand for labour, with births dipping when labour-demand and wage rates were high and rising again when the labour-demand slackened. It was also seen that the distribution of births could be influenced by the quality of the harvest the year previously. Baptism during late autumn corresponds with a conception during the preceding Christmas and New Year holiday periods, and unsurprisingly, considering the spirit of conviviality during that season, births during late September and early October were typically considerably above the expected levels following a normal harvest. During periods of economic crisis or following a poor harvest, however, the popularity of October as a birthing month temporarily dipped, reflecting reduced numbers of conceptions during the previous mid-winter holiday (figure 114). Thus, although the dynamics of the link between economic conditions and demographic trends still remain elusive, the clear conclusion, based on a variety of approaches, is that population trends and public confidence were closely coupled.

Some notable subtleties became evident, too, during the course of this study, and one of the more important of these, bearing in mind the distinctive

denominational makeup of the region, concerned the differing temporal spheres occupied by the Protestant and Catholic communities. Although living in close proximity, Protestants and Catholics operated according to their own distinct calendars. Protestants, remembering the sectarian massacres of their ancestors, thanked God for their ultimate deliverance during prayers on 23 October, and celebrated their deliverance from Papist treachery on 5 November, whilst Catholics prayed to their own saints on St Brigid's, St Patrick's and St Kevin's Days, and honoured ancient traditions on local pattern days. Temporal demographic distinctions were also evidenced within the calendar year. Catholics were not permitted to marry during Advent or Lent, and because of that their marriages were tightly crammed into the brief period between the ending of one prohibition and the commencement of the next (figure 147). Protestants, however, had been freed from such superstitious practices, although, mindful of the old adage, 'Marry in Lent, you'll surely repent',⁷ their detachment from the ancient seasonal cycle was far from immediate (figures 142 and 143).

It was also argued in chapter five that Catholic and Protestant birth seasonality, while broadly similar, differed marginally, but significantly, which reflected differences between the typical temporal sexual practices of the two communities. December, which coincided with conceptions during the Lenten period, was an unpopular month for baptisms for both communities, although the dip in Catholic baptisms was more exaggerated. More significant, however, is the discrepancy uncovered between the denominational seasonalities during the summer labour months. May, which corresponded with harvest-time conceptions, was one of the most popular months for Catholic baptisms, but was the least popular month of the opening seven months of the year, for Protestants. This was the exact opposite of the trend for July, the potato-digging month, when Catholic baptisms dipped dramatically, while Protestant baptisms ran significantly above the average figure (figure 123). People didn't just marry when they were not busy – they didn't conceive either.

Having examined in detail the operation and organisation of the family, the final chapter considers one of the more important aspects of historical administrative organisation, the operation of the parish. This examination has

succeeded in shedding considerable light on the organisation of the parish vestry meeting and on the operation of hierarchies within the meeting room and within the parish. It has been shown that the list of signatures at a vestry meeting is not always indicative of the actual attendance at meetings, in spite of previous speculation to the contrary. It has also been argued that differing hierarchies operated within the vestry meeting, where social eminence held sway, and within the church, where precedence, property rights and historical linkage to the parish, was pre-eminent. Furthermore, it has been shown that pew ownership, at least in a number of Wicklow parishes, was not influenced in any way by 'regular attendance at the vestry' but that 'appointment to the more prestigious parish offices' provided a means by which wealthy newcomers could secure access to church accommodation, albeit only for the duration of their service.⁸

Crucially, it was observed that dangerous tensions between Wicklow's denominational communities were evident, particularly during the second half of the eighteenth century. Although Catholic voices could occasionally be heard inside the vestry, Protestants remained in voting control and were not shy about allocating the more unsavoury tasks to Catholics. Catholics had to fund the operation of the Protestant parish, although they were denied all but marginal benefits in most places. Attacks on Protestant property also became more apparent, particularly in the closing decades of the eighteenth century, and Protestant insecurities must have been further enhanced by the decline in their numerical strength during the eighteenth century, and through the confirmation by the surveys of the 1760s that their community was a minority one throughout the country. Thus, considering the ratcheting in interdenominational tensions which were evident throughout the county, the renewal of inter-ethnic conflict in Wicklow at the end of the eighteenth century comes as no surprise, but rather should it be surprising that cataclysmic conflict had been avoided for the previous fifteen decades throughout this 'narrow ground'.⁹

References, conclusion

- ¹ [Bindon ?], *Abstract of Protestant and Popish families in Ireland, 1732-3*, pp 3-6.
- ² Connolly, 'Illegitimacy and pre-nuptial pregnancy in Ireland before 1864', pp 5-23.
- ³ Thomas, 'Family formation in Londonderry', p. 94.
- ⁴ Dyson and Ó Gráda, 'Introduction', p. 11, point 13.
- ⁵ Kussmaul, *General theory of rural ec. of England*.
- ⁶ Wrigley, 'Family limitation in pre-industrial England', pp 102-5.
- ⁷ Cressy, *Birth, marriage and death in Tudor and Stuart England*, p. 301.
- ⁸ Barnard, 'The eighteenth-century parish', p. 318.
- ⁹ A. T. Stewart, *The narrow ground, aspects of Ulster, 1609-1969* (London, 1977).

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Appendix 1 – 1615 regal visitation data for Wicklow.

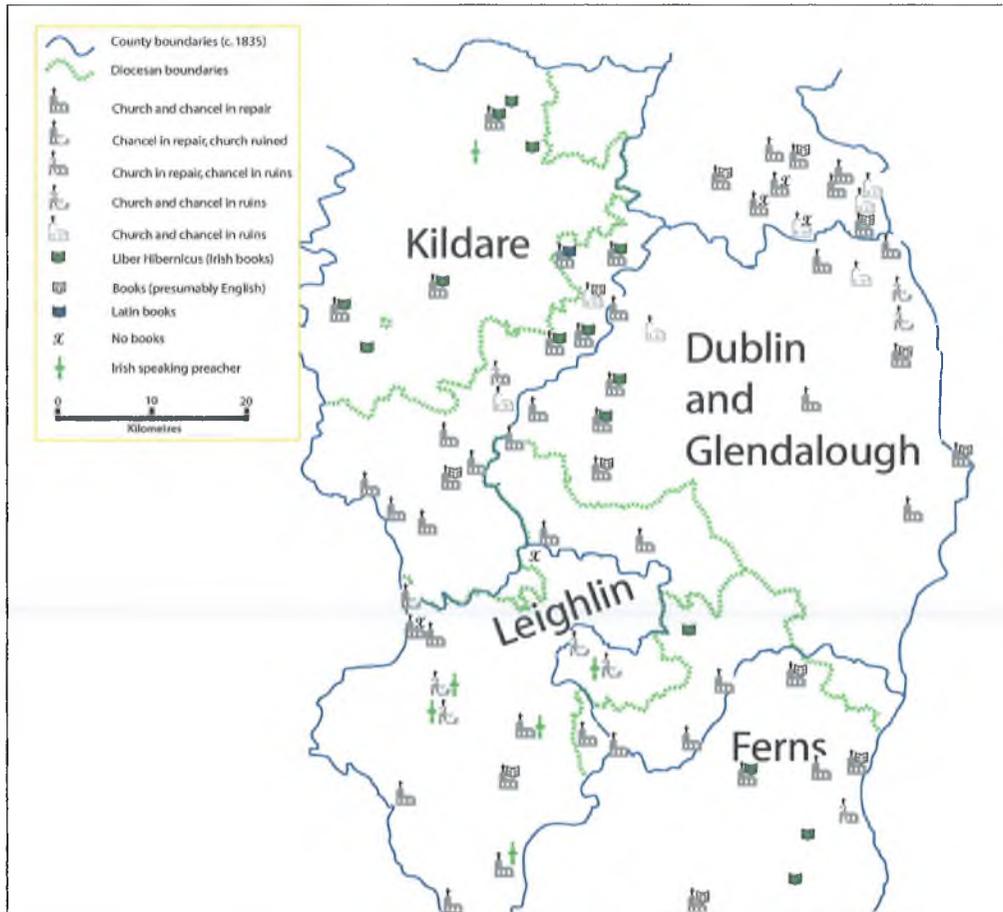


Figure 182 - 1615 Royal visitation data for Wicklow (source: Ronan, 'Royal visitation of Dublin, 1615', pp 28-31, 36-45, 52-5; T.C.D. MS 1066, pp 25-37, 39-50 for Kildare; *ibid.*, pp 93-114, 117-32 for Ferns; *ibid.*, pp 159-72, 175-88 for Leighlin).

Note: a comparison between the condition of church property in 1615 and 1630 (figure 3) shows the Church's infrastructural stock deteriorating between these dates.

Appendix 2 – Surviving hearth tax data for County Wicklow.

The 1813-5 census represented the first attempt to count the total number of *people* in Ireland. Previous initiatives, of which there had been many, were aimed either at counting the number of *householders* or *families* in the country, or else estimating the population by multiplying an estimate of the number of houses by an estimate of the mean household size. The principal source used for the latter attempts, (and one that has been used by modern historians, principally because of the paucity of alternative early population source materials), is the hearth tax.¹ Introduced in Ireland in the early 1660s, this tax required the payment of 2 shillings for most hearths, kilns, ovens, stoves, and firing place in the country, and consequently necessitated the compiling of detailed lists of householders liable to pay the tax. Most of the surviving rolls were destroyed in 1922, but transcriptions of a 1668-9 roll for County Wicklow, made before the loss of the original, is available.²

The various transcriptions are only partially complete, only containing name listings for the eastern parts of the county, including the coastal baronies of Rathdown, Newcastle and Arklow, and upland Ballinacor.³ Additionally, a summary of the roll, listing for each townland the total number of houses with one hearth, the total number of houses with no hearths, the total number of houses with more than one hearth and the householders in multi-hearth houses has survived.⁴ This summary includes data for the baronies of Shillelagh and Talbotstown, which are not available in the full transcription, although the data for the north-west of the county is missing, and was presumably on the 'two skins torn out of the roll' before the summary data was compiled.⁵

Other hearth-tax source material is available also. Uniquely, a summary of the hearth-tax collection data for the county for the year 1739, which presents the number of houses enumerated by the collectors for each parish, has survived, as have the barony returns from a religious census, ordered by the House of Lords and conducted by the hearth-tax collectors in 1732-3. For the earlier period, county totals are available for 1706, following the abandonment of revenue

farming, and the data from that year present opportunities for the generation of guideline county-wide population estimates for the early eighteenth century, roughly midway between the compiling of the hearth roll of 1668-9 and the regional data for the 1730s. It is not possible, however, to estimate regional distributions from this set of data. For the later period, corrupt practices and fraud among the collectors became endemic during the second half of the eighteenth century, and this inspired Gervais Parker Bushe, a newly appointed, and enthusiastic, revenue official to initiate a major overhaul of the collection process during the 1780.⁶

Specifically, Bushe aimed to reduce fraud, which had become endemic in the collection process, introduce taxpayers who were not legally exempt from the charge into the taxation process and improve and standardise the recording of houses exempt from the tax. These belated reforms dramatically increased the tax-take, and significantly increased the number of houses that were included in the tax collectors' return. County house-totals for 1791, which post-date these reforms, are the only suitable hearth-tax data that may be useful for generating population estimates during the latter half of the eighteenth century.⁷ As with the 1706 data, the 1791 figures are just county aggregates, although they are sufficiently temporally proximate to the 1813-5 census to allow for barony distributions to be presumed with some confidence. County house-counts data are also available for 12 other years between 1712 and 1788, but they also lack barony breakdown details, and provide little additional evidence for regional population-level estimation.⁸ Essentially, therefore, the extant hearth-tax data that have been adjudged to provide either useful opportunities for the examination of regional population distributions in County Wicklow or useful information on county-wide population trends are shown below.

Year	Details
1668-9	Hearth-tax roll transcriptions for east Wicklow baronies and summary data for the remainder of the county, with the exception of the north-east, for which the data has been lost.
1706	County house totals.
1732-3	Barony house totals, showing confessional distributions.
1739	Parish house totals
1791	County house totals, but the statutory census barony distributions can be used to estimate likely regional distributions. These returns post-date Bushe's reforms of the collection process.

Appendix 3 – The 1766 religious census.

More than three decades after a previous Lords' inspired attempt to determine the confessional distributions in Ireland (appendix 2), the Lords Spiritual instructed the holding of religious censuses in 1764-8 and 1766. The 1764-8 census was, like the 1732-3 census, conducted by hearth-tax collectors, while the 1766 census was conducted by Anglican parish clergymen. No surviving returns from the hearth-tax census are known to have survived for County Wicklow, but the situation with the 1766 census is better, and the surviving data for the county are due for publication in a future edition of *Analecta Hibernica*.⁹ Uniquely, this 1766 initiative was only attempt made during the eighteenth century to involve the Church of Ireland clergy as enumerators in a national census, with the Lords committee on religion instructing the various dioceses to direct the parish ministers in their respective dioceses to return a list of the several families in their parishes to this House on the first Monday after the recess, distinguishing which are Protestants and which are papists and also a list of the several reputed Popish priests and friars residing in the parishes.¹⁰

Much of the surviving material from this census was lost in 1722, but a diocesan summary for Dublin, and transcriptions of the list of householders have survived for a handful of parishes in the region, including Aghowle, Dunganstown and Rathdrum. Data, of variable quality, is available for most of the county, with the exception of Donaghmore, Donard, Donard and Hollywood in the west and the union of Arklow in the south-east. The character of the surviving Wicklow data is shown in figure 183.

influenced by the instructions communicated to the clergymen by the bishops, which may have varied from the instructions issued by the Lords.¹¹ Table 74 compares the surviving data for Wicklow with the specifications that were issued by the Lords. As can be seen, surviving data suggests that a few parishes, mostly in the north-east, presented data which probably exceeded the Lords' and bishop's requirements and it would appear that most Wicklow clergymen aimed to meet the modest requirements.

A second factor which should be considered, before this source is used, is the suitability of the person invested with the responsibility for organising the census, for the task in hand. Factors such as the enthusiasm of the minister bore for the census, his familiarity with the local area, his ability to conduct the census, his age and his presence in or absence from the locality may all have impacted on the quality and accuracy of the returns, and for a parish's return to have been scrupulously accurate all the above conditions would have had to have been favourably satisfied. Tables 74 and 75 note the names and ages of the officiating ministers in the parishes in the Wicklow region at the time of the census, and their duration of service.

The enthusiasm of the minister was likely the most important factor in determining the degree of accuracy of the parochial returns, however, and this determinant can only be speculated on, and it is even possible that some ministers delegating the task to others.¹² To conduct the census accurately required a not inconsiderable investment of both time and money, on the part of the minister and the wider parish. No doubt the complaints and concerns of Richard Stewart in Louth ('done with as much care and exactness as the time would allow'), William Henderson in Termonfeckin ('this list ... may not or cannot be perfect ... considering the short warning given') and Thomas Hackett in Oregon union, Queen's County ('the above survey, being difficult and expensive'), found a sympathetic resonance in many of the vicarages and rectories of County Wicklow.¹³ Nonetheless, it must be remembered that the requirements from the Lords was for the parishes to return simply the list of household-heads, indicating the religion of all listed. Hence, if a return provides additional information, this is surely an indication that the particular minister was enthused about the survey. In

particular if the minister had attempted to determine the number of inhabitants in the parish this should be viewed positively, as such an undertaking would have involved considerable effort.¹⁴ Thus, it seems likely that the enumerations of Delgany, Newcastle and Monkstown, at least, were conducted with above-average care and diligence.

Table 74 - Probable degree of compliance by the Wicklow parishes with the instructions of the House of Lords regarding the 1766 census.

Unions/parishes lying completely or partly in County Wicklow				
Parish/union	Character of surviving returns	Minister – Born / age / date of appt.	Comment	Source
Aghowle union (Aghold, Crecrin, Liscolman and Mullinacuff parishes)	List names of all householders and indicates their religion.	Joseph Bunbury – unknown / unknown / Oct. 1757.	Complies with requirement.	'Return ma]de to the Lords Spiritual [of the] families in this union 5 th day of March 1766' (R.C.B. Lib., MS. P. 522.5.1, loose sheet; Leslie, Succession lists, Leighlin (R.C.B. MS 61 2.12.1, p. 102.
Arklow union (Arklow, Kilbride, Killahurler and Ennereilly parishes)	No surviving returns.	John Gast – 1715 / 51 / Mar. 1761	N/A.	Wallace (ed.), <i>Clergy, Dublin, with Leslie</i> , pp 257, 268, 293, 299, 657.
Ballintemple parish	Only summary data available, which presents an aggregate figure for the number of Protestant and Catholic families.	James Dickson – 1700 / 66 / Oct. 1763	Probably complied with the requirement.	Wallace (ed.), <i>Clergy, Dublin, with Leslie</i> , pp 262, 576.
Baltinglass union (Baltinglass, Ballynure and possibly Rathbran parishes)	Only summary data available, which presents an aggregate figure for the number of Protestant and Catholic families.		Probably complied with the requirement. No figures for Rathbran but it seems to have subsequently been created out of Baltinglass.	Carlisle, <i>Top. dict.</i> , Ballinure; N.A.I. MS M 2476 (i).
Blessington union (Blessington, Burgage and Boystown parishes)	Only summary data available, which presents an aggregate figure for the number of Protestant and Catholic families.	William Walsh – unknown, BA from TCD in 1728 so born c. 1705 / c. 60 / Mar. 1736.	Probably complied with the requirement.	<i>Census Ire.</i> , 1821, p. 116; Wallace (ed.), <i>Clergy, Dublin, with Leslie</i> , 264, 1150; Carlisle, <i>Top. dict.</i> , Blessington, Burgage; Lewis, <i>Top. dict.</i> , i, pp 213-4.
Bray union (Bray,	Only summary data available, which presents	William Beresford –	Probably complied with the	Wallace (ed.), <i>Clergy</i> ,

Unions/parishes lying completely or partly in County Wicklow

Parish/union	Character of surviving returns	Minister – Born / age / date of appt.	Comment	Source
Oldconnaught, Kiltiernan and Rathmichael parishes).	an aggregate figure for the number of Protestant and Catholic families.	1743 / 23 / Sept. 1765	requirement. Beresford was involved in the union since 1764 when was prebend of Rathmichael. Although Rathmichael is not specified in the returns, that parish's data is almost certain to be included.	<i>Dublin, with Leslie</i> , pp 63, 157, 391; Carlisle, <i>Top. dict.</i> , Rathmichael; Lewis, <i>Top. dict.</i> , ii, p. 503.
Carnew union (Carnew, Kilpipe and Kilnenor parishes)	No surviving returns – Symes signed the, now lost, returns.	Abraham Symes – c. 1715 / 51 / c. 1753	N/A.	Leslie, <i>Ferns</i> , pp 85, 128, 200, 203; N.L.I. MS 8818, folder 5.
Castlemacadam parish	Only summary data available, which presents an aggregate figure for the number of Protestant and Catholic families.	James Dickson – 1700 / 66 / June 1742	Probably complied with the requirement. Dickson also held Ballintemple, Inch and Kilgorman.	Wallace (ed.), <i>Clergy, Dublin, with Leslie</i> , pp 269, 576; N.L.I. MS 8818, folder 5.
Delgany union (Delgany, Kilcoole and Kilmacanoge parishes),	Only summary data available, which presents aggregate figures for the number of Protestant and Catholic families, and aggregate figures for the total number of Protestant and Catholic individuals.	Sir Philip Hoby – 1716 / 50 / Mar. 1749	Probably exceeded the requirements as the number of inhabitants was not required. Hoey died, July 1766.	Wallace (ed.), <i>Clergy, Dublin, with Leslie</i> , pp 273, 738.
Derrylossary parish	Only summary data available, which presents an aggregate figure for the number of Protestant and Catholic families.	Ambrose Weeks – Unknown, ordained 1756 so probably born c. 1730 / c. 35 / Feb. 1765	Probably complied with the requirement.	Wallace (ed.), <i>Clergy, Dublin, with Leslie</i> , pp 275, 1162.
Donard union (Donard and Crehelp parishes)	No surviving returns.	William Holyroyd – 1716 / 50 / Mar. 1756	N/A.	Wallace (ed.), <i>Clergy, Dublin, with Leslie</i> , pp 277, 742; Carlisle, <i>Top. dict.</i> , Donard.
Donaghmore parish	No surviving returns.	Thomas Fetherston – 1684 / 82 / Apr. 1731	N/A.	Wallace (ed.), <i>Clergy, Dublin, with Leslie</i> , pp 279, 620.
Dunganstown parish	Name of all Protestant householders. All	Samuel Ussher – 1694 /	Probably complied with the	Wallace (ed.), <i>Clergy,</i>

Unions/parishes lying completely or partly in County Wicklow

Parish/union	Character of surviving returns	Minister – Born / age / date of appt.	Comment	Source
	surnames of Papist householders with the number holding each surname.	72 / July 1728	requirements.	<i>Dublin, with Leslie</i> , pp 282, 1133.
Dunlavin union (Dunlavin, Usk, Friendstown, Giltown, Rathallagh and Tubber parishes)	No surviving returns.	John Tench – 1719 / 47 / Oct. 1752	N/A.	Wallace (ed.), <i>Clergy, Dublin, with Leslie</i> , pp 284, 1104; Carlisle, Top. dict., Dunlavin.
Hacketstown union (Hacketstown, Haroldstown and possibly Clonmore parishes)	No surviving returns - Comerford notes the names of the priests in Hacketstown, Haroldstown, Clonmore and Kiltegan.		N/A.	
Hollywood parish	No surviving returns.	William Porter – 1720 / 46 / Aug. 1763	N/A.	Wallace (ed.), <i>Clergy, Dublin, with Leslie</i> , pp 290, 981.
Kilcommon union (Kilcommon, Crosspatrick and probably Preban parishes)	No surviving returns.	Jeremiah Symes – c. 1718 / 48 / c. 1750	N/A.	Wallace (ed.), <i>Clergy, Dublin, with Leslie</i> , p. 68, 144, 176, 230.
Kiltegan union (Kiltegan and Kilranelagh)	No surviving returns – may have been united with Hacketstown union at the time of the census.			Comerford, <i>Kildare and Leighlin</i> , iii, p. 406.
Moyacomb (pt in Wexford and Carlow)	Only summary data available, which presents an aggregate figure for the number of Protestant and Catholic families.	Philip le Fanu – c. 1735 / 31 / May, 1760	Probably complied with the requirement. Return lists Rice Lloyd as vicar but Leslie gives vicar as Philip le Fanu.	Lewis, <i>Ferns</i> , p. 136; Comerford, <i>Kildare and Leighlin</i> , iii, p. 406.
Newcastle parish	Only summary data available, which presents aggregate figures for the number of Protestant and Catholic families, and aggregate figures for the total number of Protestant and Catholic	Holt Truell – 1700 / 66 / Feb. 1756	Probably exceeded the requirements as the number of inhabitants was not required.	Wallace (ed.), <i>Clergy, Dublin, with Leslie</i> , pp 313, 1125.

Unions/parishes lying completely or partly in County Wicklow

Parish/union	Character of surviving returns	Minister – Born / age / date of appt.	Comment	Source
	individuals.			
Powerscourt parish	Only summary data available, which presents an aggregate figure for the number of Protestant and Catholic families.	John Drury – 1716 / 50 / Mar. 1758	Probably complied with the requirement.	Wallace (ed.), <i>Clergy, Dublin, with Leslie</i> , pp 316, 591-2.
Rathdrum union (Rathdrum, Kiltegan, Ballinacor and Ballykine parishes)	Provides data per townland. Lists names of all Protestant householders. For Catholics just the surnames are listed and a figure representing the number of households of that surname in each townland.	Coote Mitchell – 1710 / 56 / Mar. 1754	Probably exceeded the requirement but not certain. Breakdown by townland was not required but the surviving return does not list all Catholic householders. It is unknown if the original return just gave aggregates of Catholic surnames or whether this was done by the transcriber.	Wallace (ed.), <i>Clergy, Dublin, with Leslie</i> , pp 319, 894.
Rathmore union (pt in Kildare) (Rathmore, Kiltree and Kilbride)	Only summary data available, which presents an aggregate figure for the number of Protestant and Catholic families.	Robert Green – 1718 / 48 / Nov. 1758	Probably complied with the requirement.	Wallace (ed.), <i>Clergy, Dublin, with Leslie</i> , pp 321, 678.
Wicklow union (Killiskey, Rathnew, Drumkay, Glenealy, Kilpoole and Kilcommon parishes)	Some data in the diocese summary which only gives a figure for the number of Protestant and Catholic families in the parish. A partial listing of protestant household-heads is also available.	John Walls – 1709 / 57 / Dec. 1754	Probably complied with the requirement.	Wallace (ed.), <i>Clergy, Dublin, with Leslie</i> , pp 331, 1146.

Table 75 - Character of the 1766 returns for parishes in neighbouring counties, which lie proximate to Wicklow and for which there are extant returns.

Union/parish	Character of the returns – <i>misc. notes</i>	Principal clergyman	Year born / age	Appointed	Source
Unions/parishes lying in south Dublin					
Monkstown union (Monkstown, Killiney, Dalkey, Kill and Tully parishes)	Complete list of Protestant and Popish heads of households and the number of people in each family – <i>these returns are better than any of the Wicklow returns.</i>	Thomas Heany	1706 / 60	Feb. 1741	Wallace (ed.), <i>Clergy, Dublin, with Leslie</i> , pp 141, 720.
Stillorgan union (Stillorgan and Kilmacud parishes)	Figures for number of Protestant and Popish families and Protestant and Popish souls in the union (not given by individual parishes).	Beather King	1735 / 31	May 1764	Wallace (ed.), <i>Clergy, Dublin, with Leslie</i> , pp 239, 794.
Crumlin parish	<i>Forde curate in Crumlin from 1752.</i>	William Forde	1727 / 39	Nov. 1756	Wallace (ed.), <i>Clergy, Dublin, with Leslie</i> , pp 88, 640.
Taney union (Taney and Kilgobbin parishes)	Names of Protestant and Popish householders	Jeremiah Walsh	1702 / 64	Sept. 1758	Wallace (ed.), <i>Clergy, Dublin, with Leslie</i> , pp 248, 1148.
Rathfarnham parish	Figures for number of Protestant and Popish families and Protestant and Popish souls.	George Thomas	Unknown, entered TCD 1733 thus born c. 1715 / c. 50	Apr. 1768	Wallace (ed.), <i>Clergy, Dublin, with Leslie</i> , pp 154, 1107.
Chapelizod union (Chapelizod, Palmerston and Ballyfermot parishes)	Figures for number of Protestant and Popish heads of families for the union (not broken down by individual parishes) – <i>The union also contained a barracks (data given separately). See Castleknock union. Percival also minister in Athy union, Co. Kildare.</i>	Kene Percival	1710 / 56	Jun. 1764	Wallace (ed.), <i>Clergy, Dublin, with Leslie</i> , pp 72, 966.
Castleknock union (Castleknock, Clonsilla and Mulhuddart parishes)	List of all Protestant heads of households for Castleknock parish and number of all Papist household heads. Figures for	Kene Percival	1710 / 56	Jun. 1764	Wallace (ed.), <i>Clergy, Dublin, with Leslie</i> , pp 68, 69,

Union/parish	Character of the returns – <i>misc. notes</i>	Principal clergyman	Year born / age	Appointed	Source
	number of Protestant and Popish heads of families for Clonsilla. – <i>See also Chapelizod union.</i>				966.
Tallaght union (Tallaght, Cruagh and Whitechurch parishes)	Figures for number of Protestant and Popish families and Protestant and Popish souls.	Owen Sheils	1703 / 63	Mar. 1743	Wallace (ed.), <i>Clergy, Dublin, with Leslie</i> , pp 246, 1046.
Rathcoole union (Rathcoole and Sagart parishes)	Figures for number of Protestant and Popish families and Protestant and Popish souls.	George Phillips	1709 / 57	Aug. 1756	Wallace (ed.), <i>Clergy, Dublin, with Leslie</i> , pp 152, 969.
Unions/parishes in east Kildare					
Ballymore Eustace union	All Protestant householders (spouse indicated if one) and the number of Protestants and Papists in their houses. Also total number of Protestant and Papist souls – <i>significant numbers of Papists in Protestant houses.</i>	Robert King	c. 1720, in TCD in 1741	Aug. 1759	Wallace (ed.), <i>Clergy, Dublin, with Leslie</i> , pp 262-3, 795.
Cloncurry union (Cloncurry, Kilcock, Scullogestown and Ballynafagh parishes)	Number of Protestant and Popish families giving individual figures for each parish.	Shem. Thomas			Comerford, <i>Kildare and Leighlin</i> , i, pp 272-3.
Donadea union (Donadea and Balraheen parishes)	Number of Protestant and Popish families. Individual figures for each parish (not given by individual parishes).	Wm. Cramer			Comerford, <i>Kildare and Leighlin</i> , i, p. 273.
Clane union (Clane, Clonshanbo, Killybegs and Mainham parishes)	Number of Protestant and Popish families giving individual figures for each parish.	Wm. Digby			Comerford, <i>Kildare and Leighlin</i> , i, p. 274.
Bodenstown parish	Number of Protestant and Popish 'houses'.	Revd Flood			Comerford, <i>Kildare and Leighlin</i> , i, 273.
Great Connell union (Great Connell, Nurney and Sherlockstown parishes)	Number of Protestant and Popish families giving individual figures for each parish.	John Jackson			Comerford, <i>Kildare and Leighlin</i> , i, p. 273.
Carragh union (Brideschurch, Carragh and	Number of Protestant and Popish families giving individual figures for each parish.	Simon Digby			Comerford, <i>Kildare and Leighlin</i> , i, p.

Union/parish	Character of the returns – <i>misc. notes</i>	Principal clergyman	Year born / age	Appointed	Source
Downings parishes)					273.
Naas parish	Figures for number of Protestant and Popish 'housekeepers'.	Wm. Donnellan			Comerford, <i>Kildare and Leighlin</i> , i, p. 271.
Ballysax union (Ballysax and Ballyshannon)	Number of Protestant and Popish families giving individual figures for each parish.	Hen. Tibson			Comerford, <i>Kildare and Leighlin</i> , i, pp 273-4.
Rathmore union	<i>Given above</i>				
Unions/parishes in northern and eastern Carlow					
Rathvilly union (Rathvilly, Rahill, Rathmore and Straboe parishes)	Number of Protestant and Popish families and Protestant and Popish souls in the union (not given by individual parishes).	Richard Borough			Comerford, <i>Kildare and Leighlin</i> , iii, p. 405.
Tullowphelim parish	Number of Protestant and Popish families.	Fras. Hopkins			Comerford, <i>Kildare and Leighlin</i> , iii, p. 404.
Urglin union (Urglin, Killerrig and Grangeford parishes)	Number of Protestant and Popish families in the union (not given by individual parishes).	M. Ryves			Comerford, <i>Kildare and Leighlin</i> , iii, p. 406.
Aghade union (Aghade, Ardristan, Ballon and Gilbertstown parishes)	Number of Protestant and Popish families in the union (not given by individual parishes).	William Gray			Comerford, <i>Kildare and Leighlin</i> , iii, p. 406.
Unions/parishes in northern Wexford					
Moyacomb parish (see above)					
Inch union (Inch and Kilgorman parishes)	Number of Protestant and Popish families in each parish in the union.	James Dickson	1700 / 66	Oct 1763	Wallace (ed.), <i>Clergy, Dublin, with Leslie</i> , pp 292, 576.

Note: the actual returns listed above are in N.L.I. MS 2476 (i) for unions of Baltinglass, Blessington, Bray, Delgany, Inch, Stillorgan and Wicklow and the parishes of Derrylossary, Castlemacadam, Powerscourt and Newcastle; R.C.B. Lib. MS 37 for unions of Castleknock, Ballymore Eustace, Chapelizod, Rathcoole, Rathmore and Tallaght and for parishes of Rathfarnham, Wicklow, Dunganstown and Rathdrum; Comerford, *Kildare and Leighlin*, i, pp 270-4 for Kildare data; *ibid.*, iii, pp 404-6 for Carlow data).

Appendix 4 – Sample rates of population change from various European countries.

The rate of population change in a community at any period in the past can have been influenced by numerous factors, including prices, availability of resources, climate and weather, food, the community's age profile, environmental factors, migration and macro-political factors. Historically, if the combined impact of all the various influencing factors were positive a population tended to increase in size, and if the aggregation of the influencing factors was negative the population decreased. If 'snapshot' population estimates are available for an area for two particular periods it can be useful to determine the annual rate of population change, as this can indicate inaccuracies in one or both of the estimates – excessively large rates of growth can, unless exceptional circumstances prevailed, be viewed as casting doubt on a snapshot population figure. In this regard, it is useful to have guideline potential-population-growth figures available. In the second half of the twentieth century, for example, rates of population growth in some developing countries have reached as high as 4 per cent or more,¹⁵ but such rates have been sustained because of improvements in health care and medicines, and it is unlikely that Irish pre-industrial growth rates could have attained, or exceeded, such levels.

In a study on English population trends and levels between the mid-sixteenth and late-nineteenth centuries, Wrigley and Schofield have generated annual population growth-rate estimates for the population of England between 1540-1869. Key data from their work is replicated in table 76. During this three--century period the average annual rate of growth never exceeded 1.70 per cent during any decennial period. Furthermore, the rate of English population growth appears to have been low for the century between 1650 and 1750, and moderate in the periods 1540-1650 and 1750-1790, but during the nineteenth century unprecedented rates of growth, exceeding 1.5 per cent per annum, were experienced.

Table 76 – Estimated crude rates of natural population increase by decade in England, 1540-1869.

Decade	% rate of increase	Categorisation	Decade	% rate of increase	Categorisation
1540-9	0.64	Moderate	1710-9	0.33	Low
1550-9	0.17	Low	1720-9	-0.02	Negative
1560-9	0.94	Moderate	1730-9	0.50	Moderate
1570-9	1.11	High	1740-9	0.32	Low
1580-9	1.10	High	1750-9	0.70	Moderate
1590-9	0.59	Moderate	1760-9	0.52	Moderate
1600-9	1.03	High	1770-9	0.90	Moderate
1610-9	0.61	Moderate	1780-9	0.82	Moderate
1620-9	0.59	Moderate	1790-9	1.18	High
1630-9	0.50	Moderate	1800-9	1.30	High
1640-9	0.52	Moderate	1810-9	1.50	Very high
1650-9	0.06	Low	1820-9	1.69	Very high
1660-9	-0.01	Negative	1830-9	1.52	Very high
1670-9	0.06	Low	1840-9	1.32	High
1680-9	-0.06	Negative	1850-9	1.51	Very high
1690-9	0.26	Moderate	1860-9	1.56	Very high
1700-9	0.48	Low			

Source: Wrigley and Schofield, *Pop. hist. of England, 1541-1871*, p. 183. Note: the categorisations are based on the information presented in table 2.

Similar growth rates were exhibited in other European countries. In neighbouring Scotland, for instance, the nineteenth-century census figures suggest a high rate of population growth in the early decades, which had moderated by the middle years of the century. The relative population was increasing most rapidly during the 1810s and 1820s when mean annual growth rates of about 1.5 per cent and 1.2 per cent respectively, were experienced. The particularly rapid growth rates experienced in England in the middle years of the century, which were being driven principally by rapid industrialisation, were not mirrored in Scotland and it is likely that the higher growth rates in England were being augmented by Scottish migration at that time (table 184).

In Norway, population-growth trends and rates were broadly similar to those experienced in England, particularly during the eighteenth century. Moderate rates of growth during the eighteenth century gave way to more impressive growth during the nineteenth century, although stagnation appears to have typified its opening years. Annual growth rates hovered between 0.5 per cent

and 1.0 per cent for most periods between 1735 and 1800, although negative growth was experienced during the early 1740s and the early 1770s (table 184).

In France, population growth was muted throughout the eighteenth century, and probably never reached 1.0 per cent per annum at any stage between 1700 and 1865, and the country's population lost considerable ground during this time. Based on estimates by Henry and Blayo the national population increased from 21.5 million in 1700 to 37.3 million in 1860, which suggests an increase of less than 75 per cent, or an annual rate of increase of just 0.35 per cent.¹⁶ During roughly the same period the population of England (less Monmouth) more than tripled, increasing from about 6 million in 1701, to almost 19 million at the time of the 1861 census.¹⁷

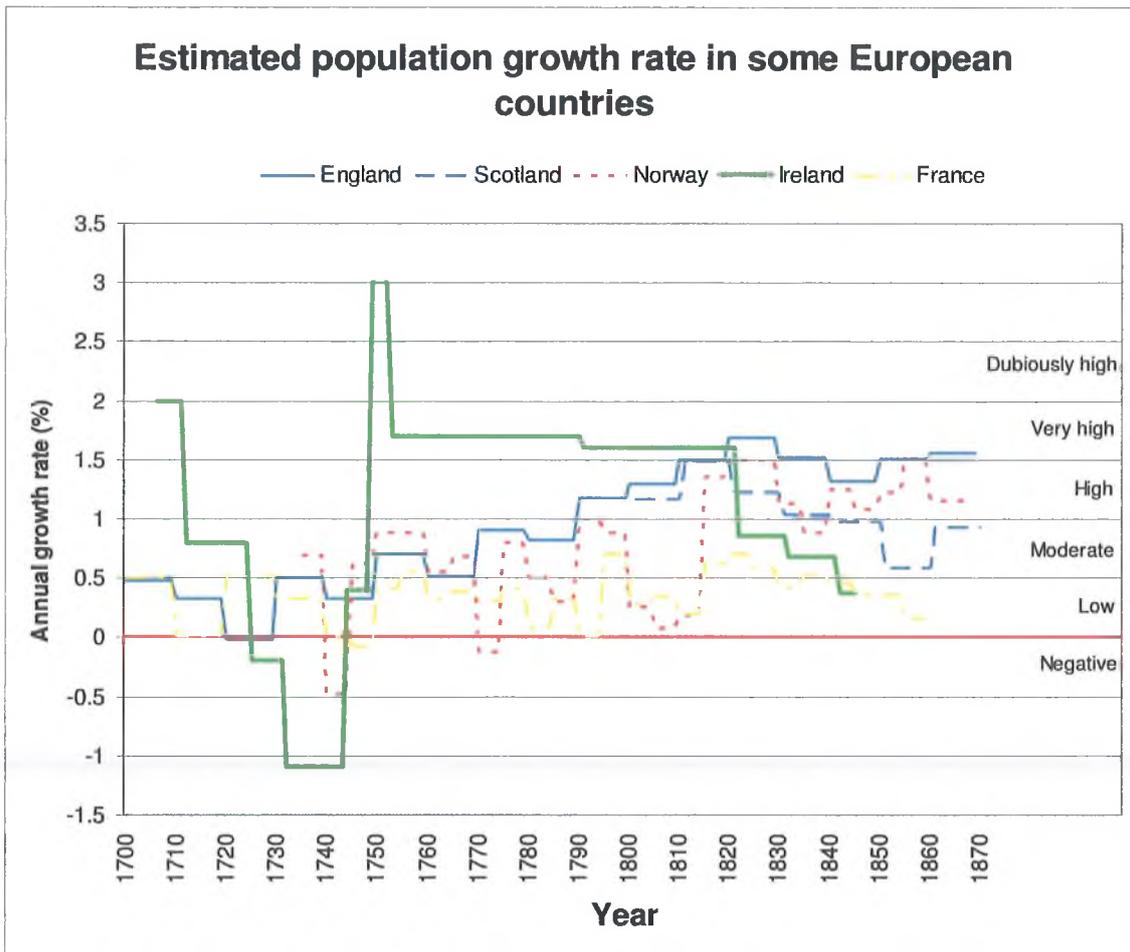


Figure 184 – Comparison between Irish estimated population-growth rates and English, Scottish and Norwegian rates (source: Irish figures from Dickson, Ó Gráda and Daultrey, ‘Hearth tax’, in *R.I.A. Proc.*, 82C, no. 6, p. 155; Lee, ‘On the accuracy of the pre-Famine Irish censuses’, p. 54 (for 1821 and 1841 figures); Boyle and Ó Gráda, ‘Fertility, mortality and the Great Irish Famine’, p. 56 (for 1831 and 1845 figures); English figures, see table 76; Scottish rates calculated from James Gray (ed.), *Scottish population statistics*, pp 82-4; Norwegian rates from Drake, *Population and society in Norway, 1735-1865*, pp 164-7); French data from Louis Henry and Yves Blayo, ‘La population de la France de 1740 a 1860’ in *Population, numéro spéciale*, xxxe (1975), pp 95, 99).

Notes: The categorisations are based on the information presented in table 2. The Irish growth rates prior to 1821 use the mean national estimates from Dickson, Ó Gráda and Daultrey. The graphs represent the mean annual growth rates between various snapshot population estimates, and do not imply a consistent rate of growth between individual snapshot estimates.

Although eighteenth century Irish population levels, despite various studies in recent times, remain ‘rather speculative’, most evidentiary analysis supports the thesis that Ireland’s rate of population growth was high in comparison to other western European countries.¹⁸ It has been suggested that the Irish annual rate of

population growth may have been as high as 1.3 per cent between 1750 and 1845; a level which far exceeded growth rates in all neighbouring countries, with the exception of England, and this growth may have reached 1.6 or 1.7 per cent before 1820.¹⁹ Furthermore, population-estimate figures from Dickson *et al* imply that Irish rates could have been exceptionally high for brief periods, such as the reputed 3 per cent annual increase at the start of the 1750s.

Appendix 5 – Moll’s bridges on Nevill’s Map of County, Wicklow, 1760.

It is doubtful if Moll’s map of County Wicklow accurately represents the contemporary state of Wicklow’s road infrastructure, particularly in relation to bridges, and to the orientation and direction of roads. Table 77 lists the bridges shown on Moll’s map of Wicklow and compares them to Nevill’s map of 1760. Many of the bridges shown by Moll are depicted as fords on Nevill’s later map, suggesting that Moll’s depictions are careless and casual.

Table 77 – State of river crossings shown as bridges on Moll’s map.

Location	Nevill’s survey shows a ...
Bray	Bridge
S. of Kilcoole	Ford
S. of Newcastle	Ford
Between Newcastle and Blackbull	Ford
S. of Blackbull	Ford
Newrath Bridge	Bridge
Kilpoole	Ford
Between Kilpoole and Cornagower	Bridge
N. of Pennycomquik	Bridge
Arklow	Bridge
N. of Powerscourt (Enniskerry)	Bridge
S. of Powerscourt (Tinnehinch)	Bridge
NW of Dunganstown	Bridge
NE of Rathdrum	Ford
Rathdrum	Bridge
Dunganstown	Bridge
Templelyon	Ford
Ballinaclash	Bridge
Aughrim	Bridge
S. of Castlekevin, road to Hacketstown	Bridge
Ballymanus Br., on same road	Bridge
Between Tinahely and Clonegal	Bridge
S. of Blessington (Horsepass Bridge)	Bridge
SE of Donard	Ford (but in wrong place, the river runs to the north west of Donard, not to the south east)
N. of Castleruddery	Bridge
Between Castleruddery and Talbotstown	Ford
S. of Talbotstown	No river
Donard to Baltinglass road	Bridge
Donard to Baltinglass road	Ford
S. of Baltinglass	Bridge

Source: Moll, *Map of Ireland, 1714*; Jacob Nevill, *Map of Wicklow, 1760*.

Appendix 6 – Wicklow’s principal routeways, circa 1760.

If the routes shown on Jacob Nevill’s *Actual survey of County Wicklow* are compared with the modern road network, parts of many of the roads can be seen to correspond with the lowest quality roads on the modern Ordnance Survey *Discovery Series*. The lowest quality roads on the *Discovery Series* maps are, in order of reducing quality, ‘third class road’ (less than 4 metres wide), ‘other road’ and ‘track’ (which usually indicates a walking track). On Nevill’s map, for instance, the principal access routes to the important tourist site of the Meeting of the Waters, from Rathdrum in the north, Wicklow town in the north-east and Aughrim to the south-west all correspond to the lowest quality of modern-day third class roads. In many other cases, principal mid-eighteenth century roads do not even qualify for inclusion in the ‘third class’ category on modern Ordnance Survey maps. The road from Ballinaclash to Aughrim in 1760, for instance, followed a route which does not exist in its entirety today – about two kilometers of this route is now described by the Ordnance Survey as a ‘track’. Neither is this situation uncommon. The road from Ballinglen, near Tinahely, to Hacketstown is, today, a mixture of third class and sub-third class road, and the mountain road from Hacketstown to Rathdrum is, today, part trackway and part third class road.

Further north, in the more heavily populated, and relatively more prosperous, regions of the western plateau and the eastern coastal strip, the road situation may have been better, although it is unlikely to have been significantly so. Figure 185 shows the current (July 2005) condition of the surface of part of Ballydonagh Lane, which is marked as ‘trackway’ on modern Ordnance Survey maps. In 1760 this was an important road linking the road south from Dublin, through the Glen of the Downs, with the road from Dublin to Wicklow town, via Bray. Marked on Nevill’s map (figure 186), he gives no indication that it was of a lesser quality than any of the other roads in the area, so it is likely to be typical of the quality of many of the cross-roads linking major thoroughfares. It is likely that the rough paving that remains evident today represented the typical road surface in the eighteenth century.



Figure 185 –Ballydonagh Lane in July 2005. This road is marked on Jacob Nevill’s map of the county and was regularly repaired by the annual six days voluntary labour.

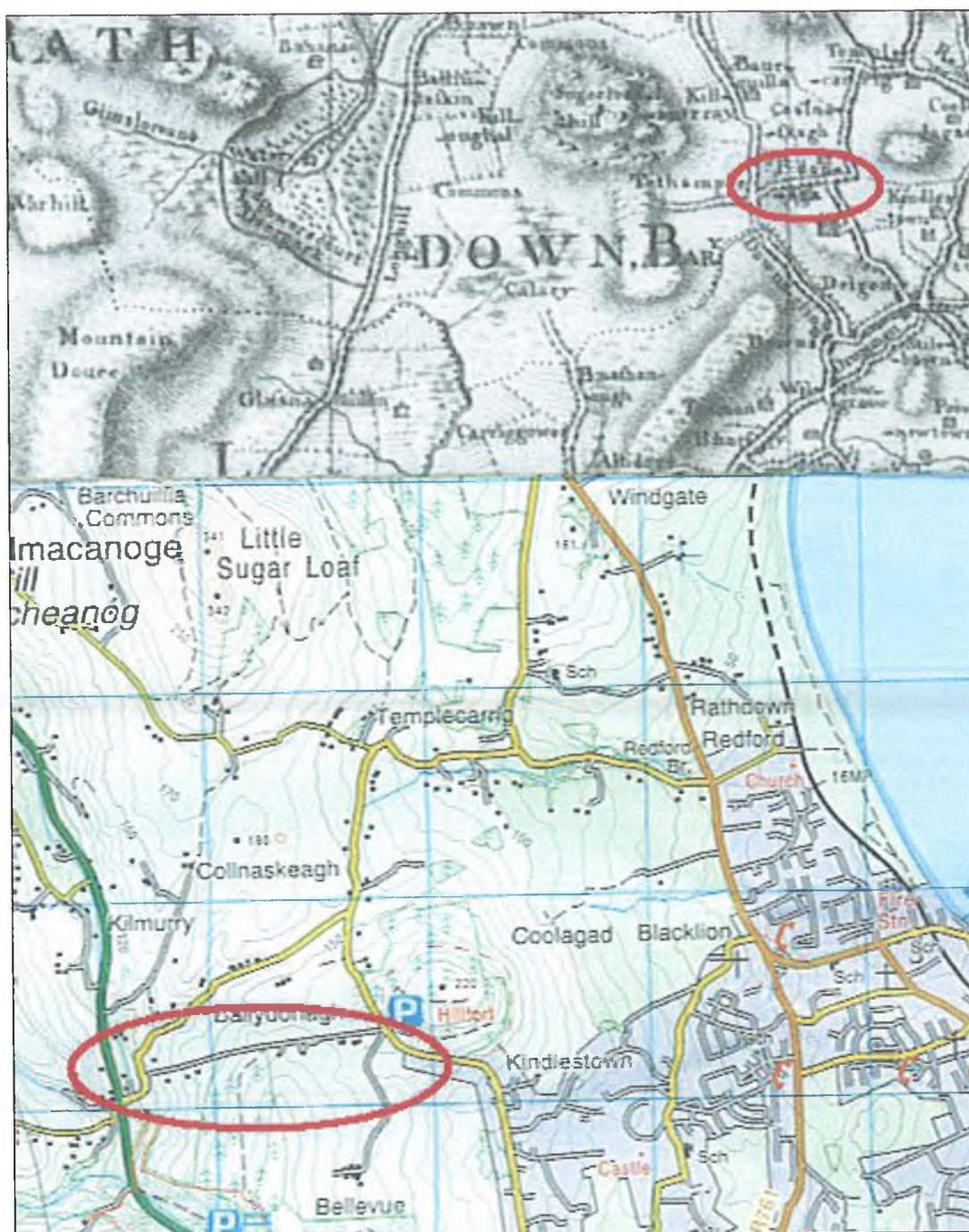


Figure 186 – Ballydonagh Lane on Jacob Nevill's Map and on O.S. discovery series map, no. 56 (3rd ed., 2001).

Appendix 7 – Family and house figures for south-eastern counties, 1813-5, 1821, 1831 and 1841.

Published census data provides opportunities to observe structural changes occurring within households, of which, the mean number of families per household is an important element. It could be reasonably expected that at times of rapid population increase, society would, fuelled by an increased competition for land, tend to move communities towards multi-family households, and thus, in the first four decades of the nineteenth century it is reasonable to speculate that Irish society would have been exhibiting a movement away from nuclear families and towards multi-family households. In fact, however, the census data suggests that the opposite was the case.

In table 78 the house and family aggregates and calculated mean number of families per house are shown. The boundaries for the 1813-5, 1821 and 1831 censuses were largely similar, although since these censuses predate the Ordnance Survey mapping of the country this may present its own difficulties. Between 1831 and 1841 parish, barony and even county boundaries changed as the Ordnance Office moved to resolve anomalies and difficulties with boundaries. In the published census returns, at the end of the 'Summary of the General Table' for each county the boundary changes between 1831 and 1841 are indicated.²⁰ Ideally, in order to ensure compatibility between the pre- and post-boundary-change data sets, the 1841 data would be reworked to determine the 1841 population estimate according to the old boundaries. However, the notes on boundary changes only detail the transfers of populations between the censuses. No information is presented on house or family transfers, which are the data that are required to determine the mean number of families per house. In most cases the transfers are relatively small and usually involve contiguous territories. Thus, while the 1841 boundary differences will impact on the calculated figures, the trends, nonetheless, will not differ substantially from the figures that would be calculated had the boundaries not changed. The only exception is County Dublin, where the transfers of territory between County Dublin and some neighbouring counties and County Dublin and Dublin city were significant. Consequently the 1841 figures for Dublin have not been included.

As can be seen from table 78, where data is available for 1813-5²¹ (Meath, Carlow, Kildare and Longford) the mean number of families per house is relatively low, ranging from 1.01 for County Meath to 1.05 for Counties Louth and Longford, although this is likely more an indication of a lack of clarity among the enumerators about what constituted a 'family', rather than being a reflection of the contemporary situation. By 1821, when an understanding of what constituted a 'family' had become more standardised, the mean number of families per house, was of the order of 1.10, with Westmeath having the lowest number of families per house (1.07) and Kildare the highest of all counties except Dublin (1.16). The province-wide mean was 1.14, falling to 1.10 if the Dublin data is excluded.

In the province as a whole the general trend between 1821 and 1841 was downwards, particularly between 1821 and 1831 when the mean figure fell for all counties, except for Wexford where it remained at the same level. It is possible that this trend is masking subtle changes in the definition of 'family' between the censuses. Nonetheless, it seems as if the general trend in family formation in the immediate pre-Famine decades was away from multi-family households and towards nuclear families.

Table 78 – Mean number of families per house as recorded by the 1813-5, 1821, 1831 and 1841 censuses for all Leinster counties (in Queen’s County the barony of Upper Ossory was divided into the cantreds of Clandonagh, Clarmalagh and Upperwoods (*Census Ire., 1841*, p. 109) and in Westmeath the 1813-5 figure for Brawny barony is a combined figure for Brawny, Clonlonan and Kilkenny West).

Baronies/counties	1813-5		1821		1831		1841		1813-5	1821	1831	1841
	Houses	Families	Houses	Families	Houses	Families	Houses	Families	MFH	MFH	MFH	MFH
Carlow												
Carlow	2,032	2,218	2,244	2,965	2,550	3,269	2,400	2,919	1.09	1.32	1.28	1.22
Forth	1,621	1,642	1,677	1,764	1,655	1,696	1,901	1,962	1.01	1.05	1.02	1.03
Idrone East	3,147	3,187	3,401	3,711	3,282	3,552	3,492	3,788	1.01	1.09	1.08	1.08
Idrone West	1,099	1,099	1,238	1,276	1,313	1,395	1,404	1,465	1.00	1.03	1.06	1.04
Rathvilly	2,674	2,763	2,818	3,195	2,796	3,003	3,139	3,356	1.03	1.13	1.07	1.07
Saint Mullin's	1,517	1,518	1,650	1,719	1,679	1,694	1,672	1,720	1.00	1.04	1.01	1.03
Co. Carlow	12,090	12,427	13,028	14,630	13,275	14,609	14,008	15,210	1.03	1.12	1.10	1.09
Dublin												
Balrothery	3,286	no data	3,329	3,614	3,477	3,708			N/A.	1.09	1.07	N/A.
Castleknock	no data	no data	958	1,319	1,125	1,300			N/A.	1.38	1.16	N/A.
Coolock	4,612	no data	4,773	7,152	5,320	7,015			N/A.	1.50	1.32	N/A.
Donore	803	no data	882	3,199	750	2,243			N/A.	3.63	2.99	N/A.
Nethercross	no data	no data	1,385	1,509	1,434	1,530			N/A.	1.09	1.07	N/A.
Newcastle	2,674	no data	2,441	4,915	3,063	3,867			N/A.	2.01	1.26	N/A.
Half Rathdown	2,595	no data	2,899	3,635	4,078	4,971			N/A.	1.25	1.22	N/A.
St. Sepulchre's	797	no data	1,000	3,668	1,080	2,925			N/A.	3.67	2.71	N/A.
Uppercross	2,663	no data	3,124	4,684	3,492	4,011			N/A.	1.50	1.15	N/A.
Co. Dublin	17,430	no data	20,791	33,695	23,819	31,570	N/A.	N/A.	N/A.	1.62	1.33	N/A.
Co. Dublin (excl. city parts)	15,830	no data	18,909	26,828	21,989	26,402	N/A.	N/A.	N/A.	1.42	1.20	N/A.
Kildare												
Carbery	1,472	1,525	1,604	1,736	1,647	1,873	1,580	1,669	1.04	1.08	1.14	1.06
Clane	1,054	1,109	1,283	1,507	1,427	1,439	1,421	1,507	1.05	1.17	1.01	1.06
Connell	1,029	1,088	1,236	1,776	1,472	1,526	1,608	1,730	1.06	1.44	1.04	1.08
Ikeathy and Oughterany	950	973	1,044	1,223	1,093	1,099	1,046	1,090	1.02	1.17	1.01	1.04
Kilcullen	520	550	521	543	520	549	548	588	1.06	1.04	1.06	1.07
Kilkea & Moone	1,483	1,505	1,756	1,836	1,596	1,810	1,834	1,955	1.01	1.05	1.13	1.07

Baronies/counties	1813-5		1821		1831		1841		1813-5	1821	1831	1841
	Houses	Families	Houses	Families	Houses	Families	Houses	Families	MFH	MFH	MFH	MFH
North Naas	1,040	1,131	1,235	1,515	1,311	1,527	1,313	1,464	1.09	1.23	1.16	1.12
South Naas	654	670	661	713	675	722	1,219	1,320	1.02	1.08	1.07	1.08
Narragh & Reban East	1,089	1,098	1,097	1,287	1,147	1,259	1,149	1,266	1.01	1.17	1.10	1.10
Narragh & Reban West	1,051	1,113	1,193	1,341	1,314	1,569	1,468	1,733	1.06	1.12	1.19	1.18
Offaly East	1,144	1,197	1,278	1,425	1,186	1,225	1,780	1,900	1.05	1.12	1.03	1.07
Offaly West	1,522	1,533	1,950	2,145	1,988	2,143	1,840	1,967	1.01	1.10	1.08	1.07
North Salt	995	1,146	1,011	1,411	1,114	1,333	1,089	1,421	1.15	1.40	1.20	1.30
South Salt	561	587	609	722	665	697	661	728	1.05	1.19	1.05	1.10
Co. Kildare	14,564	15,225	16,478	19,180	17,155	18,771	18,556	20,338	1.05	1.16	1.09	1.10
Kilkenny												
Callan town and liberties	1,005	no data					1,075	1,262	N/A.	N/A.	N/A.	1.17
<i>Crannagh</i>	2,130	no data	2,303	2,464	2,398	2,579	2,847	2,999	N/A.	1.07	1.08	1.05
<i>Fassadining</i>	3,764	no data	4,344	4,682	4,822	5,059	4,871	5,262	N/A.	1.08	1.05	1.08
<i>Galmoy</i>	2,051	no data	2,457	2,575	2,831	2,966	2,588	2,758	N/A.	1.05	1.05	1.07
<i>Gowran</i>	5,386	no data	5,721	6,349	5,827	6,219	6,346	6,713	N/A.	1.11	1.07	1.06
Ida	2,240	no data	2,784	2,968	2,789	2,973	3,108	3,216	N/A.	1.07	1.07	1.03
<i>Iverk</i>	2,248	no data	2,187	2,319	2,240	2,331	2,374	2,489	N/A.	1.06	1.04	1.05
Kells	1,648	no data	2,866	3,075	2,478	2,630	2,011	2,123	N/A.	1.07	1.06	1.06
Knocktopher	1,793	no data	2,027	2,200	2,133	2,266	2,326	2,431	N/A.	1.09	1.06	1.05
<i>Shelilagher</i>	1,149	no data	1,260	1,336	1,730	1,800	1,544	1,621	N/A.	1.06	1.04	1.05
Co. Kilkenny	23,414	no data	25,949	27,968	27,248	28,823	29,090	30,874	N/A.	1.08	1.06	1.06
King's County												
Ballyboy	1,110	no data	1,261	1,423	1,397	1,475	1,567	1,697	N/A.	1.13	1.06	1.08
<i>Ballybritt</i>	2,319	no data	2,786	3,278	3,117	3,653	3,188	3,676	N/A.	1.18	1.17	1.15
<i>Ballycowen</i>	2,408	no data	2,861	3,417	3,004	3,316	3,079	3,474	N/A.	1.19	1.10	1.13
<i>Clonlisk</i>	2,022	no data	2,423	2,633	2,682	2,705	2,863	2,991	N/A.	1.09	1.01	1.04
Coolestown	1,326	no data	1,474	1,682	1,594	1,718	1,513	1,699	N/A.	1.14	1.08	1.12
<i>Eglish</i>	919	no data	994	1,090	1,074	1,174	1,083	1,146	N/A.	1.10	1.09	1.06
<i>Garrycastle</i>	4,106	no data	4,613	4,948	4,949	5,181	5,086	5,426	N/A.	1.07	1.05	1.07
<i>Geashill</i>	1,104	no data	1,281	1,390	1,397	1,464	1,394	1,501	N/A.	1.09	1.05	1.08
<i>Killcoursey</i>	1,350	no data	1,517	1,652	1,478	1,656	1,644	1,758	N/A.	1.09	1.12	1.07

Baronies/counties	1813-5		1821		1831		1841		1813-5	1821	1831	1841
	Houses	Families	Houses	Families	Houses	Families	Houses	Families	MFH	MFH	MFH	MFH
Phillipstown Low.	1,132	no data	1,190	1,478	1,274	1,312	1,190	1,261	N/A.	1.24	1.03	1.06
Phillipstown Upp.	1,325	no data	1,557	1,646	1,652	1,696	1,268	1,332	N/A.	1.06	1.03	1.05
Warrenstown	584	no data	607	737	638	722	659	722	N/A.	1.21	1.13	1.10
King's Co.	19,705	no data	22,564	25,374	24,256	26,072	24,534	26,683	N/A.	1.12	1.07	1.09
Longford												
Ardagh	2,917	3,349	3,478	4,470	3,307	3,431	3,180	3,635	1.15	1.29	1.04	1.14
Granard	4,582	4,672	5,089	5,600	5,130	5,157	5,090	5,290	1.02	1.10	1.01	1.04
Longford	3,615	3,769	4,225	4,693	4,549	5,099	4,673	4,956	1.04	1.11	1.12	1.06
Moydow	1,713	1,841	2,101	2,244	2,222	2,351	2,202	2,328	1.07	1.07	1.06	1.06
Rathcline	2,090	2,090	2,389	2,524	2,499	2,579	2,436	2,604	1.00	1.06	1.03	1.07
Shrulle	1,431	1,450	1,705	2,119	1,711	1,821	1,614	1,766	1.01	1.24	1.06	1.09
Co. Longford	16,348	17,171	18,987	21,650	19,418	20,438	19,195	20,579	1.05	1.14	1.05	1.07
Louth												
Ardee	no data	no data	4,748	5,074	5,068	5,258	3,180	3,635	N/A.	1.07	1.04	1.14
Drogheda	bdy ch.	bdy ch.	bdy ch.	bdy ch.	bdy ch.	bdy ch.	5,090	5,290	N/A.	N/A.	N/A.	1.04
Dundalk Lower	no data	no data	3,224	3,372	3,421	3,491	4,673	4,956	N/A.	1.05	1.02	1.06
Dundalk Upper	no data	no data	4,001	4,905	4,313	4,728	2,202	2,328	N/A.	1.23	1.10	1.06
Ferrard	no data	no data	3,837	4,100	3,768	3,891	2,436	2,604	N/A.	1.07	1.03	1.07
Louth	no data	no data	2,328	2,440	2,264	2,443	1,614	1,766	N/A.	1.05	1.08	1.09
Co. Louth	no data	no data	18,138	19,891	18,834	19,811	19,195	20,579	N/A.	1.10	1.05	1.07
Meath												
Lower Deece	662	662	639	653	655	680	660	691	1.00	1.02	1.04	1.05
Upper Deece	732	732	831	892	851	920	859	893	1.00	1.07	1.08	1.04
Drogheda	bdy ch.	bdy ch.	Bdy ch.	bdy ch.	bdy ch.	bdy ch.	162	162				
Lower Duleek	1,560	1,581	1,657	1,739	1,759	1,871	1,917	1,999	1.01	1.05	1.06	1.04
Upper Duleek	1,338	1,403	1,422	1,493	1,517	1,545	1,220	1,243	1.05	1.05	1.02	1.02
Dunboyne	338	369	370	445	409	455	451	490	1.09	1.20	1.11	1.09
Fore (Demifore)	2,017	2,022	2,229	2,364	2,322	2,457	2,429	2,573	1.00	1.06	1.06	1.06
Lower Kells	2,076	2,093	2,166	2,273	2,331	2,435	2,473	2,562	1.01	1.05	1.04	1.04
Upper Kells	2,887	2,905	3,228	3,550	3,385	3,654	3,544	3,996	1.01	1.10	1.08	1.13
Lune	1,702	1,702	1,890	2,005	2,078	2,172	2,122	2,282	1.00	1.06	1.05	1.08

Baronies/counties	1813-5		1821		1831		1841		1813-5	1821	1831	1841
	Houses	Families	Houses	Families	Houses	Families	Houses	Families	MFH	MFH	MFH	MFH
Morgallion	1,729	1,758	1,908	2,061	2,125	2,243	2,046	2,128	1.02	1.08	1.06	1.04
Lower Moyfenragh	1,699	1,708	1,751	1,975	1,897	2,098	2,062	2,215	1.01	1.13	1.11	1.07
Upper Moyfenragh	1,292	1,292	1,363	1,418	1,375	1,535	1,482	1,542	1.00	1.04	1.12	1.04
Lower Navan	2,493	2,495	2,581	2,912	2,945	3,064	2,572	2,836	1.00	1.13	1.04	1.10
Upper Navan	718	718	785	890	806	871	836	859	1.00	1.13	1.08	1.03
Ratoath	866	903	906	971	979	1,070	978	1,101	1.04	1.07	1.09	1.13
Skreen	1,190	1,190	1,325	1,376	1,390	1,481	1,576	1,639	1.00	1.04	1.07	1.04
Lower Slane	1,442	1,454	1,584	1,692	1,705	1,762	1,736	1,799	1.01	1.07	1.03	1.04
Upper Slane	1,180	1,197	1,307	1,416	1,267	1,319	1,660	1,727	1.01	1.08	1.04	1.04
Co. Meath	25,921	26,184	27,942	30,125	29,796	31,632	30,785	32,737	1.01	1.08	1.06	1.06
Queen's												
<i>Ballyadams</i>	1,187	no data	1,389	1,474	1,505	1,611	1,615	1,697	N/A.	1.06	1.07	1.05
Clandonagh							2,633	2,840				1.08
Clarmallagh							2,429	2,542				1.05
Cullenagh	2,311	no data	2,587	2,777	2,478	2,604	2,649	2,966	N/A.	1.07	1.05	1.12
Maryborough East	1,455	no data	1,699	1,977	1,648	1,896	1,675	1,872	N/A.	1.16	1.15	1.12
<i>Maryborough West</i>	2,528	no data	2,967	3,167	2,773	2,840	2,869	3,028	N/A.	1.07	1.02	1.06
Portnahinch	2,113	no data	2,360	2,580	2,373	2,661	2,523	2,726	N/A.	1.09	1.12	1.08
Slievemargy	2,137	no data	2,523	2,646	2,633	2,822	2,920	3,084	N/A.	1.05	1.07	1.06
Stradbally	1,193	no data	1,443	1,547	1,341	1,394	1,444	1,561	N/A.	1.07		1.08
Tinnahinch	2,151	no data	2,571	2,830	2,871	3,008	3,011	3,338	N/A.	1.10	1.05	1.11
Upperwoods							1,670	1,788	N/A.			1.07
Ossory	4,857	no data	5,566	5,947	6,161	6,567			N/A.	1.07		
Queen's Co.	19,932	no data	23,105	24,945	23,783	25,403	25,438	27,442	N/A.	1.08	1.07	1.08
Westmeath												
Brawny	2,464	no data	1,105	1,373	1,222	1,386	1,216	1,425		1.24	1.13	1.17
Clonlonan			2,197	2,468	2,243	2,457	2,263	2,383		1.12	1.10	1.05
Corkaree			1,085	1,147	1,073	1,105	1,103	1,111		1.06	1.03	1.01
Delvin			1,698	1,763	1,760	1,870	1,671	1,843		1.04	1.06	1.10
Farbill	1,269	no data	1,440	1,672	2,776	2,907	1,593	1,658		1.16	1.05	1.04
Fartullagh			1,357	1,427	1,491	1,590	1,539	1,669		1.05	1.07	1.08

Baronies/counties	1813-5		1821		1831		1841		1813-5	1821	1831	1841
	Houses	Families	Houses	Families	Houses	Families	Houses	Families	MFH	MFH	MFH	MFH
Fore			2,723	2,877	1,484	1,519	2,831	3,009		1.06	1.02	1.06
Kilkenny West			1,869	1,919	1,963	2,194	1,983	2,056		1.03	1.12	1.04
Moyashel & Magheradernon			2,377	2,540	2,261	2,317	2,438	2,744		1.07	1.02	1.13
Moycashel			2,585	2,656	2,876	3,146	2,950	3,117		1.03	1.09	1.06
Moygoish			1,967	2,044	1,944	2,035	1,763	1,886		1.04	1.05	1.07
Rathconrath	2,338	no data	2,612	2,675	2,710	2,805	2,652	2,792		1.02	1.04	1.05
Co. Westmeath	6,071	N/A.	23,015	24,561	23,803	25,331	24,002	25,693	N/A.	1.07	1.06	1.07
Wexford												
Ballaghkeen	no data	no data	4,684	5,019	4,806	5,208	5,460	5,788		1.07	1.08	1.06
Bantry	no data	no data	4,838	5,259	4,773	5,555	5,546	6,256		1.09	1.16	1.13
Bargy	no data	no data	1,864	1,988	1,915	1,977	2,174	2,306		1.07	1.03	1.06
Forth	no data	no data	3,344	4,125	3,547	4,100	3,960	4,722		1.23	1.16	1.19
Gorey	no data	no data	3,453	3,718	3,447	3,674	3,980	4,263		1.08	1.07	1.07
Scarawalsh	no data	no data	4,792	5,266	5,101	5,597	5,714	6,214		1.10	1.10	1.09
Shelburne	no data	no data	3,075	3,232	2,861	3,040	3,007	3,199		1.05	1.06	1.06
Shelmalier	no data	no data	3,109	3,332	3,473	3,705	3,666	3,846		1.07	1.07	1.05
Co. Wexford	N/A.	N/A.	29,159	31,939	29,923	32,856	33,507	36,594	N/A.	1.10	1.10	1.09
Wicklow												
Arklow	2,867	no data	3,085	3,549	3,434	3,887	3,854	4,440	N/A.	1.15	1.13	1.15
Ballinacor	3,039	no data	3,475	3,635	3,691	3,896	3,913	4,200	N/A.	1.05	1.06	1.07
Newcastle (est.)	1,877	no data	2,112	2,214	2,382	2,620	2,474	2,689	N/A.	1.05	1.10	1.09
Half Rathdown	1,165	no data	1,450	1,664	1,756	1,890	1,757	1,954	N/A.	1.15	1.08	1.11
Shillelagh	1,971	no data	2,248	2,438	2,186	2,361	2,155	2,271	N/A.	1.08	1.08	1.05
Talbotstown Lower	1,869	no data	2,067	2,202	2,196	2,288	2,203	2,446	N/A.	1.07	1.04	1.11
Talbotstown Upper	2,534	no data	2,852	3,345	2,767	3,028	2,854	3,182	N/A.	1.17	1.09	1.11
Co. Wicklow	15,322	N/A.	17,289	19,047	18,412	19,970	19,210	21,182	N/A.	1.10	1.08	1.10
Leinster	N/A.	N/A.	256,445	293,005	269,722	295,286	257,520	277,911	N/A.	1.14	1.09	1.08
Leinster (excl. Dublin)	N/A.	N/A.	235,654	259,310	245,903	263,716	257,520	277,911	N/A.	1.10	1.07	1.08

Appendix 8 – Inter-census rates of population increase for south-eastern baronies.

Table 20 presented the rate of population growth during the inter-census periods between 1813 and 1841 for various eastern counties and a number of their baronies. The complete data for all baronies in the counties is shown in table 79.

Table 79 - Rates of population increase between the censuses of 1813-5, 1821, 1831 and 1841 for all south eastern counties and their baronies (excluding the city of Dublin).

County	barony	Rate of population increase		
		1813-21	1821-31	1831-41
	<i>Carlow</i>	20.56%	14.67%	-2.47%
	<i>Forth</i>	4.81%	-0.88%	12.46%
	<i>Idrone East</i>	12.77%	-0.66%	5.44%
	<i>Idrone West</i>	19.79%	8.98%	4.38%
	<i>Rathvilly</i>	11.81%	0.83%	9.51%
	<i>Saint Mullin's</i>	13.26%	3.25%	2.28%
Carlow		13.49%	3.85%	5.06%
	<i>Balrothery</i>	0.54%	10.68%	-3.40%
	<i>Castleknock</i>	no data	25.19%	-6.02%
	<i>Coolock</i>	2.89%	17.14%	-0.69%
	<i>Donore</i>	2.72%	-0.48%	-15.88%
	<i>Dublin</i>	N/A.	N/A.	N/A.
	<i>Nethercross</i>	no data	8.62%	7.13%
	<i>Newcastle</i>	22.88%	11.63%	-3.30%
	<i>Half Rathdown</i>	12.82%	62.30%	9.79%
	<i>St. Sepulchre's</i>	46.42%	3.43%	-21.53%
	<i>Uppercross</i>	28.50%	9.15%	19.59%
Dublin		25.60%	17.33%	0.63%
Dublin(excl. city parts)		26.22%	20.38%	3.85%
	<i>Carbury</i>	7.36%	4.83%	-0.34%
	<i>Clane</i>	21.58%	6.23%	2.13%
	<i>Connell</i>	24.07%	20.40%	7.15%
	<i>Ikeathy and Oughterany</i>	7.28%	10.52%	-7.46%
	<i>Kilcullen</i>	3.89%	9.91%	4.79%
	<i>Kilkea & Moone</i>	16.16%	2.71%	2.42%
	<i>North Naas</i>	23.99%	14.71%	-6.43%
	<i>South Naas</i>	8.31%	7.68%	2.86%
	<i>Narragh & Reban East</i>	3.40%	13.06%	-4.39%
	<i>Narragh & Reban West</i>	21.54%	22.77%	7.52%
	<i>Offaly East</i>	20.47%	-6.12%	2.94%
	<i>Offaly West</i>	47.04%	6.83%	-2.46%
	<i>North Salt</i>	-1.71%	18.28%	-3.84%
	<i>South Salt</i>	12.61%	6.46%	2.36%
Kildare		16.36%	9.45%	0.28%

County	barony	Rate of population increase		
		1813-21	1821-31	1831-41
	<i>Lower Deece</i>	2.65%	7.94%	-0.89%
	<i>Upper Deece</i>	21.52%	7.14%	-0.76%
	<i>Drogheda</i>	N/A.	N/A.	N/A.
	<i>Lower Duleek</i>	17.84%	8.26%	-21.98%
	<i>Upper Duleek</i>	11.28%	8.54%	-15.96%
	<i>Dunboyne</i>	3.16%	10.74%	-69.54%
	<i>Fore (Demifore)</i>	8.69%	14.76%	434.91%
	<i>Lower Kells</i>	5.93%	11.18%	4.22%
	<i>Upper Kells</i>	15.80%	11.81%	8.21%
	<i>Lune</i>	15.19%	19.67%	2.51%
	<i>Morgallion</i>	15.38%	10.10%	-3.67%
	<i>Lower Moyfenragh</i>	11.05%	12.39%	8.12%
	<i>Upper Moyfenragh</i>	10.06%	10.63%	1.69%
	<i>Lower Navan</i>	8.81%	14.53%	10.50%
	<i>Upper Navan</i>	20.91%	9.10%	0.06%
	<i>Ratoath</i>	1.93%	24.00%	-7.05%
	<i>Skreen</i>	10.87%	8.82%	-2.29%
	<i>Lower Slane</i>	11.31%	11.26%	8.39%
	<i>Upper Slane</i>	15.55%	-3.56%	2.53%
Meath		11.72%	11.08%	3.45%
	<i>Ballaghkeen</i>	N/A.	4.68%	12.77%
	<i>Bantry</i>	N/A.	6.61%	16.09%
	<i>Bargy</i>	N/A.	8.04%	8.95%
	<i>Forth</i>	N/A.	7.18%	9.67%
	<i>Gorey</i>	N/A.	5.38%	12.92%
	<i>Scarawalsh</i>	N/A.	11.47%	10.04%
	<i>Shelburne</i>	N/A.	-1.54%	5.80%
	<i>Shelmalier</i>	N/A.	13.31%	3.94%
Wexford		N/A.	6.97%	10.57%
	<i>Arklow</i>	11.90%	11.64%	10.82%
	<i>Ballinacor</i>	16.09%	11.49%	7.75%
	<i>Newcastle (est.)</i>	17.34%	18.59%	4.27%
	<i>Half Rathdown</i>	27.49%	25.43%	-1.97%
	<i>Shillelagh</i>	14.47%	2.36%	-1.03%
	<i>Talbotstown Lower</i>	21.80%	7.89%	-0.99%
	<i>Talbotstown Upper</i>	19.10%	-1.52%	-4.16%
Wicklow		17.29%	9.74%	3.04%
	Total of SE cos, excl. Dublin city	N/A.	10.24%	4.09%

Source: *Census Ire., 1821*, pp 4, 20, 36, 92, 122, 130; *Census Ire., 1831*, pp 4, 22, 32, 84, 110, 118; *Census Ire., 1841*, pp 4, 30, 42, 100, 132, 140

Appendix 9 – Estimating the degree of underestimation in the 1791 house-count hearth tax returns for County Wicklow.

The impact of Gervais Parker Bushe's restructuring of the process involved in collecting the hearth tax in the 1780s, can be seen in the taxation returns for 1791.²² Bushe's reforms had three aims – to reduce or eradicate fraud, which had become endemic in the collection process, to increase the revenue accruing from this tax, by increasing the number of hearths on which tax was paid and to record more rigorously the houses/hearths which were legally exempt from the tax. On all three counts, his efforts were successful.

His efforts to eradicate fraud, for example, received the fulsome praise of Thomas Wray, the Inspector General of the Hearth Money, who declared to parliament in 1793 that,

I have found, before the new Regulations, it was a custom to take little bribes from those exempted; it had been also done since; but from the constant attention to detect this fraud, and the severity with which it has always been punished it has been so stopped, that in my inspection of last summer I found no instance of this fraud, though I did of every other fraud.²³

Although five years previously, Bushe, himself, had decried the continuation of fraudulent practices,²⁴ it is, nonetheless, clear that fraud had been considerably reduced by 1788 and doubtless was reduced even further by 1791. Thus, while fraud in the collection process cannot have been eliminated in 1791, its impact had been considerably reduced, and the consequence of this on the 'taxation enumeration' model (figure 20) is that segment 'h' (fraud) was reduced towards zero (figure 20 (2)).

Therefore, the determination of a household-count estimate for County Wicklow from the 1791 house-count data becomes simply a matter of determining the proportionate size of segment 'i' in the model (the number of households that were not recorded in the data) and aggregating this figure with segment 'g', the number of houses that were enumerated.

Two approaches have been applied, in order to form an opinion on the extent to which the 1791 county return for Wicklow deviated from the total number of households in the county during that year. First, a guesstimate as to the extent of under-enumeration in the national figures can be attempted. By 1791 the gross revenue collected by the tax had reached an all-time high of almost £77,000,²⁵ but over the following two years the revenue increased by just £2,000. This figure was substantially lower than any other two-year increase since the revamp of the tax-collection process commenced in 1785. At a time when the hearth-tax was being subjected to intense scrutiny by government, it is reasonable to expect that if there were substantial numbers of householders still managing to avoid the tax in 1791 many would have been caught in the tax net in 1792 or 1793, but clearly this was not happening. Thus, the 1791 tax returns must have been coming reasonably close to catching the vast majority of householders who were required to pay the tax.

Table 80 – Gross revenue collected nationally under the hearth tax, 1783-93.

Year	Gross revenue (£)	inc. over prev. yr (£)	inc. over prev. yr (%)
1783	62,573		
1784	61,310	-1,263	-2.02%
1785	61,381	71	0.12%
1786	62,107	726	1.18%
1787	63,425	1,318	2.12%
1788	66,750	3,325	5.24%
1789	70,628	3,878	5.81%
1790	71,909	1,281	1.81%
1791	76,983	5,074	7.06%
1792	77,358	375	0.49%
1793	78,977	1,619	2.09%

Source: Dickson, Ó Gráda and Daultrey, 'Hearth tax', p. 181.

Secondly, if the 1791 figures are compared with the 1813-5 census figures for the counties for which data is presented in table 24, it is possible to formulate an opinion as to the extent of the deficiencies in the 1791 data for these counties in general, and for County Wicklow in particular (segments 'h' and 'i' in the 'taxation-enumeration' model in figure 20 (2)). There may be some technical difference between what was considered suitable for inclusion in a house count in a taxation return as distinct from a census but such distinctions are likely to have

an insignificant impact on the numbers. The relevant data are presented in table 81.

Table 81 – Annual rates of growth in house numbers as reported by hearth-tax returns and census returns, 1791, 1813-5 and 1821.

County	Houses			Annual rate of increase (%)	
	1791	c. 1813	1821	1791-c. 1813	1813-1821
Carlow	8,397	12,090	13,028	1.67	0.94
Kildare	10,598	14,564	16,478	1.46	1.56
Meath	23,131	25,921	27,942	0.52	0.94
Wicklow	11,507	15,322	17,289	1.31	1.52

Source: *Commons' jn. Ire., 1792-4*, xv, pt 1 (1797), pp appendix ccii.; Mason, *Parochial survey*, iii, pp xxxii, xxxiv, xxxvi, xlv; *Census Ire., 1821*, pp 4, 36, 92, 130.

Note: Unlike the treatment that was apportioned to the population figures for 1813-5 (chapter two), no attempt has been made to adjust the house-counts from the 1813-5 census, because house-count figures from this census are likely to have been reasonably accurate (Gurrin, 'No country for young men', in *Riocht na Midhe*, xvii (2006), pp 188-9).

Clearly no universal trends are evident in the data although the annual growth rates in the housing stock between the two censuses was apparently higher in three of the four counties than had been the case between 1791 and 1813. With the exception of Meath, however, the growth rates are consistently high between 1791 and 1813, notwithstanding the demographic challenges that marked the close of one century and the opening of another.²⁶ The higher the calculated growth rate between 1791 and 1813 the more suspicious one is inclined to be of the 1791 data, but for Wicklow, a growth rate of 1.3 per cent per annum, while undoubtedly very high, is not necessarily excessive.

There is, however, a considerable weight of evidence opposing the accuracy of the 1791 data, too. Thomas Newenham suggested that the national return for pauper houses (112,556) in 1791 was deficient by at least 50,000.²⁷ His contemporary, Thomas Wray, who was introduced above in support of the data, can also be presented as a strong critic. Newenham twice quotes Wray as suggesting that the national pauper totals for 1791 were deficient by up to 50 per cent or more.²⁸ In more recent times, Dickson *et al.* have also criticised the national housing estimate for 1791 (701,102) as being too low, suggesting that the actual housing total for that year should be increased by c. 56,300 (8 per cent) to 757,400.²⁹

If Dickson *et al.* speculative comment is accepted – that 56,300 pauper houses failed to be enumerated nationally in 1791 – and applied to the Wicklow

figures this would equate proportionately to approximately 920 paupers' houses missing from the Wicklow returns. Considering the general make-up of the county, in terms of its proximity to Dublin, its general accessibility, its reasonably good communications routes, its heavily settled lowlands and its strong Protestant, pro-establishment sentiment, it seems reasonable to speculate that conditions in Wicklow would have been more favourable disposed towards the achievement of an accurate survey of that county, than would have been the case in many other areas. If this was the case, therefore, it seems logical to conclude that the survey of Wicklow was probably performed to a higher degree of accuracy than was the national survey. Hence, while an increase of approximately 920 houses may represent the likely degree of omission based on national rates, a smaller increase, of perhaps 700 houses, or 6 per cent, may be more warranted. Rather than trying to argue the merits of a specific figure, however, it is less speculative to suggest that the actual housing total in County Wicklow in 1791 was probably of the order of between 12,200 (6 per cent underestimate) and 12,500 houses (*c.* 9 per cent underestimate), with the true figure likely to have been closer to the lower end of the range. This range for house-totals represents the aggregation of segments 'g' and 'i' in the 'taxation enumeration' model presented in figure 20 (2), assuming that the segment represented by 'h' is negligible.

Appendix 10 – Deriving barony estimates from the available 1766 data.

Method 1 – Baronies for which estimates are available for more than 50 per cent of the population.

The survival of 1766 returns for County Wicklow and for surrounding counties is patchy. Data survives for all of the Dublin barony of half-Rathdown and the Wicklow baronies of half-Rathdown and Newcastle. Data also exists for most of north and central Ballinacor, most of western Shillelagh, northern Talbotstown Lower and for most of the Kildare baronies of Ikeathy and Oughterany, Clane and West Offaly. By using the 1821 and 1831 census material and a hearth-tax summary (County Wicklow) for 1739 an attempt has been made to estimate the likely population levels in the missing parts of some of these baronies.³⁰ In short, the process involves using the relative sizes of populations in the early nineteenth-century censuses and in the 1739 hearth-tax rolls to derive estimates for the missing areas. Replicated in table 88, the 1739 data contains parish hearth and house totals for the various parishes in all Wicklow's baronies except Talbotstown Upper and Lower (and hearth totals for some parishes for 1748 and 1779).

While Dickson *et al.* have strongly criticised the post-mid-century hearth-tax data as being highly unreliable, they have suggested that the pre-mid-century data is reasonably accurate.³¹ As the hearth-tax summary in question dates from the 1739, it falls within the period during which the tax-collection process may have been 'accurate'. However, rather than relying on the nominal accuracy of the taxation summary – which is open to some doubt – one can instead rely on the relative sizes of the barony aggregates in the 1739 returns. Thus, this method does not require the tax collector to have been scrupulously thorough in performing his duties but rather does it presume him to have performed his work to a 'constant standard' throughout the entire area for which he was responsible. If he was careless and less than methodical in one particular area it is reasonable to presume that he was comparably careless and less than methodical everywhere.

Unfortunately it is not clear if the entire county was the responsibility of one hearth-money collector but this would seem unlikely. At the time there were more than 100 collectors in the country and it would seem probable, therefore, that County Wicklow was covered by between two and four collectors.³² Two names, George Carroll and Phill Dempsey, are annexed to the end of the summary, noting that they were hearth tax collectors in 1706 and it is possible that two collectors were still responsible for the area covered by the return in 1739.³³ If this was the case, and as no data is available for the western (Talbotstown) baronies, it seems probably that this area would have been the responsibility of a third tax collector, perhaps operating out of Baltinglass or Naas. As the process relies on the collectors being equally thorough or equally careless, the involvement of two (or more) collectors is unfortunate as it can not be known if they were both equally successful in their occupations and enthusiastic about their task. Nonetheless, this is an unavoidable complication in the process.

The 1821 and 1831 censuses are also used to recalculate the 1766 figures based on the population-distributions during the early nineteenth century. Although these censuses are far removed in time (six or seven decades) from the 1766 census they are the first real accurate population-statistics that become available and this is the reason they have been considered. When the 1739 and 1821 and 1831 censuses produce two differing results these may be viewed as possible lower bound and upper bound figures for 1766. The steps for each individual barony are outlined below.

While this approach allows for the estimation of total population levels it does not suggest the confessional strengths of Catholics and Protestants. Consequently, for the purposes of completing the estimation exercise, once the total population of missing parishes is estimated, the confessional strengths are then estimated by reference to the 1834 educational inquiry.³⁴ While this will mask any major structural changes in religious distribution in the intervening seven decades, the derived figures will be sufficiently good, as guideline figures.

Rathdown (Wicklow)

Data is available for all the parishes. However the Bray union data is an aggregation of four parishes, three of which are located in south county Dublin. Thus the data for the Bray union must be redistributed among Rathdown (Wicklow) and Rathdown (Dublin). The census reports seventy Protestant and 245 Papist families in the union, making 315 families in total.³⁵ The three pre-Famine censuses all agree that the Rathdown (Wicklow) parish (Bray) accounts for approximately 50 per cent of the union population. Based on this, the population of Bray parish was probably of the order of 160 families.

In the 1739 summary, Bray parish accounted for 16 per cent of the total houses enumerated in the barony, with the remaining parishes accounting for 84 per cent of the total. In the 1766 returns the combined totals for all half Rathdown parishes except Bray were 684 families. Thus, Bray parish in 1766 probably contained about 130 families.

By using the combined approaches two different calculations of the number of families in Bray parish (130 and 160 families) have been derived which can be viewed as upper and lower bound estimates for the parish in 1766. Thus, Bray parish in 1766 probably contained between 130 and 160 families.

In 1831, according to the 1834 education inquiry, about 25 per cent of the population of Bray parish was Protestant. Thus, if the same proportion is accepted for 1766, then the number of Protestant and Catholic families was probably of the order of 31-40 and 91-120 respectively.³⁶

Table 82 – Number of families enumerated in the 1766 census for the half barony of Rathdown, Wicklow.

Parish	Prot. families	Pap. families	Total families
Delgany	70	106	176
Kilmacanoge	14	120	134
Powerscourt	76	298	374
Bray (lower bound)	32	97	130
Bray (upper bound)	40	120	160

Source, N.A.I. MS 2476 (i).

Newcastle

Data is available for all the parishes, but only aggregate figures are available for the union of Wicklow, which straddles the baronies of Newcastle and Arklow, so the data for this union must be redistributed. The 1766 census reported 254 Protestant and 844 Catholic families in Wicklow union, making 1,098 families in total.

Based on the 1821 and 1831 census data, approximately 70 per cent of the population of the union lay in the Newcastle barony and 30 per cent of the union lay in Arklow. Thus, distributing the families according to the early-nineteenth-century situation would leave *c.* 770 living in the Newcastle part of the union and *c.* 330 families living in the Arklow part.

Based on the 1739 hearth roll two approaches can be taken to redistribute the union population. In the first instance the parishes of Newcastle and Kilcoole contained 44 per cent of all recorded households in the barony. In 1766 the total of all families in Newcastle and Kilcoole was recorded at 645. Thus, if the barony population was similarly distributed in 1766 this would imply *c.* 810 families in the Newcastle part of the Wicklow union. Alternatively, from the 1739 figures, 67 per cent of the total number of families recorded in the Wicklow union by the hearth tax, were living in the Newcastle part, and 33 per cent were living in the Arklow part of the union. Distributing the 1766 census returns suggests that the Newcastle part of the Wicklow union was *c.* 735 families. Thus (using the upper/lower bound presumption) the Newcastle part of the Wicklow union probably contained between 735 and 810 families in 1766. The denominational strengths are estimated on the basis of the results of the 1834 educational inquiry.

Table 83 - Number of families enumerated in the 1766 census for the barony of Newcastle.

Parish	Prot. families	Pap. families	Total families
Kilcoole	39	189	218
Newcastle	84	331	415
Wicklow union (Newc. bar., lower bound)	184	551	735
Wicklow union (Newc. bar., upper bound)	203	604	810

Source: N.A.I. MS 2476 (i); *Comm. of public instruction, Ire., first report*, H.C. 1835, vol. xxxiii, pp102b, 112b, 128b.

Ballinacor

Data is available for the union of Rathdrum (parishes of Rathdrum, Ballinacor, Knockrath and Ballykine) and Derrylossary parish. The census reported 727 families in Rathdrum union and 443 families in Derrylossary parish, making a total of 1,170 families in the combined area. No data has survived for the southern parishes in the barony, including Hacketstown, Kilcommon and Kilpipe. In the 1821 and 1831 censuses the population of the Rathdrum union and Derrylossary accounted for about 55 per cent of the total population of the barony. If the population was similarly distributed in 1766 this would suggest the number of families in the southern parishes to be of the order of 960 families.

In the 1739 return the combined proportion for the Rathdrum union and Derrylossary accounted for *c.* 63 per cent of the total number of people enumerated by the tax with the southern parishes accounting for 37 per cent. Based on this distribution this would suggest that the southern parishes contained *c.* 680 families. Thus the southern parishes in the barony probably contained between 680 and 960 families. The denominational strengths are estimated on the basis of the results of the 1834 educational inquiry.

Table 84 - Number of families enumerated in the 1766 census for the barony of Ballinacor.

Parish	Prot. families	Pap. families	Total families
Rathdrum union (Rathdrum, Ballykine, Knockrath & Ballinacor)	181	546	727
Derrylossary	93	350	443
Remainder (lower bound)	170	510	680
Remainder (upper bound)	240	720	960

Source: N.A.I. MS 2476 (i); R.C.B. Lib., MS 37, ff 9-17 ; *Comm. of public instruction, Ire., first report*, H.C. 1835, vol. xxxiii, pp 54b, 64b, 84b, 102b, 114b.

Rathdown (Dublin)

As was earlier noted, the Wicklow part of Bray union accounted for between 130 and 160 families. As the census reported 315 families in the union, this would imply between 155 and 185 families living in the Wicklow part of the Bray union. However, using the proportionate distribution of populations among the parishes as reported by the 1821 census, the Bray union parishes accounted for slightly less than 10 per cent of the total population in this barony. Thus, if this proportion was similarly reflected in 1766, the number of families in the Bray

union would have been of the order of 145, representing the lower bound. The total number of families living in the union, therefore, was likely to have been of the order of 1,330-1,370 families. The denominational strengths are estimated on the basis of the results of the 1834 educational inquiry.

Table 85 - Number of families enumerated in the 1766 census for the barony of Rathdown, Dublin.

Parish	Prot. families	Pap. families	Total families
Monkstown union (pt of)			
Monkstown	54	121	175
Kill	21	56	77
Killiney	3	22	25
Tully	15	47	62
Stillorgan union (Stillorgan & Kilmacud)	12	20	32
Taney union (Taney & Kilgobbin)	40	22	62
Rathfarnham	82	154	236
Donnybrook (pt.)	69	107	176
Bray u.(lower bound)	29	116	145
Bray u. (upper bound)	46	138	184

Source: N.A.I. MS 2476 (i), MS 2478, pp 3, 13; Guinness, *Registers of Monkstown*, pp 93-7; *Comm. of public instruction, Ire., first report*, H.C. 1835, vol. xxxiii, pp112b.

Ikeathy & Oughterany (Co. Kildare)

There is extant data for virtually the entire barony. The only parish for which no data is available is the tiny parish of Dunmurraghill. In 1821 this parish accounted for just 2 per cent of the total number of families in the barony and it is, thus, unnecessary to attempt to determine any population estimate for this parish, as proportionality would suggest a likely population of the order of about twelve families. The denominational strengths are estimated on the basis of the results of the 1834 educational inquiry.

Table 86 - Number of families enumerated in the 1766 census for the barony of Ikeathy & Oughterany, Kildare.

Parish	Prot. families	Pap. families	Total families
Cloncurry u			
Cloncurry	2	133	135
Kilcock	8	263	271
Scullogestown	3	32	35
Dunmurraghill	N/A.	N/A.	N/A.
Donadea union	2	88	90
Donadea			
Balraheen			
Clane u			
Clonshamboe	1	33	34
Mainham	1	69	70

Source: Comerford, *Kildare and Leighlin*, i, pp 273-4.

Clane

There is extant data for the entire barony, with the exception of the large parish of Timahoe. In 1821 this parish accounted for 16 per cent of the total number of families in the barony. Based on this proportion, the number of families in the parish in 1766 probably did not exceed 100. The denominational strengths are estimated on the basis of the results of the 1834 educational inquiry.

Table 87 - Number of families enumerated in the 1766 census for the barony of Clane, Kildare.

Parish	Prot. families	Pap. families	Total families
Ballynafagh	5	35	40
Clane union (pt of)			
Clane	20	182	202
Killybegs	5	55	60
Carogh U			
Brideschurch	5	42	47
Carragh	2	70	72
Downings	4	77	81
Timahoe (est.)	1	94	95

Source: Comerford, *Kildare and Leighlin*, i, pp 273-4; *Comm. of public instruction, Ire., first report*, H.C. 1835, vol. xxxiii, p. 22b.

Comment

By comparing the 1766 census material with sources which both pre- and post-date the census material it has been possible to derive upper and lower bound population estimates for various parishes for which no specific figures have survived. Using sources which pre-date and post-date the census rather than relying on one particular source is important, because using just one source would bias the calculations, in the direction of former or later population trends. While it is not possible to determine the accuracy of the estimates, the various calculations

for both Bray parish and for the Wicklow union produced similar figures. The calculation for the southern parishes in Ballinacor produced a wider variation but this is because the proportion of the unknown data was very large (*c.* 45 per cent). The wide variation in the upper and lower bound figures for the Ballinacor calculation (40 per cent) compared with the smaller variation for Rathdown (23 per cent) and Newcastle (10 per cent) suggest that attempting to determine a population distribution based on only slightly more than 50 per cent of the parish is a somewhat dubious exercise. Since no other barony has sufficient 1766 material available it is not possible to proceed with this exercise for the baronies of Arklow, Shillelagh or for Talbotstown Lower or Upper.

Table 88 – 1739 hearth tax, housing summary for Wicklow (this source also includes hearth counts for Rathdown, Newcastle and Arklow for 1748 hearth counts for Arklow for 1779.

	Parish (listed)	Houses	Hearths	Hearths (1748)	Hearths (1779)	Charge
Ballynacor [Ballinacor]	Rathdrum	413	501			£50:2
	Derrylossry	297	343			£34:6
	Ballykine	219	250			£25:0
	Prebane	67	77			£7:14
	Kilpipe	124	142			£14:4
	Killcommon	135	158			£15:16
	Hackettstoun	211	221			£22:2
	Total	1,466	1,692			
Shillaly [Shillelagh]	Crosspatrick	73	84			£8:8
	Carnew	330	405			£40:10
	Macoom	108	127			£12:14
	Mullinacuff	177	205			£20:10
	Aghoole	313	371			£37:2
	Total	1,001	1,192			
Arklow	Wicklow	206	439	401	445	£43:18
	Enisbohen	219	270	272	349	Etc.
	Glanelly	101	126	125	142	
	Castletimon	84	115	112	121	
	Enerly	93	109	98	101	
	Ballydonell	110	132	143	166	
	Castlemacadam	217	256	263	204	
	Killmacoo	93	100	145	126	
	Killbride	116	137	141	177	
	Arklow	111	160	162	209	
	Lowr Shire	135	158	145	182	
	Upr Shire	118	126	128	170	
	Total	1,603	2,128	2135	2392	
	Newcastle	Glanelly	88	112	114	
Rathnew		228	331	330		
Upr Nwcastle		202	254	250		
Lowr Nwcastle		116	183	186		
Killiscy		196	227	229		
Killcomon		108	123	113		
Killcool		175	248	255		
Total		1,113	1,478	1,477		
½ Rathdun [Rathdown]	Dellgany	119	176	180		
	Kilmacanoge	183	227	199		
	Poorscourt	221	303	285		
	Bray	100	162	174		
Total	623	868	838			

Hearth collectors in 1706, George Carroll and Phill Dempsey

Source: N.L.I. MS 7227 (unnumbered pages (17th, 23rd and 24th pages in notebook)).

Method 2 – Baronies for which estimates are available for less than 50 per cent of the population.

In method 1, outlined above, family household-counts have been calculated for a number of baronies, including half Rathdown, Newcastle and Ballinacor. It was not possible to use this method to attempt to estimate household counts for any of the remaining baronies because there was insufficient data available, on which to base an estimate. However the proportionate number houses in the 1739 hearth tax summary and in the 1821 census can give a guide to the number of families in two of these remaining baronies, Arklow and Shillelagh. The 1739 summary cannot be used to estimate population in either of the Talbotstown baronies because both excluded from the data.

In the 1739 summary Arklow accounts for 27.6 per cent and Shillelagh for 17.2 per cent of the total number of houses recorded in the roll and equivalently, in the 1821 census Arklow accounts for 26.3 per cent and Shillelagh for 18.0 per cent. Alternatively, in the 1739 roll, the number of houses recorded in Shillelagh accounted for 31.3 per cent of the aggregate number of houses recorded in Ballinacor, Newcastle and half Rathdown and in the 1821 census the number of families in Shillelagh was 32.5 per cent of the aggregate number of families in those three baronies. Similarly in the 1739 roll, the number of houses recorded in Arklow accounted for 50.0 per cent of the total number of houses recorded in Ballinacor, Newcastle and half Rathdown and in the 1821 census the number of families in Arklow was 47.2 per cent of the aggregate number of families in the same region.³⁷ Since there is a clear consistency between the numbers of households recorded in the 1739 hearth tax roll and the number of houses recorded in the 1821 census, it seems probable that these approximate proportions were similarly exhibited in 1766. Thus, the number of families in Shillelagh barony was probably of the order of 1,350 – 1,450 in 1766 and the number of families in Arklow was probably of the order of 2,050 – 2,250.

Finally, using the 1821 census to estimate the number of people in Talbotstown Lower and Upper, the total number of families in the county was 19,047, of which Talbotstown Lower accounted for 11.6 per cent and Talbotstown

Upper, 17.6 per cent, of the total.³⁸ If these proportions were maintained in 1766, the number of families in Talbotstown Lower would have been approximately 1,250 – 1,350 and in Talbotstown Upper, between 1,900 and 2,050.

It is now necessary to estimate the denominational familial-breakdown for these four baronies. The method employed is outlined below.

In Arklow barony, the 1766 figures for the parishes of Castlemacadam, Ballintemple, and Dunganstown report 212 Protestant families, out of a total of 758 families (c. 27 per cent).³⁹ By 1831 these parishes had a Protestant population of 22 per cent (the boundaries of some of the parishes had changed somewhat in 1830) and the remainder of the parish had a higher proportion of Protestants (c. 30 per cent). It would seem unlikely, therefore, that the Protestant proportion of the population was below 27 per cent and this figure will be assumed.

In Shillelagh barony, the Aghold union in 1766 had a Protestant population of 30 per cent (146 of 487 families) and in 1831 the equivalent figure had dropped to 22 per cent.⁴⁰ In Carnew in 1831, the Protestant population was recorded at 33 per cent. Thus, the area appears to have had a substantial Protestant population, of the order of at least 30 per cent from at least the middle of the eighteenth century. As no further refinement of these figures is possible a Protestant proportion of 30 per cent will be assumed.

In Talbotstown Lower barony, the 1766 figures for the parishes of Blessington, Boystown and Kilbride suggested that Protestants accounted for 21 per cent of the families.⁴¹ In 1831 the equivalent parishes (the boundaries changed between 1766 and 1831 so the figures for Burgage parish are included here) had a Protestant population of just 8 per cent and the remainder of the barony parishes had a Protestant population of 15 per cent. These figures present serious difficulties as the difference between the 1766 and 1831 figures are substantial. A Protestant figure of 15 per cent will, therefore, be assumed, but one can have little confidence in this estimate.

In Talbotstown Upper barony, the only 1766 figures available are for the union of Baltinglass and Ballunure, at which time the union contained 99 Protestant (30 per cent) and 230 Catholic families.⁴² By 1831 the Protestant population in these two parishes was only 17 per cent, as it was in the remaining

parishes in the union. As with Talbotstown Lower, there is a wide discrepancy between the 1766 figure and the 1831 figure which presents serious difficulties. A Protestant figure of 25 per cent will, therefore, be assumed, but as with Talbotstown Lower, one can have no great confidence in this estimate.

Using these proportions, the distribution of families among the denominations becomes a trivial exercise. Once this is done, population estimates can be derived by applying the multipliers for Protestant (5.2) and Catholic (4.9) households. The calculated figures are presented in table 31.

Appendix 11 – Likely sources of error in the 1766 census returns.

In chapter two it was suggested that the Protestant parish clergy, who were invested with the responsibility of compiling the list of Protestant and Papist householders for the 1766 census, would have had a more intimate knowledge of the number of Protestant families in their parishes than they would have had of its Catholic inhabitants. An additional difficulty with this census, however, was that only a short time was allowed for the returns to be collated. The lords' instruction that the census be conducted was issued on 5 March and the returns were to be sent to the House of Lords by 5 May 1766.⁴³ Thus, in the space of about two months the dioceses had to pass the instructions about the census to each clergyman, who had then to decide how best to meet the request, compile the list of names and return the information to the House. Since time was short, the thoroughness of the enumeration is open to some question and there is evidence that some ministers compiled their lists from tithe rolls.⁴⁴ A tithe roll would be unsuitable for this task, however, because the agricultural produce subject to tithe varied from place to place and the degree of omissions from these lists would have been high. The return for Termonfeckin parish, County Louth, for instance, was compiled from a tithe roll and contained 170 names, but the minister also noted that eight families occupied tithe-free, land and 'forty or fifty poor cottiers and labourers who are all papists' were exempted.⁴⁵ Similarly, for Castlecomer parish, County Kilkenny, the return totalled 897 families, 'exclusive of 200 poor of the Popish profession'.⁴⁶ These two examples imply under-estimations of the total household of approximately 20 per cent, but it is notable that it was primarily Catholic households that were underestimated in both cases.

Table 89 – Denominational under-enumeration in Termonfeckin and Castlecomer

Parish	Religion of enumerated families			Est. of religion of families not enumerated			Est. of proportion of denom. groupings not enumerated (%)		
	Prot.	Pap.	Total	Prot.	Pap.	Unspec.	Prot.	Pap.	Total
Termonfeckin	9	161	170		40 - 50	7 - 8	c. 0	20 - 24	22 - 25
Castlecomer	91	806	897		c. 200		0	c. 20	18

Source: Ó Fiaich (ed.), '1766, County Louth, pp 116-7; Carrigan, *History and antiquities of Ossory*, iv, p. 404.

Appendix 12 – Mean household size and mean family size in some Leinster parishes, 1766.

Most evidence from the 1766 census suggests that the typical Protestant household was marginally larger than its Catholic equivalent. The mean household size of Protestant households, based on the data from the forty-three Leinster parishes for which household-size data has survived (see table 90), is 5.15, and the mean household size for Catholic households is 4.85.⁴⁷ The mean household size for all families emerges as 4.94. These figures closely approximate to contemporary assumptions about mean household size, which typically presumed the number of persons per house to be approximately 5 and to Dickson *et al.*'s 5.1, their working estimate of regional household size for Leinster for 1753.⁴⁸

However, while Protestant households were probably larger than Catholic ones, it also seems probable that Catholic families were larger than Protestant families, although the evidence is somewhat ambiguous. When the ministers compiled the 1766 census returns, some of them indicated the actual religion of the individuals within the various households, while others appear to have returned just the number of people in the household. For the parish of Edermine, County Wexford, for example, it is unambiguously stated that the six Protestant households in the parish contained twenty-four Protestants and twenty-two Catholics. For Delgany parish, however, in County Wicklow, the return only states that there were seventy Protestant households in the parish, containing 315 individuals. Clearly, therefore, while the circumstances in Edermine are unambiguous, for Delgany it is not certain whether the specified 315 individuals represent the total number of Protestants, the total number of people or the total number of family members within the seventy Protestant households.

It was less common for Catholic households to contain Protestants than it was for Protestant households to contain Catholics. In fact, there is no surviving evidence to suggest that any Catholic households, anywhere in the country, contained Protestants, which surely must be viewed as a commentary on the quality of the surviving census data, rather than a representation of mid-eighteenth century realities. By contrast, the presence of Catholics in Protestant houses was common. The case of Edermine parish, where Catholics were almost equal in number to Protestants in the parish's few Protestant families, was already noted and in the Clonmethan union, in north County Dublin, it seems that Catholics even outnumbered Protestants in their

own homes.⁴⁹ Even clergymen's houses were not free from Papist influences. In Louth parish, there was 'not in the families returned as Popish, one single Protestant, nor is there one family returned as Protestant, not even the Parish Minister's in which there are not Papists, it is so general a case'.⁵⁰ In most cases the Catholics living in Protestant houses were servants, but interdenominational marriages were another influencing factor.⁵¹

Due to this ambiguity in the figures, it seems safest to assume that, unless there is evidence to the contrary for individual parishes, for those parishes which give the total number of people in Protestant and Catholic families, the total number of people listed as Protestants represents the aggregation of the sizes of all the individual families. While this figure will inevitably include some Catholics, trying to estimate Catholic numbers from Protestant totals would be futile, speculative and certainly inaccurate. Thus, by presuming that the total number of people listed as Protestants represents the aggregation of the sizes of all the individual Protestant households then the derived mean family size for Protestant families can be viewed as an upper bound limit on Protestant family size.⁵²

Similarly, difficulties arise when attempting to determine Catholic family size. While Catholic families were less likely to contain Protestants, they did, nonetheless, contain servants, but to a lesser degree than Protestant households did. Thus, the mean family size of Catholic families will be boosted by the presence of Catholic servants within these families – but the impact would only be marginal. As with Protestant families, therefore, the figure determined by dividing the total number of Catholic individuals by the total number of Catholic families should equally be viewed as an upper bound limit on Catholic family size. Since Catholics were less likely to employ servants, the derived figure is probably closer to the true mean size of Catholic families, than is the equivalent Protestant calculation, to the true mean size of Protestant families.

Based on this set of assumptions, the size of Protestant families can be calculated to be 4.69, whereas the Catholic figure remains at 4.85, the same as the mean household size (table 90). These figures imply that the strength of Protestantism among the general population was even lower than a count of the number of families would suggest, and if the comment by Edward Whittey, curate of Killabban parish in Queen's County, is at all representative – 'of the families above-named as Protestants,

probably seven are only nominally such' – then Protestantism would appear to have been even weaker still.⁵³ It seems probable, therefore, that the mean household size of Protestant *households* exceeded the size of Catholic ones, while the size of Catholic *families* may have exceeded Protestant ones. Based on the data from the forty three Leinster parishes for which the number of family and the number of individuals are available (shown in table 90) a mean-household-size multiplier of 5.2 for Protestant and 4.9 for Catholic families would appear reasonable.

Table 90 – All parishes in Leinster for which data is available for the number of Protestant and Catholic families and the number of Protestant and Catholic individuals in 1766.

Parish	Families			Individuals in Prot. houses			Individuals in Cath. houses			Total individuals.	Mean household size			Mean family size	
	Prot.	Cath.	Total	Prot.	Caths in Prot. fam.	Total	Cath.	Prots in Cath fam.	Total		Prot.	Cath.	Total	Prot.	Pap.
Wicklow															
Delgany	70	106	176	315		315	545		545	860	4.50	5.14	4.89	4.50	5.14
Kilcoole	39	189	228	190		190	874		874	1,064	4.87	4.62	4.67	4.87	4.62
Kilmacanoge	14	120	134	78		78	577		577	655	5.57	4.81	4.89	5.57	4.81
Newcastle	84	331	415	370		370	1,460		1,460	1,830	4.40	4.41	4.41	4.40	4.41
S. Dublin															
Rathfarnham p	82	154	236	347		347	797		797	1,144	4.23	5.18	4.85	4.23	5.18
Stillorgan u (Stillorgan & Kilmacud)	12	20	32	57		57	138		138	195	4.75	6.90	6.09	4.75	6.90
Monkstown p	54	121	175	196	31	227	539		539	766	4.20	4.45	4.38	3.63	4.45
Dalkey p	5	37	42	30	0	30	178		178	208	6.00	4.81	4.95	6.00	4.81
Kill p	21	56	77	117	49	166	183		183	349	7.90	3.27	4.53	5.57	3.27
Killiney	3	24	27	15	10	25	118		118	143	8.33	4.92	5.30	5.00	4.92
Tully	15	47	62	90	29	119	249		249	368	7.93	5.30	5.94	6.00	5.30
Kildare															
Clonsast & Rathangan (King's & Kildare)	80	549	629	506		506	3,348		3,348	3,854	6.33	6.10	6.13	6.33	6.10
Rathvilly u (Rathvilly, Rahill and Straboe)	61	385	446	312		312	2,063		2,063	2,375	5.11	5.36	5.33	5.11	5.36
Ballymore Eustace	20			83	27	110				110	5.50			4.15	
Ballybought	2			10	2	12				12	6.00			5.00	
Yeaganstown	4			17	9	26				26	6.50			4.25	
Tipperkeavin	8			34	15	49				49	6.13			4.25	
Cotlandstown	5			18	16	34				34	6.80			3.60	
N. Dublin															
Clonmethan union (Clonmethan, Palmerstown, Ballymodum, Westpalstown & Ballyboghil)	21	272	293	95	136	231	1,323		1,323	1,554	11.00	4.86	5.30	4.52	4.86

Parish	Families			Individuals in Prot. houses			Individuals in Cath. houses			Total individuals.	Mean household size			Mean family size	
	Prot.	Cath.	Total	Prot.	Caths in Prot. fam.	Total	Cath.	Prots in Cath fam.	Total		Prot.	Cath.	Total	Prot.	Pap.
St Doulogh's	7	10	17	26		26	104		104	130	3.71	10.40	7.65	3.71	10.40
Donabate	5	38	43	34		34	197		197	231	6.80	5.18	5.37	6.80	5.18
Portrane	1	47	48	6		6	251		251	257	6.00	5.34	5.35	6.00	5.34
Wexford															
Ballynaslaney	10	58	68	47	25	72	307	0	307	379	7.20	5.29	5.57	4.70	5.29
Edermine	6	92	98	24	22	46	502	0	502	548	7.67	5.46	5.59	4.00	5.46
Offaly															
Ballycommon	15	75	90	87	16	103	356	0	356	459	6.87	4.75	5.10	5.80	4.75
Kilclonfert	8	160	168	38		38	716		716	754	4.75	4.48	4.49	4.75	4.48
Croghan	9	95	104	46		46	413		413	459	5.11	4.35	4.41	5.11	4.35
Meath															
Navan town	68	570	638	335		335	2,410		2,410	2,745	4.93	4.23	4.30	4.93	4.23
Louth															
St. Mary's, Drogheda	103	556	659	363		363	2,218		2,218	2,581	3.52	3.99	3.92	3.52	3.99
Dunany, Marlinstown & Parsonstown	9	92	101	62		62	524		524	586	6.89	5.70	5.80	6.89	5.70
Port, Rath & Carrick	4	145	149	15		15	700		700	715	3.75	4.83	4.80	3.75	4.83
Total	845	4,349	5,155	3,963	387	4,350	21,090	0	21,090	25,440	5.15	4.85	4.94	4.69	4.85

Source: N.L.I. MS M 2476 (i) for Wicklow and Stillorgan union; N.A.I. MS M 2476 (i) for Edermine and Ballynaslaney; Guinness, *Register of Monkstown*, pp 93-7 for Monkstown, Dalkey, Kill, Killiney and Tully; Comerford, *Kildare and Leighlin*, i, pp 272-3 for Clonsat and Rathangan, Kilcolnfert and Croghan; *ibid.*, iii, p. 405 for Rathvilly u; Donnelly, *Short history of some Dublin parishes*, iv, pp 58-9, 81 for St Doulogh's, Donabate and Portrane; *ibid.*, xvii, pp 154-5 for Clonmethan union; *Kildare Arch. Soc. Jn.*, vii (1914), pp 275-6 for Ballycommon; *Ríocht na Midhe*, xv (2004), p. 89 for Navan town; *Louth Arch. Soc. Jn.*, xiv, p. 110 for St Mary's; N.A.I. parl. ret. 663, 677 for Dunany etc. and Port etc.; R.C.B. Lib., MS 37, ff 2-3 for Ballymore, Ballybought, Yeaganstown, Tipperkevin and Cotlandstown; *ibid.*, f. 4 for Rathfarnham.

Note: The published figures for Portrane parish are 1 Prot. and 6 Pap. families, 47 Prot. and 251 Pap. people. I have assumed this to be an error and that it should read 1 Prot. and 47 Pap. families, 6 Prot. and 251 Pap. people.

Appendix 13 – Catholics in Protestant houses, 1766.

The data in table 90 shows the parish-summary data for all forty-three Leinster parishes, for which aggregates for the number of family and the number of individuals are available. As can be seen, the number of Catholics in Protestant houses is recorded for the parishes in the unions of Monkstown (south Dublin), Clonmethan (north Dublin), Ballymore Eustace (east Kildare) and Edermine (central Wexford) and the parish of Ballycommon (north Offaly). In the 189 Protestant houses in these parishes, there were 863 Protestant (69 per cent) and 387 Catholic (31 per cent) individuals, suggesting that there may have been substantial number of Catholics in Protestant houses. Furthermore, in Navan town (Meath), seventy Protestant families employed fifty-one Catholic servants and in Louth parish, there was 'not in the families returned as Popish, one single Protestant, nor is there one family returned as Protestant, not even the Parish Minister's in which there are not Papists, it is so general a case'.⁵⁴

Table 91 – Catholics in Protestant families for all the parishes and unions in Leinster for which the data is available.

Parish/union	Prot. families	Prots	Papists	Total	% Prots	% Papists
Monkstown union	98	448	119	567	79	21
Ballymore Eustace union	39	162	69	231	70	30
Clonmethan union	21	95	136	231	41	59
Edermine union	16	71	47	118	60	40
Ballycommon	15	87	16	103	84	16
Total	189	863	387	1,250	69	31

Source: Guinness, *Register of Monkstown*, pp 93-7; *Kildare Arch. Soc. Jn.*, vii (1914), pp 275-6; R.C.B. Lib., MS 37, ff 2-3; N.L.I., MS M 2476 (i).

Appendix 14 – Declining Protestant numbers in Ossory diocese, 1731-1766.

From the surviving 1731 and 1766 census data for the diocese of Ossory, it appears that the absolute number of Protestant families may have declined in the diocese between these years. If all figures for which parish-data from both censuses survives is compared (data from both censuses is available for ninety-four parishes, covering most of County Kilkenny), a marginal decline in the number of Protestant families is evident; the aggregate number of Protestant families enumerated in 1731 was 748, falling to 709 in 1766. It is, of course, possible that this small difference can be accounted for by poor enumeration in 1766. However, when considered against the likely decline in Protestant numbers in Wicklow between 1732-3 and 1766 (outlined in chapter two), it seems probable that this is illustrative of an actual decline. Unfortunately, no great store can be invested in the figures for Catholics in 1731 as it seems likely that the census grossly underestimated that denomination's population. The relevant figures are presented in table 92.

Table 92 - Comparison of the number of Protestant and Catholic families enumerated in the 1731 and 1766 censuses for more than ninety Kilkenny parishes.

Parish	Families, 1731			Families, 1766		
	Prots	Paps	Total	Prots	Paps	Total
Mothell	8	77	85	4	61	65
Kilmademoge	3	14	17			
Kilderry	0	21	21	4	82	86
Blackrath	4	34	38	2	22	24
St. Martins	1	13	14			
Ballybur	0	10	10			
Kilfane	9	52	61	2	69	71
Tullaherin	5	74	79	0	74	74
Knocktopher	4	116	120	7	110	117
Kilneddy	3	55	58	0	44	44
Aghaviller	11	79	90	11	124	135
Derrynahinch	3	50	53	1	58	59
Kilmagany	5	66	71	15	308	323
Dunnamaggan	2	65	67	2	83	85
Kilkeasy	1	70	71	1	44	45
Jerpointchurch	5	50	55	9	106	115
Burnchurch	13	70	83	22	286	308
Jerpoint West	2	5	7			
Danesfort	4	72	76	1	27	28

Parish	Families, 1731			Families, 1766					
	Prots	Paps	Total	Prots	Paps	Total			
(Annamult)									
Earlstown	2	42	44	2	82	84			
Kells	9	122	131	9	127	136			
Kilree	2	27	29	3	42	45			
Ballytobin	4	32	36	3	53	56			
Mallardstown	5	31	36	3	66	69			
Odagh	7	60	67	8	85	93			
Donaghmore	2	127	129	1	86	87			
Kilcormick									
Freshford	15	68	83	65	401	466			
Ballinamara	3	71	74						
Clashacrow	1	30	31						
Clomantagh	1	22	23						
Kilrush	3	2	5						
Tubbridbritain	9	46	55						
Kildrinagh									
Rathbeagh	7	52	59						
Sheffin	10	94	104						
Clontubrid	3	17	20						
Coolcashin	0	8	8						
Killahy	4	13	17				0	31	31
Aharney	2	69	71				2	176	178
Kilmennan	0	27	27	0	21	21			
Attanagh	1	26	27	1	82	83			
Fertagh	10	101	111	5	121	126			
Urlingford	0	17	17	6	73	79			
Rathlogan	0	2	2	0	7	7			
Callan	53	232	285	64	941	1005			
Killaloe	7	97	104						
Tullamaine									
Coolaghmore	1	79	80						
Ballycallan	3	86	89						
Tullaroan	14	123	137						
Castleinch or Inchyolaghan	3	13	16	0	51	51			
Grange	4	35	39	5	67	72			
Columbkille	11	50	61	4	89	93			
Clonamery	1	55	56	3	65	68			
Rossinan	1	14	15	0	42	42			
Listerlin	2	35	37	1	49	50			
Rosbercon	9	79	88	14	97	111			
Dysartmoon	4	105	109	2	130	132			
Shanbogh	2	35	37	3	44	47			
Ballygurrin	0	43	43	2	51	53			
Kilmakevoge	5	45	50	2	85	87			

Parish	Families, 1731			Families, 1766		
	Prots	Paps	Total	Prots	Paps	Total
Rathpatrick	12	85	97	16	139	155
The Rower	23	257	280	16	256	272
Kilmacow	7	70	77	4	131	135
Kilcoan	0	17	17	0	38	38
Kilbride	0	15	15	0	22	22
Gowran	21	113	134	19	226	245
Tiscoffin	0	35	35	6	267	273
Dysart	2	92	94	17	103	120
Dunmore	8	33	41	2	28	30
Kilmadum	2	33	35	2	46	48
Muckalee	1	34	35	1	41	42
Killamery (Rossaneny)	0	49	49	1	86	87
Dungarvan	3	69	72	4	111	115
Dunkitt	28	102	130	22	156	178
Gaulskill	11	27	38	2	25	27
Kilculliheen	20	66	86	12	80	92
Clonmore	8	40	48	5	67	72
Portnascully	5	121	126	1	87	88
Ullid	4	79	83	5	240	245
Pollrone	7	132	139			
Aglish	0	30	30	1	35	36
Fiddown	59	155	214			
Owning	4	69	73			
Tubbrid	1	13	14	85	203	288
Tibberaghny	5	50	55			
Whitechurch	8	49	57			
Ballytarsney	5	34	39	1	40	41
Rathkieran	8	82	90	3	73	76
St. Mary's	165	313	478	180	615	795
St. Patrick's	28	134	162	15	170	185
	748		1,055	709	8,656	9,475

Source: Tighe, *Statistical observations, County Kilkenny*, pp 456-8; Carrigan, *The history and antiquities of the diocese of Ossory*, iv, pp 404-8).

Appendix 15 – Under-enumeration of Protestants in the 1732-3 census, some evidence from Kilkenny and Antrim.

Local religious surveys, conducted contemporaneously with the 1732-3 hearth-tax census, provide some evidence for the extent of underestimation of Catholic and Protestant denominations by the hearth-tax collectors. Two contemporary surveys, both conducted by parish ministers, merit consideration. The first of these is a 1731 census of the diocese of Ossory, for which summary returns for most of the County Kilkenny parishes have survived, and the second survey is for the north Antrim baronies of Cary, Dunluce and Kilconway, held in 1734.⁵⁵

KILKENNY (OSSORY)

In the 1732-3 hearth-tax census of County Kilkenny, the returns reported 970 Protestant families and 9,785 Catholic families. The 1731 parish ministers' returns, however, recorded the total population of the Ossory parishes in County Kilkenny at 42,108, 5,238 of whom were Protestants, living in 1,055 Protestant families.⁵⁶ Since no returns are available for some eastern parishes, which were located in Leighlin diocese, and for a handful of parishes in Ossory, it is likely that the true number of Protestant families was approximately 1,200 families. This means that the hearth-tax census underestimated the number of Protestant families by about 25 per cent.

ANTRIM

Similarly, for Antrim, the 1732-3 census reported 14,899 Protestant and 3,461 Catholic families in the whole county.⁵⁷ Unfortunately, barony-breakdown figures from this census are only available for four baronies (Glenarm, Massereene, Dunluce and Antrim), but these account for 11,488 Protestant and 1,578 Catholic families, which means that the 1732-3 hearth-tax census must have reported 3,411 Protestant and 1,883 Catholic families in the four missing baronies of Cary, Dunluce, Toome and Kilconway. However, the 1734 (parish ministers) census of Cary, Dunluce and Kilconway reported 3,437 Protestant and 1,225 Catholic householders in just these three baronies.⁵⁸ This means that the total number of Protestant families reported by the parish ministers for Cary, Dunluce

and Kilconway exceeded the number of Protestant families reported by the hearth tax collectors for the same baronies, plus the barony of Toome, which was one of the most populous regions in the county.⁵⁹ It seems implausible that an equivalent (i.e. conducted by the parish ministers) survey of Toome would not have reported at least 2,500 Protestant families. This means that the hearth tax collectors accounts must have been extremely deficient for these missing four baronies – underestimating the total number of Protestant families by approximately 75 per cent – a huge underestimation.

Appendix 16 – Denominational multipliers for 1732-3.

Estimates for the number of Protestant and Catholic families in the county in 1732-3 (segments 'c' and 'd', figure 7, model 2) are presented in table 38, and by applying appropriate multipliers, representing the size of Catholic and Protestant families (segments 'c' + 'd' + 'e' + 'f', figure 7, model 2), denominational population estimates can be determined. Dickson *et al.* cite three sets of contemporary statistics for mean household size:⁶⁰

- part of south Wicklow in the late 1720s, which suggests a MHS of less than 4.5
- part of Antrim, also for the late 1720s, which reports a MHS of 4.36
- a tiny sample for north-west Cork (63 houses) for 1744, with a mean of just 4.17.

Certainly, these figures cannot be viewed as representative. The Cork statistic is very low,⁶¹ but it post-dated the 1740-1 famine, which may, along with the small sample size, explain its depressed statistic. The south Wicklow figure (4.49), the most important of all the citations, is also very low. This figure derives from a 1727 survey of the huge Malton estate centred on Coolatin, and reputed to be an attempt to list all the families and record the numbers in each family on the estate. As will be seen in chapter six (figure 165), however, suspiciously high numbers of two-person houses are reported for a large large swathe of territory, which suggests that the census was conducted without due accuracy, and the true MHS was almost certainly higher than the reported figure of 4.49.

In terms of the differential between the mean household size among Protestant and Catholic families, the evidence is equally patchy. Few contemporary inquirers stressed any such distinctions,⁶² although there was a general recognition of the rather obvious fact that multi-hearth houses – which were predominantly owned by Protestants – contained more people than smaller houses.⁶³ Notably, David Bindon stresses that 'the families of Protestants, who have most of the estates and wealth of the kingdom in their hands, are generally much larger and have more servants than those of papists, and ... there are great numbers of Popish servants in Protestant families, and few or no Protestant

servants in Popish families'.⁶⁴ This was similarly seen in appendix 12, when the issue of household size in 1766 was discussed, where it was argued that Protestant mean household size was larger than the Catholic equivalent, principally because of a greater preponderance of Protestants to employ servants. In the Kilkenny, Ossory parishes in 1731 the 5,238 Protestants in 1,055 families suggest a mean household size of 5.0, quite significantly above the mean for the region (4.55) cited by Dickson *et al.*⁶⁵ Also, in Elphin in 1749 – admittedly, far removed in space and almost two decades removed in time from 1732-3 – a mean household size of 4.54 emerges from the diocesan census conducted that year. However, Protestant houses had a mean household size of 5.80, contrasting sharply with the mean 4.42 persons in Catholic houses.⁶⁶ Thus, the patchy evidence that is available suggests that Protestant households were larger than Catholic houses, but probably little more than marginally so.

Dickson *et al.*'s working estimate for mean household size in Leinster in 1732 is 5.0, rising to 5.1 for 1753.⁶⁷ In appendix 12, mean household sizes of 5.2 for Protestant and 4.9 for Catholic families were presumed for County Wicklow in 1766. If, as seems likely, the mean household size in 1766 was larger than in 1732-3 and Protestant households were larger than Catholic households in 1732-3, then household multipliers of 5.0 (Protestant) and 4.7 (Catholic) seem reasonable for the 1732-3. However, since Protestant households often employed Catholics, but Catholic households rarely contained Protestants, it is proposed that, as was similarly assumed when the 1766 data was being examined (chapter two), for every ten persons inhabiting Protestant houses, one was likely to have been a Catholic.

Appendix 17 – The accuracy of the 1706 hearth tax returns.

The only surviving hearth tax data for the first decade of the eighteenth century dates from 1706, which coincided with the reintroduction of direct collection of the tax by the state, which was occurring in 1705-6, following four decades of farming.⁶⁸ Since contemporary tax-collection methodologies required the progressive build-up of knowledge about local populations, and since the state had been removed from the collection process for some four decades by 1706, it seems reasonable to presume that the initial years of state collection would have been characterised by deficient house-counts. Despite this, however, it seems likely that the 1706 data for County Wicklow may be, by good fortune, reasonably accurate.

Dobbs, in *An essay on the trade and improvement of Ireland*, published county, hearth tax returns for a number of years, including for 1712 and 1718,⁶⁹ and comparing the 1706 returns with the 1712 and 1718 statistics can provide some evidence for the likely degree of underestimation in the 1706 figures. At the national level, the house-counts reported for the six years between 1706 and 1712 increased by an unlikely 14 per cent and for Leinster, the increase was only marginally more credible, at 10 per cent. However, most of this reputed Leinster increase occurred in the counties bordering Ulster, the province which reported the largest increase (table 93). For County Wicklow, however, the increase in the number of houses recorded in these six years was less than 6.5 per cent and for the contiguous counties of Kildare, Carlow and Wexford the increase was of a similar order (table 93).

Of course, using the 1712 data to determine the accuracy of the 1706 data depends on having reasonably accurate figures for 1712 in the first place. Commenting on the 1706 and 1712 figures, Louis Cullen did not go so far as to argue that the 1712 figures were particularly accurate, but he did suggest that they were the more accurate of the two sets of data.⁷⁰ Furthermore, since 1712 was six years after the recommencement of direct state involvement in the collection process, a substantial amount of knowledge should have been built up by the collectors during that time.

Table 93 – Proportionate change in the number of houses recorded by the hearth tax collectors between 1706 and 1712 and between 1712 and 1718.

Region	1706	1712	Change, 1706-12	1718	Change, 1712-18
Ulster	85,107	102,625	20.6%	103,543	0.9%
Leinster	91,433	100,527	9.9%	105,028	4.5%
Munster	87,994	102,732	16.7%	107,948	5.1%
Connaught	43,590	44,965	3.2%	44,989	0.1%
Ireland	308,124	350,849	13.9%	361,508	3.0%
South-east Leinster	26,268	27,922	6.3%	29,472	5.6%
Midland Leinster	22,230	22,658	1.9%	23,768	4.9%
North Leinster	28,737	33,494	16.6%	34,401	2.7%
Co. Wicklow	6,575	6,999	6.4%	7,490	7.0%

Source: T.C.D., MS 883, ii, p. 330, for 1706; Dobbs, *Essay on the trade and improvement of Ireland*, ii, p. 9 for 1712 and 1718. Note: the percentage change in Wicklow between 1706 and 1712 was well below the national average and was very close to the south-eastern average. South-east Leinster includes the counties of Wicklow, Wexford, Carlow and Kildare, midland Leinster includes Queen's, King's and Kilkenny and north Leinster includes Longford, Louth, Meath and Westmeath.

Thus, it seems likely that the figures for south-east Leinster (and midland Leinster too) were reasonably accurate for 1706, unless the collection process was becoming less efficient in south-east Leinster, while simultaneously becoming more efficient in Ulster and Munster, which seems improbable. However, neither the 1706 nor 1712 figures include paupers' houses so accounting for them would boost the number of houses in Wicklow in 1706 to at least 7,200, and perhaps even as high as 8,000.⁷¹ Assuming 5.0 persons per house,⁷² this would suggest a county population of between 36,000 and 40,000 at the commencement of the eighteenth century.

Appendix 18 – The accuracy of the Wicklow hearth roll, 1668-9.

The only surviving hearth money roll for County Wicklow, dating from 1668-9, is the earliest source which can be used to construct a population estimate of the region. The original roll has been lost, and all that remains are a number of, slightly differing, transcripts for the baronies of Ballinacor, Newcastle, Rathdown and Arklow.⁷³ Although, no householders' names are available for either Shillelagh or the two Talbotstowns, an abstract of the original roll, listing, by townland, the names of householders (and the number of hearths) in multi-hearth houses and the number of houses with one hearth and with no hearths, made by William Monck Mason, is available for most of the entire county,⁷⁴ including Shillelagh and Talbotstown Lower and Upper, with the exception of the extreme north-western part of the county, covering the parishes of Blessington, Burgage, Boystown and Kilbride.

The roll records 2,319 names in Rathdown, Newcastle, Ballinacor and Arklow and the published abstract records a further 1,347 taxpayers in Shillelagh and Talbotstown. The missing data for the few missing parishes in the north-west of the county would probably have accounted for perhaps *circa* 150 taxpayers, suggesting that approximately 3,800 households were paying the tax in 1668-9.⁷⁵

The number of hearths on which tax was paid in 1668 was approximately 4,400, which amounts to a monetary sum of £440.⁷⁶ Subsequently, when farming was introduced, sums of £457, £546, £570, £580, £600 and £610 were paid in the years 1672, 1676, 1682, 1683, 1684 and 1685 for the rights to collect the tax within the county.⁷⁷ Dickson *et al.* have argued that rising hearth tax revenue in the decades after 1670 'reflected the flow and ebb in actual house numbers',⁷⁸ and one can also presume that the rising prices for farm collection rights during the 1670s and 1680s must have been positively correlated with increasing numbers of hearths (and almost certainly increased numbers of houses) being taxed. Bearing in mind that collecting the tax involved significant expenditure on the part of the farmers (Dickson *et al.* speculate that this may have accounted for 10 per cent of the collected revenue) and that the farmers would not have been prepared to

undertake the task unless they were confident of earning a healthy profit (likely to have been of a similar order) then it appears that significantly higher numbers of hearths were being taxed annually in the decade after 1669, than were recorded in the 1668 roll. Wicklow was not unique in experiencing an increased tax-take, as this pattern was general throughout the country.⁷⁹

It may be presumed that the growth in hearths (likely mirroring a similar growth in houses) during the 1670s is indicative of a marked increase in population in the post-Restoration period. Dickson *et al.* partly reject this hypothesis, arguing that, although this may indeed have been a period of rapid national population growth, 'this fiscal cycle [increase in the tax revenue] cannot have been wholly a demographic one'.⁸⁰ Similarly, for County Wicklow, it is a trivial matter to show that the roll is fairly deficient. The process operates as follows. First, let it be assumed that the 1668 roll is accurate – that the total number of hearths that were liable to be taxed was 4,400. Secondly, as post-Restoration Ireland was apparently experiencing rapid population growth then it is reasonable to expect that the number of hearths taxed during the 1670s would have increased substantially. It is unlikely, however, even under the most favourable conditions for demographic advance that the rate of increase in housing could have exceeded 2 per cent per annum (table 2). Thus, let it be assumed that, as the number of houses may have been increasing by 2 per cent, then the number of hearths taxed would have been increasing at an approximately comparable similar rate. Thirdly, let it be assumed that the tax farmers would have aimed to make a profit of at least 10 per cent of the net return, and that expenses involved in collecting the tax was of a similar proportion.⁸¹ If these assumptions are accepted (solely for the purposes of proceeding with the exercise), then the following table of comparisons can be derived.

Table 94 – Comparison of the estimated revenues accruing from the hearth tax for County Wicklow with the amount paid for the collection rights for that county.

Year	Est. net rev.	Farm	Adj. farm	Diff.	Degree of deficiency (%)	Hearths omitted
1668	£440					
1672	£476	£457	£571	£95	19.9	950
1676	£516	£546	£683	£167	32.4	1,670
1682	£581	£570	£713	£132	22.7	1,320
1683	£592	£580	£725	£133	22.4	1,330
1684	£604	£600	£750	£146	24.2	1,460
1685	£616	£610	£763	£146	23.8	1,460

Source: Dickson *et al.*, *Hearth tax*, p. 179.

Note: 'Est. net rev.' is the estimated revenue collected for various years. The 1668 figure is calculated from the 1668 roll. The other figures (1672, 1676 and so on) are calculated from the 1668 figure, assuming an increase of 2 per cent per annum. The figures in the 'Farm' column are the amounts paid for the annual collection rights for County Wicklow. The 'Adj. farm.' column is the farm total increased by 25 per cent (to account for expenses and the minimum profit that would have to be made). The 'Difference' column is the difference between 'Adj. farm' and 'Est. net rev.' figures and the 'Hearths omitted' column is the number of hearths represented by the figure in the 'Difference' column. The 'Degree of deficiency' shows the likely amount by which the hearth roll was deficient in terms of the number of hearths. The extent of deficiency in the number of houses may be even greater, as it is more likely that single hearth houses are omitted from the rolls than multi-hearth houses.

Based on this consideration, it seems incontestable that the 1668 roll was deficient, and likely to a high degree. If the 'hearths omitted' figures for the years after 1668, shown in table 94, are taken as guide figures, then the roll is probably deficient by as much as 20 per cent of more. In reality, however, the degree of deficiency may have been even greater than that. As can be seen, in this exercise it was assumed that the population was increasing by 2 per cent per annum, but that would represent a very high rate of population growth (table 2) and even if such unlikely growth rates were achieved, they are unlikely to have been maintained consistently, for the decade and a half between 1668 and 1685. If the rate of growth is scaled downwards, then the likely degree of deficiency in the roll increases further. If, for instance, the rate of population growth was 1 per cent – which is likely a more realistic rate of growth than the 2 per cent that was assumed – then the roll may have been deficient by *c.* 40 per cent, and if the rate of population growth was only 0.5, then the deficiency in the roll was of the order of 50-60 per cent (see table 95).

Table 95 – Guide figures for the degree of deficiency in the Wicklow hearth roll of 1668-9, based on various figures for the rate of population growth, 1668-85.

Year	Guideline rates for deficiency in 1668-9 roll, for pop. growth of:			
	2.0 per cent p. a.	1.5 per cent p. a.	1.0 per cent p. a.	0.5 per cent p. a.
1672	19.9	22.3	24.8	27.3
1676	32.4	37.7	43.2	49.0
1682	22.7	31.5	40.9	51.0
1683	22.4	31.8	41.9	52.9
1684	24.2	34.3	45.4	57.4
1685	23.8	34.5	46.3	59.2

As there is no way of knowing accurately the mean annual rate of population growth in Wicklow in the 1668-85 period, any estimate of the number of houses in the county, based on the hearth roll, is unlikely to be particularly accurate. The 1660 poll-tax figures would be very useful in this regard, but Wicklow is one of the five counties for which no poll-tax data have survived.⁸²

For only one county in the vicinity of Wicklow (County Dublin) has both poll tax data and an early hearth tax roll survived. Dating from 1664, the Dublin roll was compiled under the initial hearth tax legislation (passed in 1662), but pre-dated the passage of amending legislation dating from 1665, which aimed to boost the tax revenues by closing various loopholes in the initial statute.⁸³ Consequently, therefore, the Dublin roll should, at least in theory, be less complete than the Wicklow roll, which post-dated the passage of the 1665 amendments. However, for unknown reasons, perhaps to do with the strong administrative organisation in that county, the Dublin roll appears, uniquely for pre-amendment rolls, to have been less deficient than all other surviving pre-amendment rolls, and, by coincidence, the deficiency figures for County Dublin, as calculated according to the method outlined above for Wicklow, are reasonably in keeping with the Wicklow figures.⁸⁴

In appendix 19 the hearth tax data for the southern Dublin baronies of Uppercross, Newcastle and Rathdown are compared with the corresponding poll tax figures for the same baronies and it is argued that the Dublin hearth roll may be deficient by *c.* 28 – 40 per cent. As can be seen, there is evidence, albeit circumstantial, that a similar deficiency is likely for County Wicklow, which

suggests (table 95) a rate of population growth in County Wicklow during the period 1668-85 of the order of 1.0 – 1.5 per cent.

So, if the hearth roll was deficient by approximately 28 to 40 per cent then, since the total number of houses enumerated in the roll was earlier estimated at 3,800, the total number of houses in the county must have been between *circa* 4,900 – 5,350, and living in these houses (assuming a mean household size of 5.0, although the true figure may have been lower than this, but not significantly so) must have been approximately 24,400 to 26,700 persons.⁸⁵

Although no poll tax data for County Wicklow has survived, a likely figure for Wicklow would have been *c.* 9,550 adults.⁸⁶ Applying a multiplier of 2.5 to this estimate would produce a population estimate for County Wicklow of *c.* 23,875 whereas a multiplier of 3.0 would produce an estimate of 28,650, for 1660. Although the poll tax was levied eight years before the hearth tax roll was compiled the population-estimate figures from the hearth roll and from an estimate of the likely number of poll tax taxpayers do seem to be in broad agreement, and a deficiency of *c.* 28 – 40 per cent in the county roll appears to represent a *best guess* as to the extent of under-enumeration in the Wicklow roll.

Appendix 19 – Comparing poll tax (1660) and hearth tax (1664) data for south Dublin baronies of Newcastle, Rathdown and Uppercross.

Typically, a population estimate derived from the poll tax of 1660 produces a larger estimate than does one derived from a hearth tax roll, if no account is taken of possible deficiencies in the rolls. This, too, is the case with the poll tax data and the 1664 hearth tax data, for the southern baronies of County Dublin. In table 96, two population estimates from the poll tax data (derived by applying multipliers of 2.5 and 3.0 to the total number of people recorded against each townland) and a population estimate from the hearth money roll (calculated using a multiplier of 5.5 for each paying household) are presented.

The reason for adopting the two-multipliers approach for the poll-tax data is because there has been some dispute among historians as to the appropriate size of the multiplier. Legally, the tax was to be paid by all persons ‘of and above the age of fifteen years’,⁸⁷ and hence, the exact multiplier should be determined by the specific age profile of the population, in 1660. While the ratio of over-15s to under-15s in the entire population is unknown for 1660, it would certainly have been less than 2.0.⁸⁸ However, such a multiplier would take no account of exemptions or underenumeration, and Petty, himself, may have considered a multiplier of between 3.0 and 3.5 to have been appropriate.⁸⁹

Modern historians have typically tended to use a multiplier of the order of 2.5 – 3.0 for deriving population estimates from the poll tax figures. Louis Cullen assumed a multiplier of 3.0 in his work on the population of Ireland in the seventeenth century whereas William Smyth formerly used a multiplier of 2.5, for areas where the returns are reliable.⁹⁰ More recently there has been a tendency for historians to favour the larger figure,⁹¹ although a multiple of 2.5 might be more appropriate for the south Dublin region,⁹² as the area was compact and well-administered, and local infrastructure was good; part of the ‘well-furnished economic region’,⁹³ surrounding the capital.⁹⁴ Using the two different multipliers produces a population-estimate range, within which the actual population level probably lay. The difference between the population estimate derived from the

hearth tax data and those derived from the poll tax figures can thus be viewed as a guide to the degree of deficiency in the hearth tax data.

Also, it may be argued, quite validly, that the hearth-tax multiplier (5.5) is very high for the mid-seventeenth century. Due to a lack of source evidence, Dickson *et al.* did not derive a working estimate for Leinster mean household size for any year prior to 1706.⁹⁵ Unfortunately, the only valid source material for household size for this period is for a small sample size in Meath and King's counties, where the mean household size emerges as 4.69⁹⁶ and the working estimates produced by Dickson *et al.* for Leinster do not show mean household size significantly above 5.0 until after 1753.⁹⁷ The reason the above-average multiplier (5.5) has been chosen for Dublin is that the higher preponderance of small urban settlements in rural Dublin – the south of the county was peppered with small hamlets and villages – and the presence of large numbers of gentry accommodation likely boosted rural Dublin's mean household size above the provincial mean. In all other case when mean household size is being considered for this period a figure of 5.0 is used.

As can be seen, the combined population of the three southern baronies in 1660, as estimated from the poll tax data, lay between 10,000 - 12,000 but the total population, as estimated from the hearth tax data, was less than 7,200, suggesting a deficiency of between 28 – 40 per cent in the Dublin hearth roll. It was noted earlier, in the text, that the Dublin hearth tax roll seems to have more in common (in terms of the degree of completeness of the roll) with post-amendment, rather than pre-amendment rolls. Thus, if the population estimate derived from the poll tax figures are accepted as tolerably accurate (and it seems likely that the 2.5 – 3.0 multipliers are sufficiently large to account for underestimation in the figures) then the underestimation in the pre-amendment Dublin roll can be viewed as a guide to the underestimation in the post-amendment Wicklow roll. The Wicklow roll may, therefore, have been deficient by a similar amount. Such deficiency rates suggest a rate of population growth of *c.* 1 - 1.5 per cent in the 1668-1885 period (table 95), rates which are large, but not excessive.

Table 96 – Comparison between population estimates derived from the Dublin hearth tax roll (1664) and from the 1660 poll tax abstract.

Barony	Parish	Population estimates			Percentage diff.	
		Hearth roll	Poll tax, max.	Poll tax, min.	max. diff.	min. diff.
Newcastle	Rathcoole	420	580	485	27.6	13.4
Newcastle	Saggart	220	485	405	54.6	45.7
Newcastle	Newcastle	375	660	550	43.2	31.8
Newcastle	Kilmactalway	325	265	225	-22.6	-44.4
Newcastle	Lucan	260	390	325	33.3	20.0
Newcastle	Esker	275	425	355	35.3	22.5
Rathdown	Whitechurch	165	180	150	8.3	-10.0
Rathdown	Cruagh	195	345	290	43.5	32.8
Rathdown	Dalkey	70	150	125	53.3	44.0
Rathdown	Rathmichael	320	385	320	16.9	0.0
Rathdown	Oldconnaught	295	450	375	34.4	21.3
Rathdown	Tully	305	435	365	29.9	16.4
Rathdown	Kilgobbin	150	175	145	14.3	-3.4
Rathdown	Kiltiernan	95	70	60	-35.7	-58.3
Rathdown	Taney	235	410	340	42.7	30.9
Rathdown	Kill	385	575	480	33.0	19.8
Rathdown	Donnybrook	70	155	130	54.8	46.2
Rathdown	Monkstown	230	565	470	59.3	51.1
Rathdown	Killiney	140	245	205	42.9	31.7
Uppercross	Tallaght	845	2,020	1,685	58.2	49.9
Uppercross	Clondalkin	585	1,005	840	41.8	30.4
Uppercross	Rathfarnham	280	460	385	39.1	27.3
Uppercross	Palmerston	175	325	275	46.2	36.4
Uppercross	Ballyfermot	110	270	225	59.3	51.1
Uppercross	Crumlin	230	365	305	37.0	24.6
Uppercross	St. James	435	635	530	31.5	17.9
Total	south Dublin	7,190	12,025	10,045	40.2	28.4

Source: hearth money data: *Kildare Arch. Soc. Jn.*, xi (1930-3), pp 386-466; poll tax data:

Pender, with intro by Smyth, *Census Ire., c. 1659*, pp 377-92.

Note: the suburban areas of St Kevins, St Patrick's Close and Liberties of Donore have not been included in the Uppercross figures.

Appendix 20 – Determining regional estimates of the deficiencies in the Wicklow hearth money roll.

In appendix 19 the Dublin hearth money roll and poll tax abstract were compared and it was estimated that the Dublin hearth money roll was deficient by anything between 28 – 40 per cent. It was furthermore concluded that circumstantial evidence suggested the Wicklow roll may be comparably deficient. However, such a deficiency represents an aggregation of all the regional deficiencies in the county, so estimating the extent of the deficiencies per barony would be a useful exercise. For this purpose, the likely deficiencies in hearth tax data in the neighbouring counties will be used as a guide to the likely deficiencies in the Wicklow baronies that share common borders with these adjacent counties. Unfortunately, the unavailability of hearth rolls for any of these counties means that a similar exercise to that performed in appendix 19 for the Dublin data is not possible. However, if the hearth tax farm data for these counties is used in conjunction with the poll tax data for 1660, then it is possible to produce speculative estimates for the amount of underestimation in these, now lost, county rolls.

The counties bordering Wicklow to the west and south are Kildare, Carlow and Wexford. Talbotstown shares a common border with Counties Carlow, Dublin and Kildare, Ballinacor shares a common (but small) border with Carlow and Wexford and Arklow is bordered by County Wexford only.

The assumptions on which this analysis is based are as follows:

1. The poll tax abstract figures are reasonably accurate.⁹⁸ In all likelihood the rolls are not accurate and one could justify raising the figure somewhat but then the question as to how deficient they are arises, which would involve speculative, groundless assumptions.
2. An appropriate multiplier for converting the poll tax figures into a population estimate is 3.0, which is sufficiently high to nullify any underestimation in the poll tax figures.
3. The appropriate household-size multiplier for the 1670s and 1680s is 5.0. This will be used to convert hearth-tax derived household counts into population estimates.

4. A mean annual rate of population increase of 2.0 per cent will be presumed in each of the three bordering counties. This is very high, but not impossible, and will help to gradually lessen any deficiency in the population estimate for 1660, as a result of deficiencies in the poll tax.
5. The ratio of hearths to houses is 1.15. This ratio is the calculated figure for County Wicklow, and seems reasonable for the 1670s.⁹⁹

The stages in the process are:

1. Taking the money paid at the 1682 farm for the county collection rights, determine the likely amount of money that was collected based on assumptions, previously outlined, that the farmers would have sought a profit of 10 per cent of net revenue and expenses would have amounted to a comparable figure.¹⁰⁰
2. From this, a figure for the (minimum) number of hearths can be calculated, for 1682.
3. From this, based on the previously outlined assumption for the number of hearths per house, an estimate of the (minimum) number of houses can be derived.
4. Based on the assumed household-multiplier (5.0) a population estimate for 1682, derived from hearth tax data, can be derived.
5. Using the poll tax-multiplier (3.0) a population estimate for 1660 can be derived.
6. Based on the presumed annual rate of population growth (2.0 per cent), a population estimate for 1682, derived from the poll tax data, can be derived.
7. The difference between the two population estimates gives an indication of the likely deficiency in the hearth tax data for each county.

By following this process, the degree of underestimation in the, now lost, hearth tax data for 1682 for Counties Carlow, Kildare and Wexford and for the combined regions of Carlow and Kildare and Carlow and Wexford is shown in table 97.

Table 97 – Rates by which the county hearth rolls (now no longer extant) for 1682 may have been deficient.

	Wexford	Carlow	Kildare	Wexford, Carlow	Kildare, Carlow
Hearth tax farm data, 1682	920	370	775	1,290	1,145
Likely money collected, 1682 (+ 25 %)	1,150	463	969	1,613	1,431
Likely number of hearths, 1682 (x 10)	11,500	4,630	9,690	16,130	14,310
Likely number of houses, 1682 (ratio, 1.15:1)	10,000	4,030	8,430	14,030	12,440
Hearth tax based pop. Est., 1682 (x 5)	50,000	20,150	42,150	70,150	62,200
Poll tax figure, 1660	13,680	5,434	13,825	19,114	19,259
Poll tax pop. Est., 1660 (x 3)	41,040	16,300	41,480	57,340	57,780
Poll tax pop. Est., 1682 (2 % p.a. inc.)	63,450	25,200	64,130	88,650	89,330
Difference between pop. ests	13,450	5,050	21,980	18,500	27,130
Likely degree of deficiency in hearth tax.	c. 20%	c. 20%	c. 35%	c. 20%	c. 30%

Source: 1682 farm figures: T.C.D. MS 883, i, p. 73; Poll tax figures, Pender, with intro by Smyth, *Census Ire., c. 1659*, pp 359, 409, 556.

Note: The likely number of hearths (1682) and the poll tax estimates (1660 and 1682) have been rounded to the nearest ten units and the deficiency percentages have been rounded to the nearest five units.

It could, of course, be argued that the collectors in each county would have displayed varying degrees of enthusiasm for the task and that this was likely an even greater impact on the number of hearths taxed in 1682. Were this to have been the case, then the amount of money paid for the farm rights could not be viewed as having been a good indicator of the number of hearths in each county, which would nullify the argument, presented above. This seems unlikely, however. By 1682 the tax had been farmed for more than a decade, and there is evidence that there was stiff competition for the annual collection rights.¹⁰¹ If either exorbitant profits were being made (because the farm price was not representative of the true number of hearths in a county) or large numbers of hearths were remaining untaxed then competitors would have driven up the price of the farm rights at the annual farm auction. This may well have been the case in the early years of farming, as the successful bids at the auctions in the 1670s were

often significantly below the levels paid in 1682.¹⁰² These increases are often too large to have been demographically inspired and are more likely the results of increased competition at the annual farm, stimulated by lucrative profits being made in the early years of farming.¹⁰³

The final statistical leap of faith requires the acceptance that the degree of underestimation in the rolls was more or less constant between 1668 and 1682. Although there is no evidence for this, it seems reasonable to speculate that it may have been the case. Furthermore, it seems probable that the degree of deficiency in the counties, outlined in table 97, was similar to the degree of deficiency in the bordering baronies within County Wicklow. It is, for instance, more likely that broadly similar problems to those encountered in taxing Arklow barony were experienced by collectors in Wexford, which borders the barony, than in Kildare, which is at some remove. Additionally, strong regional positive correlation results were derived by Dickson *et al.* when examining surviving eighteenth-century hearth tax county totals, which, for them, implied strong regional trends.¹⁰⁴

Finally, rather than brashly pronouncing the calculated underestimation rates for neighbouring counties figures to be accurate representations of the deficiency rates for the Wicklow baronies it seems more logical to view them as guideline figures. Thus, it is more appropriate to presume a 'deficiency-rate range' rather than a specific deficiency rate. The number of people listed in the hearth roll for the barony of Arklow, for instance, is less likely to have underestimated the total number of householders by exactly 20 per cent, than it was to have underestimated the total number of householders by 20 per cent, +/- 5 per cent. Presuming this, arbitrarily selected, range, then the likely ranges for the rates of underestimation in the 1668 roll for the baronies of County Wicklow, based on those calculated for table 97, are presented in table 98.

Table 98 – Possible regional deficiencies in the 1668 hearth money roll for County Wicklow.

Barony	Possible deficiency range(%)	Comment/location
Arklow	15 – 25 (20)	Bordering County Wexford.
Ballinacor	30 – 40 (35)	Assume the mean of the likely county deficiency.
Newcastle	25 – 35 (30)	Proximate to Rathdown and south Dublin.
Rathdown	25 – 35 (30)	Bordering south Dublin.
Shillelagh	15 – 25 (20)	Bordering Counties Carlow and Wexford.
Talbotstown	25 – 35 (30)	Bordering Counties Carlow, Dublin and Kildare.

Note: The ranges are the ranges calculated for the neighbouring counties (table 97), +/- 5 per cent.

Appendix 21 – Catholics in Wicklow’s Protestant registers.

There are only two certain instances of multi-denominational recording in parish registers in the greater Wicklow region. In the union of Athy, in County Kildare, for a brief period in the post-Restoration era Catholics are explicitly noted in both the burial, and more surprisingly, the baptismal registers. The reason for this is unclear, although a paucity of priests in the Dublin diocese in the 1660s may have necessitated this circumstance. At the end of the Cromwellian period priests were few in number throughout Ireland; Edmund O’Reilly, archbishop of Armagh, reported just seven priests in the Dublin diocese in July 1660, increasing to ten in 1662.¹⁰⁵ The unavailability of Protestant church services in some rural areas in the eighteenth century meant that Protestants had to turn to Catholic clergymen to provide spiritual necessities,¹⁰⁶ but in the post-Cromwellian period this situation may have been reversed. Certainly seven or ten priests could not possibly have administered to the spiritual needs of the geographically-expansive Dublin diocese. It is probable, therefore, that some Catholics would have had their children baptised by the Protestant minister – the rite of baptism is not denominationally specific – especially if the child was in imminent danger of death. In Athy parish, small numbers of ‘Po[pish]’ parishioners appear in the baptism and burial registers during the initial years of registration. Unfortunately it is not clear how long this situation continued because the recording of the religion of the participant ceased in 1677-8.¹⁰⁷

It is noticeable that there was a greater tendency for Catholics to appear in burial than in baptismal records, and for a handful of these years Catholics account for at least a third of more of all burial entries. There are also significant numbers of entries for which the religion unspecified in both the baptism and burial records and it seems probable that many of these would have been Catholics. The burial peak in 1675 is also significant, bearing in mind that a proclamation forbidding the export of grain on account of the high price was issued in December 1674.¹⁰⁸ It is likely that this represented a genuine peak in burials, as the typical pattern of a

time-lagged peak in baptisms in the aftermath of distress is also evident during 1676 and 1677.

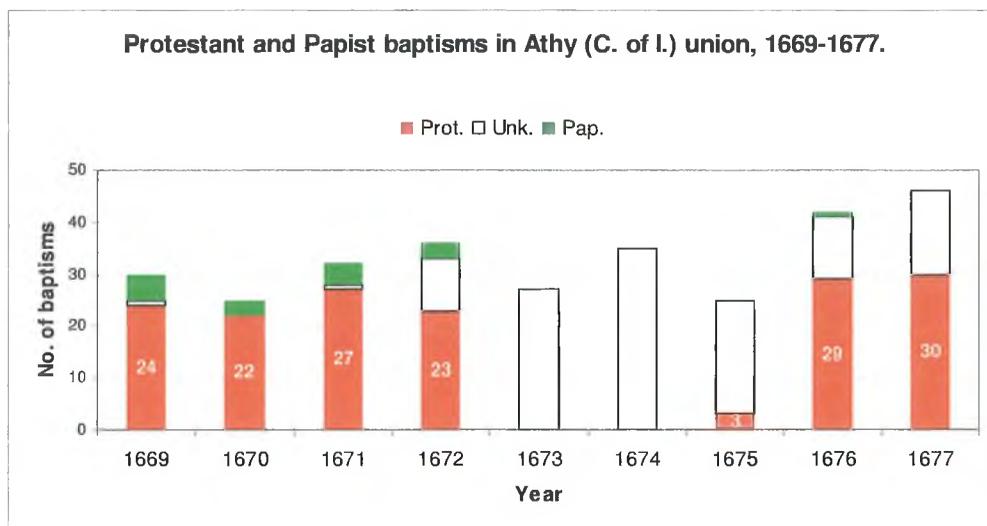


Figure 187 – Confessional distribution in Athy (C. of I.) baptismal registers, 1669-1677 (source: Athy parish registers, 1669-1714 (R.C.B. Lib. MS P. 630.1.1, ff 1-22).

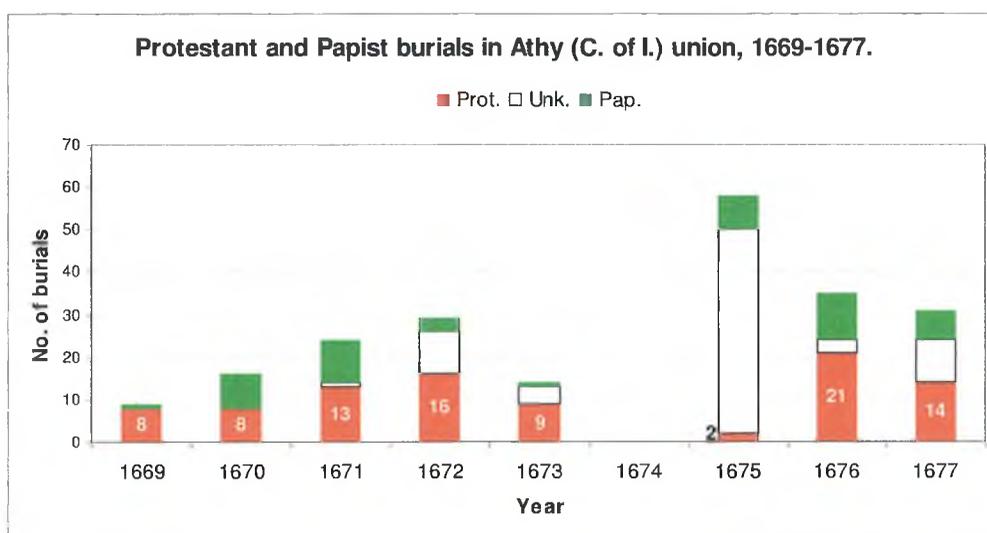


Figure 188 – Confessional distribution in Athy (C. of I.) burial registers, 1669-1677 (source: Athy parish registers, 1669-1714 (R.C.B. Lib. MS P. 630.1.1, ff 1-20).

Decades later, in Newcastle parish, at least during the 1720s and 1730s, the total number of burials being recorded per year greatly, and consistently, exceeded the expected figures for the number of burials, based on the likely Protestant

population level. Burials in Newcastle were running at a mean of twenty-one per year between 1738 and 1767, but between 1719 and 1731 the mean level had been forty-two per year. In 1724 burials in the parish reached an all-time high of sixty-one and in 1721, 1728 and 1734 the total number of burials exceeded forty. During this period a plethora of Kellys, Doyles, Bryans and Byrnes are liberally sprinkled through the records. Clearly, a mean of forty-two burials per year, which corresponds to a population of 1,500 – 2,500, can not have been representative solely of the, at most, 500-strong, Protestant community (table 44), and it is virtually certain that these high numbers represent burials from the Catholic community. Unlike the case of Athy in the 1660s, however, for Newcastle it appears to have been exclusively in the burial register that Catholic names were appearing in. Later in the century, Catholics appear to have made another appearance in the registers of Newcastle (figure 60), but this appears to have been transient. Aside from these time-periods and geographically limited areas, there is no further evidence to suggest that Catholics were anything other than infrequent visitors in Wicklow's Protestant registers.¹⁰⁹

Appendix 22 – Modifying the Local Population Studies criteria for judging the suitability of Wicklow’s Protestant parish registers.

Michael Drake has proposed eight tests which can be used to determine the suitability of parish registers for local population studies.¹¹⁰ These tests are thorough, and if precisely applied, will effectively ensure that poorly recorded parish registers are excluded from historical research. They are, however, unsuitable for rigorous application in the Irish context, because of the differing confessional circumstances pertaining in the two countries. Since the majority of early Irish registers are the records of a minority community (Protestants), albeit a significant minority throughout much of Wicklow, the tests are too rigorous, and would effectively ensure that all surviving Wicklow registers be discarded if applied verbatim. Tests 1 and 2, for example, require a mean of 100 entries per year, which would require a population of approximately 1,000 people to generate that quantity of entries (table 44), but few Irish parishes had Protestant populations of that order. The tests are presented below, and a comment on the Wicklow context is included.

Tests 1 and 2 – Has a register a mean of at least 100 entries per year and are there registers in adjoining parishes which, when combined, with the original register, produce a mean of at least 100 entries per year.

Most of the Wicklow registers, considered individually, would fall at this first hurdle, as few have more than 100 entries (aggregate of baptisms, marriages and burials) per year when considered on their own. However, as per Drake’s suggestion, most of the registers could be combined with registers from neighbouring parishes to produce a large, significant aggregate. The 100 entries per year figure is an arbitrary figure chosen by Drake, but he does suggest, validly, that it becomes increasingly difficult to identify gaps in registration when the number of entries falls below this figure.

After consideration, however, it was decided not to group the parishes into regions, for two reasons. First, the goal of chapter three is to determine population change and population trends at a local level, so using regional analysis would defeat this purpose.¹¹¹ Secondly, since all registers have periods of either

under-registration or non-registration, then the creation of regional aggregates result in corrupting the reliable data series from some parishes by the poor data series of others. The baptismal series for Delgany, Rathdrum and Wicklow (figures 195, 201, 203), for example, appear to be particularly good, but if these data were combined with the poorer data from neighbouring parishes then this would operate to introduce errors and difficulties rather than to improve the situation.

Tests 3 and 4 – Are there any obvious gaps/suspiciously large gaps in the registers?

All the Wicklow registers contain gaps. The greater the mean number of entries in the register, the easier it is to identify gaps, hence the reason for Drake's suggestion that registers have 100 or more entries. For short gaps, *interpolation* – taking the mean of the equivalent number of monthly events for the missing month or months for a number of (Drake recommends five) years on either side of the gap period – can be used to estimate the number of 'missing' events, and while these estimates could be quite inaccurate, that is statistically unlikely, and would not impact greatly on the aggregate data.

For larger gaps monthly interpolation is unsuitable. Drake and Wrigley and Schofield would have us abandon the register at this stage if the gaps span a number of years, but it is an abundance of data in the English context which facilitates this course of action. In this case, if the registers appear to have been thoroughly kept for a number of years, and then appear to have been poorly kept, where possible the good-quality data has been used. The baptismal registers for Blessington illustrate this point clearly (figure 191). That parish's registers commence in 1695, and the mean number of baptisms between 1695 and 1730 was approximately twenty (suggesting a Protestant population in the union of between 500 and 700 (table 44)). After 1730, however, the number of baptisms recorded in the registers plummets, and the registration is clearly defective. However, rather than abandon the Blessington registers, the thirty-five year period of apparently good registration, between 1695 and 1730 can be validly used for the purpose of demographic-analysis.

In general, data has been ignored unless there is a run of five consecutive years with apparently good registration. This is because, in the absence of such a consecutive run it is impossible to determine if the aggregate figures for a brief number of years represents a complete account of the baptisms and burials, or just a sample. Even five years represents a very short period, and there will be some doubt over whether the aggregation of the events fully records all of the events.

Test 5 – Who was responsible for recording the data? Did this impact on the quality of registration?

A clergyman's attitude to registration must have been a crucial determinant governing the quality of recording, just as was observed to have been an influential factor (chapter two) in determining the quality of the 1766 census material. This can be seen, for example, in the plot of annual baptisms and burials in the Athy union (figure 190), when recording ceased between 1680s and 1703, following the institution of James Moore as vicar, but on the appointment of his successor, Francis Moore, registration immediately recommenced.¹¹²

Different incumbents may also have had different opinions about what should be recorded in the registers, which can cause further difficulties. Some incumbents may have recorded the burial of stillborn infants or infants dying before they were baptised, while others may not. This means, for example, that what may appear from the registers as a rise in infant mortality, may actually be a manifestation of more thorough registration of the totality of vital events.

Tests 6 and 7 – What proportion of the population does the register cover? What is the extent of non-conformity?

This question is more appropriate in the English context, in a population where the great majority of the population were conformists. In Ireland, the majority of the population did not conform, and, as has been noted in appendix 21, Catholics rarely appear in the baptism and burial registers of Wicklow parishes. The Church of Ireland registers, therefore, only represent the registration records of no more than one third of the population. The Catholic registers for Wicklow parish, the only Catholic registers suitable for consideration in this project, can be used to answer some of the questions relating to the majority population, but deductions about Catholics inevitably remain more dubious

Test 8 – Was baptism delayed?

One can be confident that the burial of a corpse always took place quickly after death. However, the timing of a baptism was a matter of choice for the parents and could, theoretically occur long after the birth. If baptisms are to be used as a guide to fertility, delayed baptisms would present significant difficulties for population analysis. Unfortunately the birth-date of a child is rarely recorded in the parish registers before the nineteenth century, although for two parishes in the greater Wicklow area, Monkstown and Carlow, this data is recorded for periods during the eighteenth century. As is argued in chapter three, all evidence points to a short birth-baptism interval for both Protestants and Catholics (appendix 21).

Appendix 23 – Graphs of annual aggregations of baptisms and burials in Wicklow region, c. 1660-c. 1810.

The graphs below present the aggregations of baptisms and burials for fifteen Church of Ireland parishes in the greater Wicklow region. Years for new ministers have been identified from – Biographical succession list of the clergy of Leighlin diocese by Rev. Canon J.B.Leslie, D. Lit., 1939. 2 vols (R.C.B. Lib., MS 61, 2.12.1-2; Wallace (ed.), *Clergy of Dublin and Glendalough, by Leslie*).

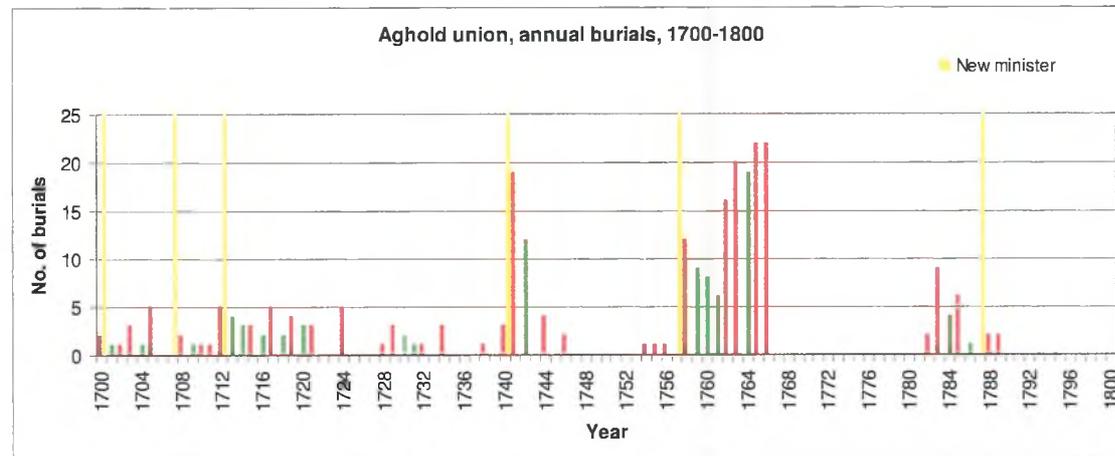
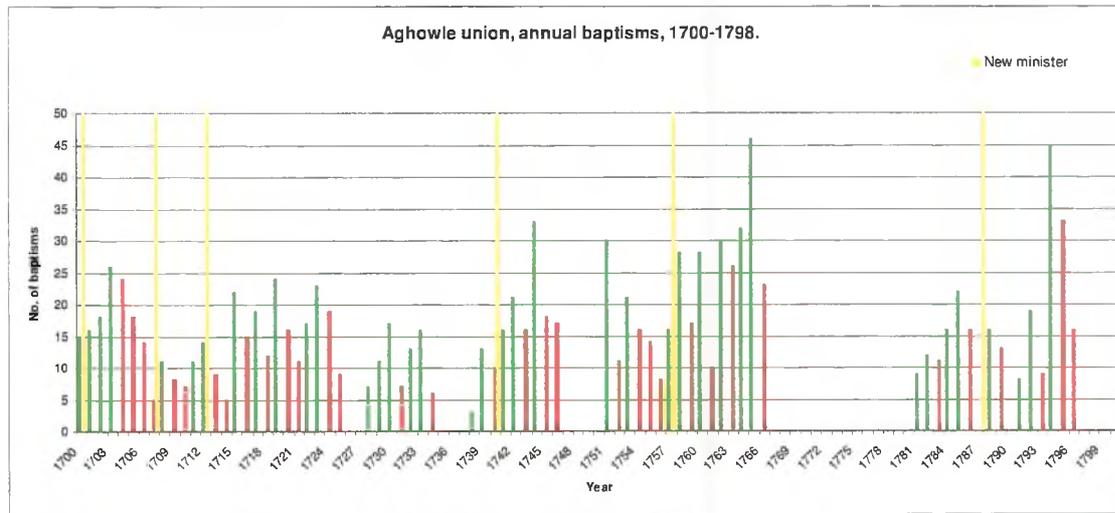


Figure 189 – Aghowle union, aggregation of baptisms and burials, by year, showing the years when new ministers were appointed (source: base data from R.C.B. Lib., MS P 522.1.1).

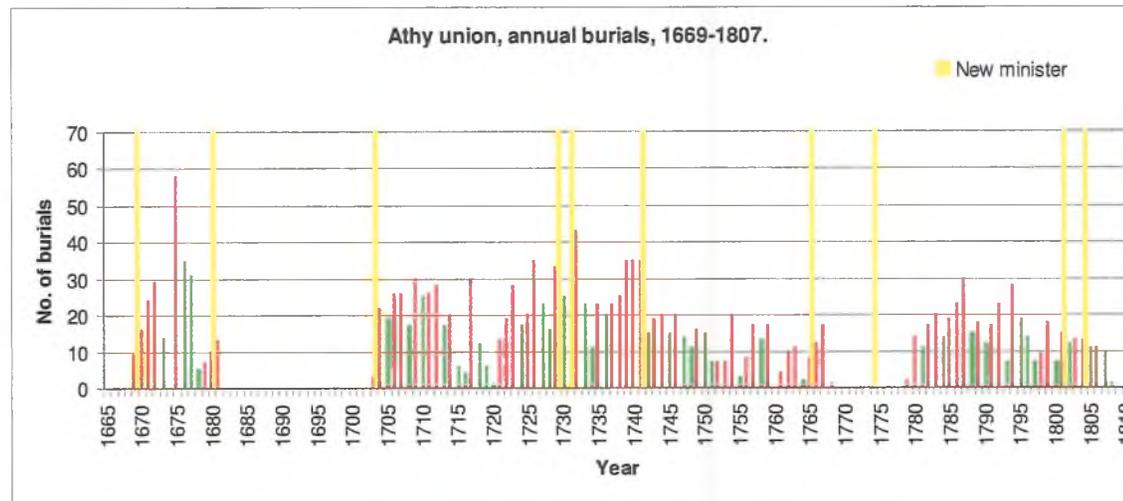
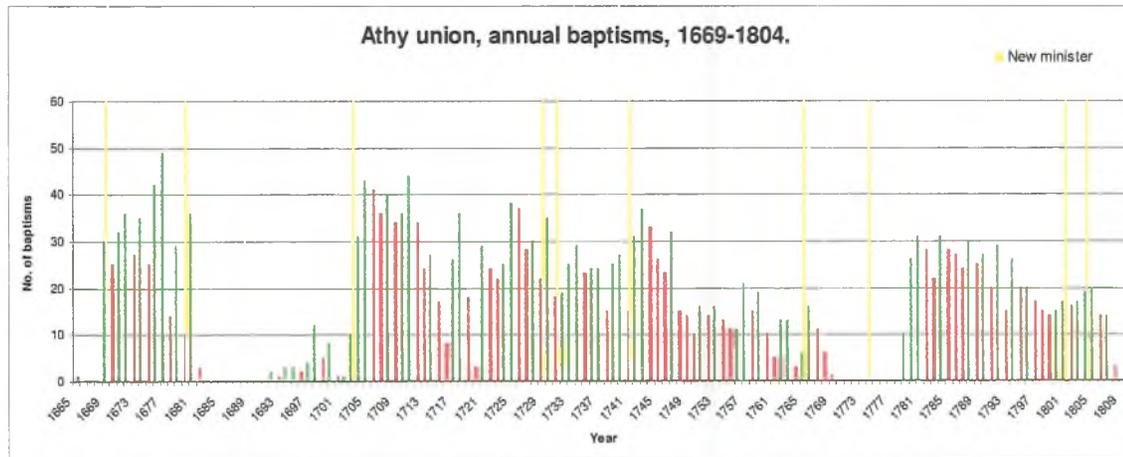


Figure 190 – Athy union, aggregation of baptisms and burials, by year, showing the years when new ministers were appointed (source: base data from R.C.B. Lib., MS P 630.1.1; 630.1.2; 630.1.3).

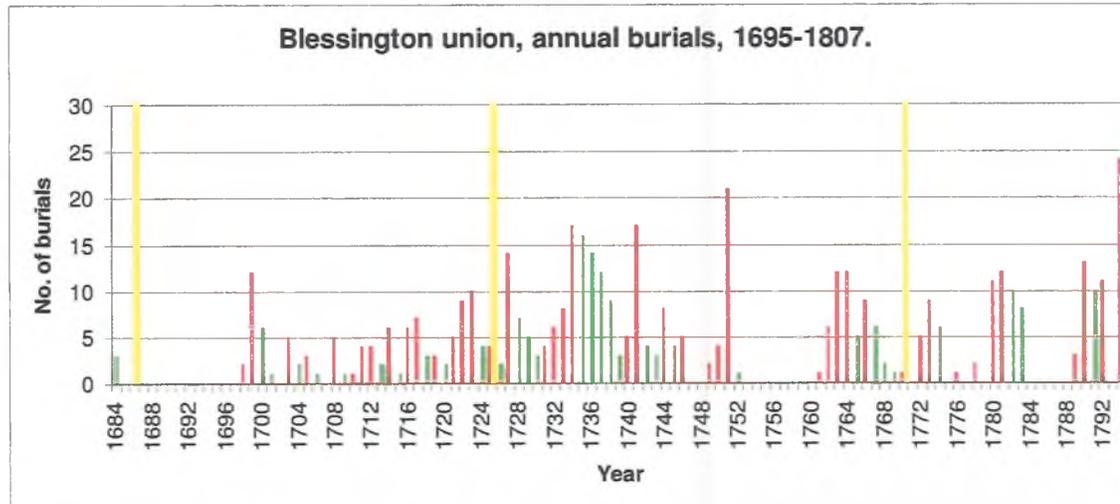
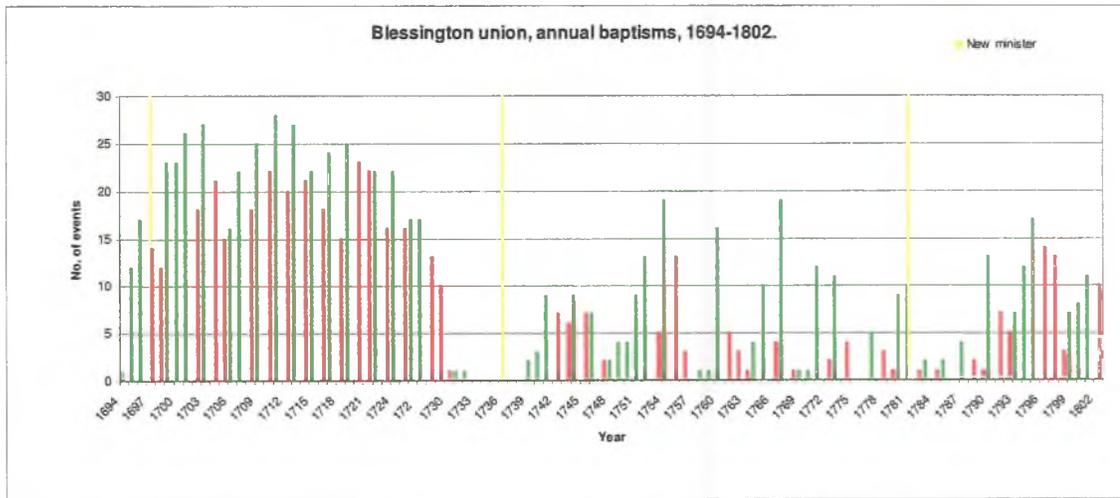


Figure 191 – Blessington union, aggregation of baptisms and burials, by year, showing the years when new ministers were appointed (source: base data from R.C.B. Lib., MS P 651.1.1).

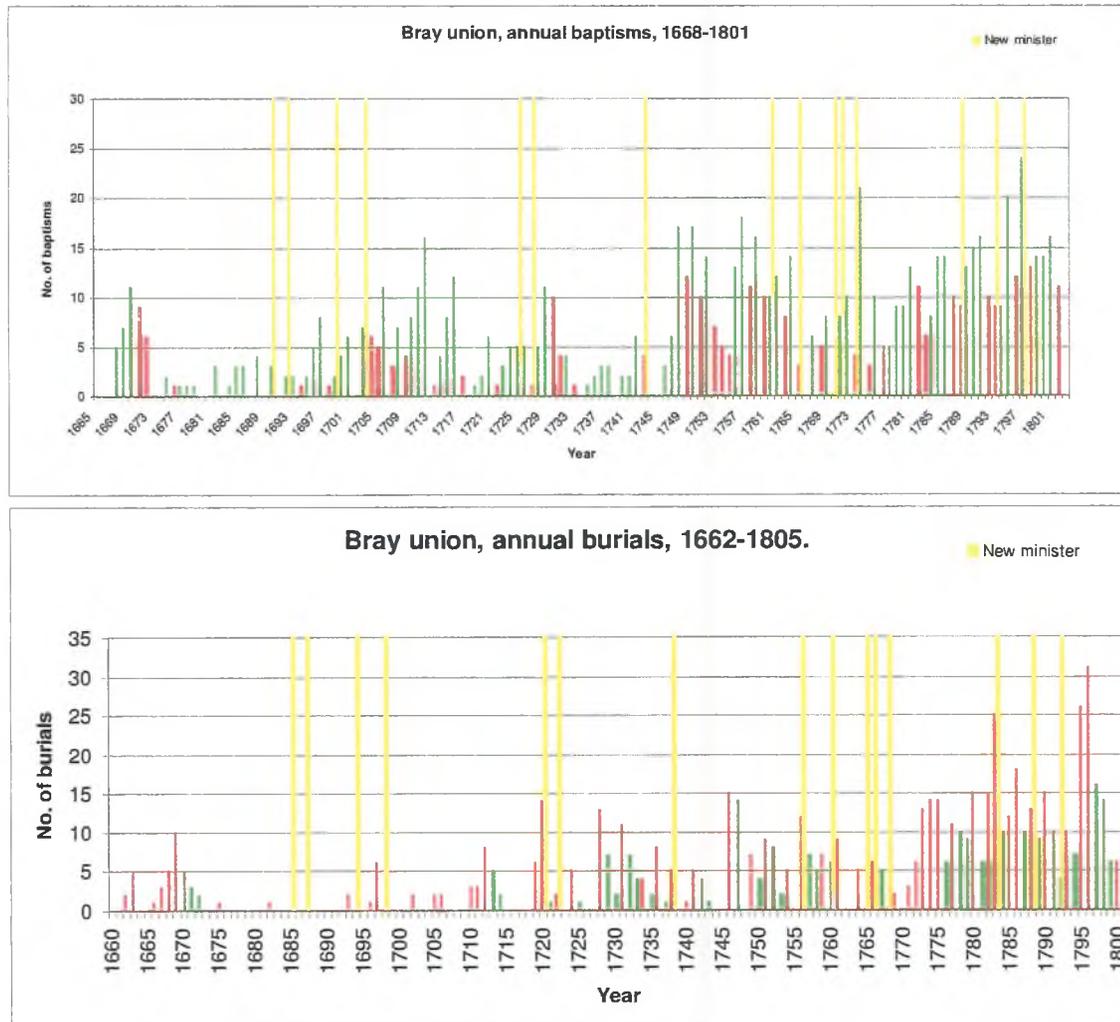


Figure 192 – Bray union, aggregation of baptisms and burials, by year, showing the years when new ministers were appointed (source: base data from R.C.B. Lib., MS P 580.1.1; 580.1.2).

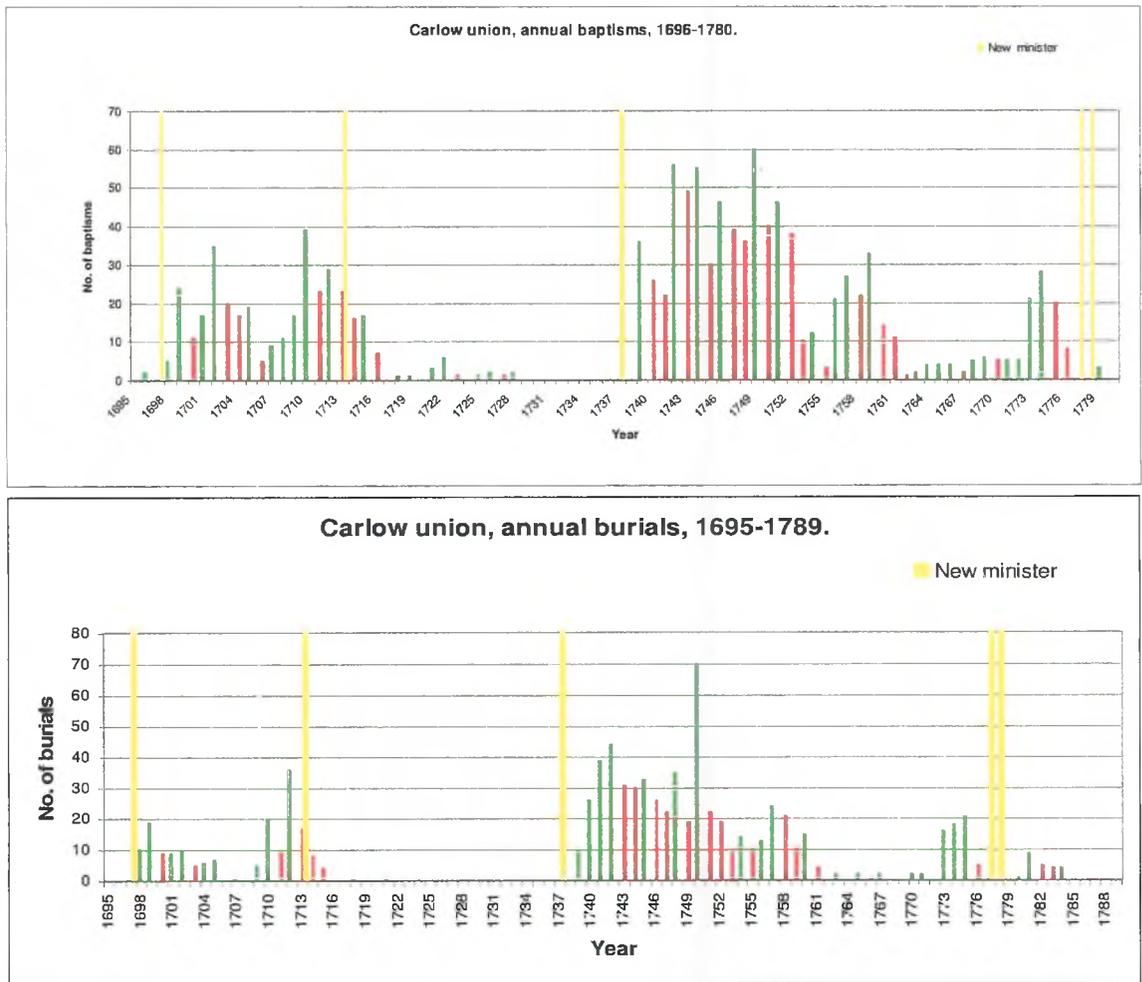


Figure 193 – Carlow union, aggregation of baptisms and burials, by year, showing the years when new ministers were appointed (source: base data from R.C.B. Lib., MS P 317.1.1; 317.1.2).

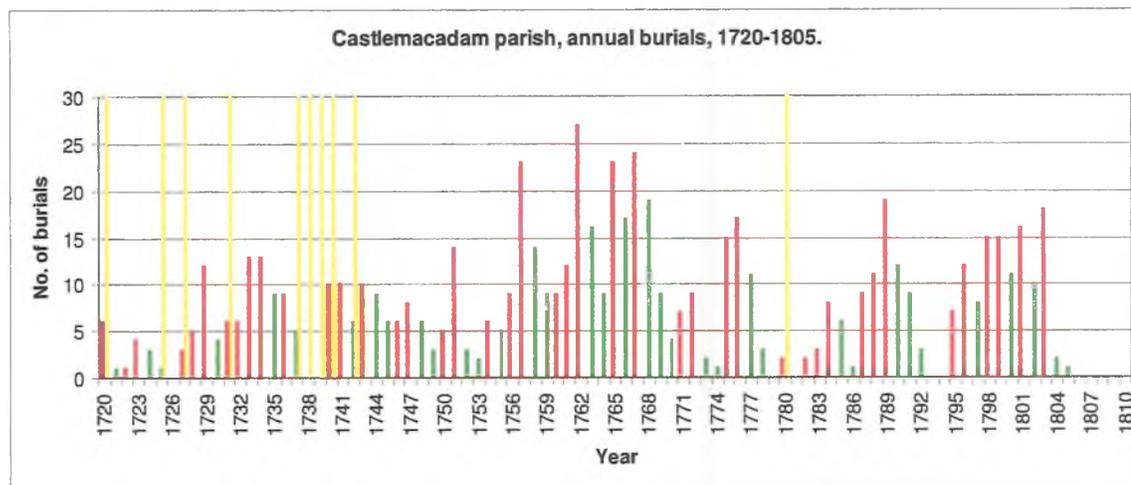
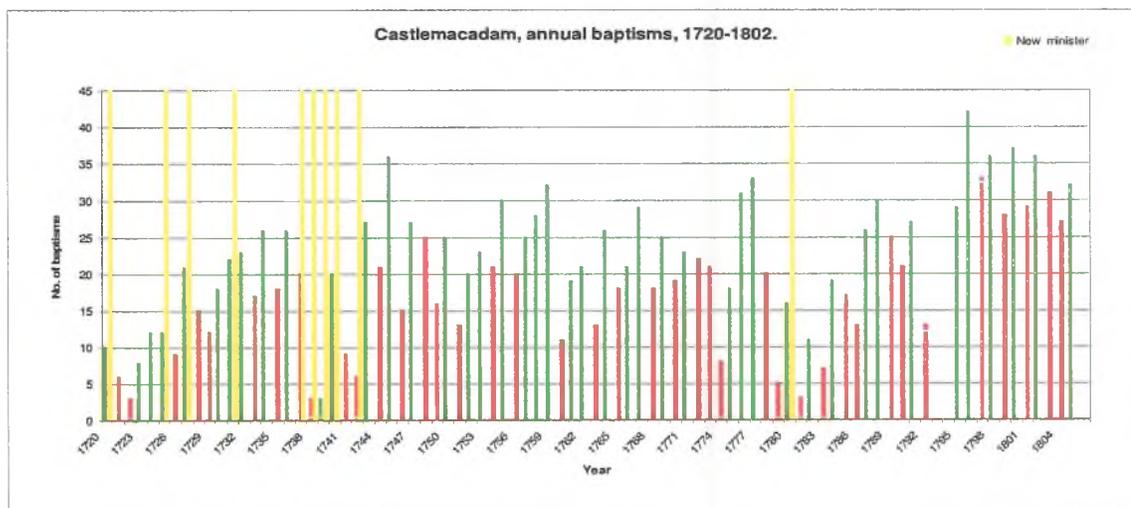


Figure 194 – Castlemacadam union, aggregation of baptisms and burials, by year, showing the years when new ministers were appointed (source: base data from R.C.B. Lib., MS P 534.1.1; 534.1.2).

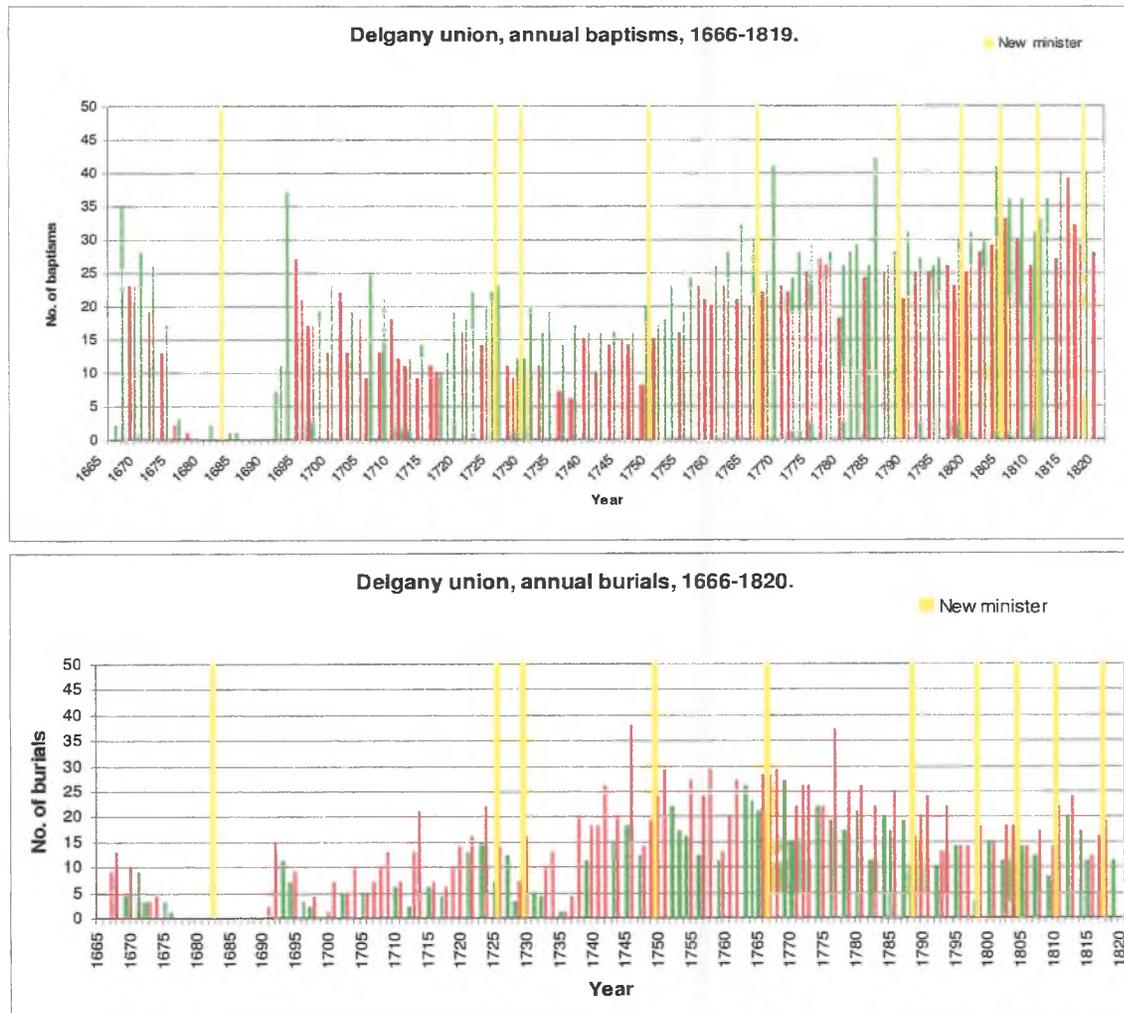


Figure 195 – Delgany union, aggregation of baptisms and burials, by year, showing the years when new ministers were appointed (source: base data from R.C.B. Lib., MS P 917.1.1; 917.1.2).

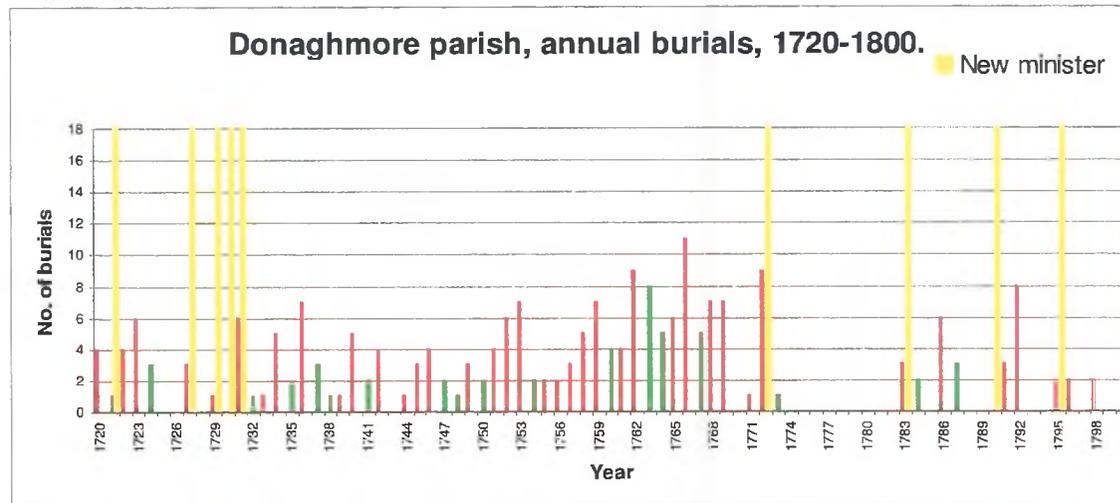
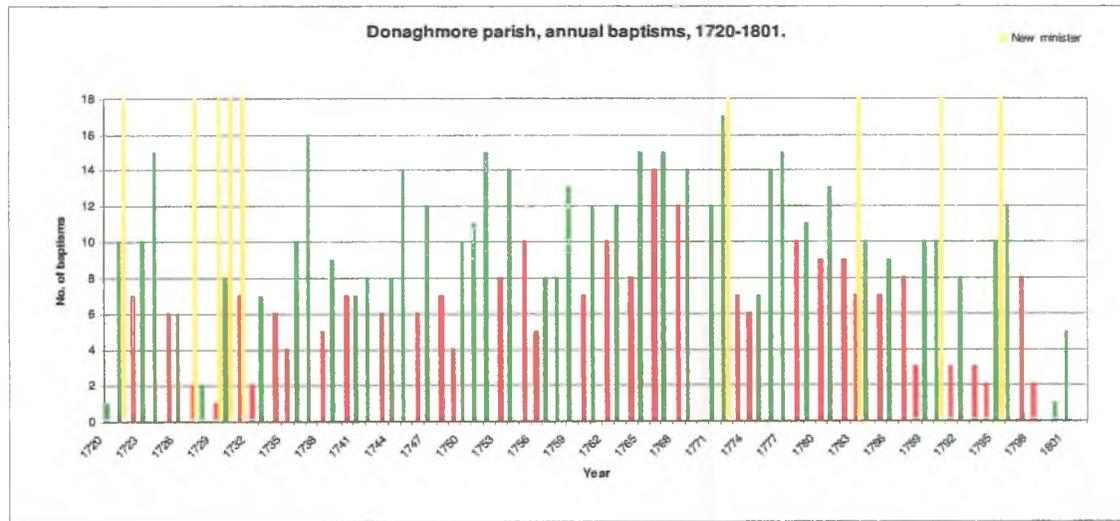


Figure 196 – Donaghmore parish, aggregation of baptisms and burials, by year, showing the years when new ministers were appointed (source: base data from R.C.B. Lib., MS P 274.1.1).

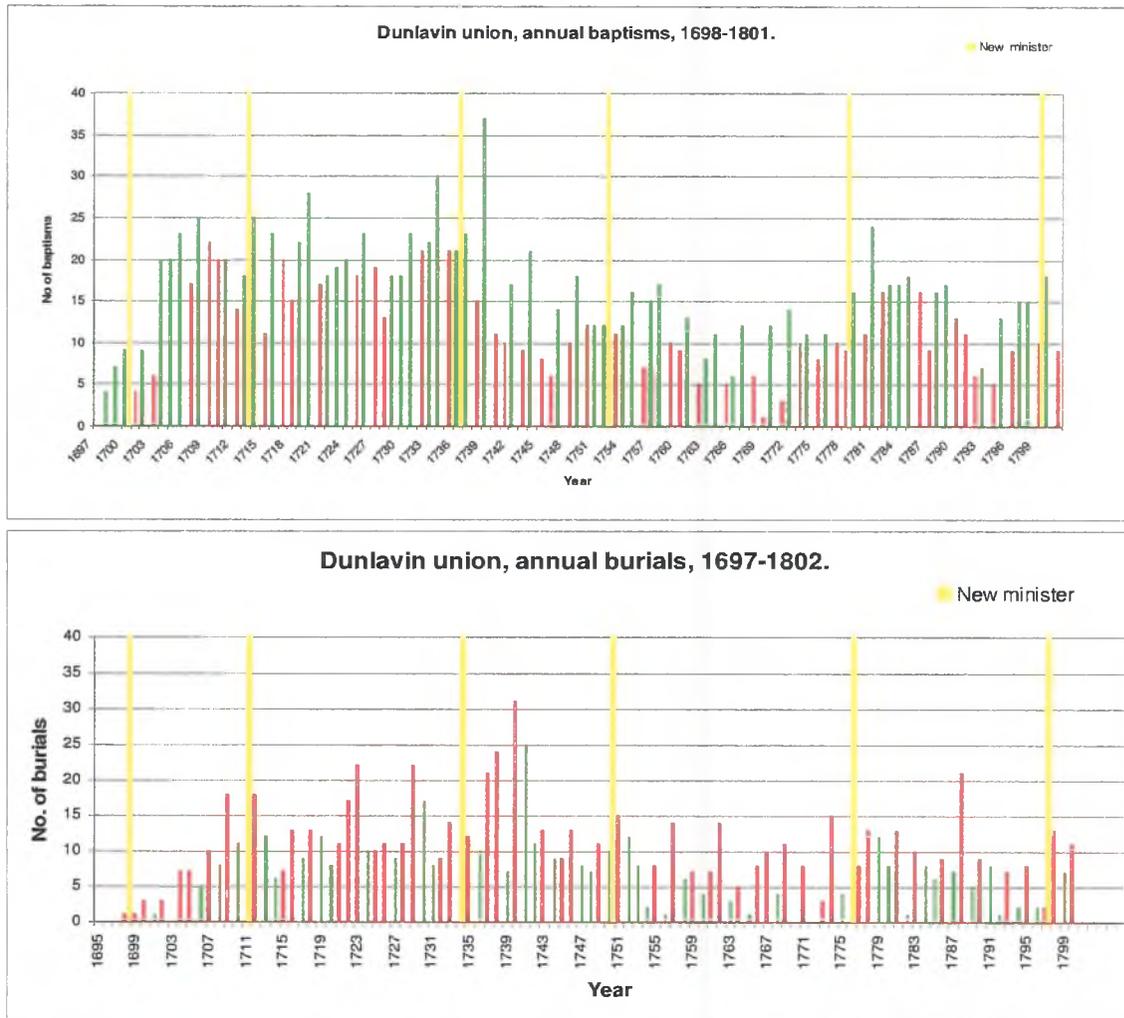


Figure 197 – Dunlavin union, aggregation of baptisms and burials, by year, showing the years when new ministers were appointed (source: base data from R.C.B. Lib., MS P 251.1.1).

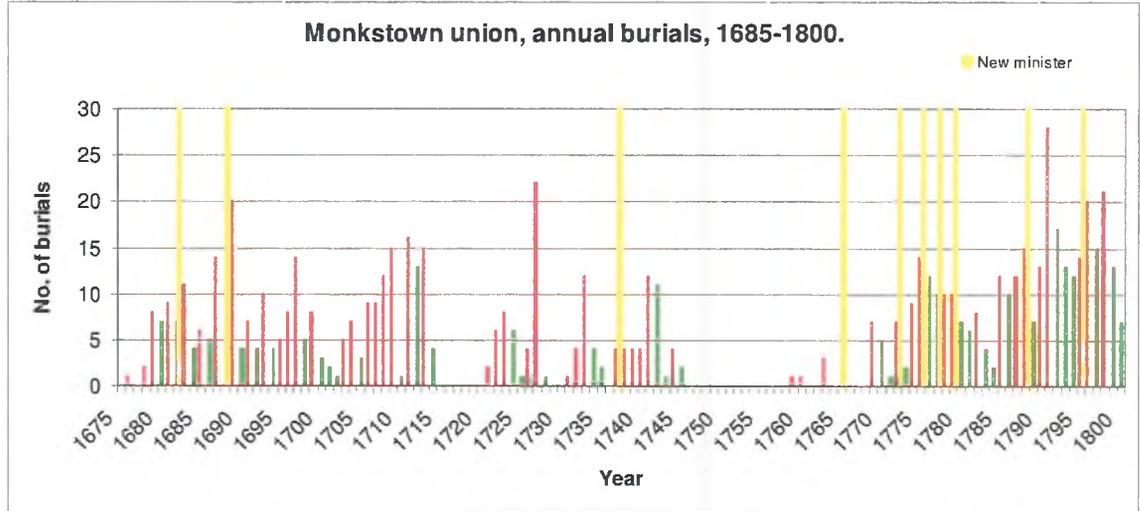
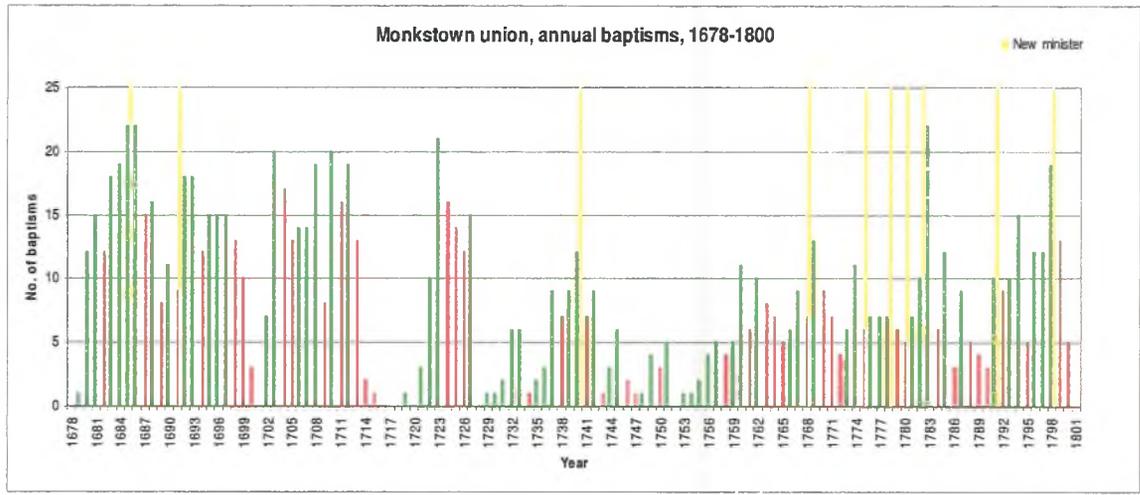


Figure 198 – Monkstown union, aggregation of baptisms and burials, by year, showing the years when new ministers were appointed (source: Guinness, *Parish registers of Monkstown*).

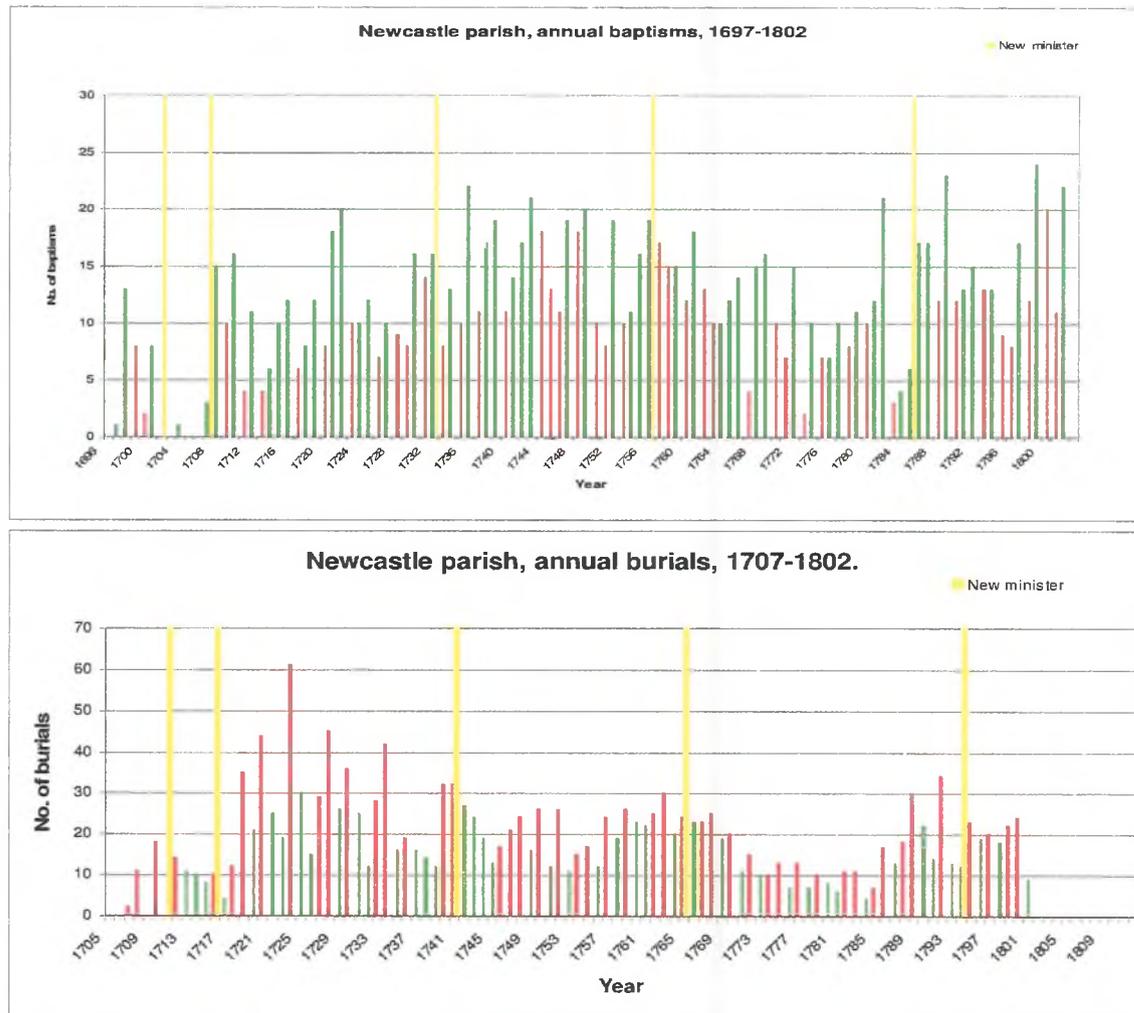


Figure 199 – Newcastle parish, aggregation of baptisms and burials, by year, showing the years when new ministers were appointed (source: base data from R.C.B. Lib., MS P 914.1.1; 914.1.2; 914.1.3).

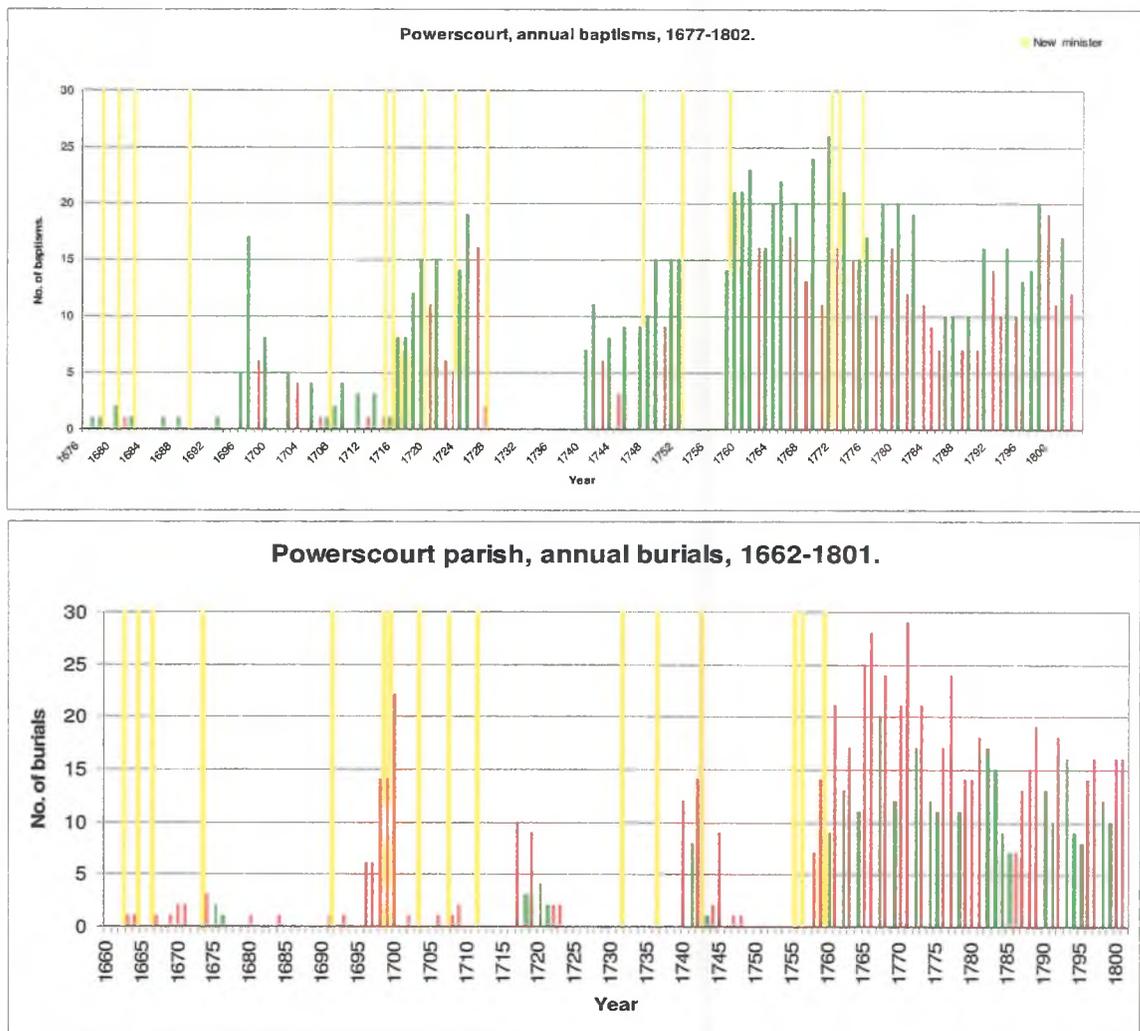


Figure 200 – Powerscourt parish, aggregation of baptisms and burials, by year, showing the years when new ministers were appointed (source: base data from R.C.B. Lib., MS P 109.1.1; 109.1.2; 109.1.3).

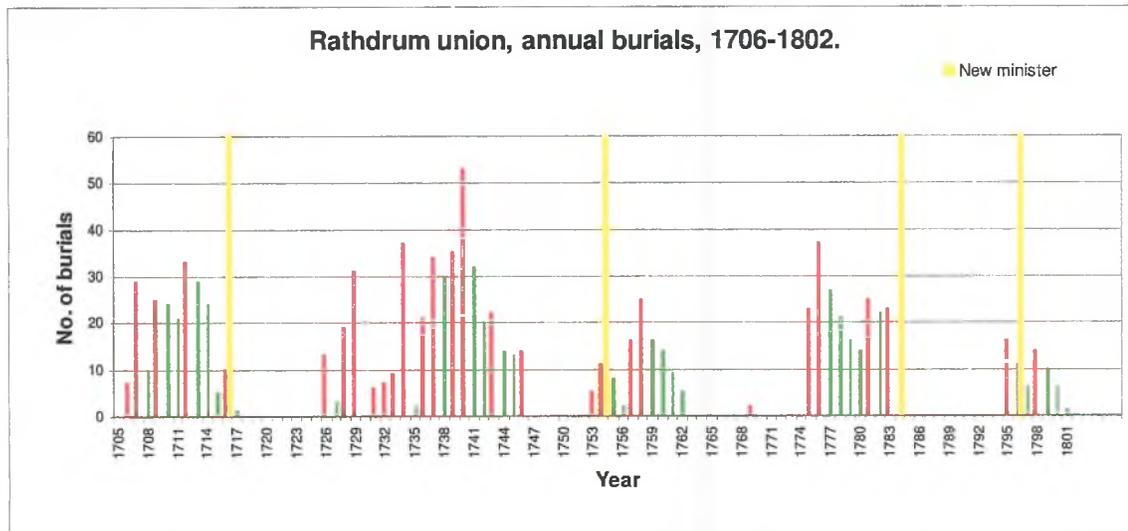
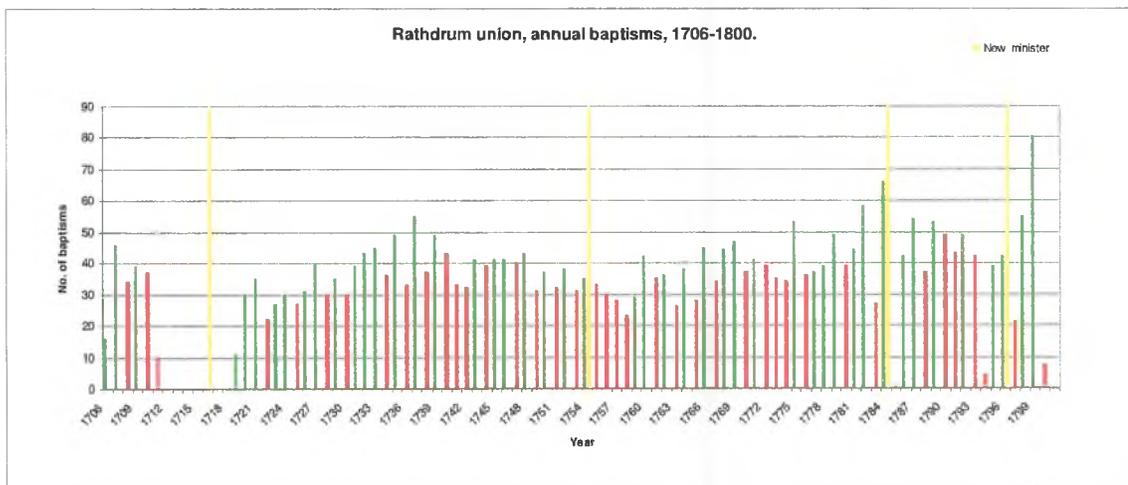


Figure 201 – Rathdrum union, aggregation of baptisms and burials, by year, showing the years when new ministers were appointed (source: base data from R.C.B. Lib., MS P 377.1.1; 377.1.2).

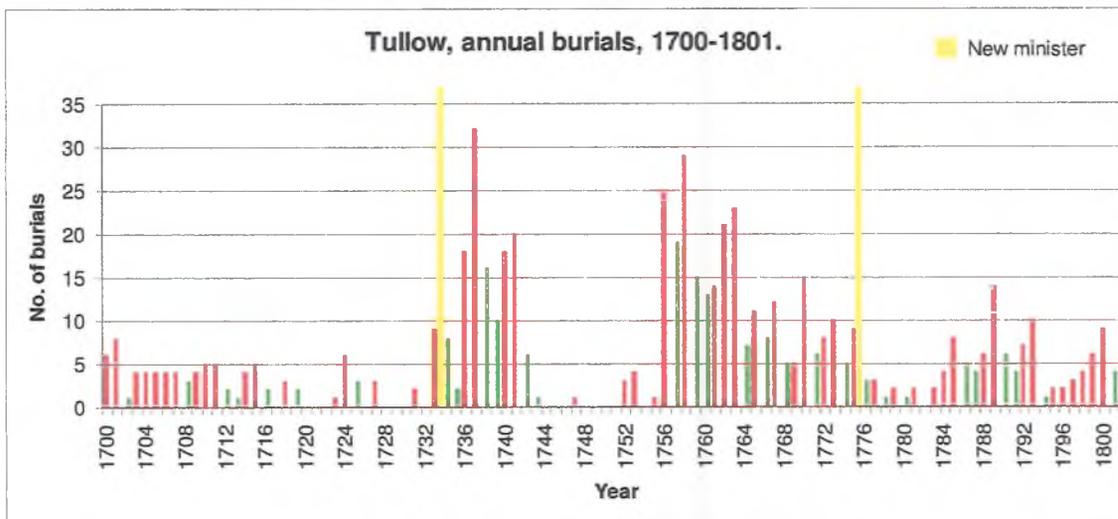
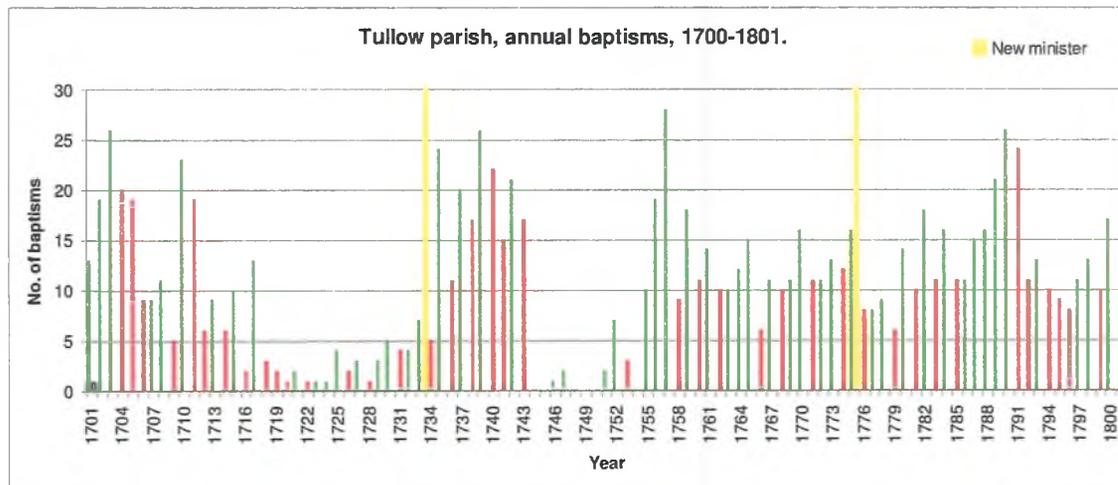


Figure 202 – Tullow parish, aggregation of baptisms and burials, by year, showing the years when new ministers were appointed (source: base data from R.C.B. Lib., MS P 356.1.1).

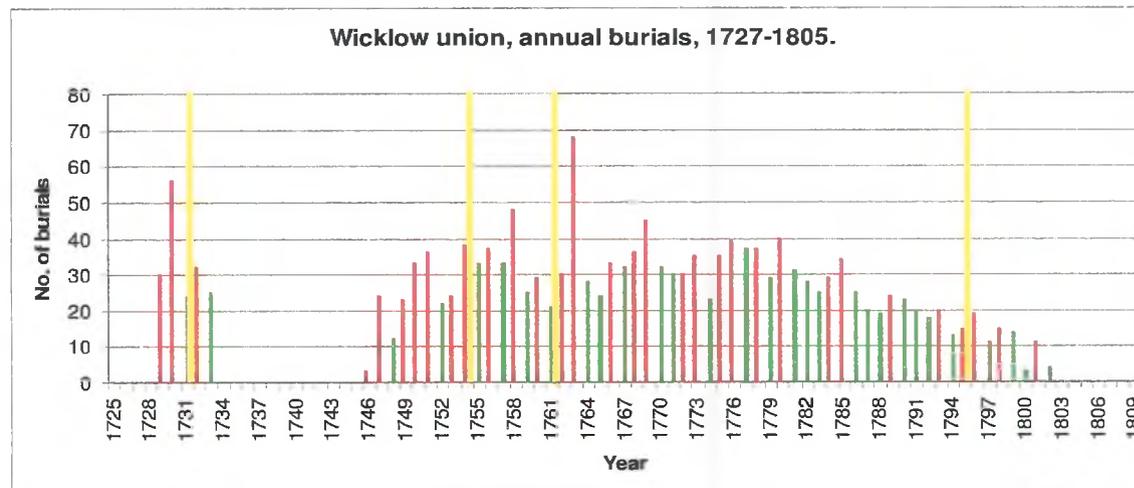
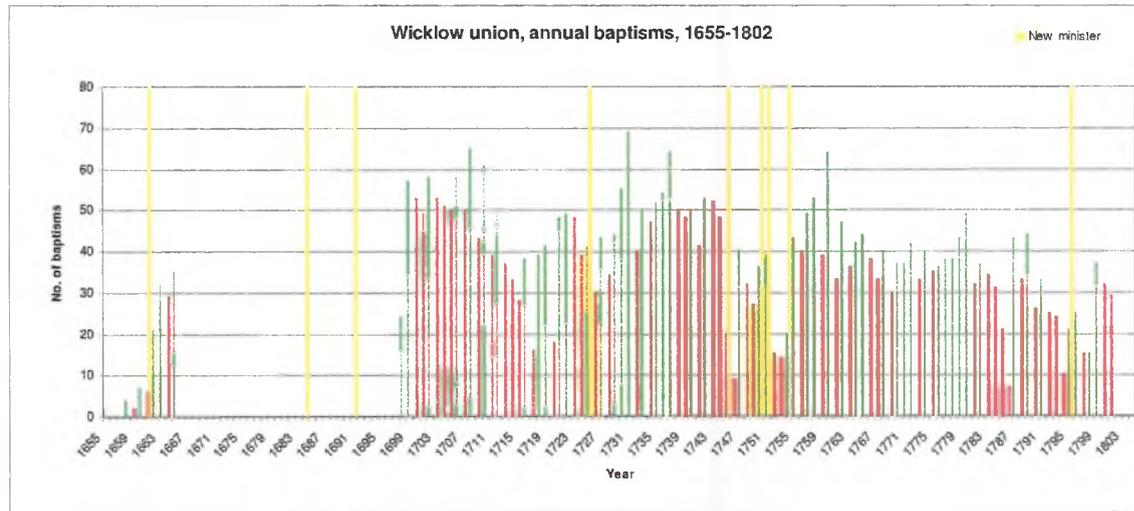


Figure 203 – Wicklow union, aggregation of baptisms and burials, by year, showing the years when new ministers were appointed source: base data from R.C.B. Lib., MS P 611.1.1).

Appendix 24 – Identifying under-registration.

In many Irish rural parishes in the eighteenth century it is likely that only a handful of Protestant baptisms occurred during the year. In Wicklow, with a relatively high proportion of Protestants, baptism in Church of Ireland parish churches was likely to be more frequent than in neighbouring counties, but even in many Wicklow parishes baptisms often failed to reach twenty per year. Figures as low as these make it very difficult to identify periods of under-registration, and hence Drake's advice that parishes with very low mean registration totals should be amalgamated with neighbouring parishes for the purpose of demographic analysis (appendix 22, tests 1 and 2). While this may indeed be desirable, it is also worthwhile, nonetheless, to consider each parish individually, because, many of the registers appear to have been well maintained for long periods. Furthermore, Wrigley and Schofield note that poor-registration periods are usually not evenly dispersed through registers, but tend to occur in groups, making the identification of periods of poor registration easier.¹¹³ In the majority of cases, this appears to have been the case throughout Wicklow.

Identification of poor-registration in parish registers is can be a subjective process. If, for example, a mean of fifty baptisms is recorded for a number of years, then a year when just thirty-five are recorded may be an indication of poor registration, although there are other equally plausible explanations. The thirty-five baptisms may, for instance, represent a genuine drop in fertility, a rise in infant mortality, a rise in non-conformity, the temporary closure of a parish church or a lengthening in the birth-baptism interval, or a combination of some of these, and other, factors. If, however, the number of baptisms dropped to twenty rather than thirty-five, it is less likely that this would be a manifestation of falling fertility, for example, (the deviation from the mean figure is too large), and more likely to be an instance of poor registration. The difficulty for the demographic historian is determining the 'cut-off level' – the degree of fluctuations that will be tolerated, as possibly reflecting fertility and mortality changes, beyond which greater fluctuations are more likely to reflect poor registration. If the cut-off level is too small, then years with aggregates reflecting genuine falls in the birth or death rates will be discarded, and if the level is too large, then periods of poor

registration will be interpreted as indicating fluctuations in these rates. Faced with this prospect the historian should aim to err on the side of caution, and only discard the data for a year which is almost certainly deficient, and hope to filter out any remaining years of poor registration through other means (discussed in appendix 25). With this in mind, the following rules have been proposed as a means by eliminating clearly deficient data, with the caveat that it is inevitable that any arbitrary rule will produce some results that are incorrect.

The deficient-registration rule:

The aggregate data for a given year is considered to be grossly deficient and of limited demographic use if any of the following four determinants are satisfied. It is notable that the strictures are more lenient with regard to the burial series, since annual burial aggregates typically fluctuate more dramatically than do baptismal aggregates.

1. the total number of baptisms or burials recorded for that year equals zero.
2. the total number of baptisms is less than 40 per cent of the *past-quinquennial mean* (PQM), and for burials the total is less than 30 per cent of the PQM.¹¹⁴ Thus, if the mean for the previous five years was twenty, then total baptisms for the year of seven or less are adjudged to be deficient, and for burials, if the mean was twenty then a burial total of six or less is considered deficient.
3. the total number of baptisms or burials is less than 10 per cent of the absolute maximum value that was recorded during the period under study. Thus, if in one particular year fifty baptisms or burials were recorded, then if the total number of baptisms or burials for any year, regardless of how distant in time from the year during which the fifty events were recorded, is less than five then that year's registration of baptisms or burials is adjudged to be deficient.
4. the total number of baptisms is less than 30 per cent – and the total number of burials is less than 25 per cent – of the *rolling maximum*

value that was recorded in the preceding or succeeding decade. Thus, for the year 1700, the rolling maximum is the maximum number of baptisms or births that was recorded in the period 1690-1710 (a ten year period on either side of the year under examination), the rolling maximum period for 1701 is from 1691-1711 and so on. So, taking the year 1700, if a total of fifty baptisms were recorded during any year between 1690-1710, then if the number of baptisms recorded in 1700 did not reach fifteen, that year's registration is adjudged to be deficient.

This process will:

1. immediately exclude obviously deficient data (determinant 1).
2. ensure that the total number of baptisms or burials must be comparable with the levels recorded in the years in the immediate past (determinant 2).
3. ensure that long periods (a decade or more) of low registration will not be tolerated. This is important, because if this test was excluded then the other tests would only succeed in operating effectively for a five-year (determinant 2) and a ten-year (determinant 4) period respectively, which would mean that a prolonged period (twenty or more years) with a handful of baptisms per year during the middle years of the period would be flagged as periods of good registration.
4. ensure that each annual total deemed to be acceptable is reasonably compatible with the data recorded during the preceding and succeeding decades.

However, even if a year fails any of these tests and is adjudged to be deficient, if it is an exceptional year it may be possible to use interpolation to estimate the extent of the omission and the data may still be used. This process is considered in appendix 25.

Based on this deficient-registration rule, table 99 summarises, by year, the determined condition of registration in each of the fifteen parishes for which data is available, and indicates the registers which are obviously deficient. Deficiencies in registers can have a variety of origins, including the negligence of the ministers, archival neglect, water damage, torn pages and so on. It is clear that there are problems with all of the surviving registers, although, equally obviously, some registers are far more complete than others. However, even in the registers which exhibit substantially poor-registration, often this poor registration occurs for specific periods, and it is possible to extract information from periods of good-registration, even in registers that were poorly maintained at times.

In terms of baptisms, the registers which appear to be most complete are those for Delgany and Newcastle (northeast), Dunlavin and Donaghmore (west), Rathdrum (midland) and Castlemacadam (east). The baptism records for Wicklow are also very good – in fact, they are the best available – although this may not appear so from the data in table 99. This is because the statistics for Wicklow are strongly biased by the early commencement of the registers, in 1655, for a brief period. If the Wicklow registers are only considered from 1698-1801 instead of 1655 then the number of ‘no entries’ years falls from 34 to 0, and the number of ‘underreg’ years falls from 11 to 7, meaning that poor registration only occurred for 6 per cent of all years.

A second factor evident from table 99 concerns the differing quality in the baptism and burial registers – for all parishes the baptismal data is more complete than is the burial data. Wicklow is not unique in boasting relatively poor burial data. In England, Wrigley and Schofield reported similar discrepancies in the quality of registration throughout that country in their *Population history of England*. In fact, over a period of more than three centuries they note that baptisms were consistently the most thoroughly recorded of the three ecclesiastical series, and marriages were the most poorly kept, even during periods of generally poor or fluctuating registration-quality. The only notable exception to this trend occurred, unsurprisingly, during the reign of Mary, the Catholic monarch, when the recording of baptisms deteriorated markedly.¹¹⁵ Similar patterns are evident in the Wicklow registers.

The reason for the varying quality between baptismal and burial records is unclear, and Wrigley and Schofield do not probe the issue deeply for the English series. There could be many reasons for the discrepancy. Baptism, a sacrament for both Catholics and Anglicans, was considered a spiritually significant ceremony, and was usually performed quickly after the birth of a child. Furthermore, a baptismal entry, if it was near-contemporary with the birth, represented legal confirmation of the hierarchy of succession within a family, and provided evidence that a successor was legitimate.¹¹⁶ Another influencing factor is the coincidence that for some Wicklow parishes, burial records appear to have generally suffered greater archival attrition than did the baptism records. For Rathdrum, for instance, torn or missing pages and unspecific entries obscure our view of burials in the late-1720s/early-1730s period. Notably, too, during times of exceptionally high-mortality the registration of burials came under greatest pressure, which unfortunately means that burial registers can be less thorough for some of the periods for which they could have provided the most crucial insights. For Wicklow parish, for instance, the registers only commence in April 1729, but no burial records were kept between August 1733 and October 1746, effectively meaning that no data is available for that parish for the famines of the late-1720s and the early-1740s.

The data in table 99 should not be viewed as anything more than a general guide to the likely quality of the registers, and many registers may be more useful than is implied by the crude statistics. As is noted in the text (chapter three), the baptismal records for Carlow, for instance, contain vital information on the birth-baptism interval, and the Blessington registers (figure 191) appear to be quite good until 1730, after which they deteriorate in quality for prolonged periods. Also for Blessington, the burial records, while not particularly good, uniquely for a greater-Wicklow parish often list the cause of death, data which can be harvested for evidence on infectious diseases or malnourishment.

Table 99 – The likely extent of poor registration in Wicklow, Church of Ireland baptismal and burial registers.

	<u>Aghowle</u>		<u>Athy</u>		<u>Blessington</u>		<u>Bray</u>		<u>Carlow</u>		<u>Castlemacadam</u>		<u>Delgany</u>		<u>Donaghmore</u>	
	Baptisms	Burials	Baptisms	Burials	Baptisms	Burials	Baptisms	Burials	Baptisms	Burials	Baptisms	Burials	Baptisms	Burials	Baptisms	Burials
Earliest	1700	1700	1669	1669	1695	1695	1668	1668	1696	1696	1720	1720	1666	1666	1720	1720
Latest	1796	1796	1806	1800	1800	1800	1802	1802	1784	1784	1805	1805	1819	1819	1801	1801
Years	97	97	138	138	106	118	135	141	89	89	86	86	154	155	82	82
No entries	25	45	18	33	10	34	16	47	18	32	2	7	10	15	2	24
Under-reg.	11	25	22	19	34	31	41	33	35	29	9	21	8	19	12	12
Poor reg.	36	70	40	52	44	65	57	80	53	61	11	28	18	34	14	36
% poor reg.	37.1%	72.2%	29.0%	38%	41.5%	55%	42.2%	57%	59.6%	69%	12.8%	33%	11.7%	22%	17.1%	44%

	<u>Dunlavin</u>		<u>Monkstown</u>		<u>Newcastle</u>		<u>Powerscourt</u>		<u>Rathdrum</u>		<u>Tullow</u>		<u>Wicklow</u>		
	Baptisms	Burials	Baptisms	Burials	Baptisms	Burials	Baptisms	Burials	Baptisms	Burials	Baptisms	Burials	Baptisms	Burials	Burials
Earliest	1698	1698	1679	1679	1697	1707	1677	1677	1706	1706	1700	1700	1655	1698	1727
Latest	1801	1801	1800	1800	1802	1802	1802	1802	1800	1800	1801	1801	1801	1801	1801
Years	104	104	122	125	106	95	126	140	95	95	102	102	147	104	73
No entries	0	3	7	30	4	1	33	58	7	37	6	18	34	0	12
Under-reg.	14	19	33	28	10	12	23	23	6	12	28	32	11	7	2
Poor reg.	14	22	40	58	14	13	56	81	13	49	34	50	45	7	14
% poor reg.	13.5%	21%	32.8%	46%	13.2%	14%	44.4%	58%	13.7%	52%	33.3%	49%	30.6%	6.7%	19%

Note: Two sets of figures are provided for Wicklow parish's baptisms. For that parish the registers commence in 1655, and almost 150 baptisms are recorded between 1655 and 1665. After that, however, registration ceases, not resuming again until 1698. As is shown, if the register is considered from 1655, the quality of the baptismal register appears statistically poor. However, if the register is considered from 1698, excluding the 3 decades of non-registration following the early commencement of the registers then a more realistic view of the Wicklow baptismal statistics emerges. Rather than being poor registers, the Wicklow baptismal registers are in fact the best available for the county.

Appendix 25 – Interpolation – to improve the Protestant data.

Michael Drake has suggested that interpolation may be used to estimate any likely deficiencies in monthly aggregates in data that is clearly deficient.¹¹⁷ Under this process, however, it is only possible to correct short-term deficiencies in data, because his suggested methodology presumes to estimate the ‘missing value’ for a month by determining the mean number of baptisms or burials for the same month in the five years on either side, and assuming this to represent a reasonable approximation of the missing figure. Drake’s suggested method thus precludes the determination of missing values at the boundaries between periods of poor and of good registration, since there will not be five years of adequate data on one side of the boundary. The use of interpolation is, therefore, fairly limited.

Admittedly, interpolation can be quite inaccurate, and there is no way to determine accurately the true deficiency in monthly figures. Because of this, it was decided to apply stringent rules to the process. Interpolation is most dangerous in relation to burials because that series can exhibit greater fluctuations than would be typical in from baptisms-series. Particularly during periods of demographic crisis, the number of burials can have increased to levels significantly above the general mean, so one must always remain conscious of the impact of statistical outliers on interpolated results, particularly in the burials series. The following rules have been used when interpolating deficiencies in events:

1. Monthly interpolation is not attempted for years during which no registration at all took place. It is only attempted for periods where there appears to have been a short break in the registration process, over a period of less than twelve months. This means that interpolation is only permitted during periods of good, or partially-good, registration (as implied by Drake).
2. Only months with no baptisms or burials are considered as candidates for interpolation.¹¹⁸ If at least one baptism or burial is recorded, then that is viewed as an indication that registration was occurring, and that any lower-than-average baptism or burial levels is reflective of the actual situation.

3. If a month is adjudged to be a candidate for interpolation (from steps 1 and 2), then the number of baptisms or burials recorded for the same month for a period on either side of the year in question is examined. For baptisms, the data for a quinquennium (five-year period), and for burials the data for a quadrennium (four-year period), on either side of the year in question is used. The differing time-periods are required because, as was noted above, the burial series are typically less well kept than the baptismal series, and consequently, if a quinquennium was also adopted for burials, few interpolations would result. It does, however, make sense for the burial guide-period to be shorter than the period used for interpolating deficient monthly baptisms, because that series exhibits greater fluctuations than the baptismal aggregates.
4. For baptisms, if the monthly totals for more than four of the months in the guiding quinquennial periods have been adjudged to be deficient (appendix 24) then interpolation is not attempted. Thus, if interpolation is required for January 1700, then it is only permitted if at least six of the monthly totals for January 1695, 1696, 1697, 1698, 1699, 1701, 1702, 1703, 1704 and 1705 have been deemed acceptable. Similarly, for burials, interpolation is not permitted if three of the eight equivalent months from the guiding quadrennials on either side of the year in question are adjudged to be deficient.
5. For baptisms, if more than one of the equivalent months in the adjacent quinquenniums also have zero baptisms recorded, then interpolation is not attempted, and similarly, interpolation is not attempted for burials if more than one of the equivalent months in the quadrennials have zero burials.
6. If interpolation is permitted, the mean number of baptisms or burials is calculated from the totals for the same month in the quinquennial (or quadrennial for burials) period on either side of the year in question, rounded to the nearest whole number. If the result is less than 3 then the interpolated result is ignored, since zero baptisms or burials in a calendar month is comfortably compatible with such a low monthly mean.
7. This mean figure is presumed to represent the 'best guess' that can be derived through interpolation.

8. The results are evaluated, and a decision as to the validity of the suggested interpolation figures is made. Such a decision is obviously subjective, but it is also necessary. If the suggested interpolation figures were simply accepted unquestioningly, then the aggregate numbers during periods of genuine low-baptisms and low-burials would be boosted, and genuine dips in the total numbers would be hidden. Thus, when the algorithm suggests an interpolation figure for a month with no baptisms, the figure is then considered in the contexts of the yearly aggregate, the contemporary demographic and economic climates and the presence of non-zero registrations in both the preceding or succeeding months. If any of these three contexts imply the possibility that a genuine dip may have occurred, the interpolated figure is rejected.

Some of the above rules, particularly rules 3, 4 and 5, paradoxically, make it less likely that interpolation will be performed on data that is of poor quality. This may seem somewhat illogical (why concern oneself with 'fixing' data that is 'relatively good', when data that is 'relatively bad' remains unmodified?) but in fact it is not. If poor-quality data was used to interpolate data for missing months (which themselves arise from poor registration) this will operate to hide errors and make the data from a period of poor recording appear better than it actually is. By following the rules listed above, the impact of short-term problems in data that is relatively good are lessened, whilst data that is clearly, poorly recorded is left untouched, rather than modified unjustifiably.

When the above methodology is applied to the monthly baptismal and burial aggregates, only a handful of adjustments are suggested for each of the parishes, and for many parishes no adjustments are suggested at all. Tables 100 and 101 show the total number of adjustments which the algorithm suggested should be made for each parish's baptismal and burial data, and also the final number that were permitted, based on a subjective decision as to the validity of the results.

Table 100 – Extent of the adjustments permitted under the interpolation rules (baptisms).

	Aghowle	Athy	Blessington	Bray	Carlow	Castlemacadam	Delgany	Donaghmore
Total years	97	138	106	135	89	86	154	82
Total, poor reg. (years)	36	40	44	57	53	11	18	14
Total, good reg. (years)	61	98	62	78	36	75	136	68
Total, good months	732	1176	744	936	432	900	1,632	816
No. of suggested adjustments	0	9	1	0	6	5	11	0
No. of adjustments made	0	5	0	0	5	4	4	0
% of months adjusted	0.0%	0.4%	0.0%	0.0%	1.2%	0.4%	0.2%	0.0%
	Dunlavin	Monkstown	Newcastle		Rathdrum	Tullow	Wicklow	Powerscourt
Total years	104	122	106		95	102	147	126
Total, poor reg. (years)	14	40	14		13	34	45	56
Total, good reg. (years)	90	82	92		82	68	102	70
Total, good months	1,080	984	1,104		984	816	1,224	840
No. of suggested adjustments	2	0	0		34	0	39	0
No. of adjustments made	1	0	0		13	0	28	0
% of months adjusted	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%		1.3%	0.0%	2.3%	0.0%

Table 101 – Extent of the adjustments permitted under the interpolation rules (burials).

	Aghowle	Athy	Blessington	Bray	Carlow	Castlemacadam	Delgany	Donaghmore
Total years	97	138	118	141	89	86	155	82
Total, poor reg. (years)	69	52	65	80	61	28	34	36
Total, good reg. (years)	28	86	53	61	28	58	121	46
Total, good months	336	1032	636	732	336	696	1452	552
No. of suggested adjustments	0	3	0	0	1	0	3	0
No. of adjustments made	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0
% of months adjusted	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.2%	0.0%
	Dunlavin	Monkstown	Newcastle		Rathdrum	Tullow	Wicklow	Powerscourt
Total years	104	125	95		95	102	73	140
Total, poor reg. (years)	22	58	13		49	50	14	81
Total, good reg. (years)	82	67	82		46	52	59	59
Total, good months	984	804	984		552	624	708	708
No. of suggested adjustments	2	0	5		3	0	14	1
No. of adjustments made	2	0	5		0	0	4	1
% of months adjusted	0.0%	0.0%	0.5%		0.0%	0.0%	0.6%	0.1%

Interpolation is a tedious and complex process, requiring the generation of complex algorithms and cross-checks to determine likely figures for likely deficiencies, and finally requiring a subjective decision to be made on likely validity of the results. As a result of this process, only 107 baptism and thirty-two burial monthly adjustments were suggested, based on steps 1 through 7 above, and after each of the suggested figures were examined, ultimately only sixty baptism and thirteen burials changes were effected, amounting to the addition of about 200 extra baptisms and forty-five extra burials to the totals. Furthermore, only five annual totals of baptisms (Rathdrum for 1785 and Wicklow for 1717, 1720, 1747 and 1786) and three annual totals of burials (Dunlavin for 1739 and 1744 and Newcastle for 1726), which had previously been categorised as under-registrations, are, by the interpolation process, improved sufficiently so as to fall within the toleration limits. The subjective decision required at the end of the process might further foster scepticism about the process, since the passing of subjective judgement on an essentially analytical process seems strange. In fact, however, it is necessary, and appears to have avoided the introduction errors into the statistics. The baptismal statistics for Wicklow and Rathdrum parishes illustrate this point most evidently. Despite these parishes having relatively good data, the algorithm suggested that more interpolations were required than for those two parishes than for any others. Graphs of the new annual aggregates suggested by the algorithm are shown in figures 204 and 205. Clearly, the algorithm helped to resolve some problems with the data – for Rathdrum for 1785 and 1794, for instance – but it also suggested that years with relatively high aggregates be further augmented. The subjective decision-making process saw the rejection of many of these suggested additions. Nonetheless, interpolation does help to improve the data to a minor degree, although the efforts required to achieve this were considerable.

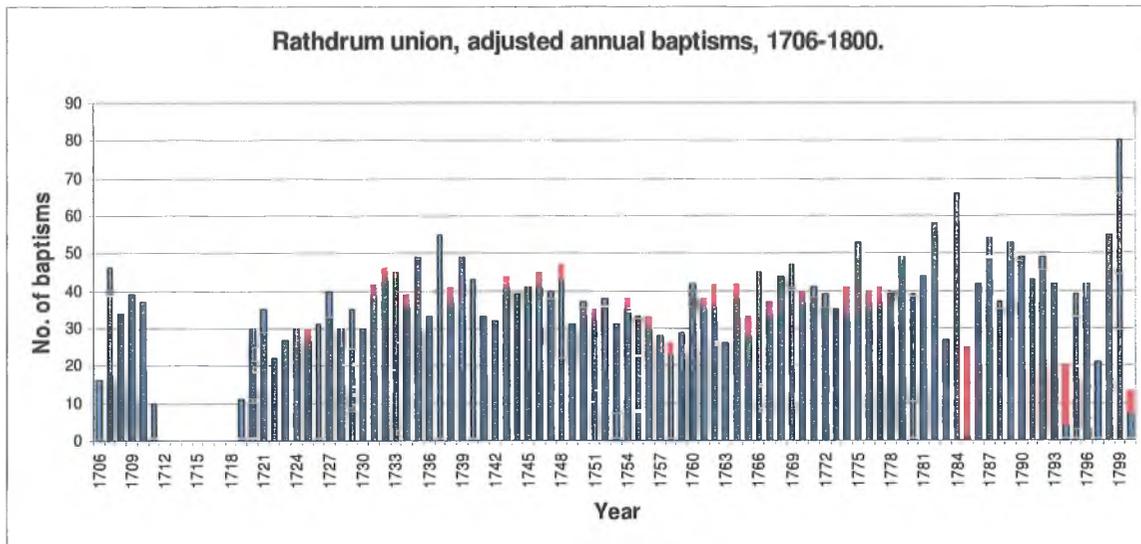


Figure 204 – Reworked baptismal data for Rathdrum, based on the application of the interpolation algorithm (source as in appendix 23).

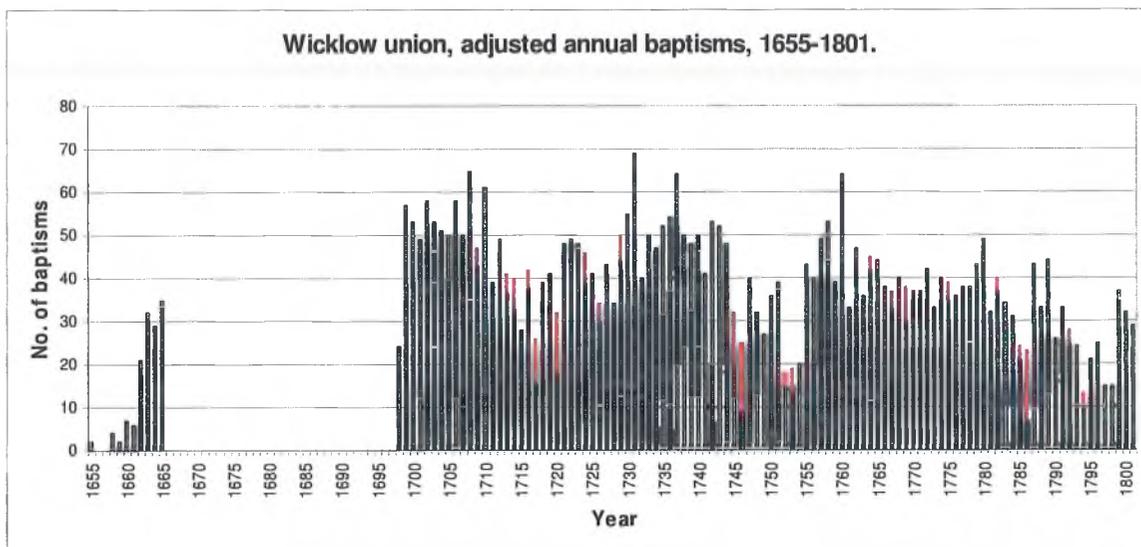


Figure 205 – Reworked baptismal data for Wicklow, based on the application of the interpolation algorithm (source as in appendix 23).

Graphs of the annual totals for baptisms and burials, modified by the interpolation process, are presented below (figures 206 – 220). In these graphs, modified annual totals which, after the interpolation process, are still deemed to be deficient have been removed. The data plotted in these graphs represents the

annual, post-interpolation aggregates and will be presumed to represent a 'best guess' for the annual aggregates for each parish for various years.

Aghowle union

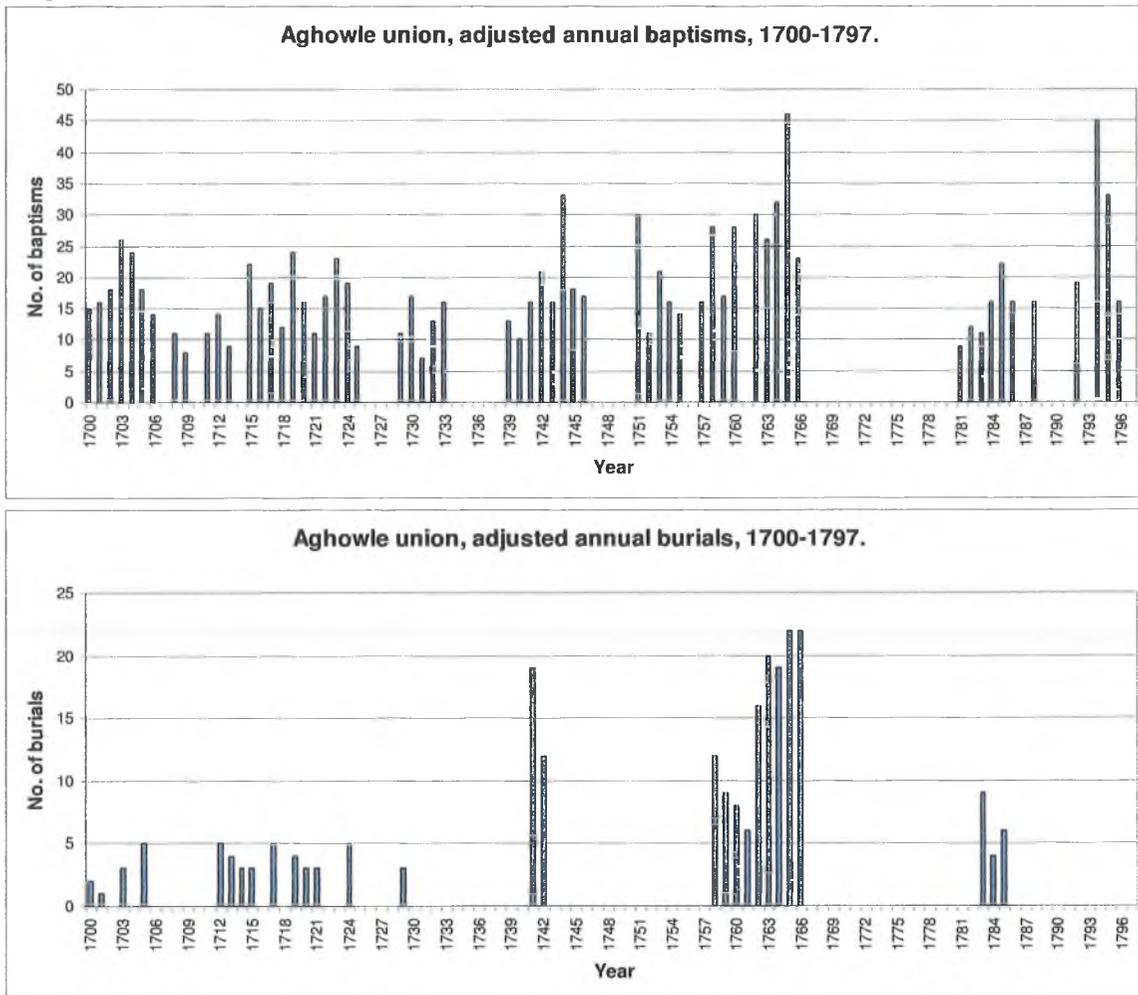


Figure 206 – Aghowle union, adjusted annual baptisms and burials totals, with years that are likely to be deficient excluded, and with interpolation rules applied to reduce monthly deficiencies. Changes are highlighted in red (no changes made) (source as in appendix 23).

The Aghowle baptism figures are reasonably good, although gaps occur regularly throughout the eighteenth century. A substantial (fourteen year) gap occurs between 1666 and 1781, when records resume, but at a suspiciously low level. Baptisms peaks occurred in 1765 (forty-six) and 1794 (forty-five). The burial data is extremely poor, however, and although extensive water damage accounts for some of this, the records were also poorly kept.

Athy union

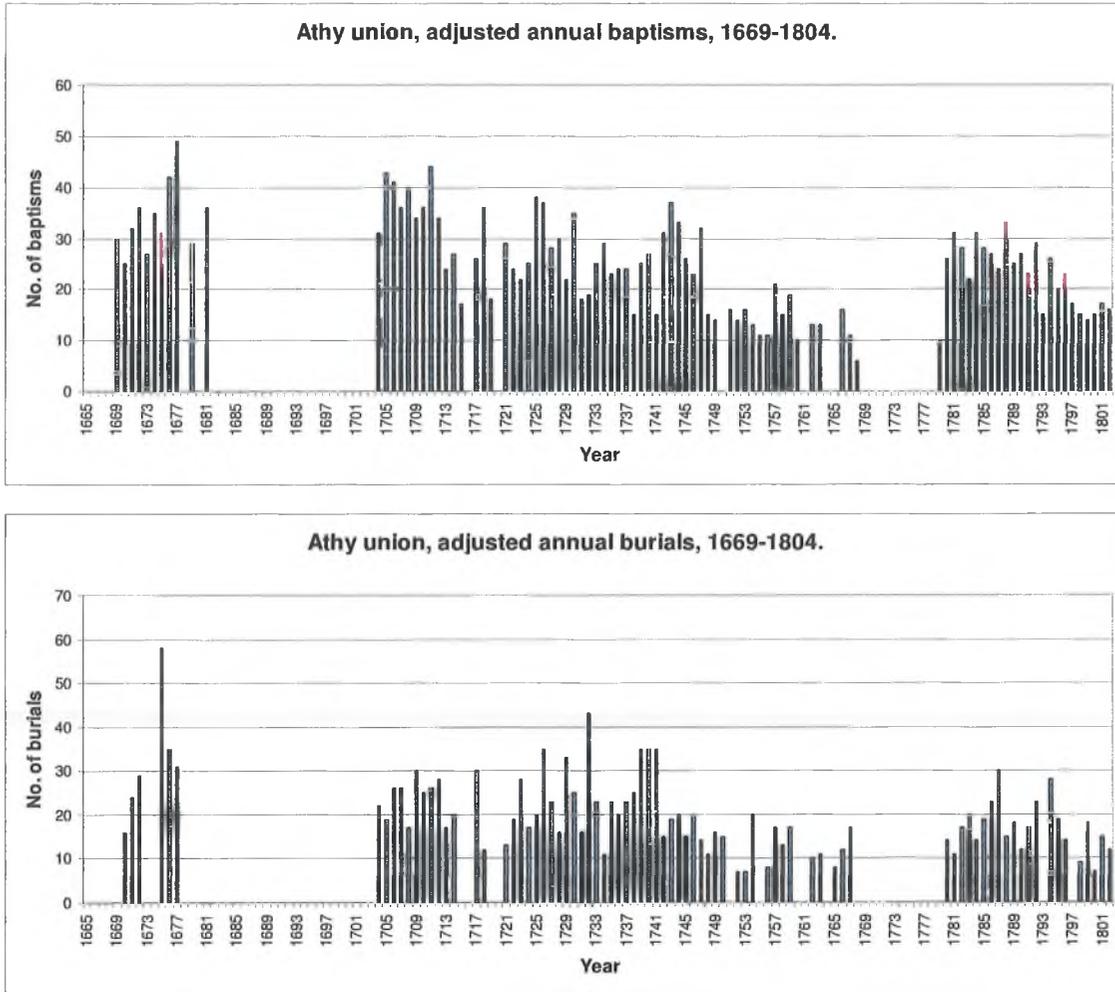


Figure 207 – Athy union, adjusted annual baptisms and burials totals, with years that are likely to be deficient excluded, and with interpolation rules applied to reduce monthly deficiencies. Changes are highlighted in red (source as in appendix 23).

The Athy baptismal figures are good for much of the eighteenth century, although the aggregate number of baptisms drops around mid-century, and a gap in recording spans the 1770s. The initial data appears good, also, although the number of baptisms is boosted by the recording of papists (appendix 21). If the initial period, when papists were being recorded, is excluded, then the peak year for baptisms was 1711. The burial figures are also good for much of the eighteenth century, and a burial peak is evident in 1732. The high levels of burials in the 1660s and 1670s are augmented by the recording of burials of papists.

Blessington union

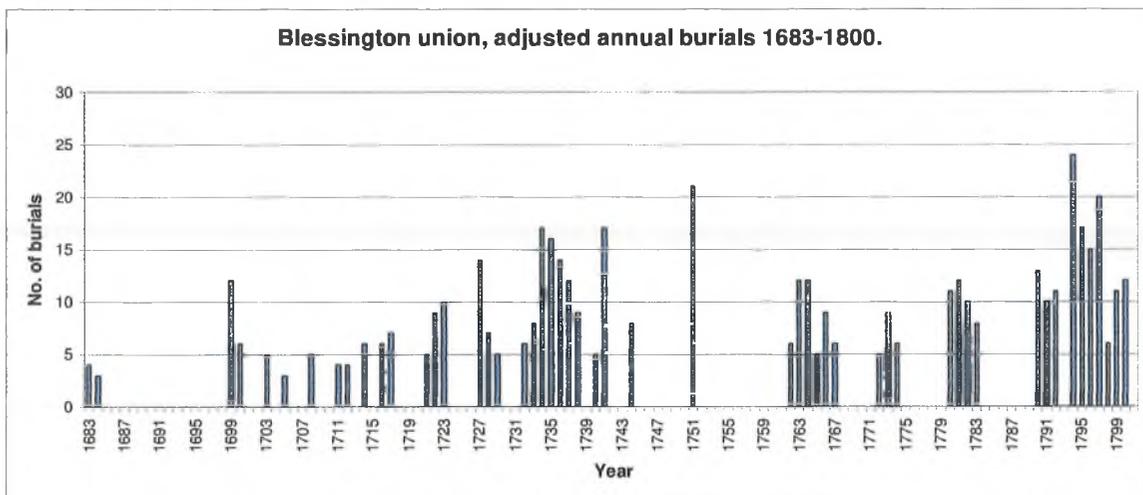
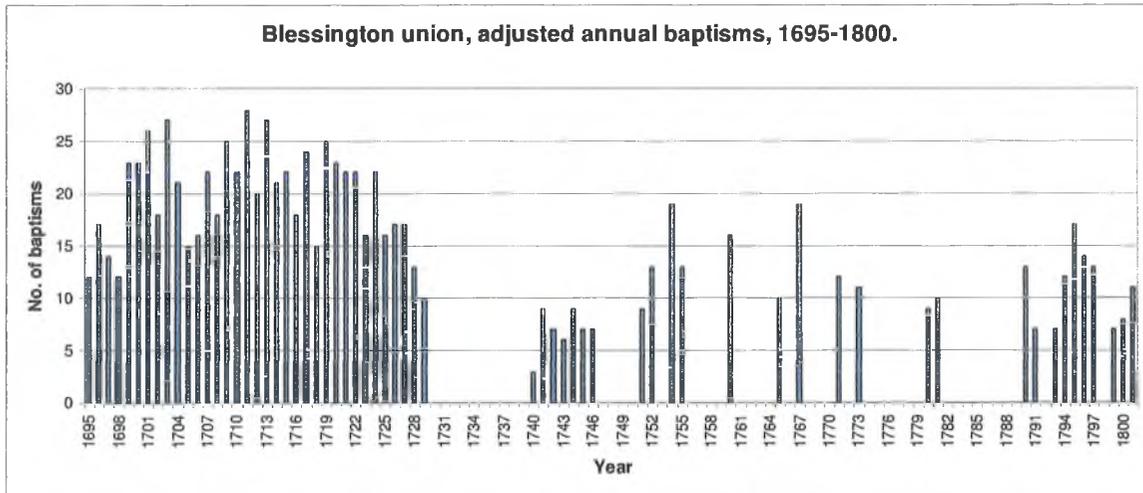


Figure 208 – Blessington union, adjusted annual baptisms and burials totals, with years that are likely to be deficient excluded, and with interpolation rules applied to reduce monthly deficiencies. Changes are highlighted in red (no changes made) (source as in appendix 23).

The baptismal data appears to be good between 1695 and 1729, after which date the quality of the recording deteriorated. Notably any succeeding totals fail to match the mean numbers recorded between 1695 and 1729, although a dispute over Tipperkevin’s involvement with the union, and its subsequent departure about this time may account for this drop.¹¹⁹ Baptisms exceeded twenty-five in a calendar year in 1711 (twenty-eight), 1703 and 1713 (twenty-seven) and 1701 (twenty-six). The burial registers are very poor, although the level of burials in 1751 is significant.

Bray union

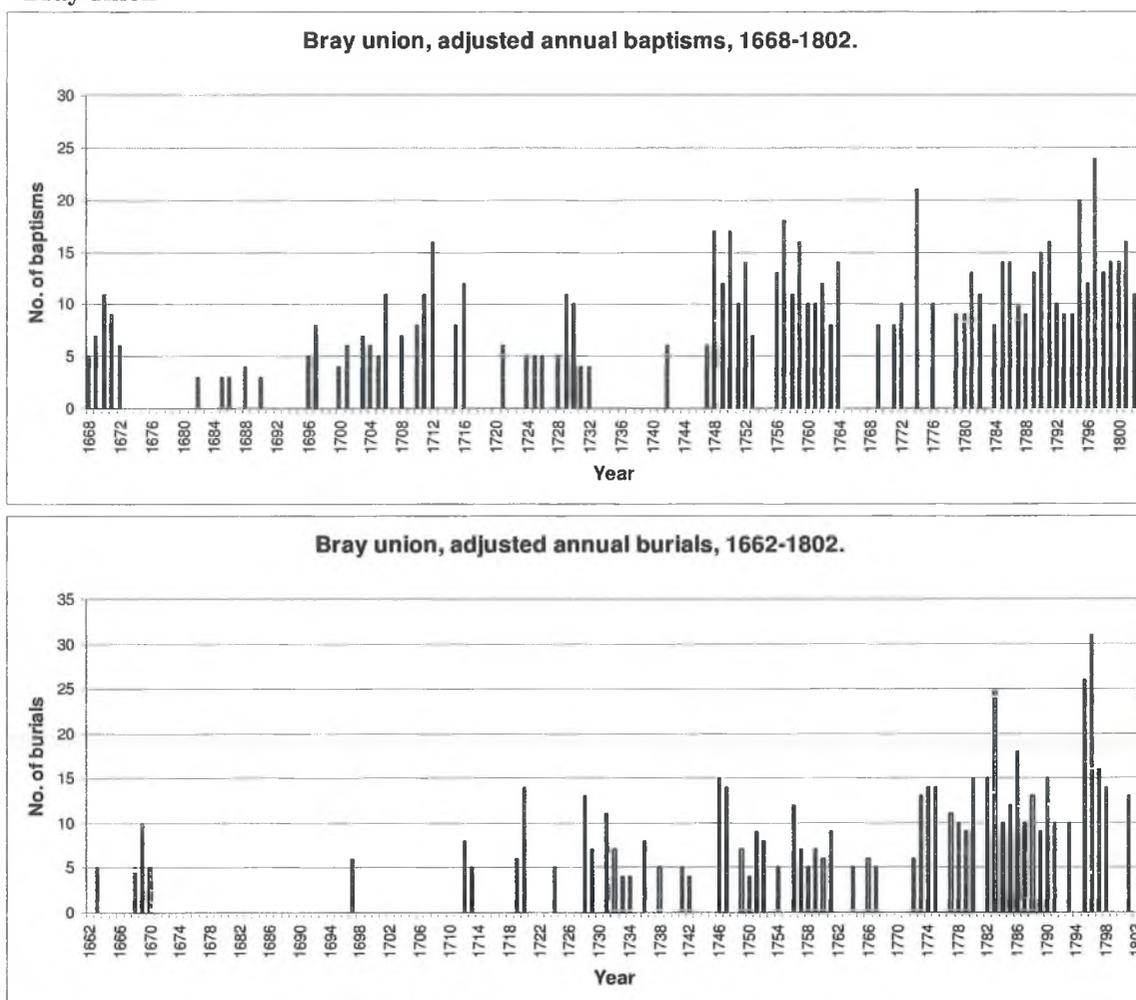


Figure 209 – Bray union, adjusted annual baptisms and burials totals, with years that are likely to be deficient excluded, and with interpolation rules applied to reduce monthly deficiencies. Changes are highlighted in red (no changes made) (source as in appendix 23).

The baptism figures are poor until mid-century, after when the number of years with apparently good figures increases. The number of baptisms only exceeded fifteen in a calendar year once before 1748, but exceeded that figure eight times between 1748 and 1800. Peak figures occurred in 1774 (twenty-one) and 1795 (twenty) and an absolute peak was recorded in 1797 (twenty-four). Similarly, the burial figures are poor until the 1740s, after when there is a marked improvement.

Carlow union

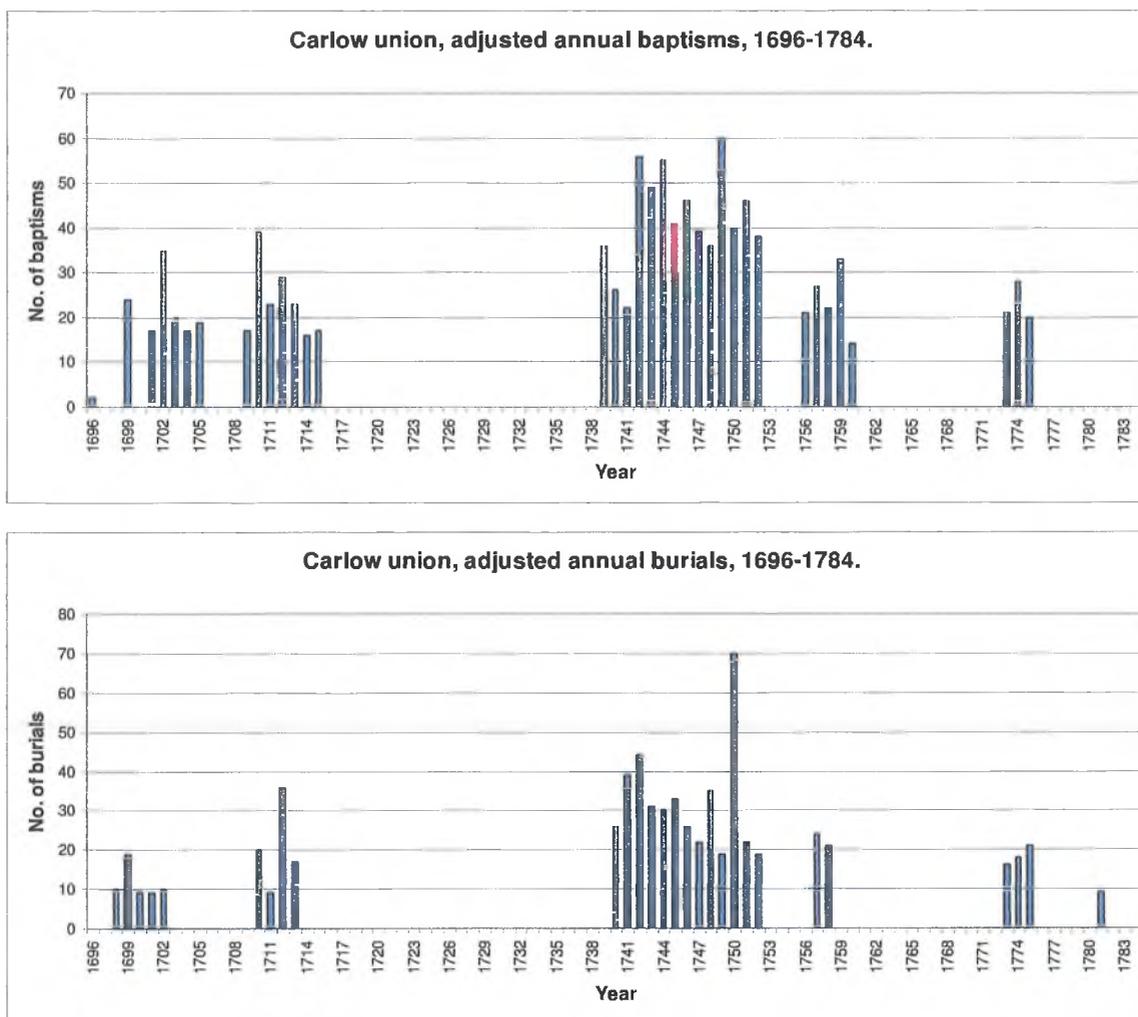


Figure 210 – Carlow union, adjusted annual baptisms and burials totals, with years that are likely to be deficient excluded, and with interpolation rules applied to reduce monthly deficiencies. Changes are highlighted in red (source as in appendix 23).

The Carlow figures are very patchy, effectively falling into two periods, 1699-1715 and 1739-1760. Notwithstanding this, substantial annual aggregates are recorded, particularly during mid-century. More than fifty baptisms occurred during three years of the 1740s (1742 (fifty-six), 1744 (fifty-five) and 1749 (sixty)). The parish's burial statistics are also poor until 1741, when registration improves for a brief period. A huge number (seventy) of burials were recorded during 1750.

Castlemacadam union

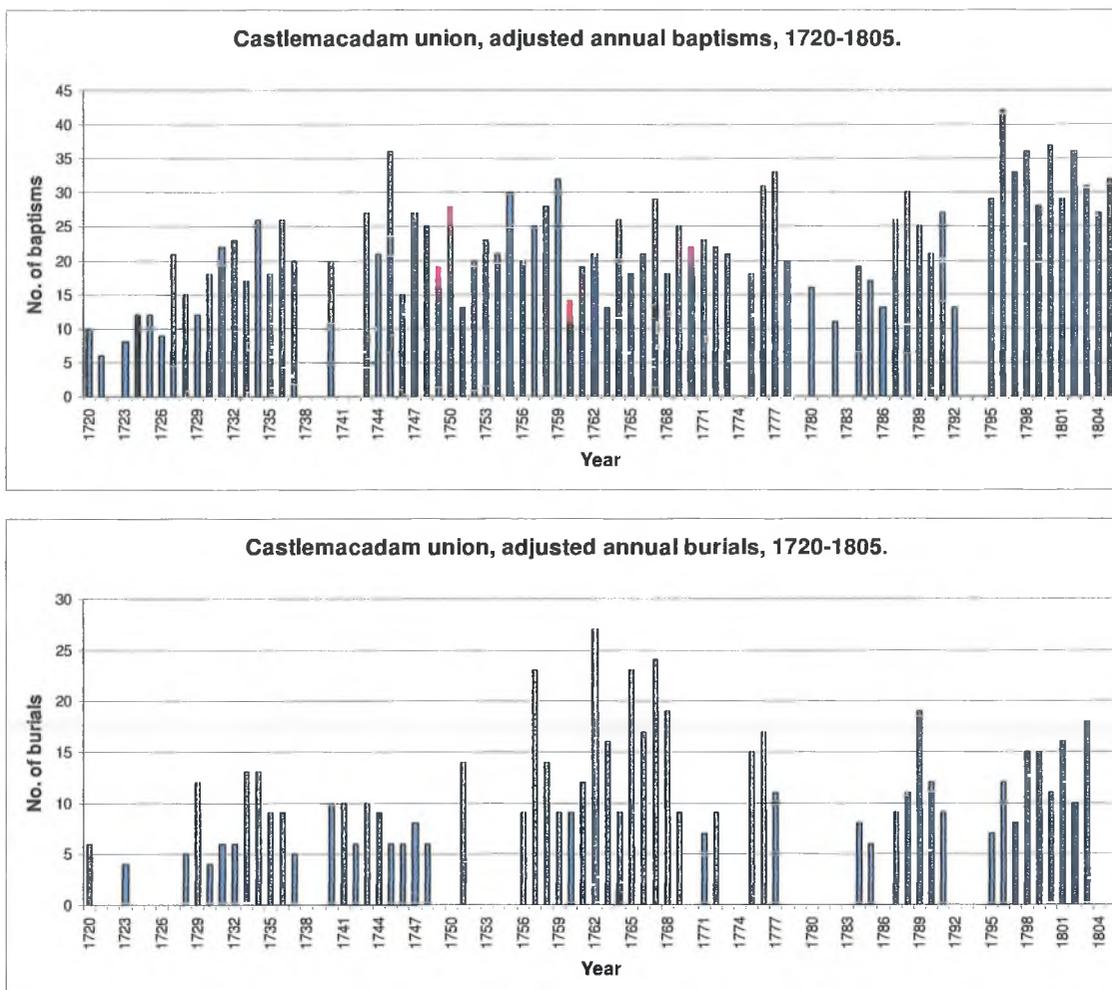


Figure 211 – Castlemacadam union, adjusted annual baptisms and burials totals, with years that are likely to be deficient excluded, and with interpolation rules applied to reduce monthly deficiencies. Changes are highlighted in red (source as in appendix 23).

Castlemacadam’s baptismal registers appear to be particularly good, with only a few deficient years, none of which occur together. Baptism aggregates are highest during the 1790s (forty-two are recorded for 1796), but are high and largely complete from the 1740s onwards. The burial figures also appear to be reasonably good, although there are a number of deficient years. Burial totals were particularly high during some years in the 1750s and 1760s.

Delgany union

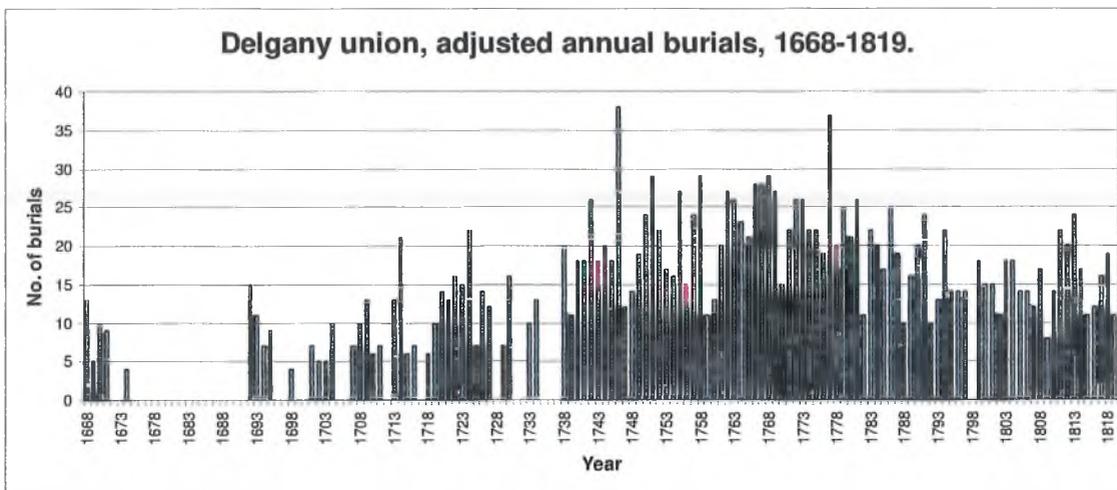
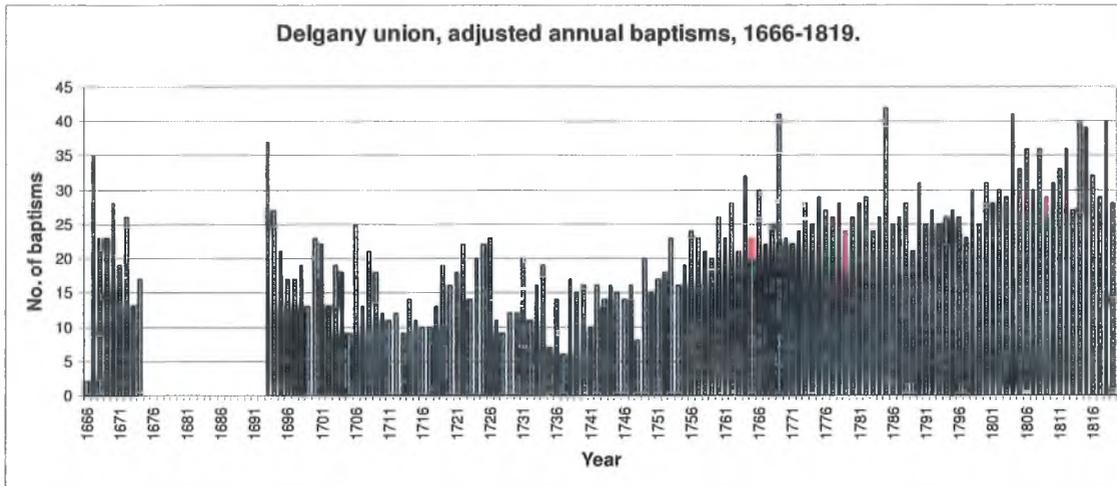


Figure 212 – Delgany union, adjusted annual baptisms and burials totals, with years that are likely to be deficient excluded, and with interpolation rules applied to reduce monthly deficiencies. Changes are highlighted in red (source as in appendix 23).

The baptismal data for Delgany are, with the possible exception of the Wicklow union data, the best in the greater Wicklow area. They contain only one substantial gap; in the late-seventeenth century. The dip in mean figures between about 1700 and 1750s is caused, at least in part, by Newcastle's departure from the union. Forty or more baptisms were recorded in 1769, 1785, 1804, 1814 and 1818, and a significant peak is also evident for 1693. It could be speculated that many of the baptisms in 1693 were likely to have been delayed baptisms, caused by the absence of the rector, Ralph Rule, who briefly fled the country during James II's

reign, but this seems doubtful because Rule returned in 1690, so any delayed baptisms should have been facilitated before 1693.¹²⁰ Notable dips occur in the 1730s and 1740s, which may be indicative of reduced fertility rates during this difficult period. The burial records are also very good, with only the one substantial gap occurring, when Rule was absent. Two notable years of high levels of burials were 1746 and 1777.

Donaghmore parish

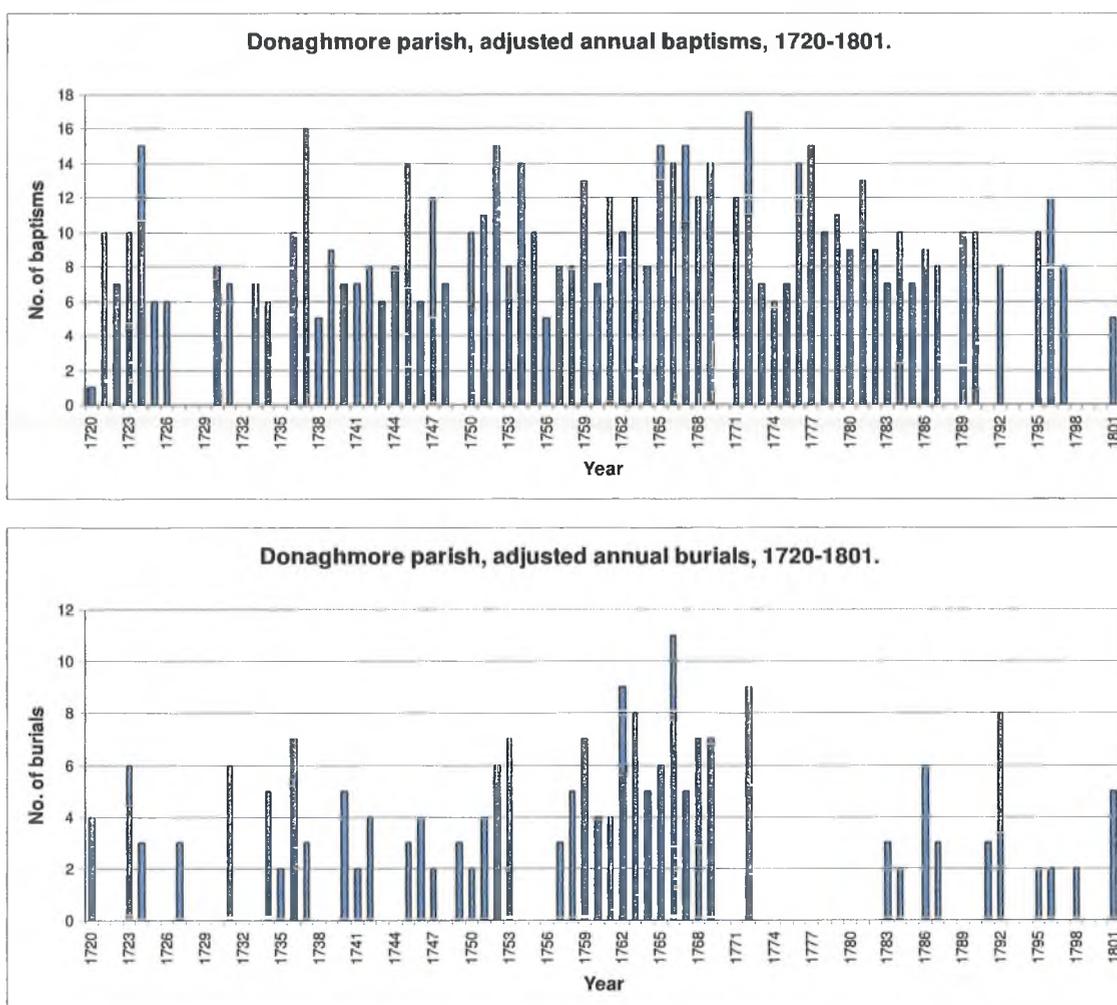


Figure 213 – Donaghmore parish, adjusted annual baptisms and burials totals, with years that are likely to be deficient excluded, and with interpolation rules applied to reduce monthly deficiencies. Changes are highlighted in red (no changes made) (source as in appendix 23).

The baptism data for the extensive parish of Donaghmore, in west Wicklow, are good, with only a handful of deficient years. Being a single parish,

the mean number of baptisms is small, with a maximum peak of only seventeen in 1772. Notably, the mean number of baptisms per year in the early 1740s is particularly low. For burials, the records are patchy, and appear to only have been consistently well-kept during part of the 1750s and 1760s. A burial peak occurred in 1766, but the figures are too low to draw any conclusions from this.

Dunlavin union

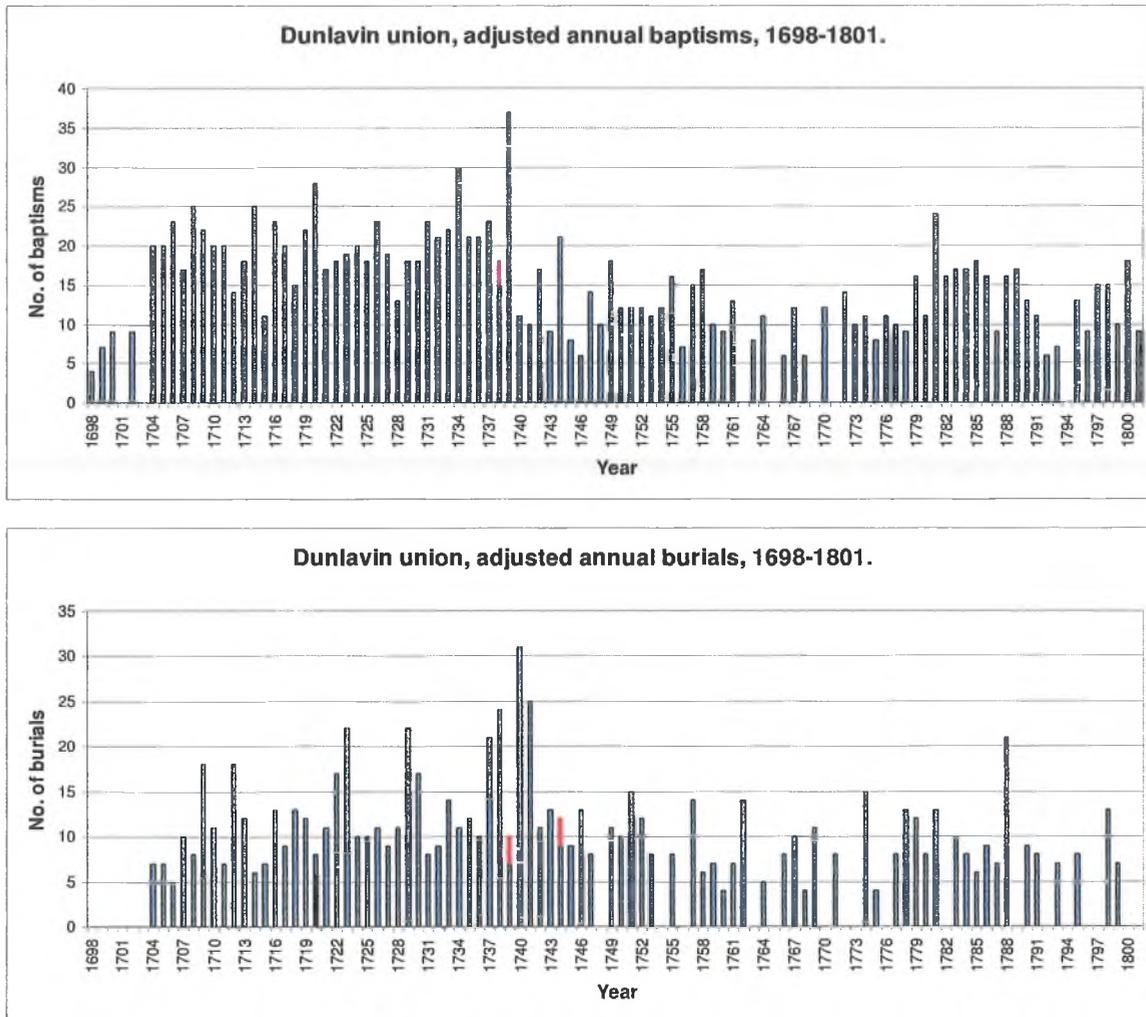


Figure 214 – Dunlavin union, adjusted annual baptisms and burials totals, with years that are likely to be deficient excluded, and with interpolation rules applied to reduce monthly deficiencies. Changes are highlighted in red (source as in appendix 23).

The baptism figures for Dunlavin, in west Wicklow/east Kildare, appear to be very good. The very significant peak in 1739 (thirty-seven) is outstanding, as is the notable drop in baptisms in the latter half of the century relative to the preceding five decades. The burial figures also appear good, although there is a

noticeable drop in the level of burials recorded after the early 1740s. Significantly burial peaks occurred in 1729 and in 1740-1, both of which periods or national subsistence-crises.

Monkstown union

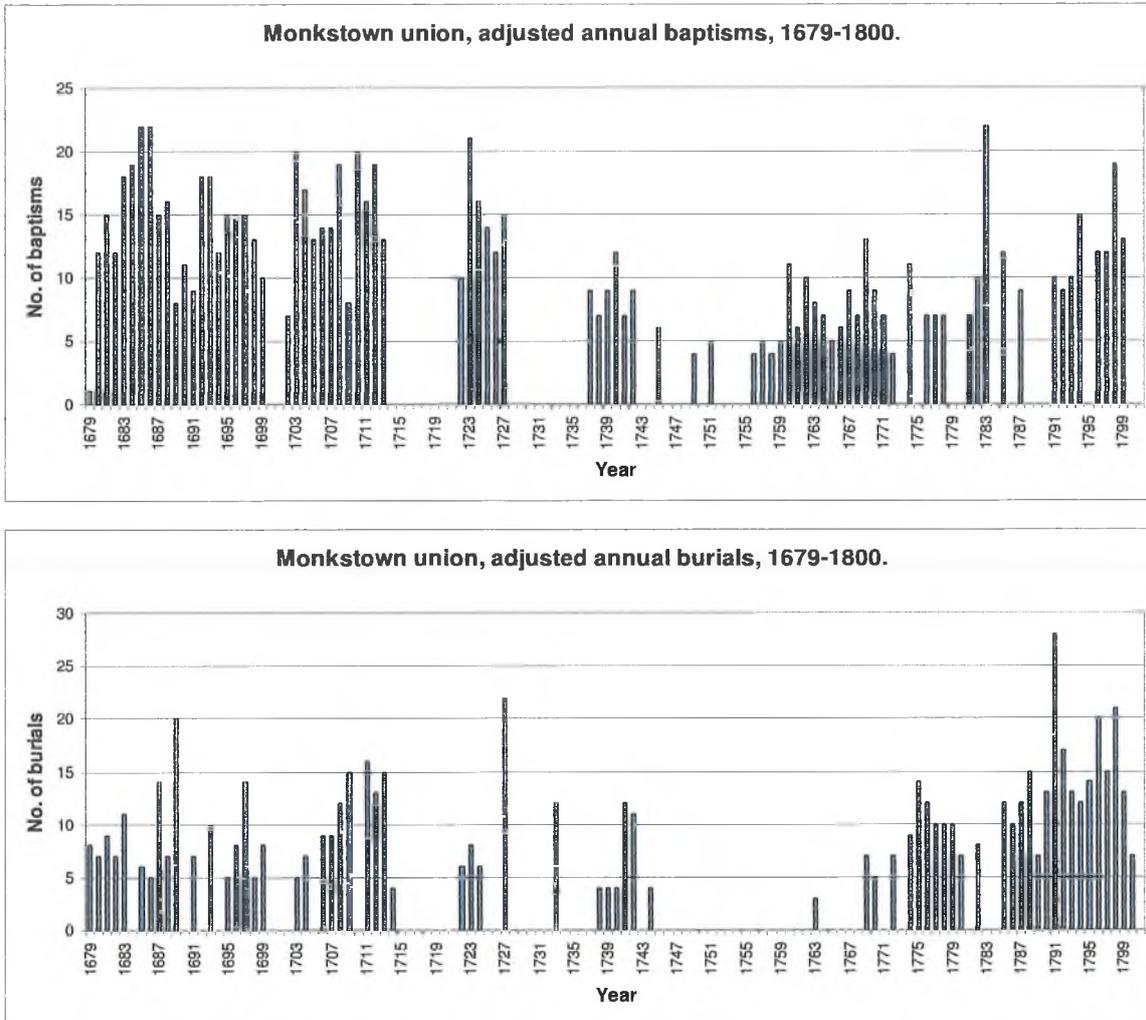


Figure 215 – Monkstown union, adjusted annual baptisms and burials totals, with years that are likely to be deficient excluded, and with interpolation rules applied to reduce monthly deficiencies. Changes are highlighted in red (no changes made) (source as in appendix 23).

The baptism figures appear to be good until 1727, with a substantial gap in the late 1710s/early 1720s, but deteriorate thereafter. The burial figures are substantially worse, appearing reasonable for the late-seventeenth century, but are poor for most of the eighteenth century. Furthermore, difficulty arises from the proximity of the area to Dublin city, because, particularly in the latter half of the

eighteenth century, many burials were of people who had moved to Dublin, but were buried in Monkstown.

Newcastle parish

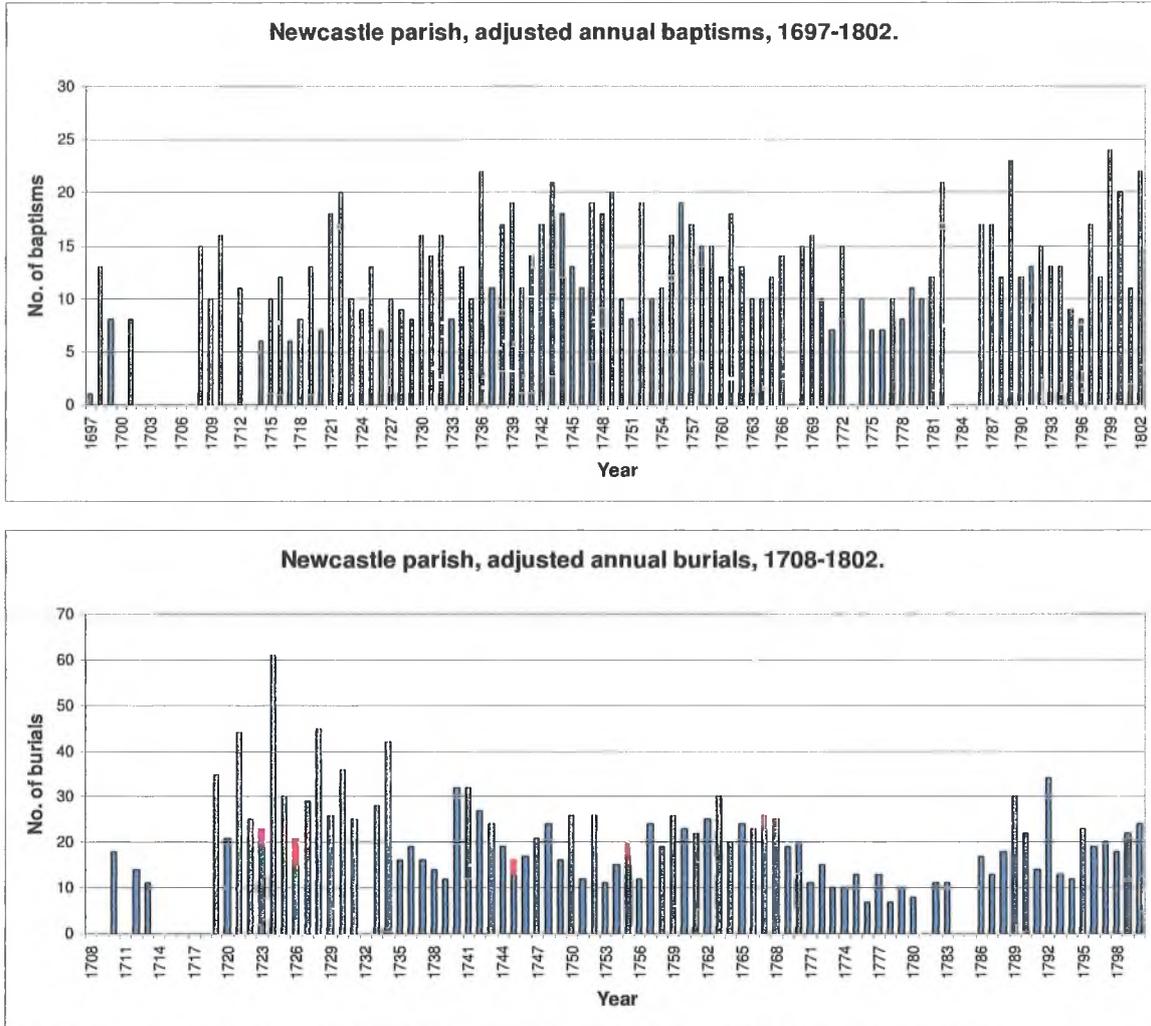


Figure 216 – Newcastle parish, adjusted annual baptisms and burials totals, with years that are likely to be deficient excluded, and with interpolation rules applied to reduce monthly deficiencies. Changes are highlighted in red (source as in appendix 23).

Part of the Delgany union prior to 1697, the Newcastle baptismal figures display just one substantial gap in recording. The figures appear good, and surprisingly show an increase in the mean number of baptisms in the 1740s. Although Newcastle was established as an independent parish in 1697, the earliest surviving burial entries date from 1707. The figures appear to be reasonably good, and a huge burial peak was recorded in 1724, and another significant peak in

1728. After the 1720s mean burials fall to a lower level, but drift back upwards during the 1760s.

Powerscourt parish

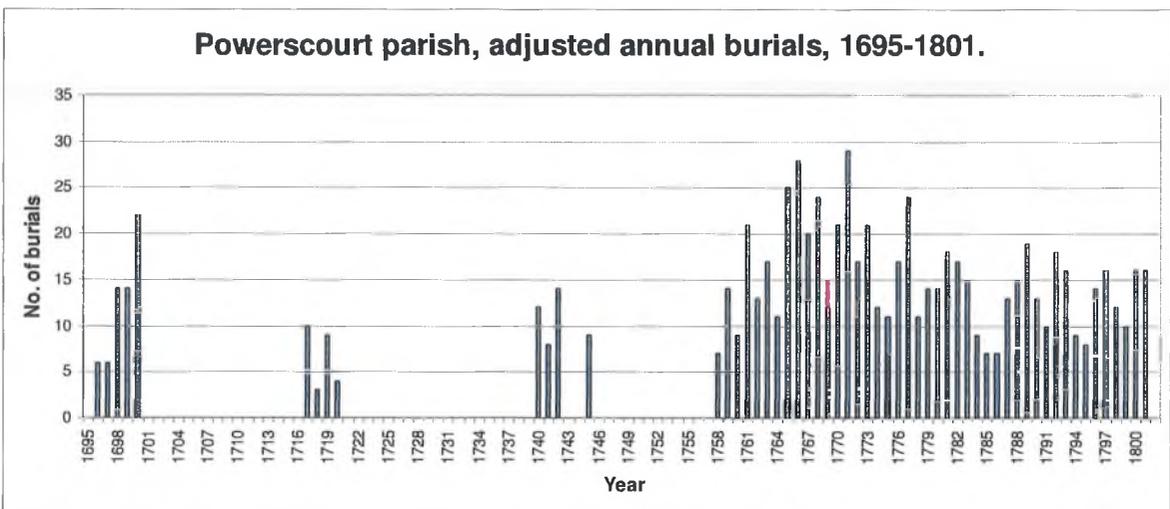
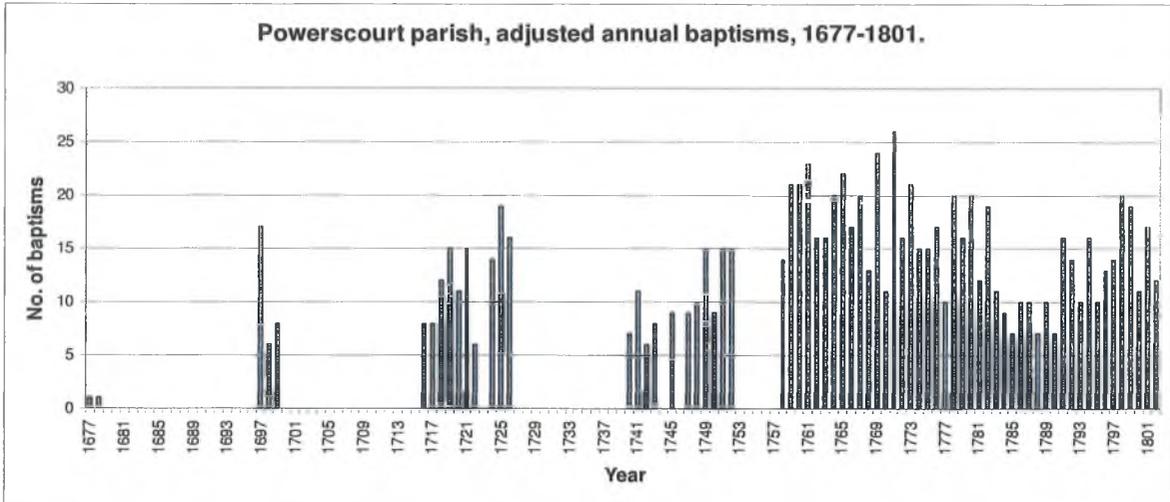


Figure 217 – Powerscourt parish, adjusted annual baptisms and burials totals, with years that are likely to be deficient excluded, and with interpolation rules applied to reduce monthly deficiencies. Changes are highlighted in red (source as in appendix 23).

The baptismal data is poor before the 1740s, with the exception of the late-1710/early 1720s period, but improves from the 1740s onwards. The highest number of baptisms recorded was for 1771 (twenty-six). The burial data is very poor, for the early years of registration, only improving from the late-1750s. Burial peaks were experienced in 1766 and 1771.

Rathdrum union

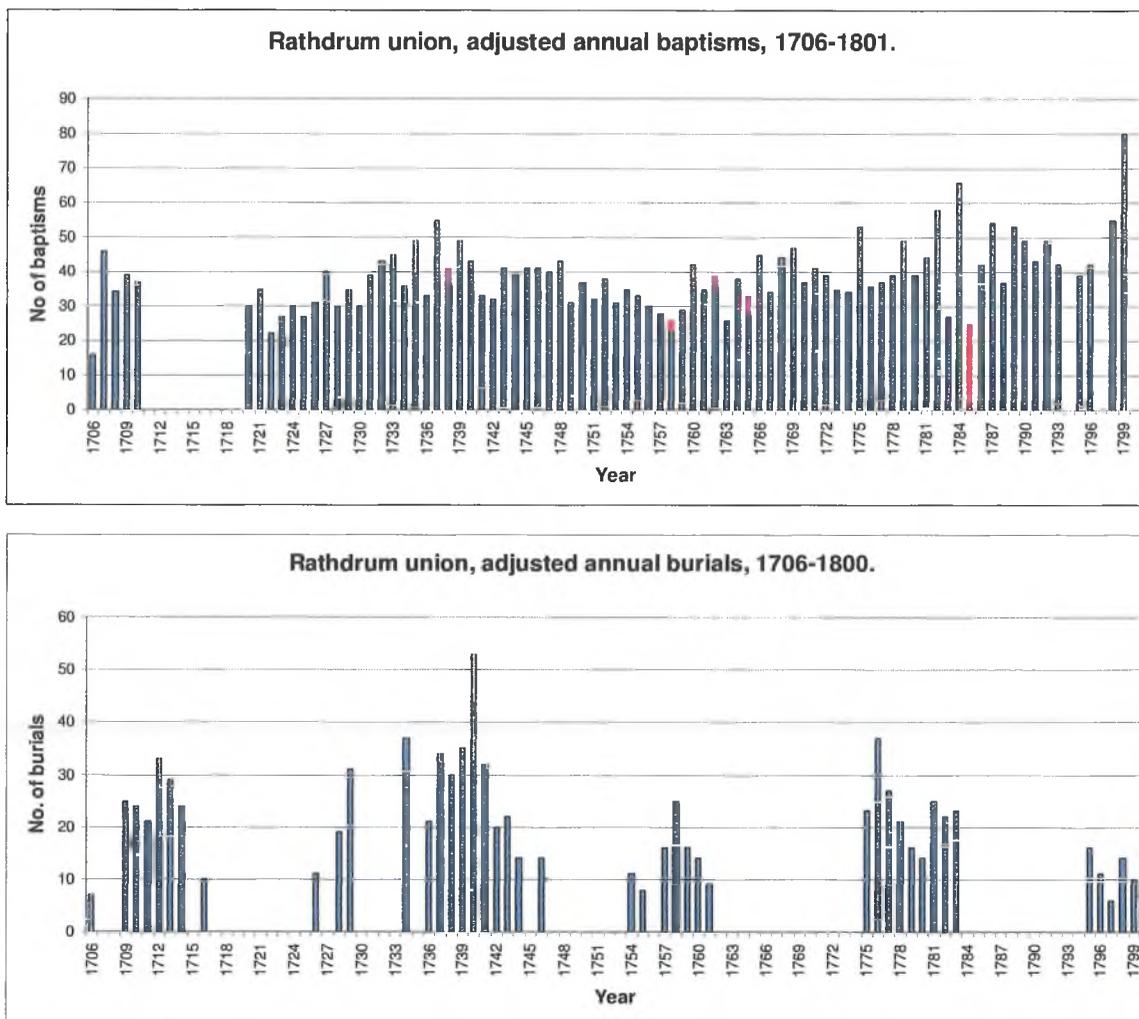


Figure 218 – Rathdrum union, adjusted annual baptisms and burials totals, with years that are likely to be deficient excluded, and with interpolation rules applied to reduce monthly deficiencies. Changes are highlighted in red (source as in appendix 23).

The Rathdrum baptismal data appears exceptionally good. The huge baptismal peak in 1800 is directly related to the troubles in the area two years previously. With substantial numbers of troops stationed in the area, a large increase in marriages, mostly involving soldiers, was recorded in 1799 and this baptismal peak is the consequence of the increased nuptiality. In essence this is a real example of the theoretical positive correlation between nuptiality and fertility that was indicated in the Malthusian population model (figure 24). Other significant features include the substantial baptismal peak in 1737 (fifty-five), which was followed by a general decrease in the mean number of baptisms in the

early 1740s, and an apparent decrease in baptisms in the 1760s. The burial data are disappointing, however, particularly in the light of the exceptional quality of the recording of that union's baptisms. Significantly, however, a very pronounced burial peak is evident for the famine year of 1740.

Tullow union

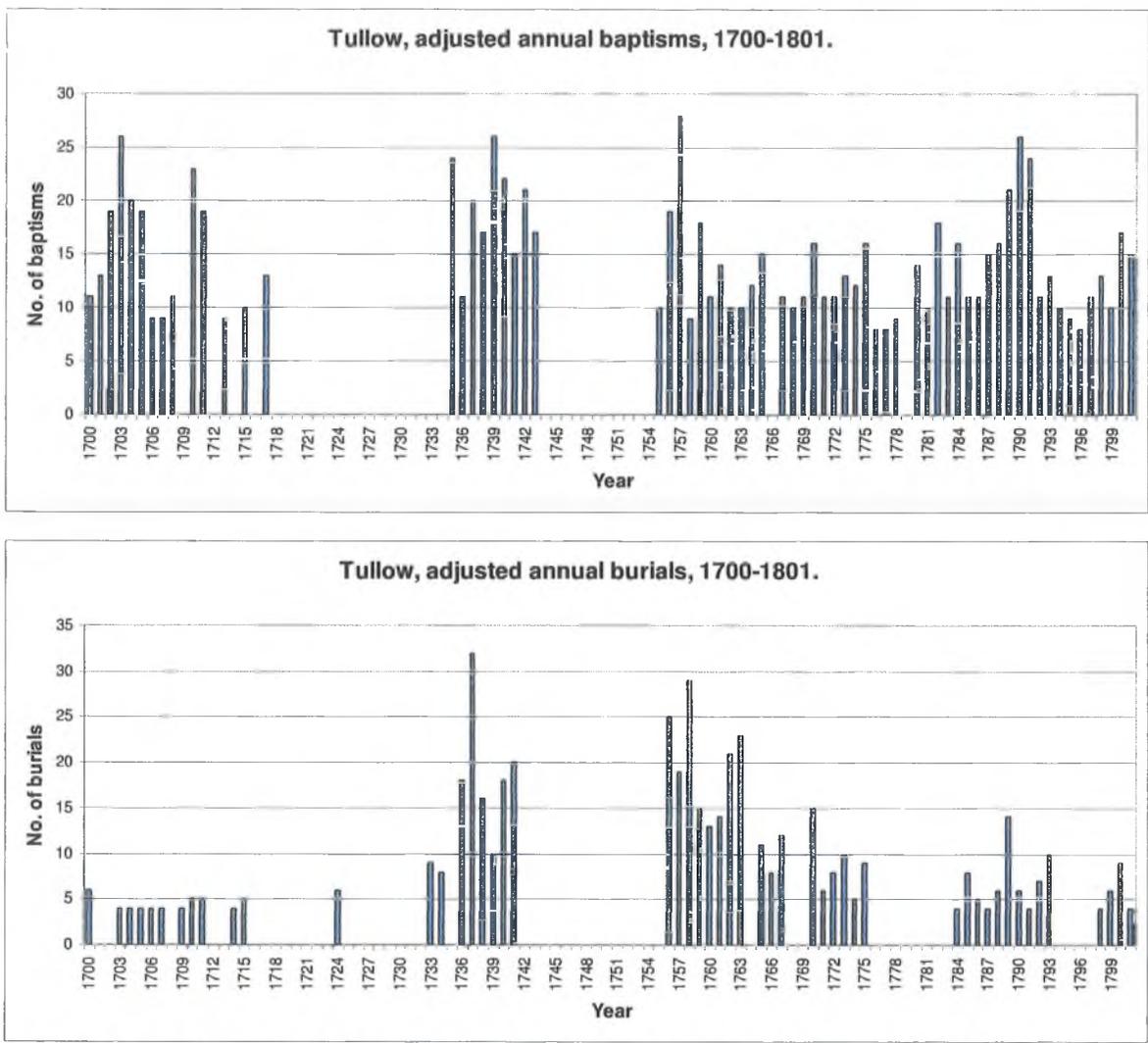


Figure 219 – Tullow union, adjusted annual baptisms and burials totals, with years that are likely to be deficient excluded, and with interpolation rules applied to reduce monthly deficiencies. Changes are highlighted in red (no changes made) (source as in appendix 23).

Tullow's baptismal data are patchy. The recording appears to improve in the latter half of the eighteenth century, but is of limited use between about 1720 and 1755, although the apparently good recording between 1735 and 1743 is notable. The burial data is also poor, although significant burial peaks are evident in 1737 and in the late 1750s. Burials also dipped in 1739, and rose again in 1740 and 1741.

Wicklow union

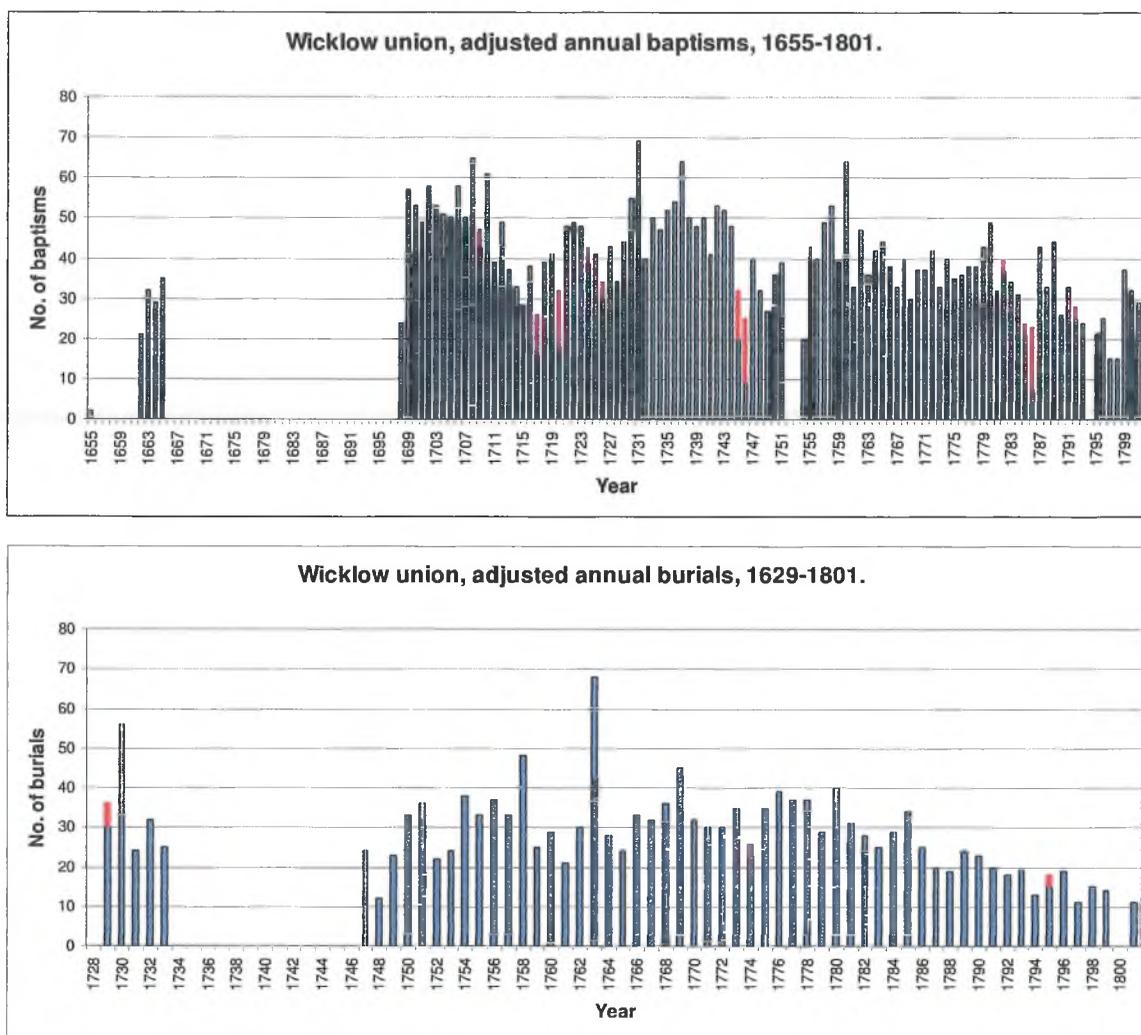


Figure 220 – Wicklow union, adjusted annual baptisms and burials totals, with years that are likely to be deficient excluded, and with interpolation rules applied to reduce monthly deficiencies. Changes are highlighted in red (source as in appendix 23).

The baptismal data for the union of Wicklow is extremely good for the eighteenth century, and exhibits some familiar characteristics. As with Rathdrum, a peak in 1737 is quickly followed by a drop in the mean number of baptisms in the early 1740s. The number of baptisms also appears to fall off in the 1760s, which is also a feature in many other parishes. The burial data for Wicklow is also extremely good for much of the eighteenth century, but unfortunately commences too late to provide much information on the famine of the late 1720s and a gap in registration also obscures the subsistence crisis of the early 1740s. From the surviving data, a significant peak in burials occurred in 1763, and other, smaller peaks in 1730, 1758 and 1769.

Appendix 26 – Filling in ‘isolated’ gaps.

In many cases (figures 206 – 220) parish aggregate baptismal data appears to be good, but is occasionally punctuated by years for which either no data was recorded or the data was deemed to be deficient. If the deficient year is viewed as a bridging-year between the period immediately preceding it and the subsequent immediate period, then it is arguable that the deficient year probably reflects in part the trends of the immediately preceding period and in part the trends of the immediately succeeding period. This makes sense, since the deficient year is the linking period between ‘what occurred before’ (the preceding period) and ‘what occurred afterwards’ (the succeeding period). It is, therefore, proposed that for isolated gaps in the data, the CQM of the deficient year can be assumed to be a realistic estimate for the number of baptisms for the missing year. Thus, if the data for 1700 is deficient, but the data for 1695-9 and 1701-5 has been accepted then the mean number of baptisms for the years 1695-9 and 1701-5 will be assumed for 1700.

In practice, rather than adopt the rigid rule that a deficient year must be preceded by and followed by five ‘good years’, it has been deemed tolerable that one deficient year can fall within the ten-year period that is used to determine the estimate. Thus, if 1700 is deficient, then one other deficient year within the periods 1695-9 and 1701-5 will be accepted (the mean for 1700 will then be the mean of nine rather than ten years) but if more than one years are deficient within these periods then an estimate will not be generated. This process is only performed for the baptismal data, since burial levels are typically subject to more significant fluctuations, depending on contemporary circumstances.

Appendix 27 – Verifying the ‘isolated gaps’ procedure.

Among the best parish baptismal data for Wicklow are the series for Delgany, Wicklow and Rathdrum. In order to test the ‘isolated gaps’ methodology outlined in appendix 26, the isolated-gaps estimate was calculated for all years for which the process can be performed for these three parishes, and to compare the estimated results with the actual number of baptisms recorded. This will give some indication as to how accurate the process (appendix 26) is likely to be. Thus, for example, for the year 1720, the CQM (mean of the number of baptisms recorded in the years 1715-9 and 1721-5) can be calculated and compared with the actual figure that was recorded for that year. As will be seen, although the process is not foolproof, in most cases the estimated figure differs from the actual figure by less than 20 per cent. Since the annual number of baptisms for most parishes in the county is typically between 20 and 50, then it is statistically unlikely that most estimates using this process are significantly (no more than between 5 and 10) inaccurate.

Table 102 shows the estimated number of baptisms compared with the actual numbers recorded, table 103 shows a summary of the results and a visual of the data is shown in figure 221. The greatest deviation between estimated numbers and actual numbers of baptisms is with Delgany, but even for this parish the vast majority of estimates approximate to the actual number of recorded baptisms. In only five instances (out of a total of 218), all of which were for Delgany, was the discrepancy greater than 60 per cent.

Table 102 – Estimated number of baptisms (using CQM for each year) compared with the actual number. For instance, for Delgany in 1698, the estimated number of baptisms is the mean of the numbers recorded in the 1693-7 and 1699-1703 periods (i.e. the CQM for 1698).

Year	Delgany			Wicklow			Rathdrum		
	No. baps	Est. val.	Diff.	No. baps	Est. val.	Diff.	No. baps	Est. val.	Diff.
1693	37								
1694	27								
1695	21								
1696	17								
1697	17								
1698	19	20.9	-1.9	27					
1699	13	19.6	-6.6	57					

Year	Delgany			Wicklow			Rathdrum		
	No. baps	Est. val.	Diff.	No. baps	Est. val.	Diff.	No. baps	Est. val.	Diff.
1700	23	16.8	6.2	53					
1701	22	17.3	4.7	49					
1702	13	17.8	-4.8	58					
1703	19	17.6	1.4	53	51.8	1.2			
1704	18	17.6	0.4	51	54	-3			
1705	9	18.4	-9.4	50	54.5	-4.5			
1706	25	15.6	9.4	58	52.3	5.7	16		
1707	13	15.8	-2.8	50	53.1	-3.1	46		
1708	21	14.6	6.4	65	49.9	15.1	34		
1709	18	14.4	3.6	47	50.4	-3.4	39		
1710	12	14.3	-2.3	61	46.7	14.3	37		
1711	11	14.5	-3.5	39	48.2	-9.2			
1712	12	12.9	-0.9	49					
1713	9	13.2	-4.2	41					
1714	14	12.5	1.5	40					
1715	11	12.6	-1.6	28					
1716	10	13.3	-3.3	43					
1717	10	14.4	-4.4						
1718	13	14.3	-1.3	39					
1719	19	14.8	4.2	41					
1720	16	15.9	0.1				30		
1721	18	16.9	1.1	48			35		
1722	22	16.6	5.4	49			22		
1723	14	17.3	-3.3	48			30		
1724	20	16.6	3.4	46			30		
1725	22	15.7	6.3	41			27	31.3	-4.3
1726	23	16	7	34	48.3	-14.3	31	32.1	-1.1
1727	11	16.5	-5.5	43	46.6	-3.6	40	32	8
1728	9	16.1	-7.1	34	47.6	-13.6	30	35.3	-5.3
1729	12	16.3	-4.3	50	45.9	4.1	35	35.7	-0.7
1730	12	15	-3	55	46	9	30	38.1	-8.1
1731	20	13.4	6.6	69	45.9	23.1	42	37.5	4.5
1732	11	12.6	-1.6	40	51.8	-11.8	43	39.8	3.2
1733	16	12.7	3.3	50	51.5	-1.5	45	39.7	5.3
1734	19	13	6	47	53.2	-6.2	39	42.2	-3.2
1735	7	14.6	-7.6	52	52.7	-0.7	49	42	7
1736	14	13.7	0.3	54	51.1	2.9	33	43.9	-10.9
1737	6	14.1	-8.1	64	48.5	15.5	55	40.7	14.3
1738	17	13.3	3.7	50	51.1	-1.1	41	42.2	-1.2
1739	15	13.5	1.5	48	51.1	-3.1	49	40.8	8.2
1740	16	13	3	50	49.5	0.5	43	41.6	1.4
1741	10	14.3	-4.3	41			33	42.2	-9.2
1742	16	13.9	2.1	53			32	43	-11
1743	14	14.3	-0.3	52			44	41	3
1744	16	14.4	1.6	48			39	40.5	-1.5
1745	15	14.5	0.5	33			41	39.1	1.9
1746	14	14.7	-0.7				45	37.6	7.4
1747	16	15.3	0.7	40			40	38.6	1.4
1748	8	16.8	-8.8	32			47	37.8	9.2
1749	20	15.8	4.2	27			31	38.5	-7.5
1750	15	16.6	-1.6	36			37	37.3	-0.3
1751	17	17.3	-0.3	39			32	36.7	-4.7
1752	18	18.1	-0.1				38	34.4	3.6
1753	23	18.1	4.9				31	33.4	-2.4
1754	16	20	-4	20			35	31.2	3.8

Year	Delgany			Wicklow			Rathdrum		
	No. baps	Est. val.	Diff.	No. baps	Est. val.	Diff.	No. baps	Est. val.	Diff.
1755	19	20.3	-1.3	43			33	32.5	0.5
1756	24	20.6	3.4	40			30	32.6	-2.6
1757	23	21.8	1.2	49			28	33.2	-5.2
1758	21	22.3	-1.3	53			23	32.5	-9.5
1759	20	23.3	-3.3	39	42.7	-3.7	29	33	-4
1760	26	23.4	2.6	64	42.6	21.4	42	31.5	10.5
1761	23	24.8	-1.8	33	45.2	-12.2	35	33.4	1.6
1762	28	24.1	3.9	47	43.5	3.5	36	33.7	2.3
1763	21	25	-4	36	43.7	-7.7	26	36.3	-10.3
1764	32	25.9	6.1	42	41.6	0.4	42	37.1	4.9
1765	23	27.1	-4.1	44	41.2	2.8	33	38.8	-5.8
1766	30	26	4	38	39.1	-1.1	45	37.5	7.5
1767	22	26.9	-4.9	37	40.1	-3.1	34	39	-5
1768	25	26.6	-1.6	40	38.4	1.6	44	37.9	6.1
1769	41	25.4	15.6	38	39	-1	47	39.1	7.9
1770	23	26.9	-3.9	37	38.8	-1.8	37	41.2	-4.2
1771	22	27.4	-5.4	37	38	-1	41	41.5	-0.5
1772	24	26.8	-2.8	42	37.5	4.5	39	41.3	-2.3
1773	28	27	1	33	38.5	-5.5	35	42.2	-7.2
1774	25	26.9	-1.9	40	38.1	1.9	41	42.1	-1.1
1775	29	24.9	4.1	39	39.3	-0.3	53	40.1	12.9
1776	27	25.6	1.4	36	39.1	-3.1	40	42.1	-2.1
1777	26	26.4	-0.4	38	39.2	-1.2	41	43.7	-2.7
1778	28	26.2	1.8	38	38.4	-0.4	39	42.7	-3.7
1779	21	27	-6	43	37.7	5.3	49	44.8	4.2
1780	25	28.3	-3.3	49	35.2	13.8	39		
1781	28	27.4	0.6	32			44		
1782	29	27.2	1.8	40			58		
1783	24	27.9	-3.9	34			27		
1784	29	26.6	2.4	31			66		
1785	42	26.2	15.8	21					
1786	23	28.1	-5.1				42		
1787	26	27.4	-1.4	43			54		
1788	28	26.6	1.4	33			37		
1789	20	27.6	-7.6	44			53		
1790	30	26.4	3.6	26			49		
1791	25	25.3	-0.3	33			43		
1792	24	25.4	-1.4	28			49		
1793	23	25.9	-2.9	24			42		
1794	26	24.7	1.3						
1795	27	25.7	1.3	21			39		
1796	26	25.6	0.4	25			42		
1797	23	26.7	-3.7	15					
1798	30	26.5	3.5	15			55		
1799	19	29.4	-10.4	37			80		
1800	31	28.7	2.3	32					
1801	28	29.9	-1.9	29					
1802	33	29.8	3.2						
1803	29	31.5	-2.5						
1804	41	29.9	11.1						
1805	31	32.4	-1.4						
1806	36	32.1	3.9						
1807	30	33.5	-3.5						
1808	36	32.3	3.7						
1809	26	34.4	-8.4						

Year	Delgany			Wicklow			Rathdrum		
	No. baps	Est. val.	Diff.	No. baps	Est. val.	Diff.	No. baps	Est. val.	Diff.
1810	34	33.4	0.6						
1811	33	33.6	-0.6						
1812	36	32.6	3.4						
1813	27	34.5	-7.5						
1814	40	32.4	7.6						
1815	39								
1816	32								
1817	29								
1818	40								
1819	28								

Table 103 – Summary of the above tabular data.

Estimate under/overestimating by	Delgany	Wicklow	Rathdrum
0-10 %	38.5%	63.0%	43.6%
10-20 %	24.8%	10.9%	36.4%
20-30 %	16.2%	15.2%	12.7%
30-40 %	11.1%	8.7%	5.5%
40-50 %	3.4%	2.2%	1.8%
50-60 %	1.7%	0.0%	0.0%
60+ %	4.3%	0.0%	0.0%

Note: for Delgany, for instance, 38.5 per cent of the estimate values were within 10 per cent of the actual number of baptisms recorded in the registers.

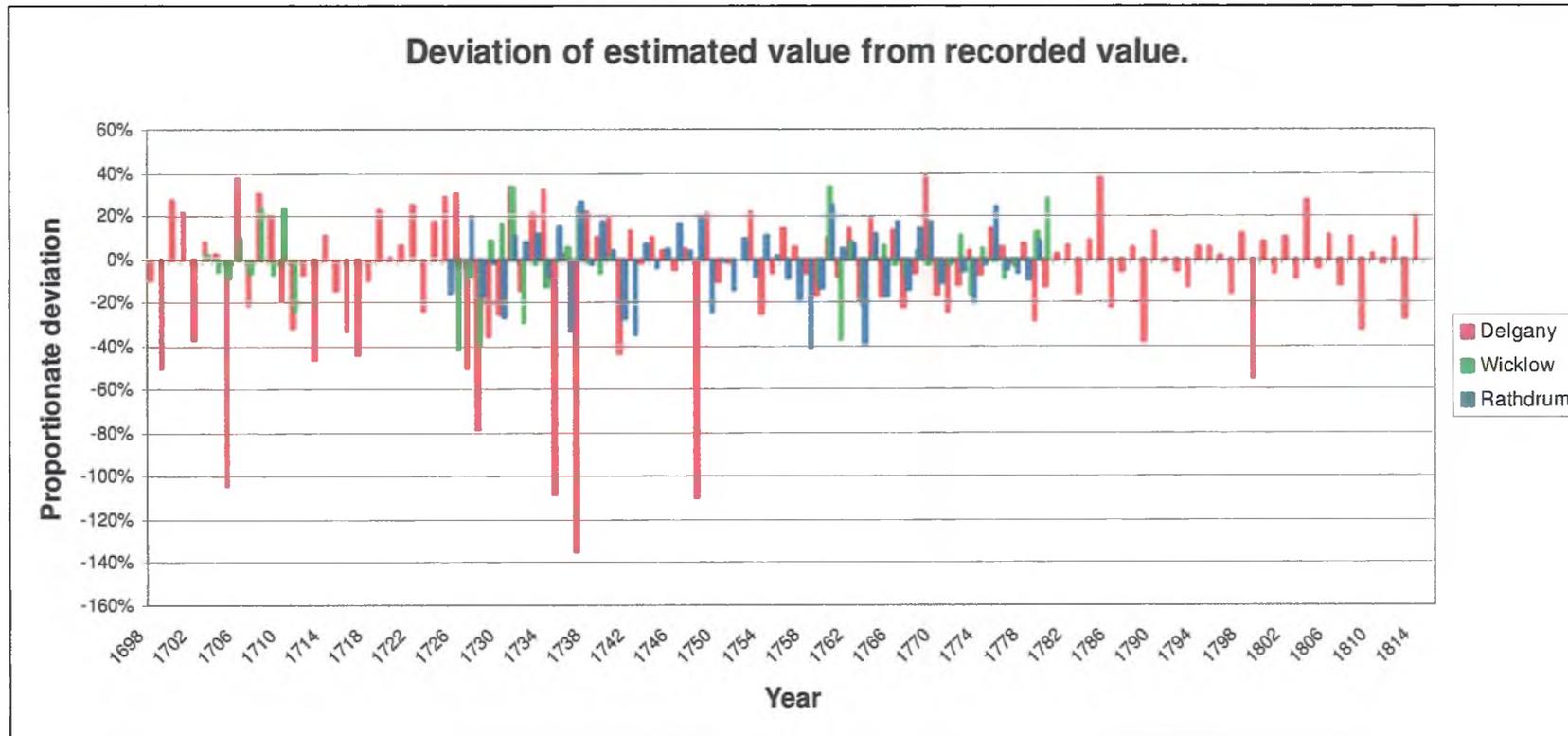


Figure 221 – Deviation of CQM baptisms from the actual number of baptisms recorded for Delgany, Wicklow and Rathdrum.

Appendix 28 – Comparing actual baptism and burial levels with the PDMi means.

It is useful to consider how the level of baptisms and burials compares with levels in the recent past, as this can give an indication of the general trends that are occurring within a community's fertility and mortality levels. In the tables below, the annual aggregates of baptisms and burials, per region, have been compared with the PDMi means for each year. The data is presented per quinquennium and per decade.

As has been explained in the text (chapter three), since all parish registers contain gaps, the determination of fertility-level or mortality-level trends for regions is often reflective of only part of a region rather than of the entire region. This is because, it has been deemed appropriate, and necessary, to use all the available figures that are available for a particular year, rather than requiring that data be available for an entire region before determining fertility-level or mortality-level trends. Thus, if data is only available for some parishes, then only the PDMi and actual baptism totals for those parishes have been summed, and the resultant statistic for a region is determined only by those parishes. Although the trends during any one year may not be determined by the dataset for the entire region, they can be viewed as guideline figures, from which the full-regional statistics, if they had been calculable, probably would not have deviated greatly.

Fertility-level trends

Table 104 – Comparison between actual number of baptisms (aggregate) recorded and PDMi means (aggregate) for quinquennial periods.

Quin.	East			Midlands			North-east			South-west			West			County		
	Ag.	PDMi ag.	% diff.	Ag.	PDMi ag.	% diff.	Ag.	PDMi ag.	% diff.	Ag.	PDMi ag.	% diff.	Ag.	PDMi ag.	% diff.	Ag.	PDMi ag.	% diff.
1655-9	2	2.0	0.0	0	0.0		0	0.0		0	0.0		0	0.0		2	2.0	0.0
1660-4	82	68.0	20.6	0	0.0		0	0.0		0	0.0		0	0.0		82	68.0	20.6
1665-9	35	29.3	19.7	0	0.0		95	72.3	31.5	0	0.0		30	30.0	0.0	160	131.5	21.7
1670-4	0	0.0		0	0.0		129	131.2	-1.7	0	0.0		155	148.1	4.7	284	279.3	1.7
1675-9	0	0.0		0	0.0		3	3.0	0.0	0	0.0		151	131.2	15.1	154	134.2	14.7
1680-4	0	0.0		0	0.0		79	53.3	48.3	0	0.0		36	35.6	1.1	115	88.9	29.4
1685-9	0	0.0		0	0.0		93	84.7	9.8	0	0.0		0	0.0		93	84.7	9.8
1690-4	0	0.0		0	0.0		135	149.9	-9.9	0	0.0		0	0.0		135	149.9	-9.9
1695-9	81	64.5	25.6	0	0.0		221	254.2	-13.1	26	15.0	73.3	89	79.7	11.7	417	413.4	0.9
1700-4	264	236.9	11.4	0	0.0		198	201.7	-1.9	277	230.4	20.2	199	155.9	27.6	938	824.9	13.7
1705-9	270	257.8	4.7	135	112.8	19.7	211	204.8	3.0	237	279.8	-15.3	397	363.2	9.3	1,250	1,218.4	2.6
1710-4	219	259.3	-15.5	37	34.4	7.6	204	211.8	-3.7	243	241.4	0.7	380	389.7	-2.5	1,083	1,136.6	-4.7
1715-9	172	212.5	-19.1	0	0.0		174	173.9	0.1	132	120.5	9.5	320	363.6	-12.0	798	870.5	-8.3
1720-4	256	222.8	14.9	144	148.8	-3.2	274	239.1	14.6	86	82.6	4.1	376	363.8	3.4	1,136	1,057.1	7.5
1725-9	265	258.8	2.4	163	148.5	9.7	231	241.8	-4.5	63	80.0	-21.3	331	351.4	-5.8	1,053	1,080.6	-2.6
1730-4	367	301.7	21.6	193	165.6	16.5	163	155.5	4.8	53	57.3	-7.5	268	268.6	-0.2	1,044	948.7	10.0
1735-9	332	309.5	7.3	227	197.9	14.7	163	156.6	4.1	147	146.6	0.3	279	271.5	2.7	1,148	1,082.2	6.1
1740-4	312	321.5	-3.0	188	210.3	-10.6	228	214.3	6.4	379	324.4	16.8	281	293.3	-4.2	1,388	1,363.8	1.8
1745-9	278	342.2	-18.8	196	200.8	-2.4	252	236.7	6.5	257	242.9	5.8	230	261.2	-11.9	1,213	1,283.8	-5.5
1750-4	274	298.2	-8.1	173	188.0	-8.0	252	249.0	1.2	274	305.5	-10.3	235	248.6	-5.5	1,208	1,289.3	-6.3
1755-9	359	295.9	21.3	146	168.9	-13.6	313	274.1	14.2	312	355.0	-12.1	199	204.2	-2.5	1,329	1,298.2	2.4
1760-4	315	327.4	-3.8	180	162.8	10.6	385	368.8	4.4	214	212.6	0.7	168	180.1	-6.7	1,262	1,251.7	0.8
1765-9	296	321.3	-7.9	203	176.2	15.2	354	333.9	6.0	128	118.9	7.7	176	177.7	-1.0	1,157	1,128.1	2.6
1770-4	301	298.6	0.8	186	192.8	-3.5	342	357.6	-4.3	112	105.7	6.0	134	139.2	-3.7	1,075	1,093.8	-1.7
1775-9	292	277.3	5.3	214	201.0	6.5	295	320.8	-8.0	73	81.9	-10.9	121	119.4	1.3	995	1,000.4	-0.5
1780-4	271	301.8	-10.2	234	209.5	11.7	367	349.3	5.1	117	100.9	16.0	290	248.4	16.7	1,279	1,209.9	5.7
1785-9	278	273.7	1.6	211	217.5	-3.0	352	349.7	0.7	128	107.0	19.6	256	255.0	0.4	1,225	1,203.0	1.8
1790-4	255	266.0	-4.1	233	225.8	3.2	366	373.1	-1.9	148	121.1	22.2	226	262.1	-13.8	1,228	1,248.1	-1.6
1795-9	281	274.3	2.4	216	188.4	14.7	429	385.8	11.2	100	125.5	-20.3	243	260.2	-6.6	1,269	1,234.1	2.8
1800-4	221	209.7	5.4	0	0.0		293	265.7	10.3	32	24.3	31.7	99	110.0	-10.0	645	609.7	5.8
1805-9	32	33.1	-3.3	0	0.0		164	155.7	5.3	0	0.0		0	0.0		196	188.8	3.8
1810-4	0	0.0		0	0.0		167	164.8	1.3	0	0.0		0	0.0		167	164.8	1.3
1815-9	0	0.0		0	0.0		168	167.3	0.4	0	0.0		0	0.0		168	167.3	0.4

Table 105 – Comparison between actual number of baptisms (aggregate) recorded and PDMi means (aggregate) for decades.

Decade	East			Midlands			North-east			South-west			West			County		
	Ag.	PMDi ag.	% diff.	Ag.	PMDi ag.	% diff.	Ag.	PMDi ag.	% diff.	Ag.	PMDi ag.	% diff.	Ag.	PMDi ag.	% diff.	Ag.	PMDi ag.	% diff.
1650-9	2	2.0	0.0	0	0.0		0	0.0		0	0.0		0	0.0		2	2.0	0.0
1660-9	117	97.3	20.3	0	0.0		95	72.3	31.5	0	0.0		30	30.0	0.0	242	199.5	21.3
1670-9	0	0.0		0	0.0		132	134.2	-1.6	0	0.0		306	279.3	9.6	438	413.5	5.9
1680-9	0	0.0		0	0.0		172	138.0	24.6	0	0.0		36	35.6	1.1	208	173.6	19.8
1690-9	81	64.5	25.6	0	0.0		356	404.1	-11.9	26	15.0	73.3	89	79.7	11.7	552	563.3	-2.0
1700-9	534	494.7	7.9	135	112.8	19.7	409	406.6	0.6	514	510.1	0.8	596	519.1	14.8	2,188	2,043.3	7.1
1710-9	391	471.8	-17.1	37	34.4	7.6	378	385.7	-2.0	375	361.9	3.6	700	753.3	-7.1	1,881	2,007.1	-6.3
1720-9	521	481.6	8.2	307	297.3	3.3	505	481.0	5.0	149	162.6	-8.4	707	715.2	-1.1	2,189	2,137.8	2.4
1730-9	699	611.2	14.4	420	363.5	15.5	326	312.1	4.4	200	203.9	-1.9	547	540.2	1.3	2,192	2,030.9	7.9
1740-9	590	663.7	-11.1	384	411.1	-6.6	480	450.9	6.4	636	567.4	12.1	511	554.4	-7.8	2,601	2,647.6	-1.8
1750-9	633	594.1	6.5	319	356.9	-10.6	565	523.1	8.0	586	660.6	-11.3	434	452.8	-4.2	2,537	2,587.5	-2.0
1760-9	611	648.7	-5.8	383	339.0	13.0	739	702.8	5.2	342	331.5	3.2	344	357.8	-3.9	2,419	2,379.8	1.6
1770-9	593	575.9	3.0	400	393.8	1.6	637	678.3	-6.1	185	187.6	-1.4	255	258.6	-1.4	2,070	2,094.2	-1.2
1780-9	549	575.5	-4.6	445	427.0	4.2	719	699.1	2.9	245	207.9	17.9	546	503.5	8.5	2,504	2,412.9	3.8
1790-9	536	540.3	-0.8	449	414.2	8.4	795	758.9	4.8	248	246.6	0.6	469	522.3	-10.2	2,497	2,482.2	0.6
1800-9	253	242.8	4.2	0	0.0		457	421.4	8.4	32	24.3	31.7	99	110.0	-10.0	841	798.5	5.3
1810-9	0	0.0		0	0.0		335	332.1	0.9	0	0.0		0	0.0		335	332.1	0.9

Mortality-level trends

Table 106 – Comparison between actual number of burials (aggregate) recorded and PDMi means (aggregate) for quinquennial periods.

Quin.	East			Midlands			North-east			South-west			West			County		
	Ag.	PDMi ag.	% diff.	Ag.	PDMi ag.	% diff.	Ag.	PDMi ag.	% diff.	Ag.	PDMi ag.	% diff.	Ag.	PDMi ag.	% diff.	Ag.	PDMi ag.	% diff.
1660-4	0	47.0		0	0.0		5	0.0		0	0.0		0	0.0		5.0	47.0	
1665-9	0	0.0		0	0.0		33	33.7	-2.0	0	0.0		0	0.0		33.0	33.7	-2.0
1670-4	0	0.0		0	0.0		31	36.0	-14.0	0	0.0		69	59.0	16.9	100.0	95.0	5.2
1675-9	0	0.0		0	0.0		9	5.5	63.6	0	0.0		124	96.3	28.7	133.0	101.8	30.6
1680-4	0	0.0		0	0.0		34	25.2	35.2	0	0.0		7	7.5	-6.7	41.0	32.7	25.6
1685-9	0	0.0		0	0.0		52	40.7	27.7	0	0.0		0	0.0		52.0	40.7	27.7
1690-4	0	0.0		0	0.0		50	58.5	-14.5	0	0.0		0	0.0		50.0	58.5	-14.5
1695-9	0	0.0		0	0.0		99	104.4	-5.1	29	24.5		12	12.0	0.0	140.0	140.9	-0.6
1700-4	0	0.0		0	0.0		61	56.2	8.6	48	57.0		40	45.7	-12.4	149.0	158.8	-6.2
1705-9	0	0.0		32	23.0	39.1	75	54.8	36.8	21	20.3		174	161.3	7.9	302.0	259.3	16.4
1710-4	0	0.0		131	106.4	23.2	151	143.8	5.0	108	94.1		184	180.8	1.8	574.0	525.1	9.3
1715-9	0	0.0		10	23.7	-57.8	92	89.4	2.9	17	16.2		109	112.3	-2.9	228.0	241.6	-5.6
1720-4	11	13.2	-16.5	0	0.0		297	238.6	24.5	17	16.9		183	167.9	9.0	508.0	436.6	16.4
1725-9	53	45.6	16.2	61	46.3	31.7	233	245.9	-5.2	3	3.5		219	199.1	10.0	569.0	540.4	5.3
1730-4	179	189.9	-5.8	37	24.5	51.0	208	214.7	-3.1	17	16.0		219	221.3	-1.0	660.0	666.4	-1.0
1735-9	23	25.3	-8.9	120	117.4	2.2	129	191.4	-32.6	76	60.5	25.6%	266	242.6	9.6	614.0	637.2	-3.6
1740-4	45	45.1	-0.3	141	162.9	-13.4	308	268.2	14.8	239	230.6	3.7%	257	255.3	0.7	990.0	962.0	2.9
1745-9	85	93.6	-9.1	14	28.2	-50.4	240	242.9	-1.2	135	160.2	-15.7%	129	191.6	-32.7	603.0	716.5	-15.8
1750-4	167	133.1	25.5	11	12.5	-12.0	224	241.2	-7.1	111	98.8	12.3%	134	134.9	-0.7	647.0	620.5	4.3
1755-9	231	201.2	14.8	65	52.9	23.0	259	246.1	5.2	154	176.5	-12.7%	105	106.3	-1.2	814.0	783.0	4.0
1760-4	249	236.2	5.4	23	29.1	-21.1	323	291.1	10.9	140	132.0	6.1%	111	113.2	-1.9	846.0	801.6	5.5
1765-9	262	249.2	5.1	0	0.0		380	331.8	14.5	75	81.0	-7.4%	126	125.5	0.4	843.0	787.5	7.0
1770-4	169	202.9	-16.7	0	0.0		331	368.6	-10.2	78	92.8	-16.0%	52	47.7	9.1	630.0	711.9	-11.5
1775-9	220	210.5	4.5	124	133.8	-7.3	350	372.9	-6.1	30	27.5	9.3%	37	36.7	0.7	761.0	781.4	-2.6
1780-4	161	179.9	-10.5	84	92.5	-9.2	283	297.2	-4.8	26	38.0	-31.6%	161	152.1	5.9	715.0	759.7	-5.9
1785-9	167	187.0	-10.7	0	0.0		344	339.4	1.4	43	35.5	21.2%	157	134.0	17.2	711.0	695.8	2.2
1790-4	115	140.4	-18.1	0	0.0		368	353.8	4.0	27	26.3	2.5%	173	159.1	8.7	683.0	679.7	0.5
1795-9	134	149.6	-10.4	57	63.7	-10.4	392	371.3	5.6	10	13.7	-26.8%	163	188.4	-13.5	756.0	786.5	-3.9
1800-4	66	62.6	5.4	6	10.5	-42.9	162	177.0	-8.5	13	13.3	-2.5%	77	94.9	-18.8	324.0	358.4	-9.6
1805-9	0	0.0		0	0.0		65	74.8	-13.2	0	0.0		32	36.5	-12.2	97.0	111.3	-12.8
1810-4		0.0		0	0.0		97	77.1	25.8	0	0.0		0	0.0		97.0	77.1	25.8
1815-9		0.0		0	0.0		69	80.6	-14.4	0	0.0		0	0.0		69.0	80.6	-14.4

Table 107 -- Comparison between actual number of burials (aggregate) recorded and PDMi means (aggregate) for decades.

Decade	East			Midlands			North-east			South-west			West			County		
	Ag.	PMDi ag.	% diff.	Ag.	PMDi ag.	% diff.	Ag.	PMDi ag.	% diff.	Ag.	PMDi ag.	% diff.	Ag.	PMDi ag.	% diff.	Ag.	PMDi ag.	% diff.
1650-9	0	0.0		0	0.0		0	0.0		0	0.0		0	0.0		0	0.0	
1660-9	0	47.0		0	0.0		38	33.7	12.9	0	0.0		0	0.0		38	80.7	-52.9
1670-9	0	0.0		0	0.0		40	41.5	-3.7	0	0.0		193	155.3	24.3	233	196.9	18.4
1680-9	0	0.0		0	0.0		86	65.9	30.6	0	0.0		7	7.5	-6.7	93	73.4	26.7
1690-9	0	0.0		0	0.0		149	162.8	-8.5	29	24.5		12	12.0	0.0	190	199.3	-4.7
1700-9	0	0.0		32	23.0	39.1	136	111.0	22.6	69	77.3		214	206.9	3.4	451	418.2	7.9
1710-9	0	0.0		141	130.1	8.4	243	233.2	4.2	125	110.3		293	293.1	0.0	802	766.6	4.6
1720-9	64	58.8	8.9	61	46.3	31.7	530	484.5	9.4	20	20.4		402	367.0	9.5	1,077	977.0	10.2
1730-9	202	215.2	-6.1	157	141.9	10.6	337	406.1	-17.0	93	76.5	21.5	485	463.9	4.6	1,274	1,303.6	-2.3
1740-9	130	138.7	-6.3	155	191.1	-18.9	548	511.1	7.2	374	390.8	-4.3	386	446.9	-13.6	1,593	1,678.5	-5.1
1750-9	398	334.3	19.1	76	65.4	16.3	483	487.3	-0.9	265	275.3	-3.7	239	241.2	-0.9	1,461	1,403.4	4.1
1760-9	511	485.4	5.3	23	29.1	-21.1	703	622.9	12.9	215	213.0	0.9	237	238.7	-0.7	1,689	1,589.1	6.3
1770-9	389	413.4	-5.9	124	133.8	-7.3	681	741.5	-8.2	108	120.3	-10.2	89	84.4	5.5	1,391	1,493.3	-6.9
1780-9	328	366.8	-10.6	84	92.5	-9.2	627	636.6	-1.5	69	73.5	-6.1	318	286.1	11.2	1,426	1,455.5	-2.0
1790-9	249	290.0	-14.1	57	63.7	-10.4	760	725.1	4.8	37	40.0	-7.5	336	347.5	-3.3	1,439	1,466.2	-1.9
1800-9	66	62.6	5.4	6	10.5	-42.9	227	251.9	-9.9	13	13.3	-2.5	109	131.3	-17.0	421	469.7	-10.4
1810-9	0	0.0		0	0.0		166	157.7	5.3	0	0.0		0	0.0		166	157.7	5.3

Appendix 29 – A modified interpolation process for Catholic registers.

In appendix 25, the process whereby interpolation was applied to fill in estimates for 'missing months' in the Protestant baptismal data was outlined, and a similar method can be applied to the Catholic registers for Wicklow parish, to resolve problems with that data. Rather than apply the same methodology, a modified interpolation process will be applied, which can be justified on the basis of the greater number of registrations in the Catholic registers. As with the Protestant data, interpolation for the Catholic records is also only performed for months during which zero registrations are recorded. However, unlike with the Church of Ireland records, where a month was only considered a candidate for interpolation if all of the same months during both five year periods on either side of the deficient year had more than zero baptisms, for the Catholic registers interpolation will only be permitted if eight or more months in the same ten year period have more than zero registration. Thus, for Wicklow June 1754 has zero registrations, but since the same month in the periods 1749-52 and 1755-9 all have baptisms recorded then interpolation will be permitted even though June 1753 also has zero registrations. This is because the zero-entries in June 1753 is also likely to be a case of deficient recording rather than a genuine reflection that no baptisms occurred. In this case the interpolated figure for June 1754 will be the mean of the baptisms recorded during the month of June in the nine years 1749-52 and 1755-9.

Appendix 30 – 1766 data and population estimates for specific parishes in greater Wicklow.

The surviving 1766 census data for thirteen of the fifteen parishes which have surviving Church of Ireland or Catholic parish registration for prolonged periods before 1800 are given below. No figures have survived for either Donaghmore or Dunlavin, both in west Wicklow. Population estimates for the number of Protestants and Catholics, based on the multipliers 5.2 and 4.9 respectively which were used in chapter two, have been derived for all parishes except Newcastle parish and the parishes of the unions of Delgany and Monkstown, for which population returns were furnished by the respective ministers.

Table 108 - 1766 data for parishes in the greater Wicklow area.

Parish	Region	Families			Distribution		Population est.		
		Prot.	Cath.	Tot.	Prot.	Cath.	Prot.	Cath.	Total
Monkstown u.	Northeast	98	286	384	25.5%	74.5%	510	1,400	1,910
<i>Monkstown p.</i>		54	121	175	30.9%	69.1%	197	570	767
<i>Dalkey</i>		5	37	42	11.9%	88.1%	30	178	208
<i>Kill</i>		21	57	78	26.9%	73.1%	117	332	449
<i>Killeney</i>		3	24	27	11.1%	88.9%	15	128	143
<i>Tallaght [Tully]</i>		15	47	62	24.2%	75.8%	90	277	367
Bray u.	Northeast	70	245	315	22.2	77.8	360	1,200	1,560
Powerscourt	Northeast	76	298	374	20.3	79.7	400	1,460	1,860
Delgany u.	Northeast	123	415	538	22.9	77.1	583	1,996	2,579
<i>Delgany p.</i>		70	106	176	39.8	60.2	315	545	860
<i>Kilcoole</i>		39	189	228	17.1	82.9	190	874	1,064
<i>Kilmacanoge</i>		14	120	134	10.4	89.6	78	577	655
Newcastle	Northeast	84	331	415	20.2	79.8	370	1,460	1,830
Wicklow u.	East	255	844	1,099	23.2	76.8	1,330	4,140	5,470
Castlemacadam u.	East	130	358	488	26.6	73.4	680	1,750	2,430
<i>Castlemacadam p.</i>		117	272	389	30.1	69.9	610	1,330	1,940
<i>Ballintemple</i>		13	86	99	13.1	86.9	70	420	490
Rathdrum u.	Midlands	181	546	727	24.9	75.1	940	2,680	3,620
<i>Rathdrum p.</i>		89	129	218	40.8	59.2	460	630	1,090
<i>Ballinacor</i>		19	88	107	17.8	82.2	100	430	530
<i>Ballykine</i>		37	156	193	19.2	80.8	190	760	950
<i>Knockrath</i>		20	85	105	19.0	81.0	100	420	520
<i>Missing or unknown</i>		16	88	104					
Aghowle u.	Southwest	146	341	487	30.0	70.0	760	1,670	2,430
<i>Aghowle p.</i>		79	149	228	34.6	65.4	410	730	1,140
<i>Mullinacuff</i>		50	106	156	32.1	67.9	260	520	780
<i>Liscolman</i>		9	38	47	19.1	80.9	50	190	240
<i>Creccrim</i>		8	48	56	14.3	85.7	40	240	280

Parish	Region	Families			Distribution		Population est.		
		Prot.	Cath.	Tot.	Prot.	Cath.	Prot.	Cath.	Total
Carlow u.	Southwest	241	662	903	26.7	73.3	1,250	3,240	4,490
Tullowphelim	Southwest	105	270	375	28.0	72.0	550	1,320	1,870
Blessington u.	West	94	281	375	25.1	74.9	490	1,380	1,870
<i>Blessington</i>		32	31	63	50.8	49.2	170	150	320
<i>Boystown</i>		62	250	312	19.9	80.1	320	1,230	1,550
Athy u.	West	148	580	728	20.3	79.7	770	2,840	3,610
The following parishes also lie either partly within the bounds of or adjacent to Wicklow, but have not been considered in the analysis in this chapter because their parish registers do not commence sufficiently early enough to merit inclusion.									
Dunganstown		82	188	270	30.4	69.6	430	920	1,350
Derrylossary		93	350	443	21.0	79.0	480	1,720	2,200
Baltinglass & Ballinure		99	230	329	30.1	69.9	510	1,130	1,640
Clonegal [Moyacomb]		8	292	300	2.7	97.3	40	1,430	1,470
Inch		50	246	296	16.9	83.1	260	1,210	1,470
<i>Inch p.</i>		36	179	215	16.7	83.3	190	880	1,070
<i>Kilgorman</i>		14	67	81	17.3	82.7	70	330	400
Rathmore u.		13	281	294	4.4	95.6	70	1,380	1,450
<i>Rathmore p.</i>		5	163	168	3.0	97.0	30	800	830
<i>Kilteel</i>		5	33	38	13.2	86.8	30	160	190
<i>Kilbride</i>		3	85	88	3.4	96.6	20	420	440
Crumlin		29	50	79	36.7	63.3	150	250	400
Taney		40	22	62	64.5	35.5	210	110	320
Stillorgan u.		12	20	32	37.5	62.5	57	138	195
Tallaght u.		60	400	460	13.0	87.0	310	1,960	2,270
Rathcoole u.		28	340	368	7.6	92.4	150	1,670	1,820
<i>Rathcoole p.</i>		22	150	172	12.8	87.2	110	740	850
<i>Saggard</i>		6	190	196	3.1	96.9	30	930	960
Rathfarnham		82	154	236	34.7	65.3	347	797	1,144
Chapelizod		82	240	322	25.5	74.5	430	1,180	1,610
Castleknock u.		120	1,245	1,365	8.8	91.2	620	6,100	6,720
<i>Castleknock p.</i>		109	937	1,046	10.4	89.6	570	4,590	5,160
<i>Clonsilla</i>		11	308	319	3.4	96.6	60	1,510	1,570
Rathvilly u.		61	385	446	13.7	86.3	312	2,063	2,375
Ballymore Eustace u.		39		N/A			162	1,286	1,448
<i>Ballymore Eustace p.</i>		20					100		
<i>Ballybought</i>		2					10		
<i>Yeaganstown</i>		4					20		
<i>Tipperkevin</i>		8					40		
<i>Cotlandstown</i>		5					30		
<i>Straney</i>		0					0		

Source: N.L.I. MS M 2476 (i); Guinness, *Register of Monkstown*, pp 93-7; Comerford, *Kildare and Leighlin*, i, pp 272-3; *ibid.*, iii, p. 405; *ibid.*, xvii, pp 154-5; *Kildare Arch. Soc. Jn.*, vii (1914), pp 275-6; R.C.B. Lib., MS 37.

Note: population estimates in bold lettering are returns that were made by the parish ministers. All other estimates have been based on the household multipliers introduced in chapter one.

In chapter two the proportionate strength of Protestantism was considered on a regional (barony) basis and table 109 summarises the denominational strengths of the confessional groups by parish in the thirteen parishes, and in other parishes in the greater Wicklow region. Wide areas of the region contained substantial Protestant proportions, of one in four, or more, but in localised areas Protestant numbers far exceeded even this relatively high figure. In Delgany parish Protestant numbers accounted for 40 per cent of the population and in a handful of parishes over one third of the household heads were reputed to be Protestant. The figure for Rathdrum also appears to have been very high, although the suggested 40 per cent figure may be an exaggeration (table 109, note).

Table 109 – No. of total households reported as Protestant in 1766 religious census.

Parish	Prot. proportion of pop.	Parish	Prot. proportion of pop.
Rathdrum p.	40.8% (27.6%)	Derrylossary p.	21.0%
Delgany p.	39.8%	Athy u.	20.3%
Aghowle p.	34.6%	Powerscourt	20.3%
Mullinacuff	32.1%	Newcastle	20.2%
Monkstown p.	30.9%	Ballykine	19.2%
Dunganstown	30.4%	Liscolman	19.1%
Castlemacadam p.	30.1%	Knockrath	19.0%
Tullow	28.0%	Ballinacor	17.8%
Kill	26.9%	Kilcoole	17.1%
Carlow u.	26.7%	Creirim	14.3%
Blessington u.	25.1%	Ballintemple	13.1%
Tallaght [Tully]	24.2%	Dalkey	11.9%
Wicklow	23.2%	Killiney	11.1%
Bray u.	22.2%	Kilmacanoge	10.4%

Source: Gurrin, 'Three eighteenth century surveys of County Wicklow' in *Archiv. Hib.*, xxxix (2006), pp 99-119; Guinness, *Parish registers of Monkstown*, pp 93-7; Comerford, *Kildare and Leighlin*, i, pp, 272-3.

Note: The Protestant proportion of the population of Rathdrum parish may not have been as high as 40 per cent, and could have been as low as approximately 27 per cent. The extant data for Rathdrum in the 1766 summary data for the Dublin diocese reports the total number of Protestant and Catholic families in the union at 181 and 546 families respectively (source: Summary, Dublin diocese, 1766 (N.A.I., M 2476 (i))), although a detailed return for the union, listing householders' names, (source: R.C.B. MS 37, ff 9-17) records sixteen Protestant and eighty-eight Catholic families fewer than these figures. If the summary figures are correct, then the Protestant proportion in Rathdrum parish may have been as low as 27.6 per cent, depending on the geographic distribution of the missing Catholics. Regardless, the parish contained substantial minority Protestant community).

Appendix 31 – Crude birth rates and crude death rates for the 1766 period, for Protestant communities.

As the Church of Ireland parish registers appear only, with a few known exceptions (appendix 21), to record Protestant baptisms and burials then parish Protestant-population estimates are necessary in order to calculate Protestant crude birth rates and crude death rates. The 1766 religious census provides such a denominational headcount, permitting the determination of fertility and mortality indicators for that period. Tables 110 and 111 present the crude birth rate and crude death rate that was calculated, for thirteen of the fifteen parishes which are being analysed in chapter three. No crude birth rates and crude death rates could be calculated for Donaghmore and Dunalvin because 1766 population estimates have not survived for these two parishes. For the purposes of this calculation baptisms were considered to equate directly to births and burials to deaths.

Table 110 – Crude baptism rates for thirteen parishes in the greater Wicklow region.

Year	Aghowle	CBR	Athy	CBR	Blessington	CBR	Bray	CBR	Carlow	CBR	Castlemacadam	CBR	Delgany	CBR
1751			15.6	20.3	9	18.4	9.6	26.7	32.0	25.6	20.6	30.3	18.6	31.9
1752			15.4	20.0	13	26.5	8.8	24.4	31.2	25.0	21.0	30.9	17.8	30.5
1753	18.4	24.2	14.0	18.2	0		11.4	31.7	37.2	29.8	21.4	31.5	18.6	31.9
1754	16.4	21.6	13.0	16.9	19	38.8	12.0	33.3	32.2	25.8	22.8	33.5	20.0	34.3
1755	17.4	22.9	14.4	18.7	13	26.5	12.8	35.6	30.0	24.0	23.8	35.0	21.0	36.0
1756	18.8	24.7	14.2	18.4	0		13.6	37.8	27.2	21.8	24.8	36.5	20.6	35.3
1757	19.0	25.0	15.4	20.0	0		14.2	39.4	26.6	21.3	27.0	39.7	21.4	36.7
1758	21.8	28.7	15.2	19.7	0		13.6	37.8	23.4	18.7	23.8	35.0	22.8	39.1
1759	23.2	30.5	16.0	20.8	0		13.0	36.1			23.6	34.7	22.6	38.8
1760	26.0	34.2	14.4	18.7	16	32.7	11.8	32.8			22.8	33.5	23.6	40.5
1761	25.6	33.7	14.0	18.2	0		11.2	31.1			19.8	29.1	23.6	40.5
1762	28.6	37.6			0		10.8	30.0			18.6	27.4	26.0	44.6
1763	32.2	42.4			0						19.4	28.5	25.4	43.6
1764	31.4	41.3			0						19.8	29.1	26.8	46.0
1765					10	20.4					21.4	31.5	25.6	43.9
1766					0						22.4	32.9	26.4	45.3
1767					19	38.8					22.2	32.6	28.2	48.4
1768					0						23.0	33.8	28.2	48.4
1769					0						23.4	34.4	26.6	45.6
1770					0						22.0	32.4	27.0	46.3
1771					12	24.5					22.6	33.2	27.6	47.3
1772					0						22.4	32.9	24.4	41.9
1773					11	22.4					21.6	31.8	25.6	43.9
1774					0						23.2	34.1	26.6	45.6
1775					0						25.4	37.4	27.0	46.3
1776					0						25.2	37.1	27.0	46.3
1777					0								26.8	46.0
1778					0								26.2	44.9
1779					0								26.4	45.3
1780					9	18.4							27.0	46.3
1781			23.4		10	20.4	10.6	29.4					26.2	44.9

Year	Monkstown	CBR	Newcastle	CBR	Powerscourt	CBR	Rathdrum	CBR	Tullow	CBR	Wicklow	CBR
1751			13.4	36.2			27.6	29.4			35.2	26.5
1752			11.6	31.4			27.2	28.9			33.8	25.4
1753			12.8	34.6			33.8	36.0			35.2	26.5
1754			15.0	40.5			33.4	35.5			35.4	26.6
1755			14.6	39.5			31.4	33.4			38.0	28.6
1756			15.6	42.2			30.4	32.3			41.0	30.8
1757			16.4	44.3			29.2	31.1	16.8	30.5	44.8	33.7
1758	5.8	2.9	15.6	42.2			31.0	33.0	17.0	30.9	49.0	36.8
1759	6.2	3.1	15.4	41.6			32.0	34.0	16.0	29.1	47.6	35.8
1760	7.2	3.6	14.6	39.5	19.0	47.5	34.2	36.4	12.4	22.5	47.2	35.5
1761	8.0	4.0	13.6	36.8	19.4	48.5	34.2	36.4	12.6	22.9	43.8	32.9
1762	8.4	4.2	12.6	34.1	19.2	48.0	36.0	38.3	11.4	20.7	44.4	33.4
1763	7.2	3.6	12.6	34.1	19.4	48.5	34.2	36.4	12.2	22.2	40.4	30.4
1764	7.2	3.6	11.8	31.9	18.2	45.5	36.2	38.5	11.8	21.5	41.4	31.1
1765	7.0	3.5	11.6	31.4	19.0	47.5	35.2	37.4	12.0	21.8	38.6	29.0
1766	6.8	3.4	12.6	34.1	18.4	46.0	38.8	41.3	12.0	21.8	39.4	29.6
1767	8.0	4.0	13.8	37.3	19.2	48.0	40.6	43.2	11.8	21.5	37.0	27.8
1768	8.8	4.4	13.4	36.2	17.0	42.5	41.4	44.0	12.0	21.8	35.6	26.8
1769	9.0	4.5	12.0	32.4	18.8	47.0	40.6	43.2	11.8	21.5	35.4	26.6
1770	8.0	4.0	12.6	34.1	18.0	45.0	41.6	44.3	11.8	21.5	37.2	28.0
1771	8.2	4.1	11.8	31.9	19.6	49.0	39.8	42.3	12.4	22.5	35.8	26.9
1772	7.8	3.9	10.6	28.6	17.8	44.5	37.2	39.6	12.6	22.9	37.8	28.4
1773			10.0	27.0	18.6	46.5	40.4	43.0	12.6	22.9	37.4	28.1
1774			10.0	27.0	16.8	42.0	39.4	41.9	12.0	21.8	37.2	28.0
1775			9.0	24.3	15.6	39.0	39.0	41.5	11.4	20.7	36.4	27.4
1776			8.4	22.7	15.4	38.5	39.8	42.3	10.6	19.3	37.4	28.1
1777			8.6	23.2	15.6	39.0	42.8	45.5	10.6	19.3	38.0	28.6
1778			9.2	24.9	16.6	41.5	40.0	42.6	10.2	18.5	40.8	30.7
1779			10.2	27.6	15.6	39.0	41.6	44.3	10.6	19.3	40.0	30.1
1780			12.4	33.5	17.4	43.5	45.8	48.7	12.6	22.9	40.4	30.4
1781			13.6	36.8	15.6	39.0	43.4	46.2	13.0	23.6	39.6	29.8

Note: CBR indicates crude baptism rate, or the number of baptisms per 1,000 Protestants in 1766. The 1766 Protestant population estimates have been used to determine baptism rates during all other years between 1751 and 1781, and although the population during these years will have varied from the 1766 estimate, the degree of variation is unlikely to have been considerable.

Table 111 - Crude burial rates for twelve parishes in the greater Wicklow region.

Year	Aghowle	CDR	Blessington	CDR	Bray	CDR	Carlow	CDR	Castlemacadam	CDR	Delgany	CDR	Monkstown	CDR
1751			21	42.9			22	17.6			22.2	38.1		
1752							19	15.2			21.6	37.0		
1753							0				22.2	38.1		
1754							0				19.4	33.3		
1755							0				19.8	34.0		
1756							0				22.2	38.1		
1757							24	19.2			21.2	36.4		
1758					7.4	20.6	21	16.8	12.8	21.0	18.4	31.6		
1759					6.8	18.9	0		13.4	22.0	19.4	33.3		
1760	10.2	13.4					0		14.2	23.3	20.0	34.3		
1761	11.8	15.5					0		14.6	23.9	19.4	33.3		
1762	13.8	18.2	6	12.2			0		14.6	23.9	21.8	37.4		
1763	16.6	21.8	12	24.5			0		17.4	28.5	23.4	40.1		
1764	19.8	26.1	12	24.5			0		18.4	30.2	25.0	42.9		
1765			5	10.2			0		17.8	29.2	25.2	43.2		
1766			9	18.4			0		18.4	30.2	25.8	44.3		
1767			6	12.2			0		18.4	30.2	26.6	45.6		
1768							0				25.4	43.6		
1769							0				24.2	41.5		
1770							0				23.8	40.8		
1771							0				23.2	39.8		
1772			5	10.2			0				22.2	38.1		
1773			9	18.4			16	12.8			23.6	40.5		
1774			6	12.2			18	14.4			23.0	39.5		
1775							21	16.8			25.2	43.2		
1776							0				24.0	41.2	11.0	5.5
1777							0				24.6	42.2	11.2	5.6
1778							0				24.4	41.9	9.8	4.9
1779							0				25.8	44.3		
1780			11	22.4			0				20.6			
1781			12	24.5			9	7.2			21.0			

Year	Newcastle	CDR	Powerscourt	CDR	Rathdrum	CDR	Tullow	CDR	Wicklow	CDR
1751	18.2	49.2							27.6	20.9
1752	18.0	48.6							30.6	23.2
1753	16.8	45.4							30.6	23.2
1754	16.8	45.4							30.8	23.3
1755	16.4	44.3							33.0	25.0
1756	18.0	48.6							37.8	28.6
1757	20.2	54.6							35.2	26.7
1758	20.8	56.2					20.2	36.7	34.4	26.1
1759	22.8	61.6			16.0	17.0	18.0	32.7	31.2	23.6
1760	23.0	62.2	12.8	32.0			18.4	33.5	30.6	23.2
1761	25.2	68.1	14.8	37.0			17.2	31.3	34.6	26.2
1762	24.0	64.9	14.2	35.5					35.2	26.7
1763	24.2	65.4	17.4	43.5					34.2	25.9
1764	24.4	65.9	18.8	47.0					36.6	27.7
1765	24.6	66.5	20.2	50.5					37.0	28.0
1766	23.6	63.8	21.6	54.0					30.6	23.2
1767	23.4	63.2	22.4	56.0					34.0	25.8
1768	22.6	61.1	21.6	54.0					35.6	27.0
1769	20.2	54.6	21.8	54.5					35.0	26.5
1770	18.0	48.6	21.2	53.0					34.6	26.2
1771	15.0	40.5	20.6	51.5					34.4	26.1
1772	13.2	35.7	20.0	50.0			8.8	16.0	30.6	23.2
1773	11.8	31.9	18.0	45.0			7.6	13.8	31.2	23.6
1774	11.0	29.7	15.6	39.0					33.0	25.0
1775	10.6	28.6	17.0	42.5					34.4	26.1
1776	10.0	27.0	15.0	37.5					34.8	26.4
1777	10.0	27.0	15.4	38.5	24.8	26.4			35.4	26.8
1778	9.0	24.3	16.0	40.0	23.0	24.5			36.4	27.6
1779			16.2	40.5	20.6	21.9			34.8	26.4
1780			14.8	37.0	19.6	20.9			33.0	25.0
1781			15.6	39.0	20.0	21.3			30.6	23.2

Note: CDR indicates crude burial [death] rate, or the number of burials per 1,000 Protestants in 1766. The 1766 Protestant population estimates have been used to determine burial rates during all other years between 1751 and 1781, and although the population during these years will have varied from the 1766 estimate, the degree of variation is unlikely to have been considerable.

Appendix 32 – Crude birth rates and crude death rates for the 1766 period, for Wicklow Catholic parish.

Catholic crude baptismal rates for Catholic data (Wicklow parish) can be calculated in a similar fashion to that outlined in appendix 31. The results are shown in table 112.

Table 112 – Crude baptism rates for Wicklow Catholic parish, 1751-79, based on estimate of Catholic population, 1766 (appendix 30).

Year	No. of baptisms	Baps per 1,000 population
1751	136	33.2
1752	136	33.2
1753	97	23.7
1754	120	29.3
1755	152	37.1
1756	159	38.8
1757	147	35.9
1758	155	37.8
1759	142	34.6
1760	154	37.6
1761	125	30.5
1762	71	17.3
1763	83	20.2
1764	117	28.5
1765	109	26.6
1766	98	23.9
1767	82	20.0
1768	98	23.9
1769	83	20.2
1770	82	20.0
1771	114	27.8
1772	120	29.3
1773	137	33.4
1774	152	37.1
1775	114	27.8
1776	66	16.1
1777	55	13.4
1778	74	18.0
1779	67	16.3
1780		
1781		

Note: figures in bold indicate rates which fall outside the CBR boundaries outlined in table 44.

Appendix 33 – Factors which may influence the thoroughness of recording in Wicklow’s parish registers.

There are three primary factors which will have influenced the degree of completeness in any register. These factors are:

1. the attitude of the clergyman

The numerical and relative strength of Protestantism throughout most of greater Wicklow coupled with the presence of large, wealthy estates proximate to Dublin meant that the Protestant parishes in this area were relatively well-supported. As such, the ministers were usually resident and curates were commonly employed. Strong Protestant parish organisations also meant that the Protestant parishes were not as under-resourced, as was typical in rural Ireland in the eighteenth century. If Protestant registers were to be consistently maintained in any rural areas in Ireland outside of Ulster, it is reasonable to expect that the characteristics of Wicklow’s Protestant population were such as to encourage rather than hamper the maintenance of a thorough system of registration. Furthermore, unlike in Ulster, the dissenting Protestant population in Wicklow was extremely small, and the vast majority of Protestants in the region were members of the Established Church.

Undoubtedly some ministers were more enthusiastic about the registration process than were others, and figures 189 - 203 highlight how the thoroughness of the registration process could change on the arrival of a new minister. Nonetheless, the general impression remains that there were no practical impediments to registration in most of Protestant greater-Wicklow.

In the Catholic parish, registration would have been more difficult. First, the method of sacramental administration differed. Whilst Protestants presented at the parish church for sacraments, the Catholic priest in Wicklow often travelled around his parish administering rites, which must inevitably have presented difficulties in the registration process. Notably, there are numerous entries in the Catholic register where the priest records that he

could not remember the names of children whom he had baptised, notes which are conspicuously less frequent in the Protestant registers. Despite this, the administering priests appear to have been diligently thorough in regularly visiting their parishioners which bodes well for the completeness of registration.

2. the attitude of the parishioners

In an era of high infant mortality the interval between birth and baptism is crucial in determining the completeness of baptismal registration. If a child died before baptism then they would not be recorded, and hence, the longer the interval between birth and baptism the less representative is a baptismal register of the total number of births. As was seen earlier, the sporadic and patchy data available for the eighteenth century for various parishes in greater Wicklow implies a short birth-baptism interval, with the majority of baptisms in Carlow and Monkstown occurring within two weeks, at various stages during the eighteenth century. Such a short interval would facilitate the process of complete registration, and also provides some evidence that the parishioners recognised the importance of baptism. Unfortunately, there is no corresponding evidence for the birth-baptism interval among Catholics – the Wicklow parish registers do not record birth dates before 1874 – at which time baptism virtually exclusively occurred within one week, and for a majority the interval was just one day, or less.¹²¹ Although the eighteenth century pattern is unknown, it seems probable that it was also short, although perhaps not as short as in the late-nineteenth century.

It is worth noting, however, that even a long birth-baptism interval would not catastrophically impact on demographic analysis, and there are even some benefits to populations which exhibit long birth-baptism intervals. If, for instance, the mean birth-baptism was significantly longer than one month then the baptismal registers would not be a good source for the determination of early infant mortality, but would represent a good source for the determination of demographic trends among the surviving population.

3. the condition and survival of the registers

Unquestionably, Wicklow's extant Church of Ireland registers are among the best in the country and the Catholic registers for Wicklow parish are among the earliest in Ireland.

Considering these three factors, it is reasonable to assume that there were no serious or insurmountable problems preventing accurate registration of baptisms and burials for most of the surviving Church of Ireland and Catholic registers. However, the absence of serious problems to registration does not imply good registration. Further evidence is required, and this is provided by the crude baptismal and burial rates which were determined above and plotted in figures 58, 59 and 61. It has been shown that, for the 1766 period, the crude baptismal rates for twelve of thirteen Church of Ireland parishes in greater Wicklow and for the Wicklow Catholic parish all lie either largely within or close to the broad fertility bands which have been suggested by Wrigley and Schofield and for most of the Church of Ireland parishes the data also lie within the narrow band (figure 58). Only the crude statistics for Athy, Blessington, Carlow and Tullow lie consistently close to the lower limit of the broad band. That these four parishes are all located in western greater-Wicklow, may point to a lower fertility rate in this broad geographic region, and it is notable that the decline in the Protestant population witnessed between 1732 and 1766 was most evident for the western regions. The positioning of the crude baptismal rates relative to the expected crude birth rate (CBR) ranges must imply, therefore, that baptismal registration was, in most parishes for which reworked statistics are available, either total or near-total, at least for this mid-eighteenth century period. In some parishes, particularly in the east coastal strip, if the crude baptismal rates were any higher, they would exceed the expected maximum for the CBR.

For burials, more dramatic variations from the expected mortality rates are evidenced, although the statistics for the western parishes again congregate at or below the lowest expected limits (figure 59). Blessington's burial registers are clearly deficient, whilst Wicklow's figures lie extremely and consistently close to the mean mortality rate figures. In some instances the crude burial rate exceeds the

maximum allowable crude death rate (CDR) but in one instance, Newcastle, this is related to the issue of Catholic burials.

Unfortunately, there is no other surviving source material which facilitates a similar operation to that performed for the 1766-period, but there is no evidence to suggest that the trends outlined by Wrigley and Schofield were not similarly reflected in Ireland. It would seem probable, therefore, that Wrigley and Schofield's suggested deficiency rates for baptismal and burial registration for England are, at worst, likely reflective of the Wicklow situation, and the Wicklow situation may well be considerably better. It should also be remembered that Wrigley and Schofield were dealing with baptismal and burial aggregates for 404 parishes, which invariably means that they were dealing with considerable variations in registration-quality. Bearing in mind the above discussion concerning the factors influencing the completeness of registration – particularly point 1 – the quality of registration in Wicklow was more likely to have been above average. Furthermore, the particular religious situation in Ireland makes it less likely that the quality of registration declined in Ireland by a comparable factor to that of England in the late eighteenth century.¹²² When a community feels besieged, as the Wicklow Protestant community did during the latter years of the eighteenth century (see chapter seven), involvement in church affairs was more likely to increase than to decline, as a beleaguered community rallied for support. The frequent attacks on church property (chapter seven) in the latter decades of the eighteenth century and the explosion of sectarianism in the late 1790s would have acted to foster a sense of community at a time when the bonds in English communities were loosening. Centripetal forces were prominent within Wicklow's Protestant communities, at a time when centrifugal forces were tearing England's Anglican parishes apart.

So, if Wrigley and Schofield's adjustment figures are viewed as, at worst, typical for the Wicklow context, then the required adjustment rate for Wicklow's registers is typically less than 5 per cent for the period before 1750 and about 5 per cent for the remainder of the century. Such a rate is obviously of significance in the reconstruction of English population history, where annual totals of between 10,000 – 20,000 baptisms, marriages and burials were being analysed during the

eighteenth century. In the Wicklow case, however, with the annual total of baptisms or burials failing to exceed 100 during any year in any Protestant parish, and with the baptism peak of just 159 in Wicklow parish (Catholic) in 1756, any adjustment of this order would be statistically insignificant. Thus, it is more reasonable to presume that the baptism and burial totals closely reflect the birth and death situation in the Wicklow parishes and any attempt at improving the data would be of little benefit.

Appendix 34 – Early Stuart patents, Counties Carlow, Dublin, Kildare and Wexford.

Table 113 – Fair and market patents granted under James I for Wicklow region.

Location	Market day	Fair day	Days	Date of patent
Co. Carlow				
Tullowphelim	Saturday	St Peter's Eve St Luke's Eve	2 2	8 Dec. 7th.
Knockmullin	Thursday	St Bartholomew's Day St George's Day	2 2	11 June 10th.
Co. Dublin				
Newcastle near Lyons	Thursday	St Swithin's Day All Saint's	2 2	13 May 6th.
St Margaret's	None	20 July	3	14 Nov. 9th.
Rathfarnham		St Peter	3	20 Mar. 16th.
Co. Kildare				
Ballymore Eustace	n. g.	15 August	3	18 May 6th
Kilcullen	Saturday	St Barnabas's Eve	3	21 July 7th.
Ballysax	None	3 May	2	11 Oct. 11th.
Monasterevin	Saturday	St Margaret's (20 Jul.)	2	16 June 11th.
Castletown	None	St Magha's (7 Aug.)	1	13 Dec. 13th.
Scullockstown	Thursday	24 May 5 October	1 1	7 May 17th.
Timahoe	Not spec.	Not spec.		14 May 18th.
Co. Wexford				
Enniscorthy	Thursday	15 August 8 September		8 June 9th.
Ballyhack	Thursday	Michalmas	2	28 Jan. 9th.
Ferns	Tuesday	St Bartholomew's	2	15 Dec. 13th.
Clohamon	Thursday	St Barnaby's	2	15 Dec. 13th.
Monaseed	Saturday	St Luke's (18 Oct.)	2	20 Jan. 13th.
Killenagh	None	1 Aug.	2	17 Jan. 15th.
Monichore	Tuesday	21 Sep.	2	9 Feb. 15th.
Lemenagh	Friday	St Lawrence's	2	4 Feb. 15th.
Ballycasalane (Annesly)	None	Easter Tue.	3	17 Jan. 15th.
Bynoge		St Barnabas's	2	17 Jan. 15th.
Scarawalsh		5 August	2	28 Mar. 16th.
Ballyshonock		14 Sep.	2	6 July 10th.
Annaghesh	None	24 Aug.	2	27 May 16th.
Gorey	Saturday	20 May 16 Oct.	2 2	10 Oct. 17th.
Monasootagh	None	2 Nov.	1	21 Aug. 17th.
Clonhenret	None	29 Mar.	1 ?	21 Apr. 18th.

Source: *Cal. pat., rolls Ire., Jas I.*

Appendix 35 – Status of markets in 1852 which had been patented under James I.

Status in 1852 of the markets in the greater Wicklow region patented during reign of James I.

Table 114 – Status of markets in 1852 which were patented under James I (greater Wicklow region only).

Place	Market day in patent	Status in 1852
Ballyhack	Thursday	✗
Ballymore Eustace	Thursday	Wednesday
Carnew	Thursday	✓
Clohamon	Thursday	✗
Enniscorthy	Thursday	Thursday and Saturday
Ferns	Tuesday	✗
Gorey	Saturday	✓
Kilcullen	Saturday	✓
Linnanagh	Friday	✗
Monaseed	Saturday	✗
Monasterevin	Saturday	✓
Moneyhore	Tuesday	✗
Newcastle (Dublin)	Thursday	✗
Newcastle (Wicklow)	Thursday	✗
Ryland	Wednesday	✗
Scullogstown	Thursday	✗
Templeshannon	Saturday	✗
Tullogh	Saturday	✓
Baltinglass	Saturday	Friday
Cronroe	Thursday	✗

Source: *Report of commissioners into fairs and markets in Ireland, 1853*, pp 43-5.

Note: ✗ = market failed, ✓ = market still held on day specified in patent, otherwise, new day given.

Appendix 36 – Tolling, and the establishment of new fairs in the 1730s and 1740s.

Watson's triple almanack provides evidence for the application of fair-tolling in Wicklow. In the 1730s few fairs were operating without tolls being charged. In 1735, for example, only twelve of the 2,086 fairs (0.6 per cent) held throughout the country were custom free, and only one of these, on 10 April, at Tullow, County Carlow, was located in the south-east of the country. By 1739, when the first record of a custom-free fair in County Wicklow occurs, just eighteen fairs nationally (out of a national total of 2,124, or 0.8 per cent) were custom free. In that year two Wicklow fairs, both at Redcross, on 25 April and the other on 25 July, were operating without tolls, and both remained toll free for five years.¹²³ Over the next four years *Watson* records both of these fairs at Redcross as remaining custom free, but the number of years during which the fair would remain toll free is successively reduced each year. Thus, in 1740, both fairs were toll free for four years, in 1741 they were toll free for three years and so on, until 1743, when both were recorded as being custom free just for that year. The following year, in 1744, the two fairs, both still occurring on 25 April and 25 July, remain scheduled, but they were no longer noted as being toll-free. This progressive annual reduction in Redcross's toll-free period between 1739 and 1743 suggests that the fair was established on the basis that it would remain custom free for a period of time, to enable customer loyalty to be built up, after which time tolls could be exacted. Although Redcross is the only fair in the Wicklow region to exhibit this progression from toll-free to toll-charging, there is sufficient evidence from elsewhere in the country to suggest that it was commonplace for newly established fairs to operate in this fashion during their initial years, at least during the 1730s (table 115). Nor does this appear to have been a recent tradition, as John Bourk noted similar toll-free periods for new fairs created in the 1680s.¹²⁴

Of course, the granting of a patent to hold a fair did not necessarily imply the immediate commencement of that fair, and time lags between authorisation and commencement were common. A period of eight years after the granting of a

patent appears to have been the typical time-span during which a fair operated toll-free,¹²⁵ at least for fairs established during the 1730s, and if the fair was not established immediately, then the specified custom-free period was consequently shortened. This occurred, for example, at Redcross, which fair first appears in *Watson's triple almanack* in 1739, and was to remain toll-free for only a further five years. Although the Commissioners for fairs and markets failed to locate the patent for Redcross, it can be confidently dated by reference to patents for other locations, which were following similar toll-free cycles.

Table 115 lists the toll-free fair locations recorded by Watson for the late 1730s and early 1740s. It is clear that the toll-free period was successively reduced by one year, each year. Thus, for Scotstown, County Monaghan, four fairs were scheduled for 1737, and each was to be custom free for six years. The following year the custom-free period had reduced to just five years, in 1739 it was just four years, until by 1743 the fair was only custom-free for that year. The following year it is not recorded as being custom free, so one can presume that its probationary period had ended and tolls were then being charged. Notably, however, the Scotstown fair was patented in 1735 and remained toll-free until 1743, and the Tullow fair, patented in 1727, remained toll free until 1734 both of which suggest an eight-year toll-free window.¹²⁶

Table 115 – The operation of temporary tolls at new fair-sites in the 1730s and 1740s

Year	Region	County	Place	1 year	2 years	3 years	4 years	5 years	6 years	7 years	Cust. free	
1733	Ulster	Donegal	Redcastle								3	
	Gr. Wick.	Carlow	Tullow			2						
1734	Leinster	Longford	Cullyvore			2						
	Ulster	Donegal	Redcastle								4	
	Gr. Wick.	Carlow	Tullow		2							
1735	Leinster	Longford	Cullyvore		1						1	
	Munster	Clare	Enagh		1						1	
		Limerick	Glin				2					
	Ulster	Antrim	Dervock									1
		Donegal	Redcastle									4
	Gr. Wick.	Carlow	Tullow	2								
1736	Leinster	Longford	Cullyvore	2								
	Munster	Clare	Enagh		2							
		Limerick	Glin			1						1
	Ulster	Antrim	Dervock									4
		Donegal	Redcastle									4
1737	Connaught	Galway	Ballinamore						1			
	Ulster	Antrim	Dervock									4
		Donegal	Redcastle									4
		Fermanagh	Lisnaskea								2	
		Monaghan	Scotstown							4		
1738	Connaught	Galway	Ballinamore						1			
	Ulster	Antrim	Dervock									4
		Donegal	Redcastle									4

Year	Region	County	Place	1 year	2 years	3 years	4 years	5 years	6 years	7 years	Cust. free	
1739		Fermanagh	Lisnaskea							2 ¹		
		Monaghan	Scotstown						4			
	Connaught	Galway	Ballinamore					1				
	Ulster	Antrim	Dervock									4
		Donegal	Redcastle									4
		Fermanagh	Lisnaskea						3			
	Monaghan	Scotstown						4				
Gr. Wick.	Wicklow	Redcross					2					
1740	Connaught	Galway	Ballinamore Clonfert				1				3	
	Ulster	Antrim	Dervock									4
		Cavan	Swanlinbar									3
		Donegal	Redcastle									4
		Fermanagh	Lisnaskea				3					
		Monaghan	Scotstown				4					
	Gr. Wick.	Wicklow	Redcross				2					
1741	Connaught	Galway	Ballinamore Clonfert Gort			1				1	3	
	Leinster	Meath	Belgree				2					
	Munster	Waterford	Passage								4	
	Ulster	Antrim	Dervock									4
		Cavan	Swanlinbar									3
		Donegal	Redcastle									4
		Fermanagh	Lisnaskea				3					

¹ This is an error in Watson's list. Lisnaskea was toll free for seven years in 1737, so the fair there should have been just six years toll free in 1738.

Year	Region	County	Place	1 year	2 years	3 years	4 years	5 years	6 years	7 years	Cust. free	
1742	Gr. Wick.	Monaghan	Scotstown			4						
		Kildare	Timolin								3	
		Wicklow	Redcross			2						
	Connaught	Galway	Ballinamore Clonfert Gort		1			1			3	
	Leinster	Meath	Belgree			2						
	Munster	Waterford	Passage								4	
	Ulster	Antrim	Dervock									4
		Cavan	Swanlinbar									1
		Donegal	Redcastle									4
		Fermanagh	Lisnaskea			3						
Monaghan		Scotstown			4							
Gr. Wick.	Kildare	Timolin									3	
	Wicklow	Redcross			2							
1743	Connaught	Galway	Ballinamore Gort Woodford				1				1	
			Roscommon	Castlereagh							1	
		Leinster	Meath	Belgree		2						
	Munster	Waterford	Passage								4	
	Ulster	Antrim	Dervock									4
		Armagh	Acton									2
		Donegal	Redcastle									4
		Down	Scarvagh Pass				4					
		Fermanagh	Lisnaskea									3

Year	Region	County	Place	1 year	2 years	3 years	4 years	5 years	6 years	7 years	Cust. free	
1744	Gr. Wick.	Monaghan	Scotstown								4	
		Kildare	Timolin								3	
		Wicklow	Redcross								2	
	Connaught	Galway	Gort									1
			Mountshannon									4
		Mayo	Minola									1
			Neale									1
		Roscommon	Castlereagh									1
	Leinster	Meath	Belgree									2
	Munster	Waterford	Passage									4
	Ulster	Antrim	Dervock									4
		Armagh	Acton									2
		Donegal	Redcastle									4
		Down	Scarvagh Pass									3
Gr. Wick.	Carlow	Tinnehinch									2	
	Kildare	Timolin									2	

Source: *Watson's gentleman and citizen's almanack*, various years, 1732-1744. Note: 1 year means toll free for 1 year, and so on. Cust. free. means the fair was custom free but no period is specified. The number indicates the number of fairs occurring at a particular site. Thus, for 1737, at Scotstown, Co. Monaghan, four fairs were scheduled, each of which was to be custom free for the following six years.

Appendix 37 – Wicklow’s marriage records, a consideration of their likely accuracy.

Stage 1 – Determining the accuracy of the records

Because the number of marriages recorded in a parish register is usually a factor of approximately five fewer than the number of baptisms or burials (table 44) it can often be difficult to determine the likely accuracy of a marriage register, but when this factor is combined with the small size of Wicklow’s Protestant parishes, the task can become almost impossible. Nonetheless, in chapter three the likely accuracy of Wicklow’s Protestant and Catholic baptismal and burial registers was considered for a three-decade period centred on 1766, and this process is hereinafter attempted for the various marriage registers, albeit with one major qualification. For baptisms, the CQM baptismal level for each year was used in most cases, but since there are so few marriages per year relative to the number of baptisms, this option is not available. Instead, the crude marriage rate per individual year has been determined for all years between 1751 and 1781 (thirty-one years), for the thirteen parishes for which 1766 census material is available.

If the registers were thoroughly recorded, they should exhibit (chapter three, table 44) between 5 and 10 marriages per 1,000 people, but for most parishes, the calculated crude marriage rate lies considerably below the minimum permitted level (table 116 and figure 222). The dataset resulting from the calculation of crude marriage rates should contain 403 values (thirteen parishes x 31 years), but for some years in all thirteen parishes no marriages were recorded. In Blessington, for instance, at least one marriage is recorded for only nine years (table 116), leaving twenty-two years during which no marriages were recorded. The parishes that appear to have the most thorough recording during this period were Carlow, which recorded at least one marriage in twenty-nine of the thirty-one years, Wicklow (twenty-seven years), Delgany (twenty-three years) and Castlemacadam (twenty-one years). Thus, out of a possible 403 annual crude-marriage-rate totals, at least one marriage is only recorded for 223 (55 per

cent) of these. Of course, because of the small Protestant populations, in some instances the lack of recording during a particular year may accurately indicate an absence of marriages, but it likely often to be a manifestation of poor recording. The final column in table 116 shows the minimum mean number of marriages that is to be expected each year, based on the Protestant totals in the 1766 census (see note), and an assumption of five marriages per 1,000 people, the minimum level that Wrigley and Schofield suggest is to be expected.¹²⁷

Table 116 - Rudimentary consideration of the thoroughness of the Wicklow Anglican marriage registers, 1751-81.

Parish	Years with given no. of marriages					Prots	Min. no. of marriages expected per year, assuming 5 per 1,000.
	>=5, <10	>10	<5	Total	None		
Aghowle	6	0	5	11	20	760	3.8
Athy	2	0	13	15	16	770	3.9
Blessington	0	0	9	9	22	490	2.5
Bray	7	0	5	12	19	360	1.8
Carlow	7	1	21	29	2	1,250	6.3
Castlemacadam	4	0	17	21	10	680	3.4
Delgany	5	0	18	23	8	583	2.9
Monkstown	3	0	12	15	16	510	2.6
Newcastle	7	0	5	12	19	370	1.9
Powerscourt	6	1	9	16	15	400	2.0
Rathdrum	0	0	14	14	17	940	4.7
Tullow	4	0	15	19	12	550	2.8
Wicklow	0	0	27	27	4	1,330	6.7
	51	2	173	223			

Note: The first five numerical columns show the number of years during which specified marriage totals were achieved. The last two columns show the 1766 Protestant population estimate, and the minimum number of marriages that could be expected in each parish every year, based on Wrigley and Schofield's suggested minimum of 5 marriages per 1,000. Their suggested maximum (10 marriages per 1,000) would, of course, mean far higher numbers of marriages. Note also, that since mixed marriages had to be performed by a Protestant clergyman then mixed marriages would drive this minimum figure further upwards, so the deficiency is even greater than may at first appear.

Although some of the Protestant populations were small in 1766 (three parishes contained fewer than 500 Protestants, for instance), most Protestant communities were sufficiently large to merit at least one entry every year in the marriage registers. In some parishes (certainly in Bray, Newcastle, Powerscourt, Blessington, Tullow and Delgany, and perhaps in all parishes except Carlow and

Wicklow), the anticipated minimum number of marriages (table 116) is very low, so it would not be surprising if no marriages were performed during an occasional year, whilst for other parishes (especially Carlow and Wicklow) a year without a marriage must have been unusual. Furthermore, the minimum number of expected marriages has been calculated solely from the Protestant population, but since Catholic priests were not legally permitted to officiate at marriages in which one or both of the parties were Protestants, then the anticipated number of marriages should be even higher than the minimum figures suggested in table 116. Bearing these points in mind, therefore, if the registers were rigorously recording family formation within which there was at least one Protestant member, then years with no marriages should be sporadic, and infrequent. Despite this, however, years without at least one marriage recorded are common in most of the registers. Only in Carlow, Wicklow, Delgany and Castlemacadam are there ten years or fewer in the period 1751-81 without at least one marriage recorded, whereas in Aghowle and Blessington there are no marriages recorded during twenty or more years during the same period. Such data are statistically incompatible with complete, and accurate, recording of marriages.

However, when the actual crude marriage rate (CMR) is calculated for each year for which at least one marriage is recorded, the situation gets even worse. Figure 222 shows the crude marriage rate for all thirteen parishes for which a rate can be calculated for this period. The horizontal red line (five marriages per 1,000 population) shows the minimum figure that could be expected, with the horizontal blue line showing the maximum expected CMR (ten marriages per 1,000). All calculated CMRs should typically be lying within these two lines, although temporary blips above or below either limit would not cause concern. What is unacceptable, however, is the consistency with which the calculated crude marriage rates fail to meet the minimum expected rates *for all parishes*. In fact, even for those parishes which seem to have had the most thorough recording, for only a handful of years do the calculated CMRs exceed the minimum expected levels (last column, table 116). For only fifty-three data points, out of a possible 403 (just 13 per cent), do the calculated CMRs lie above the minimum level. Even for Delgany, Wicklow, Castlemacadam and Wicklow, the parishes which

statistically appear to have the best data, the situation is bad. During twenty of the twenty-seven years of marital recording in the registers for Wicklow parish, the calculated CMR does not exceed 3, and similar statistics are evident for Delgany (for twelve out of twenty-three years), Castlemacadam (for eleven out of twenty-one years) and Carlow (for fourteen out of twenty-nine years). While temporary dips below the minimum threshold rate are to be expected, the consistency with which the CMR in all parishes failed to reach the threshold points conclusively to under-recording. Furthermore, this under-recording appears so chronic, and so consistent, that there is little point in attempting to cleanse the entire data through any processes comparable to the interpolations which were performed on the baptismal and burial series in chapter three.

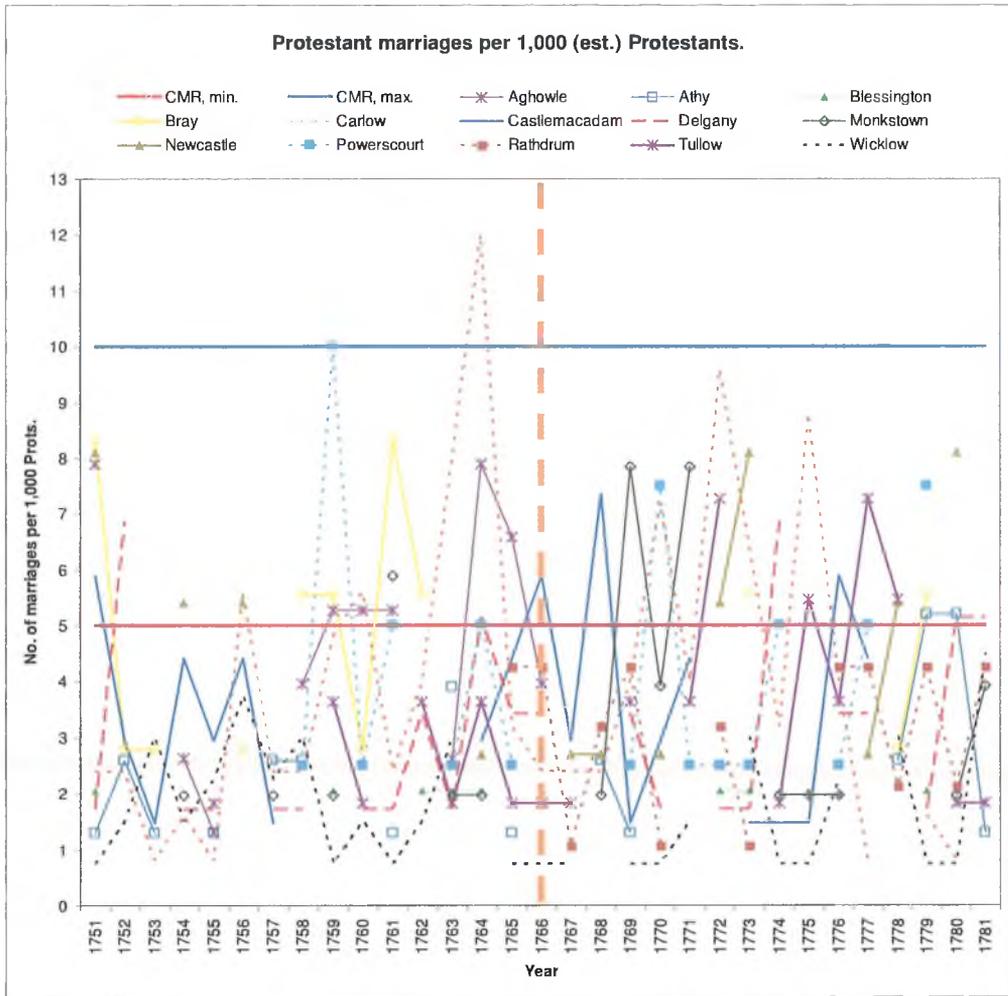


Figure 222 – Crude marriage rate for thirteen Church of Ireland parishes, 1751-81 (using 1766 populations estimates).

Note: minimum and maximum rates from Wrigley and Schofield, *Pop. hist. of England, 1541-1871*, p. 20.

In contrast to the Church of Ireland data, the Catholic records for Wicklow parish appear to be reasonably complete, although some problems also exist with that dataset. In figure 107 notable dips in the annual number of marriages recorded are evident during the years 1753, 1757, 1759, 1764, 1770 and 1776, and while some of these may represent genuine dips in the marriage plot, some may also be the result of poor record-keeping. This is a critical point, because, as can be seen in figure 223, the Catholic crude marriage rate appears to lie largely within the

expected CMR bounds, which implies that the registers were, at least for most of the period between 1751 and 1781, being reasonably thoroughly kept.

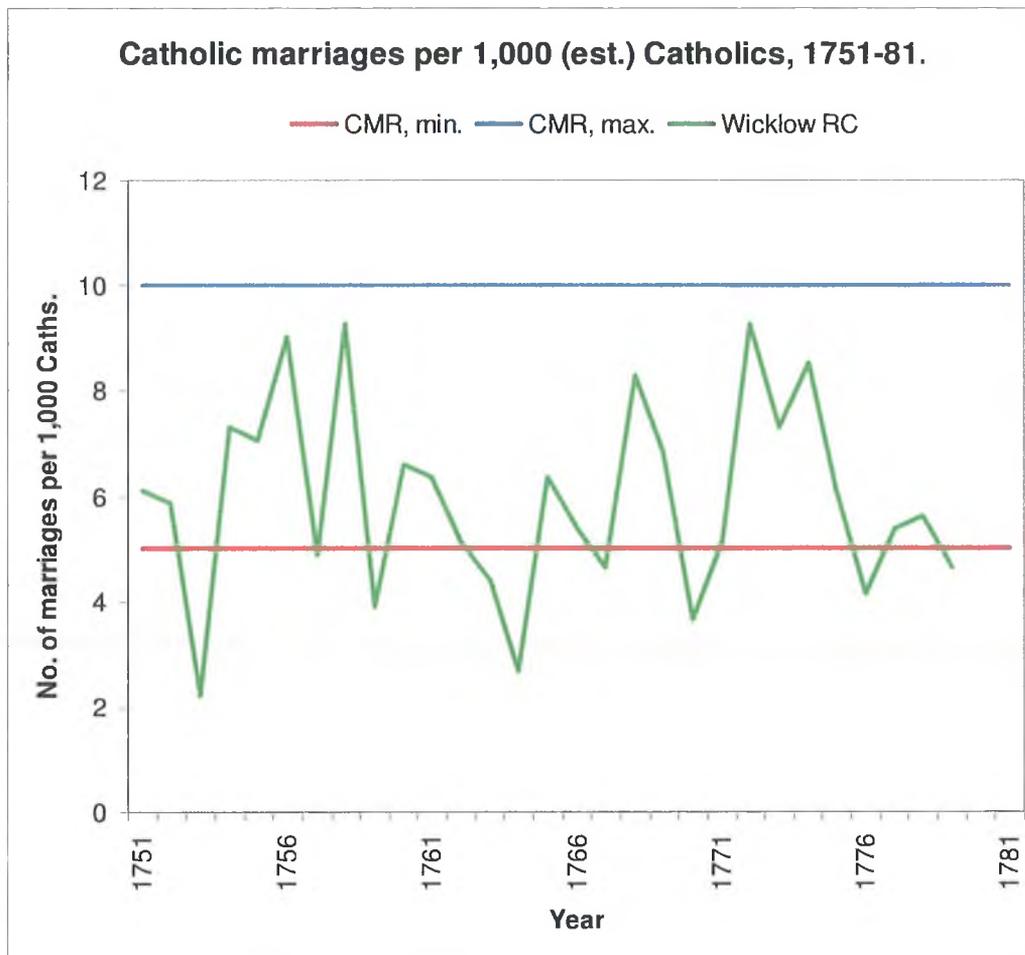


Figure 223 – Crude marriage rate for Wicklow Catholic parish, 1751-81 (using 1766 populations estimate).

Note: minimum and maximum rates from Wrigley and Schofield, *Pop. hist. of England, 1541-1871*, p. 20. Note also the dramatic fall in the CMR in 1753, a year which does not coincide with any known period of distress.

Stage 2 – Interpolation for the Catholic dataset

The principal problem encountered when determining deficiencies in a marital series usually relates to the relatively small number of marriages recorded each year, and while such difficulties are less evident in a larger Catholic dataset, they are still present, nonetheless. In Wicklow’s Catholic parish a typical mean of between twenty and thirty-five marriages were recorded each year between 1751

and 1781, so it is reasonable to expect that gaps of two, or perhaps even three, months when no marriages would be recorded will occasionally occur, but, even during periods of intense distress, it becomes increasingly statistically less likely that no marriages would have been recorded during a sequential period of four or more months. Thus, when four or more sequential months occur during which no marriages were recorded, interpolation has been attempted. The specific interpolation methodology that is used here determines the mean number of marriages during the same month for a quadrennium (four years) on either side of the deficient year/month, and if five of these eight data points record one or more marriages, then the mean number of marriages in this dataset (just the months during which one or more marriages is recorded) is assumed to represent the likely omitted figure. On the basis of this strict rule, interpolation is only permitted for the year 1753 (figure 107), a year which, it will be remembered, also required interpolation for the baptismal total (chapter three, figure 52). By executing this method for the 'missing months' during 1753, the total number of marriages for that year is increased from 9 to 33, and the problem of a sharp dip in marriages at a period, which did not coincide with known harvest crises (figure 108), is resolved. For the baptismal series, interpolation was also used for deficient months during 1754, 1755 and 1776 (chapter three, figure 52), but the crude marriage rate only dips below the minimum expected level during one of these years, and for that year, 1776, although the total number of marriages recorded (17), is lower than the mean total for that period (for instance, the mean number of baptisms during the eight year period 1772-5 and 1777-80 is 26), only two months during 1776 contain no recorded marriages.

Thus, the interpolation process only permits a minor change to the Wicklow Catholic dataset. The adjusted annual aggregates for marriages in Wicklow (Catholic) parish, with the interpolated figures for 1753, are shown in the text, in chapter five, figure 108.

Appendix 38 – Official holy days and relevant Catholic holy days.

Official holy day (7 William III, c. 14)	Date
All Sundays in the year	
Circumcision of Christ	1 January
Epiphany	6 January
Conversion of St Paul	25 January
Purification of Mary	2 February
St Matthias the apostle	24 February
Annunciation	25 March
St Mark the Evangelist	25 April
Sts Philip and Jacob the apostles	1 May
St Barnabas the apostle	11 June
Ascension	Movable feast
Nativity of John the Baptist	24 June
St Peter the apostle	29 June
St James the apostle	25 July
St Bartholomew the apostle	24 August
St Matthew the apostle	21 September
St Michael the archangel.	29 September
St Luke the Evangelist	18 October
Sts Simon and Jude the apostles	28 October
All Saints Day	1 November
St Andrew the apostle	30 November
St Thomas the apostle	03 July
Nativity of our Lord	25 December
St Stephen the martyr	26 December
St John the Evangelist	27 December
The holy innocents	28 December
Easter Monday	Moveable feast
Easter Tuesday	Moveable feast
Whit Monday	Moveable feast
Whit Tuesday	Moveable feast
23 October (commencement of 1641 rebellion)	23 October
5 November	5 November
30 January	30 January
29 May (Restoration of Charles II)	29 May
Catholic holy day (<i>Catholic encyclopedia</i>, vi, p. 22)	
St Brigid's day	1 February
St Patrick's day	17 March
St Kevin's day	3 June
Assumption	15 August
All Souls day	2 November
Immaculate Conception	8 December

Source: An act declaring which days in the year shall be observed as holy-days. (*Stat. Ire.*, iii, pp 286-8).

Appendix 39 – Monthly baptismal index figures for 1725-50 period.

Table 117 – Monthly baptismal index, Anglican registers, 1725-60.

Baptisms	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December
Conceptions	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March
1725-6	104	136	104	73	120	113	104	86	70	117	83	91
1727-8	106	85	87	100	87	100	146	124	80	93	100	90
1729-30	101	108	107	110	95	89	127	72	74	98	116	104
1731-2	86	139	86	115	150	112	56	92	83	111	66	106
1733-4	85	124	131	104	96	88	93	93	96	117	76	98
1735-6	99	78	113	106	105	120	83	99	108	124	77	86
1737-8	90	123	116	98	93	93	108	56	104	124	112	85
1739-40	139	109	94	97	128	82	104	68	110	87	108	75
1741-2	110	92	115	95	117	79	110	122	74	86	95	101
1743-4	106	119	104	131	98	115	94	92	70	110	91	71
1745-6	100	119	142	121	129	81	85	71	71	107	71	103
1747-8	94	97	129	123	109	87	99	82	100	96	89	96
1749-50	109	118	94	97	101	77	89	111	110	114	92	91

Appendix 40 – Baptismal indices for September and October, for 1711-50 period (two-year periods).

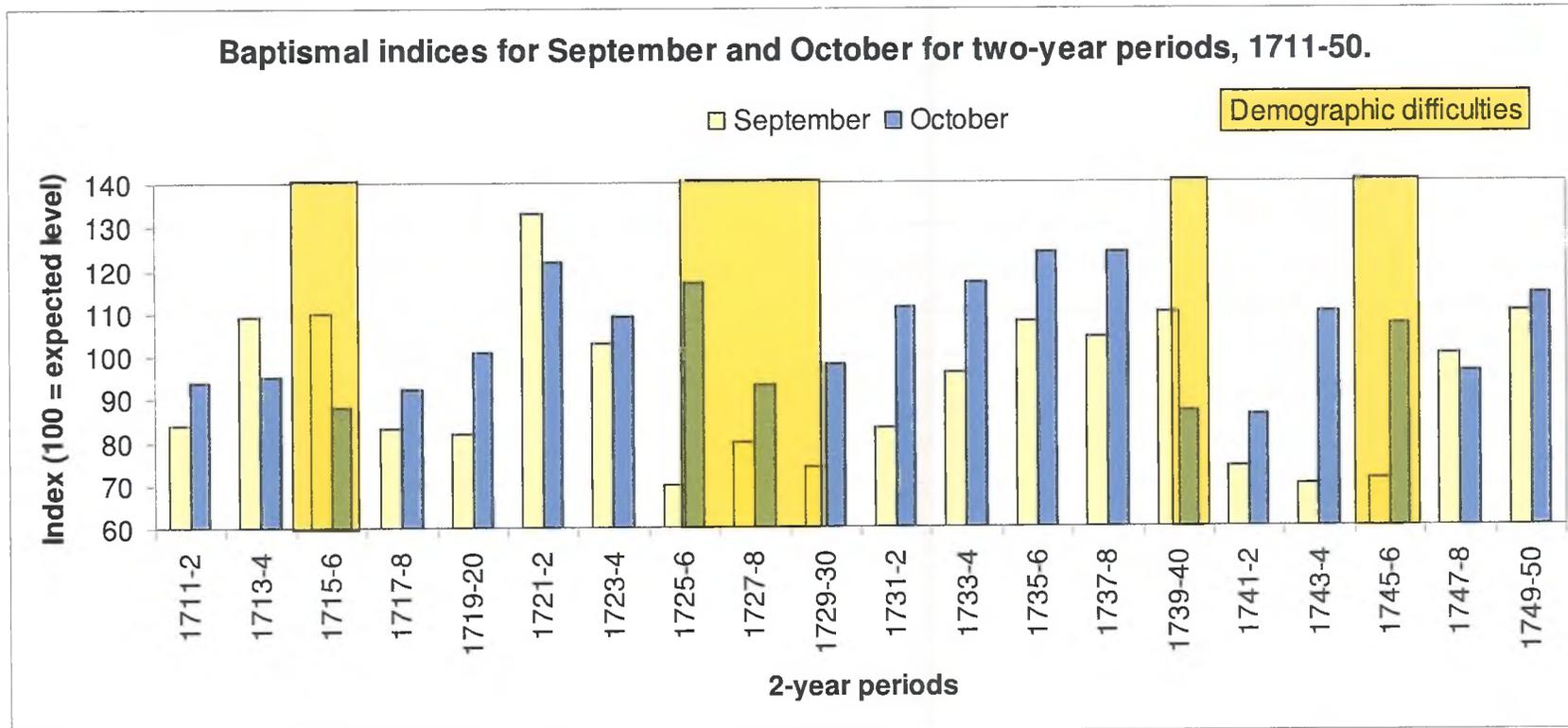


Figure 224 – Baptismal indices for September and October for 1711-50 period

Note: The baptismal index for these two months (particularly October) are clearly linked with the quality of the harvest the previous year. The indicators of demographic difficulties are shown to provide guidance only, as they do not translate accurately onto two-year periods.

Appendix 41 – Proportion of daily burials in St Peter’s parish, Drogheda.

The proportion of burials occurring per day in Drogheda is very similar to the statistics for the three urban parishes in greater Wicklow. The Drogheda statistics have been calculated from more than 4,200 burials recorded between 1702 and 1840. Notably, Sunday and Thursday are the two most popular days and Wednesday and Saturday the two least popular days in both urban datasets.¹²⁸

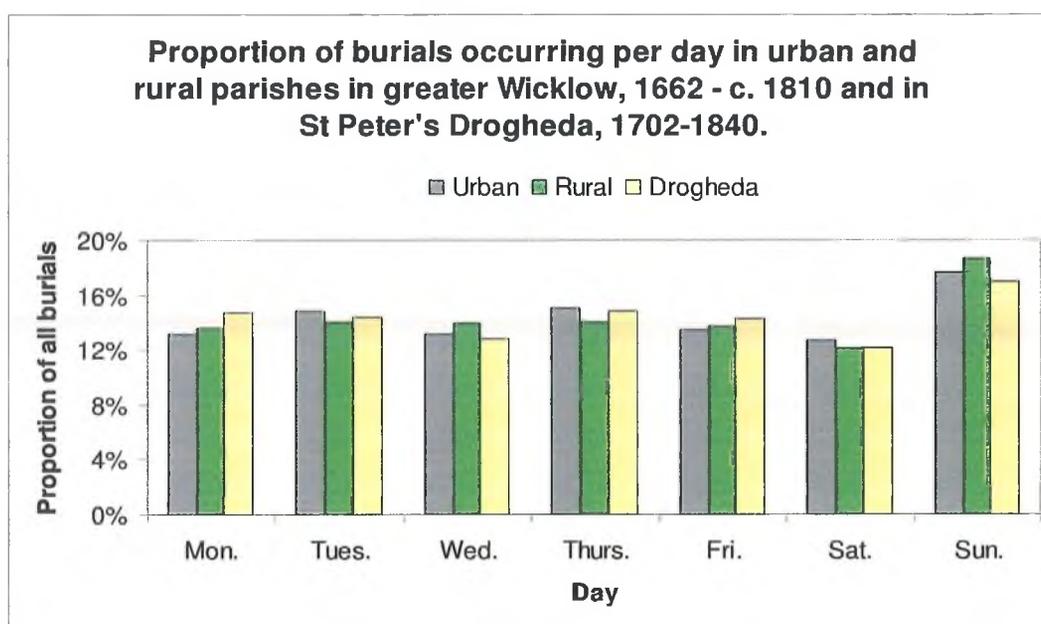


Figure 225 – Distribution of burials per day in Wicklow, compared with urban Drogheda (source: R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 854.1.2, 854.1.3, 854.1.4, 854.1.5, 854.1.6, 854.1.7).

Ranking	Greater Wicklow (urban)	Greater Wicklow (rural)	St Peter’s, Drogheda
1	Sun.	Sun	Sun.
2	Thurs.	Tues.	Thurs.
3	Tues.	Thurs.	Mon.
4	Fri.	Wed.	Tues.
5	Mon.	Fri.	Fri.
6	Wed.	Mon.	Wed.
7	Sat.	Sat.	Sat.

Appendix 42 – Marital index for Wicklow’s Protestant parishes – various periods.

The tables below show the monthly marital indexes calculated from Wicklow’s Church of Ireland records. The popularity of the early half of the year (except for March) for marriages is clearly evident. As the period is shortened, and the number of marriages in each period is consequently reduced, then some curious results begin to emerge, such as, for example, the dramatic increase in the popularity of March as a month for marriage in the 1760s. Nonetheless, the fundamental patterns of marital peaks in the early months of the year remain evident.

Table 118 – Monthly marital index for Protestant parishes, fifty year periods

Period	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	No. of marriages
1650-99	137	116	21	131	122	136	79	111	66	74	98	111	223
1700-49	118	197	56	140	118	81	82	62	87	85	95	89	951
1750-99	136	170	49	122	106	120	95	72	92	75	84	84	1,024
1800-50	134	147	72	96	113	99	95	88	80	93	69	116	457

Table 119 – Monthly marital index for Protestant parishes, twenty-five year periods

Period	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	No. of marriages
1650-99	137	116	21	131	122	136	79	111	66	74	98	111	223
1700-24	131	214	60	165	128	69	66	58	87	78	71	84	532
1725-49	101	176	51	108	104	96	101	67	87	96	125	96	419
1750-74	158	187	49	138	94	112	89	67	96	67	76	76	477
1775-99	116	156	50	109	116	127	101	78	89	82	91	90	547
1800-49	134	147	72	96	113	99	95	88	80	93	69	116	457

Table 120 – Monthly marital index for Protestant parishes, twenty year periods

Period	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	No. of marriages
1650-99	137	116	21	131	122	136	79	111	66	74	98	111	223
1700-19	135	215	53	164	132	74	71	63	79	79	63	82	446
1720-39	103	190	67	146	99	69	88	50	91	81	128	96	333
1740-59	142	202	32	106	117	114	78	57	90	82	95	96	332
1760-79	137	154	58	133	102	115	114	79	99	67	75	73	404
1780-99	118	160	51	103	105	130	92	82	90	90	95	90	460
1800-49	134	147	72	96	113	99	95	88	80	93	69	116	457

Table 121 – Monthly marital index for Protestant parishes, ten year periods

Period	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	No. of marriages
1650-99	137	116	21	131	122	136	79	111	66	74	98	111	223
1700-9	152	200	35	188	147	61	64	47	109	94	48	64	201
1710-19	120	227	67	144	120	84	77	77	55	67	75	96	245
1720-9	112	202	59	143	125	82	79	33	95	72	109	99	179
1730-9	92	177	76	150	69	55	99	69	87	92	150	92	154
1740-9	103	165	41	64	116	120	96	82	99	110	113	96	172
1750-9	184	242	22	152	117	106	59	29	79	51	76	95	160
1760-9	130	185	90	105	101	105	101	90	87	73	70	68	209
1770-9	145	120	24	162	103	125	127	66	112	60	81	79	195
1780-9	112	123	62	97	112	116	87	112	77	81	116	106	189
1790-9	122	186	43	108	100	139	96	61	99	96	81	78	271
1800-49	134	147	72	96	113	99	95	88	80	93	69	116	457

Appendix 43 – Catholics in a Protestant world.

As parishioners, Catholics were permitted to participate in vestry meetings, although since many of the functions of the vestry and many of the duties of the parish officers were related to church matters, Catholic involvement was often unnecessary, and indeed undesirable. It appears to have been the case that where Protestantism was numerically strong, Protestants dominated parish politics and monopolised parish posts. However, many parishes had insufficient numbers of Protestants to run the parish as a monopolistic concern, and in such situations Catholics could often be involved in the running of the parish.

In the Cork parish of Castlemartyr, for example, Catholics, accounting for 90 per cent of all households in 1766, became increasingly involved in parish office, including that of churchwarden, having been largely excluded from public positions during the 1750s (table 122).¹²⁹ In County Louth, greater consistency is evident from the parish of Termonfeckin, where, with Protestants only accounting for 5 per cent of about 200 families in 1766, one Catholic and one Protestant churchwarden was elected annually throughout most of the eighteenth century.¹³⁰ Catholic churchwardens can also be identified in nearby Charlestown (14 per cent of households reputedly were Protestant in 1766) during the same period.¹³¹ Since the tiny Protestant numbers in Termonfeckin, Castlemartyr and Charlestown broadly mirrored the denominational makeup of most of the country, the shared governance in these parishes is likely an indication of more widespread behaviour. If Protestants in parishes within the surrounds of Dublin and in east Cork were unable to govern without Catholic input, it seems probable that, prior to the 1785 disenfranchisement of Catholics from churchwardens' votes, confessional coalitions were the order of the day for parishes throughout much of non-Ulster and non-urban Ireland. Termonfeckin's nine Protestant families certainly could not have been expected to operate both ecclesiastical and civil duties required of the parish on their own. Although little is known about the functional procedures in parishes which operated a dual-religion churchwarden policy, it is likely to have been the case that either the Protestant churchwarden would have undertaken the religious responsibilities of the post, with the Catholic churchwarden's tasks

confined to the various civil duties, or that some of the church-specific duties for Catholic churchwardens may have been performed by a deputy.¹³²

Table 122 - In Castlemartyr (diocese of Cloyne), vestry politics was dominated by Protestants during the 1750s. During the 1760s, however, Catholics became increasingly involved in parish life as churchwardens and cess applotters. 1766 census reported 44 Protestant (9.6 per cent) and 416 Catholic families.

Year	Position	Protestants		Unknown	Catholics	
		Certain	Likely		Certain	Likely
1751	Churchwardens	1	1			
1752	Churchwardens	2				
	Sidesmen			1	1	
	Applotters		2			
1753	Churchwardens	2				
	Applotters	1	1			
1754	Churchwardens	2				
	Applotters	2	1			
	Applotters	2				
1755	Applotters	5				
1756	Churchwardens		1	1		
	Applotters	5	1			
1757	Churchwardens	1	1			
	Applotters	1	5	3		
	Inspectors of work	1		1		
	Overseers, highway	2				
1758	Churchwardens	1	1			
	Applotters	4	3	1		
	Overseers, highway	2				
1759	Churchwardens	1		1		
	Applotters	4				
	Overseers, highway	2				
1760	Churchwardens		1	1		
	Applotters	2		2		
	Overseers, highway			2		
1761	Churchwardens	1			1	
	Applotters	2		1	1	
1762	Churchwardens	1			1	
	Applotters	1		2	1	
1763	Churchwardens	1		1		
	Applotters	6				
1764	Churchwardens	2				
	Applotters	3				
1765	Churchwardens	2				
	Applotters	2			1	
1766	Churchwardens	2				
	Applotters	2			1	
1767	Churchwardens	2				

Year	Position	Protestants		Unknown	Catholics	
		Certain	Likely		Certain	Likely
	Applotters	2				
	Overseers, poor	5		1		
1768	Churchwardens	2				
	Applotters	1		1		
1769	Churchwardens	2				
	Applotters	1		1	1	
1770	Churchwardens	1			1	
	Applotters	2			2	
1771	Churchwardens			1	1	
	Applotters			1	2	
1772	Churchwardens			1	1	
	Applotters	1		1	2	

Source: Troy (ed.), *Religious census of Cloyne*, pp 192-8; Castlemartyr vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 607.5.1).

Appendix 44 – Popularity of churchwardens and overseers surnames in Delgany, 1665-80.

Table 123 – Popularity of surnames for churchwarden and overseer offices in Delgany, 1665-80 – Byrnes, Toolles and Doyles in bold font.

Churchwarden surnames	No.	Overseers surnames	No.	Overseers (cont)	No.	
Massey	5	Byrne	7	Keloge	1	
Bagaley	2	Toole	6	Kavanagh	1	
Bunn	2	Doyle	4	Simpson	1	
Wilson	2	Haydon	4	Wood	1	
Wingfield	1	Hanlon	3	Harwood	1	
Trim	1	Lambe	3	Walker	1	
Rudolph	1	Dawson	2	Halfpenny	1	
Randle	1	Ward	2	Griffith	1	
Palmer	1	Jones	2	Edwards	1	
Morris	1	Trim	2	Earlwood	1	
Baker	1	Massey	2	White	1	
Kennedy	1	Parrott	2	Dolan	1	
Johnston	1	Adderson	1	Deane	1	
Hodginson	1	Reading	1	Tracey	1	
Haydon	1	Randle	1	Daw	1	
Deane	1	Payne	1	Darbyshire	1	
Dawson	1	Roe McDonagh	1	Cumiskey	1	
Clarke	1	Neile	1	Coleman	1	
	Byrne	1	McSweeny	1	Anderson	1
Webster	1	McDaniel	1	Blake	1	
Brass	1	Roylands	1	Aspell	1	
		Mason	1	Ashton	1	
		Savage	1			
28 appointments, 23 different individuals		72 appointments, 54 different individuals				

Source: Delgany vestry book 1 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 917.5.1, ff 14-33, 230v).

Appendix 45 – The geographical distribution of confessional groups in Rathdrum parish, 1766.

The 1766 religious census presents a unique opportunity to examine the geographic distributions of the two principal confessional groupings in a part of Wicklow, but religious populations to the townland level are only available from this survey for the union of Rathdrum. Table 124 shows these confessional distributions for the union's four constituent parishes. Rathdrum parish, the most populous and the most fertile, contained a substantial Protestant population, comprising 42 per cent of the total number of households. Underlying this distribution were substantial differences in settlement patterns. Rathdrum town, and its immediate vicinity, 'abound with a respectable and numerous Protestant population'¹³³ (forty-nine of the eighty-seven householders were Protestants), although it had a substantial Catholic minority. It was a sectarian town, too, and the strong Orange element would not suffer the presence of a Catholic church in or near the town, which accounts for the location of the Catholic parish's principal chapel at Greenane, a few kilometres distant. By the end of the century small Catholic chapels had also been constructed in other remote, rural areas areas, including at Clara in the north, Macreddin in the south and Ballinatone.¹³⁴

Nor was sectarianism restricted to the town. The thatched chapel at Macreddin was burned in 1798 by 'Burn Chapel Whaley',¹³⁵ and chapels at Balinatone and Ballinacor were also burned during the eighteenth century¹³⁶ and it was not until the closing years of the eighteenth century that regular Catholic services were permitted in the town. When the Flannel Hall was constructed in Rathdrum, in the 1790s, Catholics were permitted to 'scrunge themselves as well as they can' into a corridor in the hall for mass, and the constructions of a Catholic church in the town was not permitted until the late 1850s.¹³⁷

Table 124 – Denominational distributions in the Rathdrum union, and valuations per 1,000 acres.

Parish	Prot.	Cath.	Total	% Prot.	% Cath.	Valuation per 1,000 acres (£)
Ballinacor	19	90	109	17.4	82.6	114
Ballykine	40	156	196	20.4	79.6	333
Knockrath	22	107	129	17.1	82.9	166
Rathdrum	89	121	210	42.4	57.6	556
Unknown	0	1	1	0.0	100.0	
Total	170	475	645	26.4	73.6	227

Source: Valuations from Griffith's *General valuation of Wicklow, 1852-4*; Gurrin, 'Three eighteenth century surveys of Wicklow' in *Anal. Hib.*, xxxix (2006), pp 106-15.

In rural Rathdrum the Catholic community was stronger, comprising almost 70 per cent of the population. Most of the parish's townlands had some Protestants, although only Ballinderry, with its small urban centre, contained more than ten Protestant families (figure 226). South of Rathdrum, in Ballykine parish, the Protestant community was even weaker (table 124), although here, too, localised denominational distinctions are evident. In the eastern parts of the parish, in a few townlands near Ballinaclash, along the banks of the Avonbeg River, and in the south, along the Ow River, Protestants predominated, but in the remaining areas Catholics were dominant, and many townlands, comprising a large swathe in the west of the parish were completely devoid of Protestant households (figure 226).

In Ballinacor and Knockrath, the two western parishes, Protestant proportions were even smaller than in Ballykine, at just 17.4 per cent and 17.1 per cent respectively. Most of mountainous, western Ballinacor contained no Protestant households, as was also the case in the infertile, northern stretches of Knockrath (figure 226). Table 124 and figure 227 shows the aggregated townland acreages within the union which contained no Protestants at the townland level. As can be seen, there were no Protestants in townlands spanning roughly half of the geographic area of the union. In Rathdrum parish, only two small townlands, comprising 10 per cent of the total area, were empty of Protestants, whereas in Ballinacor, townlands comprising over 70 per cent of the entire parish were settled solely by Catholics.

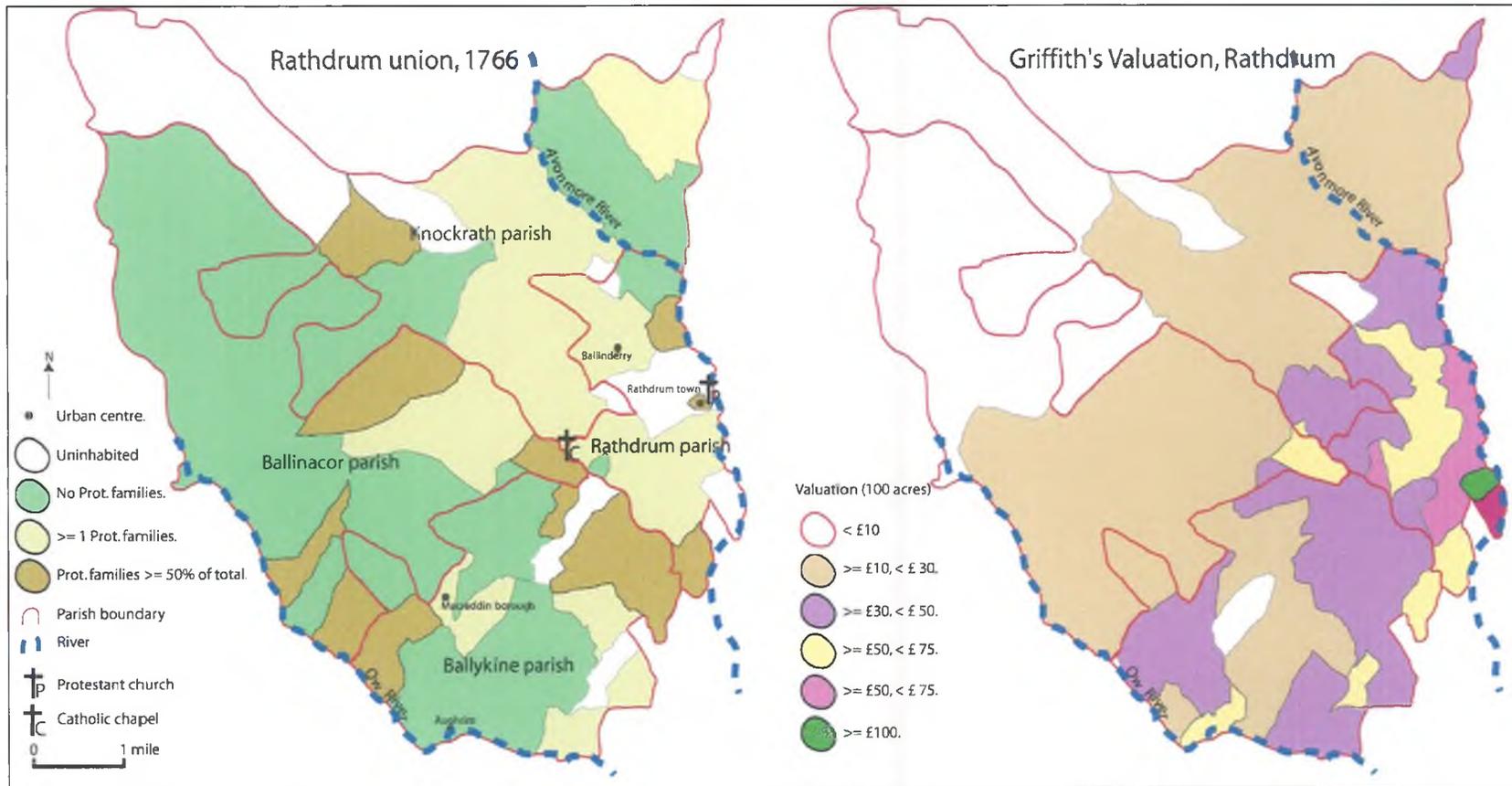


Figure 226 – 1766 denominational distributions in Rathdrum union (source: land-quality from Griffith's *General valuation of Wicklow, 1852-4*, denominational figures from Gurrin, 'Three eighteenth century surveys of Wicklow' in *Anal. Hib.*, xxxix (2006), pp 106-15).

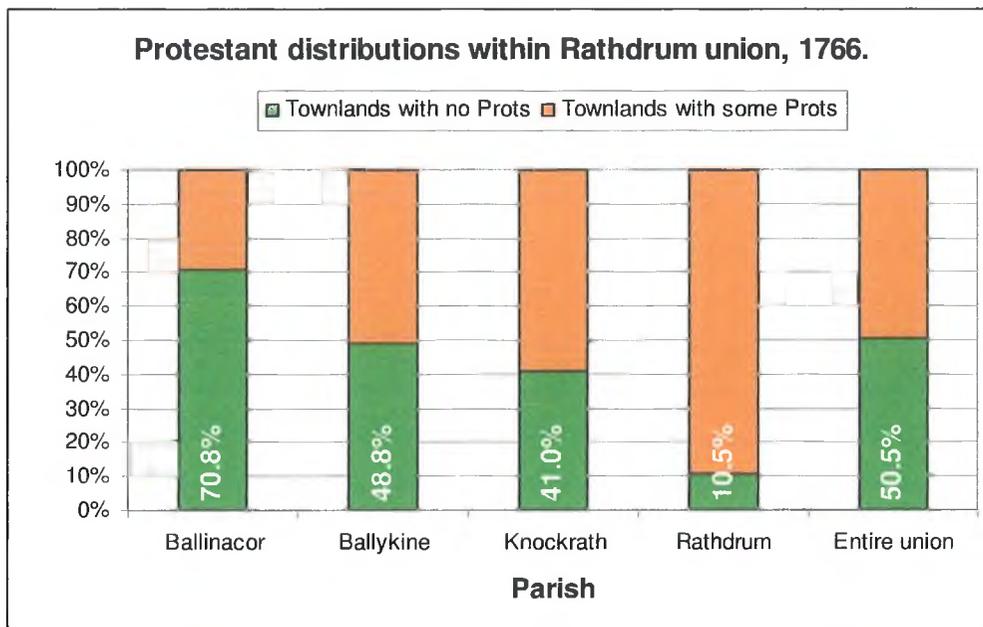


Figure 227 - Proportion of entire geographic acreage of the Rathdrum union parishes with no Protestant families.

Based on the data presented in table 124 and figure 227, it could be reasonable to speculate that Protestants occupied the best quality lands, leaving the marginal lands for Catholic settlement. Certainly there is substantial truth to this, but the issue is not altogether that clear-cut. Figure 228 shows the denominational distribution of the total population of townlands grouped by land-value. On the poorest land, valued at £100 or less per 1,000 acres and located primarily in the western and northern parts of the union, all of the households were Catholic. As land-quality improves, the Protestant proportion of the total population also steadily increases, until the Protestant proportion of the total population of lands valued at £500 or more per 1,000 acres reaches almost 50 per cent. Even on the most valuable lands, however, which included the various small urban centres, the Catholic population still predominated. Admittedly, one could create finer groupings and manufacture a Protestant majority at higher land valuations (Protestants were predominant on lands valued at £700 or more per 1,000 acres, but only marginally so), but it remains clear, nonetheless, that the lands of highest quality were not devoid of Catholic tenants.

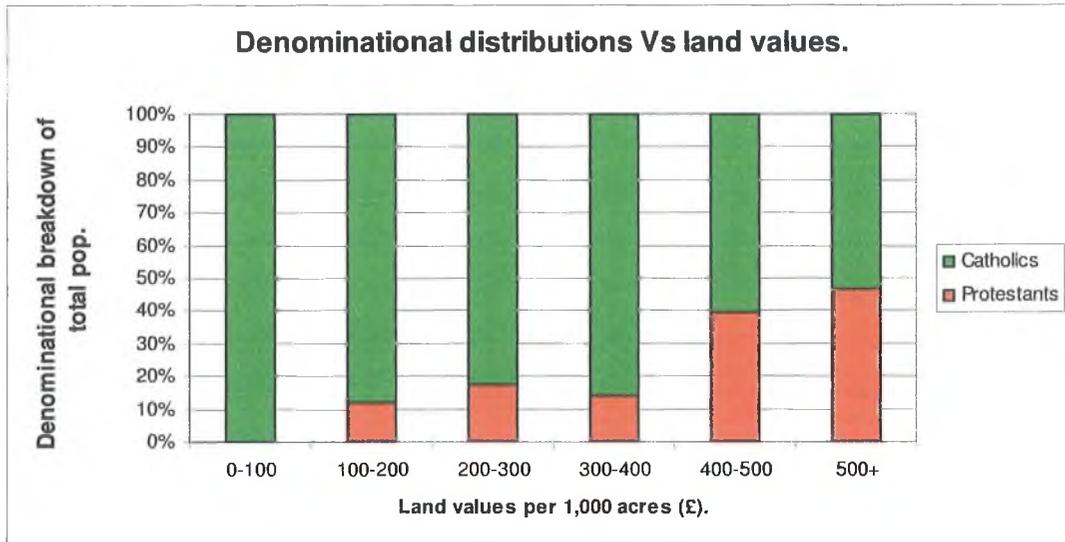


Figure 228 – Demominational proportions occupying townlands grouped by land value (source: Valuations from Griffith's *General valuation*, 1852-4)

Another view of the denominational distributions is presented in figure 229, which shows the proportionate distribution of both confessional groups among the broad land-valuation groupings. Again, the bias of Protestants on the better quality lands is clearly evident. More than seven out of ten Protestants in the entire union lived in townlands which fell within the two highest value groupings, but only one in three Catholic households occupied lands at equivalent mean values. At lower land values, about one in five Protestant households were located on lands of mean value of £300 or less per 1,000 acres, whereas more than half of Catholic households were similarly located on those lands.

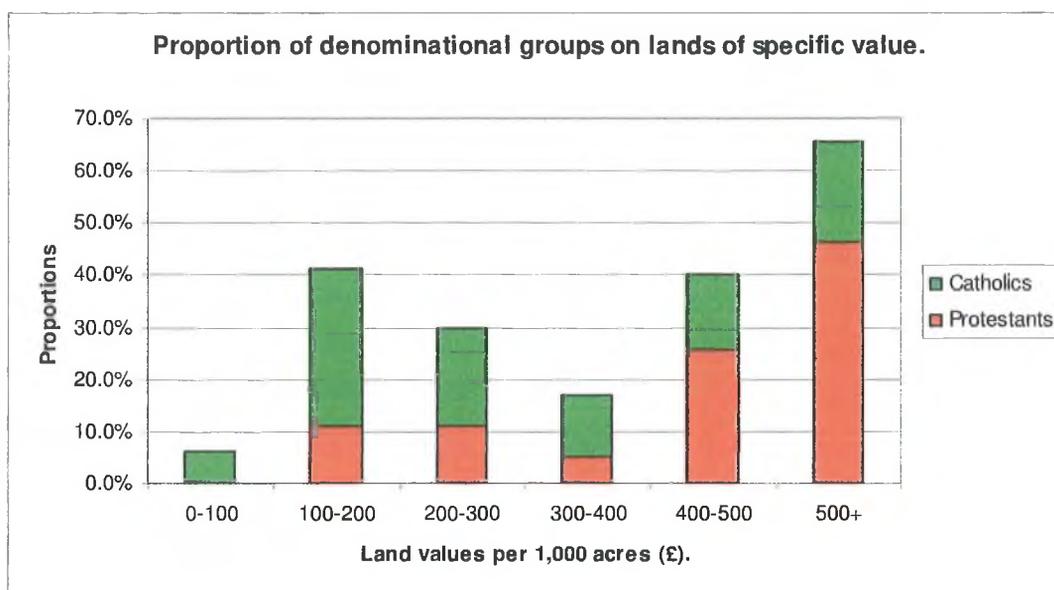


Figure 229 – Proportion of each denomination occupying townlands grouped by land value (source: Valuations from Griffith's *General valuation*, 1852-4).

Of course, considering denominational distributions with regard to land quality statistics does not necessarily indicate wealth distributions, and one cannot definitively conclude that a relatively higher concentration of one denomination on good land is a certain indication that that denomination is relatively better off than an under-represented community. Even within the majority community, the presence of a substantial 19 per cent of the total number of Catholic households on lands valued at upwards of £500 per 1,000 acres, does not confirm the existence of a wealthy Catholic sub-grouping, as these Catholic householders may have been the labourer or cottier tenants of strong Protestant farmers. Without the availability of contemporary leases or estate maps it is not possible to adjudge the mean size of holdings, which will have been the ultimate arbiter of the relative economic well-being of Rathdrum's Catholics and Protestants. Nonetheless, the avoidance by Protestants of the poorest lands remains a strong indication that Protestant tenants were likely more favourably treated by Protestant landowners. It will be remembered that a survey of the Malton estate some decades previously (introduced in chapter one) suggested that Catholic tenants, by nature of their frugal living and modest, limited diets, were more capable of eking out an existence on the poorest lands implied a similar tendency in the southern reaches

of the county and in Powerscourt it was reported during the Ordnance Survey that Protestants 'hold the best part of the lands, the Catholics being principally located on the mountain aides, and in the rugged bottoms of Glencree'.¹³⁸ It thus seems likely that the rural Protestant community, considered as a whole, was relatively wealthier than was the Catholic community and the over-representation of Protestants in urban areas further suggests that Protestants were also strongly represented in manufacture, commerce and the provision of services.

References, appendices

¹ For an introduction to the hearth tax see Gurrin, 'The hearth tax roll for Dublin city', pp 51-62; Edward MacLysaght (ed.), 'Seventeenth century hearth money rolls with full transcription relating to County Sligo' in *Anal. Hib.*, xxiv (1967), pp 1-16; Charles McNeill (ed.), 'Hearth money rolls of County Louth' in *Louth Arch. Soc. Jn.*, vi, no 1 (1925), pp 79-82.

² An introduction to this roll is available in Brian Gurrin, 'The hearth money roll for County Wicklow, 1668 – an introduction' in *Genealogical society of Ireland journal*, vi, no. 2 (2005), pp 37-49.

³ N.L.I. MS 8818; G.O. MS 667; N.A.I. M 4909.

⁴ Price, 'Hearth money roll, County Wicklow', pp 164-78.

⁵ Price, 'Hearth money roll, County Wicklow', p. 173.

⁶ For a discussion on the reforms of the hearth tax see Gurrin, 'The hearth tax roll for Dublin city', pp 51-61.

⁷ Although the 1791 figures are just a county aggregate, they are sufficiently temporally proximate to the statutory censuses to allow for barony distributions to be estimated with a fair degree of confidence.

⁸ Dickson, Ó Gráda and Daultrey, 'Hearth tax, household size and Irish population change', pp 177-8.

⁹ A transcription of the surviving returns from this census and a discussion on the likely merits of these data will be published in *Anal. Hib.*, xxxix.

¹⁰ *Journals of the house of lords of the kingdom of Ireland, 1753-1776* (8 vols, Dublin, 1779-1800), iv (1782), p. 370 (hereinafter cited as *Lords' jn. Ire.*).

¹¹ 'Resolved that the several archbishops and bishops of this kingdom shall be and are hereby desired to direct the parish-ministers in their respective dioceses to return a list of the several families in their parishes to this House on the first Monday after the recess, distinguishing which are Protestants and which are Papists, as also a list of the several reputed Popish priests and friars residing in their parishes', *Lords' jn. Ire.*, 1753-76, iv, p. 370; B. Troy (ed.), *Religious census of the diocese of Cloyne, 1766, and other contemporary documents, transcribed by the Rev. Bartholomew O'Keeffe D.D.* (Midleton, n.d), pp 34 ('In obedience to the directions of the Right Reverend my Lord Bishop of Cloyne'), 104 ('pursuant to a late order presented me from [the bishop of] Cloyne', 141 ('notice came to me from the bishop of Cloyne of the order of the House of Lords') (hereinafter cited as Troy (ed.), *Rel. census of Cloyne, 1766, by O'Keeffe*); (Armagh diocese) N.A.I. MS parl. ret. 652 ('according to my Id primates directions'), N.A.I. MS parl. ret. 653 ('Pursut to ye order of the House of Lords and ye notice sent to me by his Grace the Lord Primate of all Ireland'), N.A.I. MS parl. ret. 676 ('In obedience to the command of his Grace my Lord Primate which I received 16th inst'); (Cashel and Emly) N.A.I. MS parl. ret. 701 ('according to the directions received from the register of the court of his Grace the Archbishop of Cashel'); (Clonfert diocese) J Fahey, *The history and antiquities of the diocese of Kilmacduagh* (Dublin, 1893), p. 360 ('according to the instructions I got from the bishop of Clonfert'); (Kildare diocese) Comerford, *Kildare and Leighlin*, i, p. 271 ('in obedience to the order of the House of Lords and command of the bishop of Kildare').

¹² Such delegation occurred in some parishes, although there is no indication that Wicklow's clergymen took this option. For examples see Louth parish (Armagh diocese) (Tomás Ó Fiaich (ed.), 'The 1766 religious census for some County Louth parishes' in *Louth Arch. Soc. Jn.*, xiv (1957-60), p. 113 (hereinafter cited as Ó Fiaich (ed.), '1766 census, County Louth')) and Magourney (Cloyne diocese) (Troy (ed.), *Rel. census of Cloyne, 1766, by O'Keeffe*, p. 155).

¹³ Ó Fiaich (ed.), '1766 census, County Louth', pp 113, 117; Comerford, *Kildare and Leighlin*, i, p. 270; Leslie, *Armagh clergy*, p. 419.

¹⁴ Provided the number of inhabitants is not just a simple multiple of the number of houses – (e.g. 10 houses * 5 = 50 inhabitants).

¹⁵ Allan Findlay and Anne Findlay, *Population and development in the Third World* (repr. 1995, London, 1987), p. 3; *The Times atlas of the world, a comprehensive edition* (9th ed., London, 1994), plate 5.

¹⁶ Louis Henry and Yves Blayo, 'La population de la France de 1740 a 1860' in *Population*, xxx (numéro spécial) (Novembre 1975), pp 95, 99.

- ¹⁷ Wrigley and Schofield, *Population history of England, 1541-1871*, pp 577, 578, 588.
- ¹⁸ Mokyr and Ó Gráda, 'New developments in Irish population history', pp 475-6.
- ¹⁹ Mokyr and Ó Gráda, 'New developments in Irish population history', p. 476.
- ²⁰ *Census Ire., 1841*, p. 5 for Carlow,
- ²¹ Mason published the population and house figures that were available for all counties and baronies (Mason, *Parochial survey of Ire.*, iii, pp xli-xlv). Family data were only published for the counties that had returned acceptable figures (*ibid.*, pp xxxii-xl). The state of the returns for each county, and brief details on the progress of enumerations within each county, were also detailed (*ibid.*, pp xxvii-xxxii).
- ²² *Commons' jn. Ire., 1792-4*, xv, pt 1 (1797), pp appendix cxcvii-ccii.
- ²³ *Commons' jn. Ire., 1792-4*, xv, pt 2 (1797), pp appendix cccxxvii.
- ²⁴ Bushe, 'Essay towards ascertaining the population of Ireland', pp 145, between pages 148-9.
- ²⁵ *Commons' jn. Ire., 1792-4*, xv, pt 2 (1797), pp appendix cccxxvii; Dickson, Ó Gráda and Daultrey, 'Hearth tax, household size and Irish population change', p. 181.
- ²⁶ Newenham, *Stat. inq. of Ire.*, p. 17.
- ²⁷ Newenham, *Stat. inq. of Ire.*, p. 100n.
- ²⁸ Newenham, *Stat. inq. of Ire.*, p. 112; *idem*, *A view of the natural, political, and commercial circumstances of Ireland* (London, 1809), appendix, p. 21.
- ²⁹ Dickson, Ó Gráda and Daultrey, 'Hearth tax, household size and Irish population change', p. 150.
- ³⁰ 1739 hearth tax summary, in Stanley Lane Poole papers (N.L.I. MS 7227, unnumbered pages (23rd and 24th pages in notebook)).
- ³¹ Dickson, Ó Gráda and Daultrey, 'Hearth tax, household size and Irish population change', pp 130-43.
- ³² Gurrin, 'The hearth tax roll for Dublin city', p. 58.
- ³³ Dickson *et al.*, although citing no evidence, suggest that the number of collection districts may have increased in the 1710s or early 1720s (Dickson, Ó Gráda and Daultrey, 'Hearth tax, household size and Irish population change', p. 132).
- ³⁴ *State of religious and other instruction now existing in Ireland: first report*, 1 [C 45], H.C. 1835, xiii, 1 (hereinafter *Public instruction, first report*).
- ³⁵ Summary, Dublin diocese, 1766 census (N.A.I., MS M 2476 (i)).
- ³⁶ *Public instruction, first report*, p. 96b.
- ³⁷ *Census Ire., 1821*, p. 130.
- ³⁸ *Census Ire., 1821*, p. 130.
- ³⁹ Summary, Dublin diocese, 1766 census (N.A.I., MS M 2476 (i)) for Castlemacadam and Ballintemple figures (Stanley Lane Poole papers (N.L.I. MS 8818 for Dunganstown)).
- ⁴⁰ 1766 figures from, Aghowle union vestry book (R.C.B. MS P. 522.5.1, loose sheet)
- ⁴¹ Summary, Dublin diocese, 1766 census (N.A.I., MS M 2476 (i)) for Blessington and Boystown; 1766 census returns (R.C.B. MS 37, f. 5.) for Kilbride.
- ⁴² Summary, Dublin diocese, 1766 census (N.A.I., MS M 2476 (i)).
- ⁴³ *Lords' jn. Ire., 1753-1776*, iv (1782), p. 370.
- ⁴⁴ Troy (ed.), *Rel. census of Cloyne, 1766, by O'Keefe*, p. 155; Ó Fiaich (ed.), '1766 census, County Louth', p. 117.
- ⁴⁵ Ó Fiaich (ed.), '1766 census, County Louth', p. 117.
- ⁴⁶ William Carrigan, *The history and antiquities of the diocese of Ossory* (4 vols, Dublin, 1905), iv, p. 404.
- ⁴⁷ Figures calculated from data for 35 parishes for Protestants and 30 parishes for Catholics.
- ⁴⁸ Dickson, Ó Gráda and Daultrey, 'Hearth tax, household size and Irish population change', p. 153.
- ⁴⁹ This large union was comprised of Clonmethan, Palmerstown, Ballymodum, Westpalstown and Ballyboghil parishes. The 21 Protestant families contained 95 Protestants, but also 136 Catholic servants, Donnelly, *History, Dublin parishes*, xvii, pp 153-4.
- ⁵⁰ Ó Fiaich (ed.), '1766 census, County Louth', p. 113.
- ⁵¹ Interdenominational marriages were frowned upon. In 1766 Revd. Deveux, curate of Lea parish, Queen's County, described them as 'mongrels' (Comerford, *Kildare and Leighlin*, i, p. 271).
- ⁵² It should be recognised that significant ambiguities with the data remain. It has been assumed that all the individuals in Protestant houses are Protestant family members. However, this will

inevitably include Protestant servants. Also, Catholic families, while less likely to employ Protestant servants, did, nevertheless, employ servants. Thus, the mean family size of Catholic families will be boosted by the presence of Catholic servants in these families.

⁵³ Whittey's return, which he claimed was 'very carefully made, and may be relied upon', noted 63 Protestant families (out of a total of 753 in the parish) but of these 63 families, 'probably seven are only nominally such', Comerford, *Kildare and Leighlin*, iii, 405.

⁵⁴ Brian Gurrin, 'Navan, Co. Meath, in 1766' in *Ríocht na Midhe*, xv (2004), pp 87-8; Ó Fiaich (ed.), '1766 census, County Louth', p. 113.

⁵⁵ Tighe, *Statistical observations, County Kilkenny*, pp 456-61.

⁵⁶ Note that the total number of families is not given and, thus, there is no figure available for the number of Catholic families. However, as the total population and the total number of Protestants is given, then the Catholic population must have been recorded at 36,870. Assuming 4.5 persons per Catholic house, the number of Catholic families in the Ossory part of the diocese was probably recorded in the census at c. 7,850. The missing parishes in the 1731 return would have boosted the number of Catholic families to about 9,150, which is quite close to the 9,700 houses recorded by the hearth tax collectors (Tighe, *Statistical observations, County Kilkenny*, p. 458).

⁵⁷ [Bindon ?], *Abstract of Protestant and Popish families in Ireland, 1732-3*, p. 3.

⁵⁸ Repertorium Hibernicum (Reeves papers) (T.C.D., MS 1059, p. 159).

⁵⁹ Mason, *Parochial survey of Ire.*, iii, pp xli. In the 1813 census Toome was the second most populous barony in the county with 15.9 per cent of the total population, marginally ahead of Massereene (15 per cent) and behind Belfast (25 per cent).

⁶⁰ Dickson, Ó Gráda and Daultrey, 'Hearth tax, household size and Irish population change', p. 151. The figures cited for Kilkenny in 1731/2 appear to be incorrect.

⁶¹ The mean household size of 4.17 is lower than any other multiplier cited by Dickson *et al.* for the 1684-1799 period, with the exception of the inaccurate Armagh estimate for 1770 Dickson, Ó Gráda and Daultrey, 'Hearth tax, household size and Irish population change', p. 151.

⁶² In the 1740s and 1750s the Physico Historical Society was funding and encouraging social inquiry. In the main, the authors used multipliers of 4.5 or 5 to convert both Protestant and Catholic houses into denominational estimates.

⁶³ The earliest example of this is, The account of ye number of houses in ... the Kingdom ... Estimate of the number of people and some observations (T.C.D., MS 883, ii, p. 330). This account uses the 1706 hearth tax returns, and assumes multipliers of 5 for a single-hearth and 7 for a multi-hearth house outside Dublin and 4 ½ for single-hearth and 8 ½ for multi-hearth Dublin houses.

⁶⁴ [Bindon ?], *Abstract of Protestant and Popish families in Ireland, 1732-3*, pp 9-10.

⁶⁵ Tighe, *Statistical observations, County Kilkenny*, p. 458; Dickson, Ó Gráda and Daultrey, 'Hearth tax, household size and Irish population change', p. 151.

⁶⁶ Gurrin, 'An examination of the census of Elphin, 1749', p. xxx.

⁶⁷ Dickson, Ó Gráda and Daultrey, 'Hearth tax, household size and Irish population change', p. 153.

⁶⁸ Dickson, Ó Gráda and Daultrey, 'Hearth tax, household size and Irish population change', p. 177; Cullen, 'Pop. trends in seventeenth century Ireland', pp 150-1.

⁶⁹ Arthur Dobbs, *An essay on the trade and improvement of Ireland* (2 vols, Dublin, 1729-31), ii, p. 9.

⁷⁰ Cullen, 'Pop. trends in seventeenth century Ireland', p. 151.

⁷¹ Poor houses in 1791 accounted for 21 per cent of the total number of houses in the county. Adjusting the 1706 figure by this amount would mean a house-count of c. 8,000 (*Commons' jn. Ire., 1792-4*, xv, pt 1 (1797), p. appendix ccii).

⁷² The actual mean household size is difficult to estimate. Even a statement in the 1706 returns (T.C.D., MS 883, ii, p. 330) on mean household size shines little light on that problem – the information is too general to provide assistance. Whilst there is recognition that larger houses typically contain more people (5 persons per country one-hearth-house, 7 per country multi-hearth-house, and so on) this seems to be based more on presumption than analysis. Furthermore, the national multiplier that emerges from the data (5.26) may be a little on the high side for the early eighteenth-century. Dickson *et al.*'s working estimate is 5.2 for Leinster for 1706 (Dickson, Ó Gráda and Daultrey, 'Hearth tax, household size and Irish population change', p. 153).

⁷³ Various copies of the roll exist, including N.L.I. MS 8818; G.O. MS 667; N.A.I. M 4909.

⁷⁴ Price, 'Hearth money roll, County Wicklow', pp 164-78.

⁷⁵ Monck Mason note that some parishes are imperfect ('Imperfect parishes following', Price, 'Hearth money roll, County Wicklow', p. 173) is ambiguous. It seems to suggest that all the parishes following are imperfect, but almost certainly only refers to the remaining parishes in Talbotstown, including the omitted parishes in the north-west. Note that no data is available for Logstown and two skins of the roll were torn out.

⁷⁶ There are 4,202 hearths in the roll and abstract and the missing parishes would probably have accounted for c. 200 more.

⁷⁷ Dickson, Ó Gráda and Daultrey, 'Hearth tax, household size and Irish population change', p. 179.

⁷⁸ Dickson, Ó Gráda and Daultrey, 'Hearth tax, household size and Irish population change', p. 158.

⁷⁹ Dickson, Ó Gráda and Daultrey, 'Hearth tax, household size and Irish population change', p. 157.

⁸⁰ Dickson, Ó Gráda and Daultrey, 'Hearth tax, household size and Irish population change', pp 157-8.

⁸¹ Dickson, Ó Gráda and Daultrey, 'Hearth tax, household size and Irish population change', p. 158; Gurrin, 'The hearth tax roll for Dublin city', p. 55.

⁸² Poll tax data available in Pender, with intro by Smyth, *Census Ire., c. 1659*). The poll tax was actually collected in County Wicklow ('An estimate of the pole money', T.C.D. MS 808, f. 275). However, the tax collected in the county, amounting to just £299:01 was grossly deficient, suggesting that it was either poorly collected or was collected only in part of the county. Based on subsequent hearth tax figures (Dickson, Ó Gráda and Daultrey, 'Hearth tax, household size and Irish population change', p. 179), the Wicklow poll tax should have amounted to c. £500.

⁸³ Gurrin, 'The hearth tax roll for Dublin city', pp 54-6.

⁸⁴ Gurrin, 'The hearth tax roll for Dublin city', pp 54-6'. Inexplicably, the amount paid for the Dublin collection rights was very low for the years 1672, 1682 and 1683, but it may be that the farm rights had been purchased for a block of years. The farm cost rose substantially in 1684, suggesting that the earlier figures represented good value for the farmers. The degree of deficiency for 1684 and 1685 are, therefore, better guides to the extent of the deficiency in the rolls. The data in the table presented below assumes a population growth rate of 2 per cent per annum, and can, thus, be compared with the County Wicklow data in table 94.

Year	Net revenue (est.)	Farm payment	Adjustment	Difference	Degree of deficiency	Hearths omitted
1664	£528					
1672	£619	£610	£763	£144	23.3%	1,440
1682	£754	£608	£760	£6	0.8%	60
1683	£769	£600	£750	(£19)	-2.5%	(190)
1684	£785	£750	£938	£153	19.5%	1,530
1685	£800	£725	£906	£106	13.2%	1,060

Source: Farm payments from Dickson, Ó Gráda and Daultrey, 'Hearth tax, household size and Irish population change', p. 179, net revenue from 1664 revenue, increased by 2 per cent per annum).

⁸⁵ Dickson *et al.* do not derive a working estimate for Leinster mean household size for any year before 1706 (Dickson, Ó Gráda and Daultrey, 'Hearth tax, household size and Irish population change', p. 153). The only valid source material for household size is for 1684 for Meath and King's counties (Toby Barnard, 'Sir William Petty, his Irish estates and Irish population' in *Ir. Econ. & Soc. Hist.*, vi (1979), p. 69 where the mean household size of a very small sample (438 families) is 4.69 (hereinafter cited as Barnard, 'Sir William Petty'). Bearing in mind that the working estimates produced by Dickson *et al.* for Leinster do not show mean household size significantly above 5.0 until after 1753, then a multiplier of 5.0 appears acceptable (Dickson, Ó Gráda and Daultrey, 'Hearth tax, household size and Irish population change', p. 153).

⁸⁶ William Smyth has suggested a possible Wicklow figure of c. 9,300 (Smyth, 'Society and settlement in seventeenth century Ireland', p. 56; Pender, with intro by Smyth, *Census Ire., c. 1659*, p. xl), although an analysis of the hearth tax farm prices (particularly 1682) suggests that this estimate may be too low, although the evidence is contradictory. The farm prices for King's and Louth were consistently higher than for Wicklow between 1672 and 1685 (Gurrin, *Pre census*

sources for Irish demography, p. 89), which would suggest that Louth and King's poll tax figures represent an upper bound for Wicklow – King's County figures were 8,310. However, if the poll tax figures for all the Leinster counties (excluding Dublin and Meath, for which there are only partial poll tax returns) are adjusted by the equivalent proportion that the Wicklow farm price for 1682 bears to the individual counties farm prices (i.e. Wicklow's farm price for 1682 was 570 and Carlow's was 370 – 65 per cent of Wicklow's figure. Carlow's poll tax figure was 5,434, and if this is adjusted upwards by 154 per cent (the ratio implied by the farm tax prices) then Wicklow's poll tax figure, based on Carlow's figure, should be c. 8,370) then the likely poll tax figures for Wicklow are 8,370 (Carlow), 10,168 (Kildare), 10,277 (Kilkenny), 7,344 (King's), 7,684 (Longford), 9,010 (Louth), 10,472 (Queen's), 9,670 (Westmeath) and 8,476 (Wexford). The mean of these figures is 9,050, suggesting that a figure of this order, lower than Smyth's estimate, is appropriate for Wicklow. However, the poll tax returns seem to be more accurate for southern Leinster counties, than for northern ones (Pender, with intro by Smyth, *Census Ire., c. 1659*, p. xxix). Using just the southern counties of Kildare, Laois, Carlow, Kilkenny and Wexford, the mean estimate for County Wicklow is 9,550, and this may be a more appropriate figure for County Wicklow.

⁸⁷ Pender, with intro by Smyth, *Census Ire., c. 1659*, p. 613.

⁸⁸ The age profile of the population in 1660 would be crucial in determining the exact theoretical-multiplier, but this is an absolute unknown. Boyle and Ó Gráda's smoothed age distribution figures for Irish males from the 1841 census suggest a multiplier of 1.7 to convert all males 15 years and over (2.456 million) into a total population figure for males (4.136 million) (Boyle and Ó Gráda, 'Fertility trends', p. 546.

⁸⁹ Petty never made such a statement, although there is strong evidence that this was the order of his working multiplier. John Graunt, writing in 1676, estimated the population of Dublin to have been c. 30,000 and noted that this 'agrees with the number which I have heard the Books of Poll-Money ... have exhibited as the Number of Inhabitants of that City'. Graunt is likely to have received this information from Petty. As the number of taxpayers returned for Dublin city was 8,780, then a multiplier of 3.4 would convert the total number of taxpayers into a population estimate of 30,000 (John Graunt, *Natural and political observations mentioned in the following index, and made upon the bills of mortality*, reprinted in Hull (ed.), *The econ. writings of Petty*, ii, pp 399).

⁹⁰ Cullen, 'Population trends in seventeenth century Ireland', p 153; Smyth, 'Society and settlement in seventeenth century Ireland', p. 56.

⁹¹ William Smyth now suggests a multiplier of between 2.8 and 3.0 (Pender, with intro by Smyth, *Census Ire., c. 1659*, pp xiv, xl). See also Gurrin, *Pre census sources for Irish demography*, p. 74.

⁹² There is strong evidence that the Dublin multiplier should be low. The area was well-administered, and the returns, particularly for south Dublin, seem fairly complete.

⁹³ Pender, with intro by Smyth, *Census Ire., c. 1659*, p. xlii.

⁹⁴ William Smyth has suggested there are 'strong suggestions of deficiencies' in various counties, including rural Dublin (Pender, with intro by Smyth, *Census Ire., c. 1659*, pp xxix, xxx). Later, he refers to 'evidence [unspecified] of some underestimation in County Dublin, particularly for places like the Liberties of Donore on the burgeoning outskirts of the capital' (ibid., p. xxxiii). He does not adequately explain his reasoning for these suspicions, and his conclusions regarding the degree of underestimation in the Dublin (county) returns may be too rigid.

In contradiction of the assumption I have made in the text, Smyth also notes that he had formerly believed that strong, long-standing administrative structures could have accounted for the good quality of returns in County Tipperary but now is disinclined to believe this to be a cause of good-quality returns.

⁹⁵ Dickson, Ó Gráda and Daultrey, 'Hearth tax, household size and Irish population change', p. 153.

⁹⁶ Barnard, 'Sir William Petty', p. 69.

⁹⁷ Dickson, Ó Gráda and Daultrey, 'Hearth tax, household size and Irish population change', p. 153.

⁹⁸ Pender, with intro by Smyth, *Census Ire., c. 1659*, p. xxix.

⁹⁹ Petty's figures for 1672 suggest a slightly higher ratio. An exact figure cannot be calculated as for houses with more than one 'chimneys' he only gives aggregate figures for various hearth-ranges. Thus, there were 6,800 houses with either 2 or 3 hearths. Without knowing the

specific totals for each individual numbers of hearths, however, an exact figure cannot be calculated. However, based on his data, the ratio of hearths to houses was between 1.25 and 1.4 (Hull (ed.), *The econ. writings of Petty*, i, p. 143).

¹⁰⁰ Gurrin, 'The hearth tax roll for Dublin city', p. 55.

¹⁰¹ Dickson, Ó Gráda and Daultrey, 'Hearth tax, household size and Irish population change', pp 156-7.

¹⁰² Between 1669 and 1682 the hearth tax collection rights were included in the general revenue farm. From 1682 the county rights were individually auctioned (Dickson, Ó Gráda and Daultrey, 'Hearth tax, household size and Irish population change', pp 156-7.

¹⁰³ Dickson, Ó Gráda and Daultrey, 'Hearth tax, household size and Irish population change', p. 179. Also, note that Dickson *et al.* agree that there was some competitive pressure driving the county farm bids (*ibid.*, pp 156-7).

¹⁰⁴ Dickson, Ó Gráda and Daultrey, 'Hearth tax, household size and Irish population change', p. 133.

¹⁰⁵ Tomás Ó Fiaich, *Father Luke Wadding, commemorative volume* (Dublin, 1957), pp 192-4; Benignus Millet, 'Archbishop Edmund O'Reilly's report on the state of the Church in Ireland, 1662 in *Coll. Hib.*, ii (1959), p. 109; Corish, *Catholic community*, p. 49.

¹⁰⁶ Boulter to the bishop of London, 5 May 1730, *Letters of Hugh Boulter*, ii, p. 10; Barnard, 'The eighteenth-century parish', p. 300; Leslie, *Ossory clergy*, p. 307.

¹⁰⁷ On 17 December 1708 the 'Irish burials and christnings' were granted to George Lewis, the parish clerk of Athy (Athy parish registers and vestry book, 1669-1714 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 630.1.1, f. 68v)), so Catholics must still have been in receipt of ecclesiastical services in the Protestant church at that time.

¹⁰⁸ Steele, *Tudor & Stuart*, ii, p. 107 (14 December 1674, no. 854).

¹⁰⁹ The parish registers for Donaghmore, County Wicklow, are explicitly a record 'of the Protestant christenings, burials & marriages' of the parish (Donaghmore parish registers, from 1720 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 274.1.1, opposite f. 1)).

¹¹⁰ Drake specifically refers to six tests and two pre-tests (Drake, 'Introduction', pp viii-xxiv).

¹¹¹ Towards the end of chapter three, regional analysis was introduced, but for the purpose of determining fertility-rate and mortality-rate changes.

¹¹² Wallace (ed.), *Clergy of Dublin and Glendalough*, by Leslie, p. 259.

¹¹³ Wrigley and Schofield, *Pop. hist. of England, 1541-1871*, p. 696.

¹¹⁴ The PQM is the mean number of baptisms and burials for the preceding quinquennial period. Thus, for 1700, the baptismal PQM level is the mean number of baptisms in the period 1695-99.

¹¹⁵ Wrigley and Schofield, *Pop. hist. of England, 1541-1871*, pp 23-30.

¹¹⁶ See, for instance, *Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas. I*, p. 47, LXXVI. for an example of the disputes over legitimacy which could occur in the absence of registration.

¹¹⁷ Drake, 'Introduction', pp xiv-xv.

¹¹⁸ Drake, 'Introduction', p. xiv.

¹¹⁹ Vestry meetings, 4 April 1738, 12 June 1739 (Blessington registers and vestry book, I (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 651.1.1, pp 16, 19)).

¹²⁰ Wallace (ed.), *Clergy of Dublin and Glendalough*, by Leslie, p. 1025.

¹²¹ Wicklow Catholic registers, baptisms, 1874-98 (book in local custody).

¹²² Wrigley and Schofield, *Pop. hist. of England, 1541-1871*, pp 138-9.

¹²³ *The gentleman's and citizen's almanack, 1739*, pp 80, 85.

¹²⁴ John Bourk, *Hiberniae Merlinus, 1685* (Dublin, 1685), p. 46.

¹²⁵ None of the custom-free fairs listed by Watson (*The gentleman's and citizen's almanack*) during the 1730s and 1740s were custom free for more than seven years (appendix 36).

¹²⁶ *Report of commissioners into fairs and markets in Ireland, 1853*, pp 63, 102; *The gentleman's and citizen's almanack, 1733*, p. 63; *ibid.*, 1734, p. 70; *ibid.*, 1735, p. 76; *ibid.*, 1737, p. 72; *ibid.*, 1738, p. 76; *ibid.*, 1739, p. 81; *ibid.*, 1740, p. 81; *ibid.*, 1741, p. 76; *ibid.*, 1742, p. 76; *ibid.*, 1743, p. 76.

¹²⁷ Wrigley and Schofield, *Pop. hist. of England, 1541-1871*, pp 20.

¹²⁸ Drogheda parish registers, books 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 (R.C.B. Lib., MS P. 854.1.2, P. 854.1.3, P. 854.1.4, P. 854.1.5, P. 854.1.6, P. 854.1.7).

¹²⁹ Troy (ed.), *Rel. census of Cloyne, 1766*, by O'Keefe, pp 192-8.

¹³⁰ Ó Fiaich (ed.), '1766 census, County Louth', pp 116-7; Diarmuid Mac Fomhair, 'Clergy and churchwardens of Termonfeckin parish' in *Louth Arch. Soc. Jn.*, xvii, no. 2 (1970), p. 84. There were only nine Protestant families and about 200 Catholic families in the parish in 1766. The list of churchwardens for Termonfeckin clearly shows the confessional division among the churchwardens (one Protestant and one Catholic). In particular, the Brabazon family appear to have dominated the position on the Protestant side, although it is not clear if this is a manifestation of their sense of duty, or a reflection of a wish to dominate the parish politically.

¹³¹ Parish 1766 figures given in Ó Fiaich (ed.), '1766 census, County Louth', p. 116. In Charlestown parish, County Louth, one of the two churchwardens in 1767, Patrick MacCann, was recorded in the 1766 census as a Papist, living in Malpestown (Leslie, *Armagh clergy*, p. 176; Ó Fiaich (ed.), '1766 census, County Louth', p. 114, Malpestown, no. 3). As Shiela Roe has identified likely Catholic churchwardens in Charlestown in 1770 and in 1797, then it seems likely that Charlestown was also electing one Catholic and one Protestant churchwarden with a high degree of regularity (Shiela Roe, 'The Row family of Arthurstown, Charlestown, Glack and Tallanstown, County Louth: their lives and times' in *Louth Arch. Soc. Jn.*, xxiv, no. 4 (2000), p. 547).

¹³² James Leslie, *Irish churchwarden's handbook* (2nd ed., Dublin, 1916), p. 8.

¹³³ *The travellers new guide throughout Irealnd* (Dublin, 1815), p. 66.

¹³⁴ Redmond, 'Notes on the parish of S.S. Mary and Michael, Rathdrum', p. 195; Lewis, *Topog. dict. Ire.*, ii, 496.

¹³⁵ Redmond, 'Notes on the parish of S.S. Mary and Michael, Rathdrum', p. 192.

¹³⁶ Redmond, 'Notes on the parish of S.S. Mary and Michael, Rathdrum', pp 193.

¹³⁷ Redmond, 'Notes on the parish of S.S. Mary and Michael, Rathdrum', pp 195-6.

¹³⁸ O'Flanagan (ed.), *O.S. letters, Wicklow*, p. 6 (Eugene Curry's letter from Enniskerry, 15 December 1838).

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Primary sources

1. Manuscript sources

Armagh

Armagh Public Library

Topographical and statistical returns from various respondents sent to Walter Harris and Physico Historical Society, 1745, MS MS KI II 14. Contains descriptions of varying quality for twenty-two counties. The relevant manuscripts for Wicklow are two surveys and a summary for Leinster.

Dublin

Public repositories (Dublin)

National Archives of Ireland

Summary, Dublin diocese, 1766 census, MS M 2476 (i).

1766 census returns for Armagh diocese, MS parl. ret. 648-679.

1766 census returns for Cashel and Emly diocese, MS parl. ret. 680-702.

1766 census returns for Ringrone, Co. Cork, MS parl. ret. 774.

1766 census returns for Ardcanny, Co. Limerick, MS M 147

National Library of Ireland

Court of chancery: entry book of recognizances, 1570-1634 (British Library MS BM Add MS 19,838 (microfilm copy available in N.L.I., microfilm nos p. 509, 510).

Lane Poole papers, MS 8818.

Lane Poole notebooks, MS 7727.

Down Survey maps of Wicklow, MS 726 (microfilm no. P. 7385).

Hearth money roll – Co. Wicklow, 1669, MS G.O. 667).

Observations made upon the Rt Honble the Lord Malton's estate in Ireland, MS 6054.

Moland's survey of Malton estate, MS 22,017.

Representative Church Body of the Church of Ireland Library, Braemor Park

St Mary's, Athlone, vestry book, 1750-1791, MS P. 392.5.1 (cited as St Mary's, Athlone, vestry book 1). Pages are numbered.

Registry book of Aghold, 1700-1812, MS P. 522.1.1 (cited as Aghowle parish registers, book 1). Unnumbered.

Vestry book, parish of Aghold, 1707-1813, MS P. 522.5.1 (cited as Aghowle vestry book, 1707-1813).

Athy parish registers and vestry book, 1669-1714, MS P. 630.1.1. Foliated pages.

Athy parish registers, 1714-1768, MS P. 630.1.2. Pages numbered.

Athy, register of births, marriages and burials, 1779-1818, MS P. 630.1.3. Pages unnumbered.

Blessington registers and vestry book, 1695-1860, MS P. 651.1.1 (cited as Blessington registers and vestry book, 1).

Bray parish register, 1677-1792, MS P. 580.1.1.

Bray parish register, 1792-1817, MS P. 580.1.2. Unnumbered.

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A register book for the parish of Catherlach, 1697-1744, MS P. 317.1.1 (cited as Carlow parish registers, book 1). Foliated pages.

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