

**NUI MAYNOOTH**

Ollscoil na hÉireann Má Nuad

**The Dublin patriciate and the reception of migrants in the  
seventeenth century: civic politics and newcomers**

**By**

**Edward Whelan**

**THESIS FOR THE DEGREE OF PhD  
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY  
NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND  
MAYNOOTH**

**SUPERVISOR OF RESEARCH  
Professor Colm Lennon**

**October 2008**

## Table of Contents

Acknowledgments .....	iii
Abbreviations.....	iv
Introduction .....	1
<b>Chapter One</b>	
Dublin society and migration, 1600-1700.....	7
<b>Chapter Two</b>	
The patriciate, migrants and the freedom of the city, 1600-92.....	58
<b>Chapter Three</b>	
The patriciate, apprentices and the freedom of the city, 1600-92.....	109
<b>Chapter Four</b>	
The state, outsiders and the freedom of the city, 1660-95.....	150
<b>Chapter Five</b>	
The patriciate, migrants and the defence of economic privileges.....	195
<b>Chapter Six</b>	
The unwelcome migrants: the dangerous poor, 1600-1700.....	237
Conclusion.....	280
<b>Appendices</b>	
<b>Maps</b>	
1 The parishes of Dublin in the later seventeenth century.....	287
2 Average numbers of hearths per taxed household.....	288
3 The liberties of Dublin in the seventeenth century.....	289
4 The percentage of Catholics inhabiting Dublin's parishes, c 1659	290
<b>Tables</b>	
1 List of aldermen, 1600-1700.....	291
2 Freedom rolls of Dublin, 1600-99.....	295
3 Table of the guilds of Dublin.....	298
4.1 Births and deaths in parish of St John's Dublin, 1620-99.....	300
4.2 Births and deaths in parish of St Michan's, 1636-99.....	302
5. Epidemics in Dublin and Ireland, 1600-1700.....	304
6. Table of European migrants enfranchised by fine and special grace...	305
7. Ethnic origin of new citizens surnames	
7.1 Ethnic origin of new citizens, surnames, 1600-60.....	306
7.2 Ethnic origin of new citizens by fine, surnames, 1600-60.....	308
7.3 Ethnic origin of new citizens, by service surnames.....	310
8 Numbers of those enfranchised by service, with surnames of leading landowners, 1600-40 .....	313
9 Occupations of new citizens by 'birth' .....	314

10 Context of complaints against intruders.....	315
11 Context of complaints against vagrants and sturdy beggars' .....	316
Bibliography.....	317

## List of tables

1.1 Baptisms and burials in St John's parish, 1640-9.....	18
1.2 Baptisms and burials in St John's parish, 1650-8.....	19
1.3 Baptisms and burials in St John's and St Michan, 1660-9.....	19
1.4 Baptisms and burials in St John's and St Michan, 1670-9.....	20
1.5 Baptisms and burials in St John's and St Michan, 1680-9.....	20
1.6 Baptisms and burials in St John's and St Michan, 1690-9.....	21
1.7 Baptisms and burials in St John's parish, 1620-99.....	21
1.8 Births and deaths in Dublin, based upon the Dublin bills of mortality..	22
1.9 Number of burials, 1645-55 in St John's.....	23
1.10 Dublin's bill of mortality, 1681-2.....	25
1.11 Births and deaths in St John's parish, 1661-9.....	26
1.12 Numbers of infants/children buried in St John's, 1620-99.....	29
1.13 Numbers of servants in Dublin's population, 1695.....	30
1.14 Profiles of servants two County Dublin baronies, 1656.....	30
1.15 Age profile of servants in County Dublin, 1656.....	31
1.16 Birth, baptisms and marriages in St John's, 1650-9.....	32
1.17 Burials in St John's by gender, 1620-9.....	32
1.18 Daily wages of labourers in Dublin and N.W. England, 1600-1700..	40
1.19 Wages of craftsmen in Dublin and N.W. England, 1600-1700...	41
1.20 Number of citizens enfranchised by birth, 1600-99.....	49
2.1 Numbers enfranchised as citizens of Dublin, 1600-99.....	58
2.2 Status of civic officers in Dublin, 1684.....	63
2.3 Origin of surnames of new citizens by fine, 1600-69.....	70
2.4 Occupation of new citizens by 'fine', 1600-40.....	73
2.5 Number enfranchised by fine, 1600-39.....	75
2.6 Number enfranchised by fine, 1630-39 .....	78
2.7 Numbers of citizens enfranchised by fine, 1638-44.....	79
2.8 Numbers of citizens enfranchised by fine, 1650-9.....	83
2.9 Numbers enfranchised by fine after the 'popish plot' .....	86
2.10 Occupations of those enfranchised by special grace, 1600-49.....	91
2.11 New citizens enfranchised by marriage, 1600-49.....	101
2.12 Occupations of those enfranchised by marriage, 1600-49.....	102
2.13 Numbers enfranchised by marriage, 1660-90.....	103
2.14 Occupations of those enfranchised by marriage, 1660-80.....	103
3.1 Numbers enfranchised by service, 1600-40.....	111
3.2 Numbers of citizens enfranchised by service, 1650-90.....	112
3.3 Occupations of aldermen 1600-99.....	113
3.4 Origin of surname of those enfranchised 'by service', 1600-39.....	116
3.5 Origin of parents of guild of goldsmiths' apprentices, 1640-90.....	120
3.6 Numbers of new citizens enfranchised, 1600-30.....	136
3.7 Citizens enfranchised by service, 1650-9.....	140
3.8 New citizens by entitlement to the freedom of Dublin, 1687-8.....	147
4.1 Numbers enfranchised by 'Act of Parliament', 1662-90.....	154
4.2 Origin of migrants enfranchised by the 'Act of Parliament in Ireland.	156
4.3 Occupation of those enfranchised by 'Act of Parliament' 1662-90...	157

Appendices continued

4.4 Number of new citizens by entitlement, 1660-5.....	178
4.5 Numbers admitted by fine, 1680-8.....	189
6.1 Location of those aldermen's wards in Dublin, 1638-9.....	249

## Acknowledgements

I would like to thank all those at N.U.I. Maynooth, who have helped me, both as an undergraduate and a postgraduate and who offered me the opportunity to embark on this thesis. In particular, I would also like to thank the Department of History, Maynooth, for their invaluable support and understanding, over the past few years. I must express my utmost gratitude to my supervisor, Professor Colm Lennon, for his insights, time and patience. I would like to acknowledge the various librarians and archivists, in England and Ireland, who have been most helpful in my research. Finally, I must thank my family, for their support during my years of research and writing.

## Abbreviations

Abstracts of freemen of Dublin  
Compiled by Thrift

Bodl.

B.H.O.

C.C.A.

D.C.A.

*Dublin Hist. Rec.*

*Econ. Hist.*

E.E.B.O.

*Ir. Geneal.*

*N.Munster Antiq. Jn*

Abstracts of freemen of Dublin  
1574-1752,

Compiled by Gertrude Thrift

Bodelian Library, Oxford

British History Online

Cheshire County Archives

Dublin City Archives

*Dublin Historical Record*

*Economic History*

Early English Books Online

*The Irish Genealogist*

*North Munster Antiquarian Journal*

## Introduction

This thesis aims to investigate Dublin's civic elite and their policy and reactions towards migrants to the city in the seventeenth century. There will be some discussion of the city's patricians' reactions to migration in general but, the thesis' focus will be on those migrants who were of special concern to the governors of the metropolitan city. The newcomers to Dublin who will be investigated include both short and long distance migrants, from the poorest to the wealthiest and from a variety of social and ethnic backgrounds. The patriciate's reception of these new arrivals in the city will be assessed with regard to the social and economic conditions in the city. There will also be an examination of how, the evolving political and religious circumstances of the era influenced the Dublin patricians response to immigrants. Above all, the attitude and actions of the civic elite towards newcomers will be examined with regard to the city's politics and the patricians' desire to preserve the long-accumulated civic privileges.

The history of the Irish capital over the duration of the century has not been analysed in one single work. In the past there have been histories of the city but they tended to concentrate upon the Irish capital's topography and historical anecdotes, the best known example of this type of work is Sir John Gilbert, *A history of Dublin* (3 vols., Dublin, 1972). However, modern scholarship has gone a long way to providing a comprehensive account of the city in the seventeenth century. The Dublin patriciate in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century has been thoroughly examined in Colm Lennon, *The lords of Dublin, in the age of Reformation* (Dublin, 1989). The politics of Dublin corporation in the years 1603-40, come in for detailed examination in Brendan Fitzpatrick's, 'Dublin corporation, 1603-41' (Unpublished PhD thesis, Trinity, 1984). The Commonwealth period and its importance in the development of Dublin and the civic elite were brought to light in Toby Barnard, *Cromwellian Ireland: English government and reform* (Oxford, 1975). The development of the Dublin patriciate between 1660 and 1700 is traced in the opening chapters of Jacqueline Hill, *From patriots to Unionists* (Oxford, 1997). These works combined give an excellent account of the Dublin patriciate in the seventeenth century.

Seventeenth century Ireland witnessed a substantial level of inward and outward migration. This massive population movement altered Irish society, in almost every way. The subject of migration to Ireland has been traced in several works. These studies have all been especially concerned with colonisation and plantations and tend to concentrate on the first half of the seventeenth-century. The migration of Scots to Ulster has been delineated in Michael Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish migration to Ulster in the reign James I* (London, 1973). Migration to southern Ireland has been superbly investigated in Michael McCarthy-Murrough, *The Munster Plantation: English migration to southern Ireland* (Oxford, 1988). Yet there has been relatively little work on migration to urban centres in Ireland and the role of migrants in their development. Indeed there has been no specific study on migration to Dublin for this period. However, in Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British* (New York, 2003) the subject of migration to Dublin, has been touched upon but only for the period 1600-40. Migrants from a variety of locations settled in the Irish capital and these have been the subject of several works. The fortunes of the Dutch community in Dublin have been brilliantly traced by Rolf Loeber.<sup>1</sup> There have also been several studies of the many Huguenots who established themselves in the Irish capital during the Restoration.<sup>2</sup> The experience of Dublin's Quakers, who were generally English migrants, has been examined in several works, most notably Richard Greaves, *Anthony Sharp and the Community of Friends: Dublin's merchant Quaker* (Stanford, 1998). There is no dedicated work devoted to the subject of the Dublin civic elite and migrants in the entire early modern period. This is a glaring gap in the scholarship of this critical period in Irish history.

It is my intention in this thesis to contribute to scholarship in this field of seventeenth-century history. It is my objective here to offer an insight into the unique characteristics of migration to the Irish capital. Migration to Dublin was quite different from that experienced in other areas of the country, due to the city's massive expansion and its role as the political centre of Ireland. A study on the Dublin patriciate and their response to immigrants will throw light on this topic and in this

---

<sup>1</sup> Rolf Loeber, 'The reception of foreigners: Dutch merchants in Dublin and its liberties in the early seventh century' in *Dutch Crossings: a journal of Low Countries Studies*, 26 (2002), pp 155-168.

<sup>2</sup> G.L. Lee, *The Huguenot settlement in Ireland* (Dublin, 1936); C.E.J. Caldicot and J.P. Pitton (eds), *The Huguenots and Ireland: anatomy of an emigration* (Dun Laoghaire, 1987); Petra Coffey, 'Huguenot freemen of Dublin' in *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, no.26 (1997), pp 635-49.



way supplement the existing body of knowledge on migration in the early modern period. The work will examine how the urban elite reacted to migration in this period and how their policies evolved in an era of great and often violent change. The thesis will concentrate on those immigrants that were a concern for the elite although something of their general attitude to migrants will be investigated.

The first chapter will investigate the socio-economic and other factors that influenced the patricians' reception of immigrants, such as the guild system and the demographic regime that prevailed in the city. The remaining five chapters concentrate upon specific groups of immigrants that were of concern to the civic elite. The second chapter discusses the reception of immigrants who sought to become citizens of the city. The next chapter investigates the young immigrants who came to the city and were apprenticed to freemen. The fourth chapter will assess the patricians' reaction to those migrants who were entitled to the freedom of the city by right of parliamentary legislation or government intervention. The fifth chapter will analyse the patricians and their role in controlling the many immigrants who were not associated with guilds and who worked and traded in the city illegally. Finally, the patricians' policies towards the many poor vagrants that wandered to the city will be assessed.

In investigating the patricians' attitude and policies towards immigrants, it has been necessary to examine the many factors that influenced the civic elite. This has led me to delineate the patricians' relationships with other bodies and institutions in the city and the broader kingdom of Ireland. During my work it has been necessary to discuss the patricians' interconnectedness with the craft and merchant fraternities. It has also been necessary for me to examine the often difficult relationship that existed between aldermen and the authorities in the autonomous jurisdictions adjacent to the city, known as the liberties. Of particular importance has been my discussion of the influence of the state or parliamentary legislation upon the patricians. In this way I hope to make a small contribution to the body of research on the Dublin civic elite and its development over the course of the seventeenth century.

The principal primary sources utilised in this work are varied. My principal body of evidence are the surviving records of Dublin's common council from this period. Perhaps the single most important resource is the *Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin in the possession of the municipal council*, edited by John Gilbert (vols. i-vii, Dublin, 1889-96). This collection of the petitions and bye-laws of the city for the

seventeenth century gives a real insight into the workings and preoccupations of the Dublin elite. The Dublin City Archives have also provided many valuable records, relating to the Irish capital in the seventeenth century such as the city's Account Book and the petitions of individuals to become citizens. This considerable body of information concerning the government of Dublin is further enhanced by transcriptions of documents from this period that are contained in the Gilbert Collection, such as the Transcripts of the Friday and Monday Books (D.C.A., Gilbert Collection, MSS 44-5). Despite the ample amount of surviving civic records, there is one great deficiency in our understanding of the Dublin patriciate. There is hardly anything left of the patricians' personal records or correspondences. Only one alderman have left us his personal views on record and they date from the very end of the period surveyed.<sup>3</sup>

Guild records have been another important source of information. However, the surviving guild records for Dublin are scant, incomplete and fragmentary. Many of the guilds from this era have left no records. For example seventeen of the city's twenty four guilds have left no documentation from this period, although we possess the majority of these bodies' charters. This has greatly impeded my research efforts. Surviving guild records have been examined such as those of the guild of St Luke and they have offered many valuable insights. However, transcriptions of guild records that have been lost or destroyed have been invaluable, such as those available in the Gilbert Collection. The transcriptions of the important Merchant guild's records, in particular have been most informative. Secondary works published prior to the loss or destruction of guild records, have also been scrutinised and they have provided information on guild activity that otherwise is lost.

Another key source of information directly relating to the topic has been the freedom rolls of the city of Dublin. These contain the names, occupations and date of enfranchisement of all those enfranchised as citizens by the corporation during the course of the century. The rolls also specify the entitlement that enabled each individual to receive his or her freedom. This information, relating to new citizens, is available in the *Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin*, but only down to the year 1660. The details of those admitted as new citizens of Dublin are also available in Gertrude Thrift, 'Abstracts of the freemen of Dublin, 1574-1754' (Dublin City

---

<sup>3</sup> See : Sir Francis Brewster, *Essays on trade and navigation in five parts* (Dublin, 1695).

Library, MS 70-3). The freedom rolls have been especially central to the research in relation to those migrants who sought the citizenship in the city and have enable me to observe trends and developments in the enfranchisement process over the century.

One of the characteristics of early modern urban history in Europe was the increasing involvement of the state and its officials in the administration and direction of urban communities. Dublin was no exception to this trend. Therefore, it has been necessary to investigate government records. The two most important of these have been the *Calendars of state papers relating to Ireland, 1509-1670* ( 24 vols. London, 1860-1912) and the *Calendars of state papers domestic series* (81 vols. London, 1856-1972). Royal proclamations have also been studied extensively. The existing surviving personal records of leading statesmen from the period have also been examined. The most important of these is the correspondence of the first duke of Ormond, contained in the Carte Manuscripts. The patricians of Dublin were an intermediate body in the administration of Ireland and were obliged to enforce and uphold certain laws. Accordingly, the statutes of the Irish and English parliaments have been carefully examined, to estimate their impact upon the patriciate's reception of immigrants.

The parish was central to early modern life. The surviving parochial records have been perused and have offered up much valuable insights. In particular they have allowed me to address the problem of Dublin's demographic regime. If Dublin experienced a demographic deficit and therefore could not maintain its population levels, this could have greatly influenced the patricians' policies towards immigrants. To definitively determine that Dublin suffered more burials than births in the seventeenth century is impossible given the sources. However by calculating the yearly numbers of baptisms and burials in two representative parishes, from their registers, it has been possible to indicate something of the demographic regime that prevailed in the city. Parish records, such as registers and vestry records have also been researched to provide information on the experience of poor immigrants in the city.

To adequately treat the subject of the patricians' reception of immigrants, it was necessary to illustrate individual migrants experience in Dublin. The experience of migrants of a higher social standing and who became a success in Dublin has been easiest to delineate. Wills and secondary sources, such as genealogical works, have offered insights into their experience in the Irish capital.

These have offered pictures of immigrants' lives in Dublin. Such as John Allen, who came to the city in the early years of the century and established himself, after apparently working as a merchant's factor, as a successful builder in the city. He went on to buy land outside the city and eventually his son Joshua became Lord Mayor.<sup>4</sup> There is little record of the experiences of the many ordinary people that made their way to the city and in general we have only the opinions and views of the civic elite or the members of the propertied class. However the depositions of 1641-2 for Dublin and those published in Mary Hickson (ed.), *Ireland in the seventeenth century: or the Irish massacres of 1641-2* (2 vols, London, 1884), have been examined in order to gain some impressions of the more humble craftsmen, labourers and the impoverished who made their way to Dublin.

Another key source has been those primary records that are contained in published sources. Of particular benefit have been the various resources made available in various journals, especially those that are published in *Analecta Hibernica*. Records from the period published by the Irish Manuscript Commission and the Historical Manuscript Commission have also provided a large quantity of information during my research. Primary sources are increasingly available on the World Wide Web, such as those available at British History Online. One internet site is especially, worthy of note, that is Early English Books online. This site has provided a wide variety of contemporary works, such as broadsheets, that have added greatly to the evidence that I have collated.

With regard to any unusual feature of the methodology, I have endeavoured to adopt a decidedly empirical approach whenever possible. This has been largely dictated by the necessity to maximise the information that can be culled from the sources. As a result, my argument in this work will be regularly evidenced by reference to graphs, tables, lists and figures, which are both, embedded in the text or are available in the accompanying appendix. The second distinctive feature of the work is that a comparative approach is employed. There are regular references to other urban centres in England and Ireland. This is to contextualise the situation in Dublin, and to offer more insights into the civic elite's reception of migrants in the city.

---

<sup>4</sup> Rolf Loeber, *A biographical dictionary of Irish architects, 1600-1720* (Dublin, 1982), p. 6; L.G. Pine (ed.), *Burke's genealogical and heraldic history of the peerage, baronetage and knighthood of Ireland* (101<sup>st</sup> ed., 2 vols, London, 1956), i, 45.

## Chapter 1

### Dublin society and migration, 1600-1700

Dublin's civic governors, like all other political elites, were greatly influenced and directed by local socio-economic realities. This chapter will seek to investigate the socio-economic factors within the city of Dublin that informed the ruling patriciate's reception of migrants to the city. This section of the thesis will identify those aspects of Dublin society that raised probable challenges for the patricians and investigate how these influenced the civic governors' policies towards outsiders and non-residents. This chapter will also, deal with the response of the patricians to migration to the city in general, and in doing so contextualise the reaction of the urban elite to specific and identifiable groups of outsiders, who will be investigated in following chapters.

Like most early modern cities in western Europe, the city of Dublin in the seventeenth century was ruled by an elite governing group.<sup>5</sup> These governors of Dublin were a formal body, recognised by the state, composed of usually twenty-four or twenty-five aldermen, from among whom was elected annually the mayor. Members of this group, were drawn from the socio-economic elite in the city. Wealth was one of the prime criteria for election to the patriciate and a minimum property qualification was required for any prospective alderman.<sup>6</sup> Traditionally, members of the merchant class of Dublin comprised a majority of the civic governors and indicate that group's wealth and influence in the city.<sup>7</sup> The patriciate's position as governors of the city depended upon royal grants in the form of charters and by the sanction of tradition.<sup>8</sup> These granted the patriciate extensive powers. Indeed the government of the city was compared to that of the wider realm, with the mayor as monarch and the aldermen as the aristocracy.<sup>9</sup>

The religious and ethnic composition of the patriciate changed greatly over the century reflecting the transformations in Irish society. It was a group that was

---

<sup>5</sup> Christopher R. Friedrichs, *Urban politics in early modern Europe* (New York, 2000), pp 19-20.

<sup>6</sup> Account book of the Dublin treasury, 1540-1613 (D.C.A., MS. 35, pp 49, 59); *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 353.

<sup>7</sup> 'Transcripts of ten articles on the guilds of Dublin published in the Evening Telegraph, Dec-Jan 1894-5, transcribed by Edward Evans' (N.L.I., MS 134, p. 5); Speech of Sir Ellis Leighton, Recorder of Dublin on the 4<sup>th</sup> April 1670 (*Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 559).

<sup>8</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, i, 3-5, 28-31, 32-5, 58-68; John Gilbert (ed.), *Historic and municipal documents of Ireland, A.D. 1172-1320* (London, 1870), pp 92-3.

<sup>9</sup> 'Notes and annals of Robert Ware towards a history of Dublin' (D.C.A., MS 74, p. 5).

successively composed of Old English and New English elements prior to 1650, of royalists and commonwealth sympathisers during the interregnum and, after 1660, the largely Anglican body had a number of nonconformists as members.<sup>10</sup> This diversity within the elite rarely led to open dissension and, in general, the civic elite acted as a collective and unified body, as is reflected in the oath of an alderman that required him to keep secret the workings of the aldermanic ‘table’.<sup>11</sup> This unity was achieved due to the shared conservatism of the elite that was bred of their common interests, a hatred of any disorder or instability and an innate yearning for consensus, typical of the period. This conservative mentality also helped to keep the political structure intact with very few adjustments throughout the century, due to their inherent respect for any ‘ancient and necessary custom’.<sup>12</sup>

As the corner-stone in the city’s power structure, which also included the common council, the patrician elite bore many onerous responsibilities and duties. According to the city’s charters and various legal statutes they were responsible for the city’s security, economy and general welfare. The aldermen often carried out these duties in person, as they filled the majority of the city’s unpaid offices, such as the city treasurer or master of works.<sup>13</sup> The mayor and aldermen, also oversaw the mustering of the city of Dublin’s militia and the billeting of troops upon households.<sup>14</sup> The aldermanic class were deeply involved in policing, the maintenance of stability and the administration of justice in the city, during peace and war.<sup>15</sup> The mayor and the city’s recorder held the office of magistrate or justice of labourers in which capacity they could set wage rates, and through the office of clerk of the market oversaw the supply and price of commodities in the city’s market.<sup>16</sup> They were

---

<sup>10</sup> Colm Lennon, *The lords of Dublin in the age of reformation* (Dublin, 1989), pp 56-8; *Cal. S. P. Ire., 1663-5*, p. 499; Toby Barnard, *Cromwellian Ireland: English government and reform in Ireland, 1649-60* (Oxford, 1975), p. 85.

<sup>11</sup> ‘The Friday and Monday Book’, transcribed by John Gilbert (D.C.A., Gilbert Collection, MS 44, p.112); *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 381.

<sup>12</sup> D.C.A., MS 44, p. 48; Barnard, *Cromwellian Ireland*, p. 89.

<sup>13</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, i, 254-7; ii, 319, 447; iii, 278-8; iv, 2, 11, 53, 128, 212; v, 193.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 33; iii, 105, 125; iv, p. xxxiv ; Lennon, *The lords of Dublin*, pp 36-9.

<sup>15</sup> Tholsel court records, 1616-7 (D.C.A., 1/J/2/1, pp 1-2) ; *Calendar of the manuscripts of the Marquess of Ormond preserved at Kilkenny Castle, new series* (8 vols, H.M.C., London, 1895-1920), ii, 70, 113; *Royal commission to inquire into municipal corporations, Ireland, 1835*, pp 34-5, H.C. 1836 (24), v, 102.

<sup>16</sup> John Webb, *Municipal government in Ireland: medieval and modern* (Dublin, 1918), pp 3-10; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, i, 28; ii, 396; iii, 121; iv, 168, 211; Brendan Fitzpatrick, *Ireland in the seventeenth century: the wars of religion* (Dublin, 1985), p. 34; *Royal commission to inquire into municipal corporations, Ireland, 1835*, p. 37, H.C. 1836 (24), v, 104.

intimately involved directly and indirectly in many aspects of Dublin life in the seventeenth century. The issue of migration to the city could not but be of concern to the civic elite, given their extensive responsibilities. This chapter will assess the social and economic factors at work in Dublin society that may have informed the patricians' views on, and their policy toward outsiders who travelled to the city to work, find relief or some form of advancement.

To understand the civic elite's views on migrants it is necessary to understand something of the phenomenon of migration to the city. The sources are inadequate on this and give us only a faint outline of immigration into the city, and they do not permit us to undertake any definitive quantitative analysis of its scale. It is possible to trace in outline the trend in migration to the city. What the extant sources show is that at times the city experienced strong inward migration, such as in the early part of the century between 1600 and 1640, when many English and continental immigrants settled in the city.<sup>17</sup> The outbreak of the rebellion in 1641 resulted in the city suffering economic contraction, heavy taxation and the effects of war.<sup>18</sup> Migration seems to have abated markedly. By the early 1650s, the city had lost a sizeable part of its population. Yet it seems that migration increased dramatically after 1652 and one authority believes that the city by 1660 had possibly regained its pre-war level of population.<sup>19</sup>

The Restoration witnessed an increase in migration to the Irish capital. Dublin in these decades appears to have received many temporary or permanent migrants. This is evident in William Petty's estimate in 1678 of the number of persons per household, with his assertion that the average house in the city held more people than even the average dwelling in sprawling London. Petty's figures suggest a high level of overcrowding in the city and this is indicative of a rapid rise in population and immigration.<sup>20</sup> This inflow of people slowed around 1685 due to economic

---

<sup>17</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, pp xvii, xxxi, 150.

<sup>18</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iv, 4, 23; Robert Dunlop (ed.), *Ireland under the commonwealth: being a selection of documents relating to the government of Ireland* (2 vols, Manchester, 1913), ii, 58; Charles Mac Neil (ed.), *The Tanner letters: documents of Irish affairs in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* (I.M.C., Dublin, 1943), p. 212.

<sup>19</sup> The city's population according to L.M. Cullen stood again at 40,000 inhabitants in 1660; L.M. Cullen, 'The growth of Dublin, 1600-1900; character and heritage', in F.H.A., Allen and Kevin Whelan (eds), *Dublin city and county from prehistory to the present: essays in honour of J.H. Andrews* (Dublin, 1992), p. 254.

<sup>20</sup> *The economic writings of Sir William Petty*, ed. C.H. Hull (2 vols, Cambridge, 1899), ii, 62; J.G. Simms, 'Dublin in 1685', in *I.H.S.*, xiv (1965), p. 212.

contraction.<sup>21</sup> The 1690s, after the Jacobite war, were generally economically difficult. Many houses in the city were unoccupied, suggesting a drop in the population level and even an outflow of people, signalling reduced migration levels to the city.<sup>22</sup> Even during these years of crisis or economic depression some migrants seem to have made their way to the city, based upon continuing complaints over the homeless poor. Overall, throughout the century, based upon Dublin's suspected population growth, immigration was a continuous and a substantial phenomenon to the city.<sup>23</sup>

We can get an impression of the volume of people moving to Dublin in this century. Contemporary sources seem to indicate that in the years 1600 to 1640, there was a large-scale and unprecedented population movement into the city.<sup>24</sup> The population according to various authorities was roughly, at most 10,000, circa 1600, but by 1640 it was possibly 40,000.<sup>25</sup> This meant an increase in the population on average of 750 people per year. Yet, William Petty claimed that both London and Dublin had a ratio of births to deaths of 5 to 6 and that 3 per cent of the population died on average per year.<sup>26</sup> This would suggest that the city was shrinking by roughly half a percent each year. Given these conditions, it seems that the significant rise in the population was due to large-scale immigration into the city.

It is possible to give an estimate of the number of migrants to the city based upon the rise in its population, by using a method devised by W.A. Wrigley, in his study on early modern London.<sup>27</sup> The number of immigrants was equal to Dublin's rise in population and the numbers of outsiders required for maintaining the city's population, which was roughly contracting by half a percent a year. Since Dublin grew from approximately 10, 000 to 40,000 people, in the first forty years of the century, based upon Wrigley's method, this meant that approximately, the city required 30, 000 immigrants to generate such a rise in population. Furthermore,

---

<sup>21</sup> R.A. Butlin estimates that the population dropped from 76,000 in 1687 to 63,000 in 1700, see: R.A. Butlin, 'The population of Dublin in the late seventeenth century' in *Irish Geography*, v (1965), p. 66.

<sup>22</sup> *Anc rec. Dub.*, vi, 504-6; Anon., 'An account of the houses and hearths for the following years, 1696-7', in *Philosophical Transactions*, xxii (1699), p. 518.

<sup>23</sup> Cullen, 'The growth of Dublin', p. 253.

<sup>24</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, pp xvi, xxxi, 150, 117, 312.

<sup>25</sup> Figure based on a census from 1646 which showed there were 24,000 inhabitants over 16 and this was after several years of war, a round figure of 40,000 is a reasonable estimate of the city's population in 1640 see: H.M.C., *Ormond*, iv, 113.

<sup>26</sup> William Petty, *Further observations upon the Dublin bills of mortality* (Dublin, 1683), available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>) (9 Oct. 2006), p. 3.

<sup>27</sup> W.A. Wrigley 'A simple model of London's importance in changing English society and economy, 1650-1750' in *Past and Present*, no. 34 (1967), pp 37-8.



Dublin needed at the minimum a further 2,500 to replace those who died, in these years. Therefore, if the city expanded from 10,000 people in 1600 to 40,000, in 1640, to produce such a rise in the population, on average 850 immigrants a year would have had to have settled in the city and this does not include temporary migrants in the city. This figure is only a very crude estimate but it gives an impression of the scale of people moving to the city, prior to the great rebellion of 1641.

After the 1650s, we have little information from which to extrapolate an estimate of the city's population. However, we have credible and informative data that have enabled several distinguished historians to estimate the growth in population in the Restoration and afterwards. There are no agreed figures for the city's population and its growth but several estimates of the Irish capital's population have been offered. Cullen asserts that the population grew from 40,000 to 80,000, in the years 1660 to 1690. J.J. Simms holds that the city grew from only 20,000 to 60,000 in the same period. Butlin holds that the city's population grew from 50,000 to 75,000, in the Restoration era.<sup>28</sup> If we apply the Wrigley method to estimate the number of immigrants needed to generate these suspected increases in population: the city would have needed on average, approximately 800 to 1700, migrants a year, to settle in the Irish capital. These figures demonstrate the sheer extent of migration to the city and the challenge, it presented to the ruling elite.

This large-scale and continuous influx of people into the city might suggest that Dublin was, if not an 'open society', at least one where individuals had some freedom of movement, residence and economic opportunities. There were internal factors in the city that would seem strongly to show that the opposite was the reality, and indeed impeded and even deterred migration to the city. The political structure of the city, which was closely intertwined with the guilds, could have rendered the city a very insular place.<sup>29</sup> The guilds were organisations of native traders and manufacturers that possessed a monopoly on one aspect of the civic economy. For example, the merchant guild controlled Dublin's export and import trade and much of the retail business in the city.<sup>30</sup> Many of the patricians were themselves members of a

---

<sup>28</sup> Butlin, 'The population of Dublin in the late seventeenth century', p. 67; Simms, 'Dublin in 1685', p. 211; Cullen, 'The growth of Dublin, 1600-1900', p. 254.

<sup>29</sup> Webb, *The municipal government of Ireland*, p. 58; idem, *The guilds of Dublin* (Dublin, 1928), p. 134; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, i, 60-1

<sup>30</sup> Webb, *The guilds of Dublin*, pp 17, 44; The charters and documents of the Holy Trinity or merchants' guild of Dublin, 1438-1824, transcribed by John Gilbert (D.C.A., Gilbert Collection, MS 78, pp 84, 137).

fraternity, usually being brothers of the merchant guild. The closeness of the relationship with the fraternity of merchants was such, that it was usual for a patrician to be one of the officers of that guild.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, the various guilds provided the civic elite with assistance in the administration of the militia, civic ceremonies and social welfare provisions.<sup>32</sup>

The close relationship between the guilds and the aldermanic bench could have led the patricians to adopt an intolerant approach to some, if not all, the migrants who moved to the city in a bid to defend the guilds' monopolies. Evidence of this can be seen in the bye-law that ordained that 'no stranger could exercise an art already practised by a citizen'.<sup>33</sup> More importantly for the majority of migrants, the guilds' privileges reduced their opportunities for employment and trade in the urban economy, and this could have affected their chances of successfully establishing themselves in the city.

Migration requires at least a measure of free mobility and freedom at the destination point to be successful. There were several civic bye-laws that seemed to restrict migrants' freedom of movement and their ability to secure accommodation in Dublin, especially before 1640. From the sixteenth century there was a bye-law against residents taking in lodgers that stated that 'none shall divide houses into rooms for private gain'. Similarly, no poor inhabitant could shelter a stranger in the city or suburbs without the consent of the mayor. Alehouses often provided lodgings for poor travellers, yet the patricians were obliged to see that no person could stay in such an establishment for more than one night.<sup>34</sup> Another bye-law passed by the common council in 1619, and seemingly aimed at migrants, demanded that all 'strangers' that stayed in the city had to be registered.<sup>35</sup> This probably involved outsiders entering into a bond to ensure their good behaviour, something that was quite common in this era.<sup>36</sup> The chief factor behind these measures was a fear of newcomers causing disorder in the city. In 1636, Richard Bolton claimed that

---

<sup>31</sup> Henry Berry, 'The records of the Dublin guild of merchants known as the guild of the Holy Trinity, 1243-1671' in *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, xxx (1900), pp 61-2.

<sup>32</sup> The charters and documents of the guild of tailors, 1296-1753, transcribed by John Gilbert (D.C.A., Gilbert Collection, MS 81, pp 34, 61); D.C.A., MS 78, pp 107, 127; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 78.

<sup>33</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 452.

<sup>34</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 461; Bye laws of the city of Dublin (R.I.A., 12 D 4, p. 297).

<sup>35</sup> Transcript of the bye-laws of the city of Dublin (D.C.A., Gilbert Collection, MS 42, p. 56); *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 117.

<sup>36</sup> Sir Richard Bolton, *A justice of the peace for Ireland, a book in two parts* (Dublin, 1638), available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>) (19 Aug. 2007), pp 211- 4.

unofficial lodgings were a threat to public order.<sup>37</sup> The actions against unregulated lodgings, for example, were probably an attempt to ensure that all those who entered the city were known and did not pose any danger. The fear of non-residents was particularly keen during times of crisis. In 1641, the civic authorities with the aid of the government effectively ordered all non-residents out of the city.<sup>38</sup>

At times of conflict and crisis, particular groups came under suspicion in the city. In 1652, the Quakers were ordered out of the city, possibly as scapegoats for the outbreak of plague in the city.<sup>39</sup> The royal government in Ireland and the Protestant civic elite, who controlled the city by the 1640s, often enacted anti-Catholic policies, usually as a security measure. Just after the onset of war in 1642 many Catholics were ordered out of the city.<sup>40</sup> By the 1650s many were ‘transplanted’ to Connaught and by 1657 they were barred from the city.<sup>41</sup> During the 1678-9 popish plot crisis, the authorities harassed the Catholic clergy and there were demands to expel Catholics from urban boroughs such as Dublin.<sup>42</sup> During the Jacobite war they were also ordered out of the city and only those licensed could return to the former abodes but with restrictions.<sup>43</sup> After the war of 1690-1 all of the city’s Catholics were obliged to take an oath of allegiance that was contrary to many of their beliefs. During the assassination scare of 1695 they were ordered to subscribe to a ‘declaration’ which many would have regarded as unconscionable.<sup>44</sup> This harassment of Catholics, born out of a Protestant sense of insecurity, could have had grave consequences for many migrants in the city.

These instances strongly indicate that Dublin was not receptive to large-scale immigration. Yet there is evidence that despite internal pressures from the fraternities and broader political and religious considerations, the aldermanic bench accepted the need for immigration into the city. The population of the city surged over the century despite war, famine and pestilence, and much, if not all of it, can be attributed to

---

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, p. 134.

<sup>38</sup> H.M.C., *Ormond*, ii, 3.

<sup>39</sup> Dunlop (ed.), *Ireland under the commonwealth*, i, 563.

<sup>40</sup> H.M.C., *Ormond*, ii, 124; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, p. xxxvii.

<sup>41</sup> Dunlop (ed.), *Ireland under the commonwealth*, i, 531, 541, 568; ii, 703; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iv, 118.

<sup>42</sup> Anon., *An account of the public affairs in Ireland since the discovery of the late plot* (Dublin, 1679), available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>) (11 Nov. 2007), pp 4, 10.

<sup>43</sup> Other restrictions were imposed on where Catholics could live and how many could dwell in one residence; Lord Justices, *A proclamation* (Dublin, 1690), available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>) (11 Nov. 2007), p. 1.

<sup>44</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, vi, 26, 67, 137, 139, 141.

migration.<sup>45</sup> The sheer numbers alone make a pressing case for the fact that the city was accessible to migrants, as are the frequent references to ‘foreigners’ living in the city. The apparently exclusionary and discriminatory approach inherent in the political structure and many of the city’s bye-laws in reality did not impede the substantial and persistent influx of people into the city. If this flow of migration did not receive active encouragement apart from on a rare occasion after a plague, it suggests that migrants were largely tolerated by that body.<sup>46</sup>

This acceptance of the presence of large numbers of migrants in the city is evident in the patricians’ attitudes towards the ‘unfree’ in the city. These inhabitants had not the political or economic rights and privileges of citizens. Among those classed as the ‘unfree’ were migrants residing in the city.<sup>47</sup> The elite did not divide Dublin society into natives and non-natives, but rather it categorised the population into the privileged citizen and non-privileged inhabitants. The ‘unfree’, although denied some economic and all political rights, were otherwise left to their own devices and had much the same legal rights as long established inhabitants who were not ‘free’ of the city’. All that was required of them, by the urban elite, whether migrant or native non-citizen, was that they pay the various civic dues and taxes.<sup>48</sup> Even Catholics and the suspect like Quakers were generally counted among the ‘unfree’ population of the city in the seventeenth century.

The ability of the Dublin elite to police migrants is questionable. Firstly, there was no professional police force and this must have greatly weakened the capability of the urban elite to enforce its own bye-laws.<sup>49</sup> This real inability to control outsiders coming to the city is underlined by the scant observance of the patricians’ laws against ‘strangers lodging’ in Dublin. In 1641, at least, many men looking for work in the city had no difficulties obtaining cheap lodgings with Dublin householders, such as Donnach Byrne who lodged ‘in an English man’s home in the Coomb’ at a ‘penny a night’.<sup>50</sup> The apparent willingness of Dubliners to accept these

---

<sup>45</sup> L.M. Cullen, ‘Population trends in seventeenth century Ireland’ in *Economic and Social Review*, no.2 (1975), pp 149-164; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 323; Essex to Arlington, 8 July 1672, in *The Essex Papers, 1672-9, correspondence Arthur Capel, Earl of Essex*, ed. Osmond Airey (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Camden Society, London, 1980), p. 44; henceforth known as *Essex Papers*.

<sup>46</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 150.; iv, 5; v, 228, 383.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 162; iii, 105, 107, 323; iv, 71, 256, 364.

<sup>48</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iv, 205, 379, 419; Henry Berry (ed.), ‘Notes on a statement dated 1634, regarding St Thomas Court and St Catherine’s Churchyard’, in *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, xxvii (1907), pp 393-8.

<sup>49</sup> Lennon, *The lords of Dublin*, p. 61.

<sup>50</sup> ‘The examination of Donnach Byrne, 25 Oct.1641’ ( T.C.D., MS 809, f. 89).

strangers as lodgers, probably providing another source of income, greatly undermined the authorities' efforts.<sup>51</sup> Similarly to judge by their numbers in the 1680s the authorities were unable to regulate the number of unofficial ale houses in the city that also offered accommodation.<sup>52</sup>

Many areas outside the city walls were not directly under the control of the municipality. They were 'liberties' administered independently of the municipality by manorial lords.<sup>53</sup> These areas provided work and homes for many migrants in the Dublin area and they could do so, without the permission of the Dublin political elite. For example, in 1683, a miller, one 'Mr King from Wicklow' established a mill in the liberty of the earl of Meath. He became a tenant of the earl and did not need to receive approval from the city or a guild to commence his business in the general Dublin area.<sup>54</sup> Migrants were often welcomed in these enclaves. In the 1680s, English migrants were offered incentives in the form of cheap leases to settle in the jurisdiction of Thomascourt and Donore.<sup>55</sup> The Dublin civic elite regularly challenged the extent and rights of these liberties. There were boundary disputes between the municipality and some of the liberties that were never resolved. For example in 1614, the earl of Meath and the city disputed who controlled the area around St Catherine's churchyard.<sup>56</sup> In the 1690s, there was a dispute between the liberty of St Sepulchre and the city over jurisdiction over an area adjacent to the city.<sup>57</sup> This led to a situation where there were areas of indeterminate control over the city. Poor people 'sought to exploit this loophole' and set up 'small cottages' in these disputed areas. There appears to have even been shantytowns in these locations during periods of crises such as wars and food shortages.<sup>58</sup> The presence of the liberties greatly complicated the patricians' ability to control the flow of outsiders to the city.

---

<sup>51</sup> 'The examination of Brian O Hara, 27 Oct. 1641' (T.C.D, MS 809, f. 212); The examination of Patrick Maguire, 27 Oct. 1641 (T.C.D. MS 809, f. 201).

<sup>52</sup> Petty, *The political anatomy of Ireland*, p. 34.

<sup>53</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, i, 199-200; iii, 285 iv, 394, 499.

<sup>54</sup> *Royal commission to inquire into municipal corporations, Ireland*, 1835, p. 290 H.C. 1836 (24), v, 490.

; 'The Cheney Letters, 1682-5', ed. Rowena Dudley, in *I.E.S.H.*, x (2003), p. 108.

<sup>55</sup> Raymond Gillespie (ed.), *The vestry records of the parish of St Catherine's and St James, Dublin, 1651-1692* (Dublin, 2004), p. 17.

<sup>56</sup> Raymond Gillespie (ed.), *The vestry records of the parish of St Catherine's*, p. 120; Berry (ed.), 'Notes on a statement dated 1634', pp 393-8.

<sup>57</sup> Berry (ed.), 'Notes on a statement dated 1634', pp 393-8; Extracts of Justice Robinsons' papers (D.C.A., Gilbert Collection, MS 39, f. 15).

<sup>58</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 298, 304.

Another, more dismal factor may account for the patricians' general acceptance of migration to the city. The link between migration to the early modern city and a high urban death rate has long been established. Until now it has become axiomatic and taken as a proven incontrovertible fact.<sup>59</sup> Naturally, such a demographic regime in the city could readily account for the general toleration enjoyed by migrants from various backgrounds as they were needed to replace the dead. This link cannot be taken for granted, as is demonstrated in the case of York. This city enjoyed a natural increase in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century and demographic equilibrium until 1650, and as a result does not conform to the expected neat and clear-cut demographic pattern of cities in the early modern period.<sup>60</sup>

To determine definitively whether the city of Dublin in this century suffered a regular demographic deficit is impossible, given the existing sources. The remaining records do allow an investigation into the subject, which can strongly indicate whether the Irish capital did experience a high death rate and could not reproduce itself. The chief sources used will be the parish records of St John and St Michan's in Dublin. These two parishes, to some extent reflect the various social groups within the city. St Michan's parish was located in the city's suburbs, and like other extra-mural areas was generally populated by those lowest on the social scale. St John's was within the city's walls and would have been inhabited by more of the middling and upper strata of Dublin society. If burials were consistently higher than baptisms in these parishes, they may show that the Irish capital could not reproduce itself. They do not cover the whole century and they are in other ways flawed, since they represent only the Protestant community in the city. Yet they do offer a continuous and large sample, with which to estimate whether the city suffered a debilitating death rate. These parish records will be supplemented by observations upon the birth and death rates in the city in contemporary works.

There are no parish records or other sources relating to the city's population for the first decade of the century. The traumas of the Nine Years War, the outbreak of plague and food shortages in its wake strongly indicate that the population of Dublin suffered a high level of mortality, and that the city suffered a significant drop in

---

<sup>59</sup> Christopher R. Friedrichs, *The early modern city, 1450-1750* (New York, 1990), pp 127-31; Jan De Vries, *European urbanisation, 1500-1800* (Cambridge, 1984), pp 199.

<sup>60</sup> This was due to a stable death rate and a high birth rate, see: Chris Galley, 'A model of early modern urban demography' in *E.H.R.*, xlvii (1995), pp 448-9.

population.<sup>61</sup> The second decade of the seventeenth century is a blank space, with regard to demographic information. From the 1620s there have survived the imperfect records of the parish of St John the Evangelist. They indicate that there were 221 baptisms and 20 burials.<sup>62</sup> These figures suggest that St John's experienced more births than deaths and that in areas of the city the population could expand, at least in this decade. Yet the evidence from this parish seems to understate the number of deaths. There were a suspiciously low number of children buried. They account for only 28 out of the 200 deaths recorded.<sup>63</sup> This suggests that many children, who usually accounted for a high number of all burials, went unregistered in the parish. Moreover, if the burials recorded in the parish's vestry books of individuals who were not members of the parish are added, the ratio of burials to baptisms is reversed. There are then 254 burials against 221 baptisms.<sup>64</sup>

For the 1630s, the records from the parish signal that there was a considerable excess of baptisms over interments. The records show that there were 345 christenings and 191 burials.<sup>65</sup> The parish of St John, experienced from 1635 to 1639, more burials than baptisms and indicate that it suffered a demographic deficit in those years. There are strong indicators that again, many burials went unrecorded. The numbers of infants and children again seem too low. Suspiciously, the employment of a new parish clerk or prebend in 1638 coincided with a sudden surge in the death rate and a clear and high excess of burials over baptisms.<sup>66</sup> The registers of St Michan's are available from 1636. They show a clear surplus of deaths over births. In total, in that parish there were 330 burials against 140 baptisms.<sup>67</sup> The records are unsatisfactory, but they do allow us to suggest that from the mid-1630s that these two parishes witnessed an excess of burials over baptisms.

The records of St John for the 1640s demonstrate a large surplus of burials over baptisms.

---

<sup>61</sup> *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1601-3*, p. lxxliii; *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, p. xxv; Memorandum, 12 Oct. 1603 (*Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, p. 93); *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 420.

<sup>62</sup> James Mills (ed.), *Register of the parish of St John the Evangelist, 1619-99* (Dublin, 1906), pp 1-18.

<sup>63</sup> Mills (ed.), *Register of...St John*, pp 1-9.

<sup>64</sup> Churchwarden accounts, in *ibid.*, pp 264-5.

<sup>65</sup> Mills (ed.), *Register of ... St John*, pp 18-37, 54-5.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p 35.

<sup>67</sup> Henry Berry (ed.), *Registers of the church of St Michan's, Dublin, 1636-1700* (Dublin, 1907), pp 1-5, 14-20.

### Baptisms and burials in St John's Dublin, 1640-9 Table 1.1

Baptisms	Burials
414	886

Source: Mills, (ed.), *Register of...St John*, pp 37-52, 57-69.

This picture may be distorted by the numbers of refugees in the city who undoubtedly died in large numbers in the parish. However, the high level of interments does reflect the impact that war, disease and dearth had on the parish's population.<sup>68</sup> Interestingly, there was a high level of deaths indicated even before the outbreak of war in late 1641 in the parish of St John's. Evidence from St Michan's register, which only cover 1640-3, would suggest that pre-war it too saw significantly more burials than baptisms.<sup>69</sup>

The 1650s in Dublin saw the last great outbreak of plague to devastate the city. The number of burials in St John's illustrates the high levels of mortality in the years 1650-3 in the city. Yet after the epidemic subsided and passed there was a demographic recovery when there were more christenings than funerals (see appendix 4.1). The fragmentary records of St Michan's would also suggest that after 1654 there were more baptisms than burials. Yet the records of St John's show that over the entire decade there were considerably more funerals than christenings.

### Baptisms and burials in St John's, 1650-8 (1659 missing) Table 1.2

Baptisms	Burials
714	911

Source: Mills (ed.), *Register of... St Johns*, pp 61-113.

After the Restoration the excess of burials over baptisms is more marked. Both St Michan's and St John in the 1660s show continuously a higher number of funerals than christenings. It is worth noting that the late 1660s were difficult economically for Ireland, with a series of poor harvests.<sup>70</sup> This economic downturn seems to have had some impact on the death rate in the parishes, especially after 1667(see appendix 4.1).

<sup>68</sup> Thomas Carte, *An history of the life of James Duke of Ormonde* (3 vols, London, 1735-6), i, 249.

<sup>69</sup> Berry (ed.), *Register of ...St Michan's*, pp 29- 40.

<sup>70</sup> *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1665-9*, p. xxv.



**Baptisms and burials in St John's & St Michan's, 1660-9,**  
**Table 1.3**

	<b>Baptisms</b>	<b>Burials</b>
<b>St John's</b>	478	744
<b>St Michan's</b>	586	778

Source: Berry (ed.), *Register of... St Michan's*, pp 84-101; Mills (ed.), *Register of... St John*, pp 114-49.

The following decade of the 1670s again shows many more burials over baptisms in these parishes. There was a large rise in the numbers of funerals in the parish of St Michan's in these years, possibly as a result of immigration into this suburban area and a general rise in its population. The evidence in these registers shows that these Dublin parishes suffered like the rest of the country from the dearth and disease prevalent in the countryside in the early to mid years of this decade.<sup>71</sup>

**Baptisms and burials in St John and St Michan's 1670-9**  
**Table 1.4**

	<b>Baptisms</b>	<b>Burials</b>
<b>St John's</b>	495	715
<b>St Michan's</b>	1220	1715

Source: Berry (ed.), *Register of...St Michan's*, pp 101-136, 172-226; Mills, *Register of ....St John*, pp 149-176.

From 1680 the excess of burials over baptisms increases. If we compare the total of deaths in these years to the previous ten years there was a rise in the number of burials. That was only partly offset by a rise in the numbers of christenings. This can be attributed to several recorded outbreaks of disease in this decade. There were reports in Dublin of smallpox, typhus and an unidentified fever killing significant numbers of people in this decade.<sup>72</sup> The deteriorating economic situation after 1682-3 may have contributed to the high level of fatalities as hunger and want made ever more Dubliners vulnerable to disease.

<sup>71</sup> *Cal. S.P. dom.*, 1672, p. xxvii.

<sup>72</sup> William Wilde, 'Table of cosmical phenomenon, epizootics, famines and pestilences' in *The census of Ireland 1851*, v, ii [c-2016], H.C. 1856, p. 112, henceforth known as Wilde 'Table of famines and pestilences'.

**Baptisms and burials in St John's & St Michan's 1680-9**  
**Table 1.5**

	<b>Baptisms</b>	<b>Burials</b>
<b>St John's</b>	727	937
<b>St Michan's</b>	1353	2672

Source: Berry (ed.), *Register of...St Michan's parish*, pp 231-297; Mills (ed.), *Register of ...St John parish*, pp 178-213.

The 1690s witnessed a rising and increasing number of burials and yet it appears that baptisms rose only slightly. War brought disease and hunger to the city and their impact upon the population is evident in the high death rates for 1690-1 in the parishes. Yet even after the war, the death rate remained stubbornly high due to epidemics, recorded at this time, such as the influenza outbreak of 1693.<sup>73</sup> The late 1690s saw a horrifying surge in deaths in the parishes, especially St Michan's (see appendix). Again it seems that Dublin suffered with the rest of the country as food became scarce and costly, and diseases spread throughout the kingdom.<sup>74</sup>

**Baptisms and burials in St John's and St Michan's 1690-9**  
**Table 1.6**

	<b>Baptisms</b>	<b>Burials</b>
<b>St John's</b>	756	983
<b>St Michan's</b>	1451	3498

Source: Berry (ed.), *Register of...St Michan's parish*, pp 299-345; Mills (ed.), *Register of ...St John*, pp 213-62.

The parish registers for St Michan's and St John's, although imperfect, seem to suggest that it was quite common for these parishes to suffer from a surplus of burials over christenings for much of the period. It is difficult to assess the issue of the numbers of burials and christenings from the 1620s to the mid-1630s, but it seems likely that even then there were more funerals than christenings. After 1636, most years saw more burials than baptisms, and this was the general pattern for the rest of the century. Although there were years and periods of time when there were more christenings than funerals, as in the middle of the 1650s, they were the exception. It seems overall the city suffered from a persistently high death rate. The data relating

<sup>73</sup> William Molyneux, 'An account of the influenza epidemic in 1693' in John Creighton (ed.), *A history of epidemics in Britain and Ireland* (2 vols, London, 1894), i, 264-7.

<sup>74</sup> There were several natural disasters in the late 1690s that caused problems with the food supply see: Wilde 'Table of famines and pestilences', p. 117.

to births and deaths in the two parishes are almost certainly representative of the city's broader demographic regime. For both parishes contained a large proportion of the city's population.<sup>75</sup> Therefore, it can be cautiously asserted that the city tended to experience an excess of burials over baptisms, suggesting an inability to maintain its population, as is indicated in the table below.

**Baptisms and burials in St John's parish, 1620-99, Table, 1.7**

<b>Years</b>	<b>Births</b>	<b>Deaths</b>
1620-9	221	200
1630-9	345	191
1640-9	414	881
1650-9	714	911
1660-9	478	744
1670-9	495	715
1680-9	727	937
1690-9	756	983
<b>Total</b>	<b>4148</b>	<b>5562</b>

Source: Mills (ed.), *The registers... of St John*, pp 1-262.

These figures indicate that the city experienced a regular surplus of deaths over births and was therefore unable to maintain its population are supported by the work of some of the pioneers in the field of demography. John Graunt observed that in Dublin there was an excess of burials over christenings, based upon his study of one of the city's bills of mortality from 1661 or 1662.<sup>76</sup> William Petty in his work on the Dublin's bills of mortality, although they span only a few years, offers an informative snapshot of the death and birth rates in the entire city.

---

<sup>75</sup> William Petty, *Observations upon the Dublin bills of mortality* (Dublin, 1683), available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>) (30 Jan. 2008), p. 3.

<sup>76</sup> John Graunt, *Natural and political observations mentioned in a following index and made upon the London bills of mortality* (London, 1667), available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>) (11 Nov. 2007), pp 4,10.

**Births and deaths in Dublin, 1666-80, based upon the Dublin bills of mortality, Table 1.8**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Burials</b>	<b>Births</b>
1666	1480	952
1667	1642	1001
1668	1699	1026
1669	1666	1000
1670	1713	1067
1671	1974	1003
1672	1436	967
1673	1531	933
1674	2106	942
1675	1578	823
1676	1391	952
1677	1359	897
1678	1401	1045
1679	1397	1061
1680	1826	1096
Total	21,190	14,763

Source: Petty, *Observations upon the Dublin bills of mortality*, pp 4-6

After Petty, we have little, although the work of the Dublin physician John Willoughby, also based upon the city's bills of mortality, indicates that in the early 1690s, on average that the city experienced substantially more burials than christenings.<sup>77</sup> Contemporary sources show that after 1660, the city experienced more burials than baptisms and that this was the norm in Dublin society.

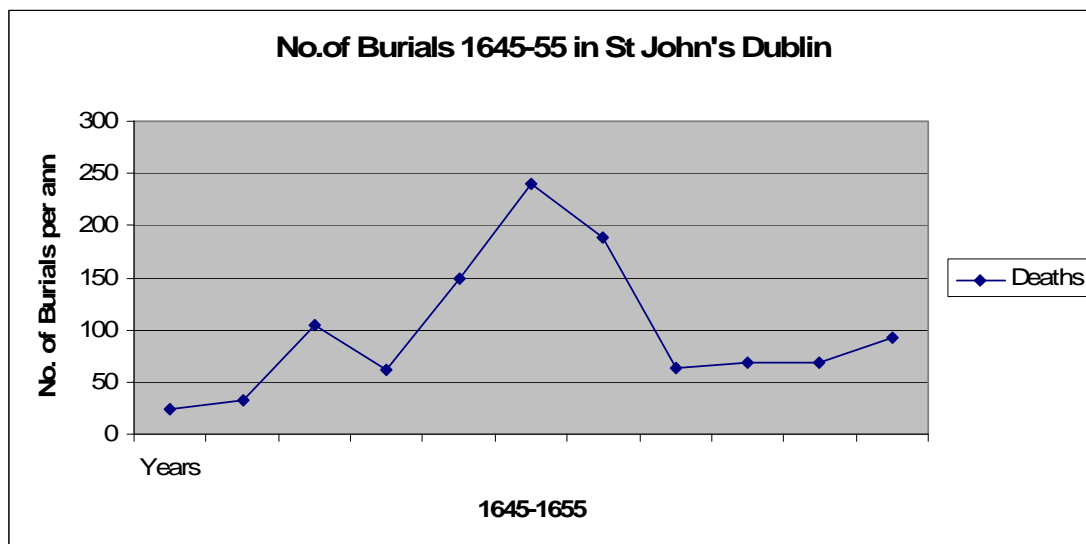
To underline the probability that the city was unable to reproduce itself, it is necessary to investigate the city's environment and the diseases prevalent in Dublin in this period. This can also help us to understand any possible link between the Irish capital's high death rate and migration. Was the plague a major cause of death in the city? This is routinely the standard and automatic answer to explain the early modern city's generally high mortality rate.<sup>78</sup> The plague usually resulted in a huge number of deaths in any centre it ravaged. In the 1574-5 outbreak, a

<sup>77</sup> Wilde, 'Table of famines and pestilences', p. 114.

<sup>78</sup> Friedrichs, *The early modern city*, pp 127; Steven Rappaport, *Worlds within worlds; structures of life in sixteenth-century London* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 102.

chronicler claimed that 3000 people died almost one third of the probable population.<sup>79</sup> Any outbreak of plague would have wrought havoc in the city and led to the patricians of Dublin seeking to attract large numbers of outsiders to replace the dead inhabitants. Furthermore, plague also caused economic dislocation with the disruption of markets and the flight of householders. The costs of containing the plague and caring for the dead and dying were a major financial burden on Dublin's treasury.<sup>80</sup> The city would have needed to attract immigrants to be the traders, artisans and workers to allow it simply to function and as tax-payers to facilitate its recovery from the plague.

There were only two major outbreaks of plague in the city in the seventeenth century, in 1603-5 and in 1650-3. These probably both led to dramatic decreases in the population.<sup>81</sup> The evidence for 1603-5 is scant although the indications are that it caused grave economic and social disruption. Citizens fled from the city and the local economy suffered, as can be seen in the non-payment of rents.<sup>82</sup> The plague of 1649-2 is better documented and in these records we can sense something of the horror and the loss of life as the disease carried off large numbers of the population of the city.<sup>83</sup> The records from the parish of St John show a huge surge in the numbers of deaths.



Source: Mills (ed.), *Register of... of St John*, pp 35-46

<sup>79</sup> Aubrey Gwynn (ed.), 'Reports on the Rawlinson collection of manuscript, class c', in *Anal. Hib.*, no. 4 (1934), p. 106; Lennon, *The lords of Dublin*, pp 45, 66.

<sup>80</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 519; iv, 2, 15, 19; D.C.A. MS 35, pp 51, 57, 60.

<sup>81</sup> Creighton, *Epidemics in Britain and Ireland*, ii, 222, 256.

<sup>82</sup> *Anc. rec.. Dub.*, iii, 499.

<sup>83</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iv, 2, 4; Dunlop (ed.), *Ireland under the commonwealth*, i, 39, 58, 245.

The epidemic's infectious nature is shown in the numbers dying that bore the same surname, suggesting it took a heavy toll on families occupying the same dwelling.<sup>84</sup> The plagues, along with the wars that were possibly related to the outbreaks, had grave consequences for the population, and apparently, at least after the outbreak of the early 1650s, the patricians may have sought to promote immigration in a bid to aid the city's recovery. In 1650 there was a change in policy with regard to skilled English migrants, the entrance requirements to the guilds were eased and crucially became cheaper to obtain. Protestant settlers were also offered other incentives such as property on good terms by the city.<sup>85</sup>

The plagues in the short term created serious socio-economic problems and they appear to have decimated the city's population. Yet it appears that after 1653 there was a classic 'demographic recovery' in the city of Dublin as, for four years, the number of births outstripped deaths.<sup>86</sup> As a result of the high death rate during the plague more resources were available to the survivors and more people could afford to marry early and have more children. William Edmundson noted the general prosperity in the city in 1654 and he stated that 'trade was good and property was to be had on good terms'.<sup>87</sup> We see in the demographic recovery after the plague of 1650-2 that the patricians may not even have had to intervene after a plague to encourage people: the economic possibilities in the city after the loss of population would have easily attracted migrants and boosted the birth rate. The city would have soon recovered and such rapid recoveries in urban populations after mortality crises were the norm, as in York.<sup>88</sup> Graunt claimed that London's population regained its pre-plague level of population after three years.<sup>89</sup> There were no recorded outbreaks of plague after 1653. The reasons for the disappearance of the plague are difficult to determine but may be ascribed to biological changes as the diseases mutated. The patrician class of Dublin were partly responsible given their vigilant enforcement of

---

<sup>84</sup> Mills (ed.), *Register of... of St John*, pp 128-134.

<sup>85</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iv, 4-5; Dunlop (ed.), *Ireland under the commonwealth*, ii, 531.

<sup>86</sup> R. A. Houston, *The population history of Britain and Ireland, 1500-1750* (Hong Kong, 1972), p. 17.

<sup>87</sup> Thomas Wright, *A history of the rise and progress of the people called Quaker in Ireland, from the year 1653 to 1700* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Dublin, 1812), p. 73; Dunlop (ed.), *Ireland under the commonwealth*, ii, 531, 543.

<sup>88</sup> Galley, 'A model of early modern urban demography', p. 455.

<sup>89</sup> Graunt, *Natural observations*, p. 53

regulations to prevent any outbreaks.<sup>90</sup> Therefore, plague had only a short-term effect on the city's death-rate and on migration to the city.

Plague was not the only disease that drove the mortality rate upwards in the city. The population also suffered from many other infectious diseases that were endemic in the city. William Petty in his *Further Observations on the Mortality bills of Dublin* of 1686 lists several of these illnesses; some are instantaneously recognisable today such as measles and influenza. In a pre-industrial age such disease often proved lethal. Petty also refers to other diseases that are unfamiliar such as 'bloody flux', and 'gripping of the guts', usually regarded as dysentery.<sup>91</sup> There has survived one bill of mortality from this era and it can give us an impression of the chief cause of death among Dubliners in this period.

**Dublin's bill of mortality for 1681-2, Table 1.10**

Aged	158
Consumption	322
Convulsion	238
Fever	527
Infants	178
measles	122
smallpox	143
teeth	187
unknown	22
various	132
violently	29
<b>Total</b>	<b>1736</b>

Source: 'Dublin's bill of mortality for 1681-2' (*Anc. rec., Dub.*, vi, 560)

These illnesses also gave early modern Dublin a death-rate that was noted for its spikes, when mortality was higher than average. Petty referred to mortality 'spikes' as 'sickly' years: in these years one of the endemic infectious diseases would flare into an epidemic, or a new strain would be imported from outside and kill large numbers of people.<sup>92</sup> Throughout the century the city experienced recurrent serious outbreaks of disease. Those recorded almost certainly understate the frequency of these epidemics (see appendix 5). For example, a city like Dublin could expect to be

<sup>90</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 425, 501; iv, 2, 15, 421; D.C.A., MS 35, pp 51, 64; Paul Slack, 'The disappearance of plague: an alternative view' in *E.H.R.*, xxxiv (Aug. 1998), pp 472, 478.

<sup>91</sup> Petty, *Observations upon the Dublin Bills of Mortality*, pp 4-5.

<sup>92</sup> William Petty, *Further observations upon the Dublin bills of mortality* (Dublin, 1686), available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>) (1 Feb. 2007), p. 4.

ravaged every three or four years by a surge in the number of smallpox cases.<sup>93</sup> These ‘sickly’ years are probably linked to crises in the broader economy and to war. In these years, when the price of bread soared, many of the city’s poorer inhabitants were particularly vulnerable to endemic diseases. This is evident in the rises in the number of burials in St John’s parish and years of war or economic difficulties (see appendix 4.1). It should be noted that even in healthful years these endemic diseases took a terrible toll.

The majority of the killer diseases were infectious. It is noteworthy that similar diseases appear in the bills of mortality of London and show that Dublin was not unique in this regard.<sup>94</sup> Of course such diseases were also present in rural Ireland and indeed the countryside was notorious for the unidentified illness, the country disease, possibly dysentery. Yet these diseases were rarely as virulent as in the city.<sup>95</sup> The environment of the city explains the potency and ferocity of disease in the city. It was overcrowded as we have seen, and its water supply was inadequate and was frequently dirty.<sup>96</sup> These were ideal conditions for the transmission of diseases. The evidence suggests that the city of Dublin was particularly dirty and therefore unhealthy. In 1608 the archbishop of Dublin left the city in the summer because of its filth and stench. Sir Ellis Leighton, who visited the city in 1669, stated that Dublin was an unhealthy city and even compared it unfavourably with London, that great ‘consumer of men’.<sup>97</sup> Because of its environment, the city suffered a persistently high death rate and migrants were constantly required to replace those inhabitants who succumbed to disease.

High death rates alone would not explain why the city suffered from ‘natural decrease’ and why the patricians were receptive to newcomers. The possibility remains that the city could not reproduce itself due to a low birth rate. If the city had a high fertility rate the new births could exceed the numbers that died and Dublin would have been able to reproduce itself. A low fertility level in the Irish capital may have resulted in a decreasing population as in York in the later seventeenth century and

---

<sup>93</sup> S.R. Duncan and Susan Scott, ‘Smallpox epidemics in cities in Britain’ in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, xxv (Sept.1994), p. 256.

<sup>94</sup> Graunt, *Natural observations*, p. 56.

<sup>95</sup> Creighton, *Epidemics in Britain and Ireland*, i, 117, 207; Godolphin to Arlington, 17 Oct., 1672 (*Cal. S.P. dom.,1672-3*, p. 112).

<sup>96</sup> Henry Berry, ‘The water supply of ancient Dublin’ in *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, xxi (1912), pp 557-73.

<sup>97</sup> *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608-10*, p. 250; *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1669-70*, pp 150, 157; Melvyn G. Howe, *People, environment, disease and death: a medical geography of Britain and Ireland* (Cardiff, 1997), p. 119.



consequently a need for migrants.<sup>98</sup> In 1674 William Petty recognised this when he observed that ‘births are the best way to determine increase and decrease’.<sup>99</sup> To discover the birth-rate in the city is impossible yet there are some indicators that can give an impression. Although it is possible to extrapolate figures to give a rough estimate of the birth-rate, they would be of doubtful value: as William Petty commented of such improvised techniques, they ‘may be ingenious but very preposterous’.<sup>100</sup> By examining documentary evidence and the socio-economic structure of the city, it may be possible to give a rough outline of the city’s level of fertility.

William Petty noted that ‘the proportion of breeders in the country is greater than the city’.<sup>101</sup> This is almost impossible to quantify reliably. Yet the nature of Dublin society would indicate that this was the case and in general fertility in the city was not as high as in rural areas. Firstly, there was the high and persistent death rate in the city. Such high death rates seem to have kept down the birth-rate as Petty observed in 1682 ‘the years wherein most die, fewest are born’.<sup>102</sup> The reasons for this cannot be definitively stated, although it is an established demographic phenomenon in pre-industrial societies.<sup>103</sup> The attrition caused by the high death rate may have led to frequent deaths of a partner in marriage, and even though people were generally quick to remarry, it may have reduced the birth rate overall.<sup>104</sup> We gain a good impression of the link between a high level of deaths and a falling number of births from the parish of St John in the 1660s. As the numbers of burials increased the number of baptisms decreased. This was a phenomenon also observed in York and London.<sup>105</sup>

---

<sup>98</sup> Galley, ‘A model of early modern urban demography’, p. 423.

<sup>99</sup> Petty, *Observations upon the Dublin bills of mortality*, p. 6.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, p.7.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>103</sup> John Mokyar and Cormac O Grada, ‘New Developments in Irish population history’ in *E.H.R.*, xxxvii (1984), p. 478.

<sup>104</sup> Houston, *The population history of Britain and Ireland*, pp 15, 23, 45.

<sup>105</sup> Galley, ‘A model of early modern demography’, p. 416; Graunt, *Natural observations*, p. 89.

## Births and deaths in St John's 1661-9

**Table, 1.11**

Year	Burials	Births
1661	51	56
1662	58	40
1663	90	70
1664	83	53
1665	67	59
1666	106	59
1667	106	49
1668	88	55
1669	95	37

Source: Mills (ed.), *Register of ... St John's register*, pp 100-200

The high mortality rate in the city not only dampened the birth rate in the short term, but it also affected it in the long term. As in other early modern cities, children and infants were a very vulnerable group in the urban milieu.<sup>106</sup> Their premature deaths usually added greatly to the death-rate in Dublin society. It is interesting to note that the numbers tended to fluctuate greatly (see table below). There are two reasons for this. Firstly, there seems to have been poor record-keeping in the 1620s and 30s in St John's. Secondly, it also indicates that many of these unfortunates died in the recurring bouts of smallpox and other epidemics.<sup>107</sup> The net effect of this high level of attrition upon the city's young was that fewer of them made it to adulthood and started families of their own.<sup>108</sup> Therefore, there were fewer 'breeders' in the city and this tended to depress the number of births in the city.

**Numbers of infants/children buried in St John's Parish 1620-99, Table 1.12**

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Infants/ children</u>	<u>Infants/children as % of total</u>
<u>1620-9</u>	200	22	11
<u>1630-9</u>	191	90	52
<u>1640-9</u>	881	516	60
<u>1650-9</u>	911	292	35
<u>1660-9</u>	744	266	34
<u>1670-9</u>	715	359	49
<u>1680-9</u>	937	373	40
<u>1690-9</u>	983	527	52

Source: Mills (ed.), *Register of...St John*, pp 1-262.

<sup>106</sup> Roger Finlay, 'Natural decrease in early modern cities' in *Past and Present*, no. 92 (Feb. 1981), pp 3-18.

<sup>107</sup> Duncan and Scot, 'Smallpox epidemics in cities in Britain', pp 256-7.

<sup>108</sup> Fredrichs, *The early modern city*, p. 106.

There are other socio-economic factors that checked the birth-rate among the general population.<sup>109</sup> The city appears to have had an unusually large servant class in 1695, totalling almost 20% of the entire population of the city as indicated in the table below.

**Number of servants in Dublin's population 1695,  
Table 1.13**

Male adults	Male servants
15,075	2,985
Female adults	Female servants
21,718	6,068

Source: *Anc. rec. Dub.*, vi, 520-6.

Servants were mostly unmarried, as many lived in the household of their masters and mistresses, at least while in service, as can be seen below.

**Profile of servants in two County Dublin baronies, circa 1656, Table 1.14**

Male	Female	No. married
140	187	8

Source: Richard Flatman (ed.), 'Some inhabitants of the baronies of Newcastle and Uppercross County Dublin, c 1650' in *Ir. Geneal.*, vii (1989), pp 496-512; *ibid.*, vii (1990), pp 23-34; *ibid.*, vii (1991), pp 230-45

Many servants may not have married at all and spent their lives with the same employer and his or her family. This is evident in the large numbers of men and women over thirty who were unmarried, working as servants in County Dublin. Many unmarried individuals seem to have lived with relatives as servants.<sup>110</sup> This possibly is indicated in the number of servants with the same surname as their master and mistress in the baronies of Newcastle and Uppercross in County Dublin.<sup>111</sup> Other servants in the city, after their period of service, may have left the city and those that

<sup>109</sup> Graunt explained London's low birth rate by a variety of socio-economic factors see: Graunt, *Natural observations*, pp 62-4.

<sup>110</sup> David Dickson, 'No Scythians here: women and marriage in seventeenth century Ireland' in Margaret MacCurtain and Mary O Dowd (eds), *Women in early modern Ireland* (Edinburgh, 1991), pp 227-31.

<sup>111</sup> Flatman (ed.), 'Some inhabitants of the baronies of Newcastle and Uppercross', *passim*.

did eventually marry, did so later than their counterparts in the rural districts, and this could have reduced the amount of children a couple had and lowered the city's overall birth rate.

**Age profile of servants in two County Dublin baronies, circa 1656,  
Table 1.15**

<b>10-19 years</b>	<b>20-29 years</b>	<b>30-39 years</b>	<b>40 years plus</b>
60	170	60	37

Source: Flatman (ed.), 'Some inhabitants of the baronies of Newcastle and Uppercross', passim.

The unknown but probably significant numbers of apprentices and journeymen were also the live-in dependents of their masters. Under guild regulations, the apprentices could not marry and it seems that many journeymen were never able to establish themselves as householders, or start a family.<sup>112</sup> This resulted in these individuals marrying later or perhaps never and therefore there were fewer marriages and fewer children.

Alongside the large servant class, other specific socio-economic factors would have reduced the number of marriages and, as a result, suppressed the birth rate. This link between socio-economic factors and the birth rate can be seen in the years after the plague of the early 1650s. The birth rate was possibly higher than the death rate in the city. This can best be seen in the parish of St John, where the number of baptisms was higher than the total of burials, in the period 1652-8 (see table below). The survivors and immigrants could secure cheap and quick access to the economic opportunities offered after the depopulation caused by the plague and this gave many the chance to marry earlier and form households.<sup>113</sup> As a result, uniquely in the century, the birth rate exceeded the death rate.

<sup>112</sup> Webb, *The guilds of Dublin*, p. 209; Mel Doyle, 'The journeymen clubs in Dublin' in *Saothar*, xi (1986), pp 13-15; Transcript of the original records of the feltmakers' guild, 1668-1771 (N.A.I., M 6118 a, p. 4).

<sup>113</sup> *Anc rec. Dub.*, iv, 3-6; Dunlop (ed.), *Ireland under the commonwealth*, ii, 531, 666.

**Births, baptisms and marriages in St John's 1650-9,  
Table 1.16**

Year	Burials	Baptisms	Marriages
<u>1650</u>	240	20	16
<u>1651</u>	188	63	27
<u>1652</u>	63	65	32
<u>1653</u>	69	86	42
<u>1654</u>	69	97	47
<u>1655</u>	93	111	29
<u>1656</u>	66	116	43
<u>1657</u>	72	97	24
<u>1658</u>	51	59	21

Source: Mills (ed.), *Register of...St John*, pp 30-45.

One of the characteristics of Dublin society was that women outnumbered men.<sup>114</sup> This unbalanced sex ratio was apparent in other early modern cities, including York.<sup>115</sup> The high death rate discernible among adult males and boys was possibly a contributory factor. More females than males simply survived in the disease-ridden city, for reasons unknown.<sup>116</sup> The unbalanced sex ratio meant that there was an imbalance of females to males and this further dampened the city's fertility level.

**Burials in St John's by gender, 1620-60, Table 1.17**

<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Male children</u>	<u>Female children</u>	<u>Total</u>
701	498	501	413	2113

Source: Mills (ed.), *Register of...St John*, pp 1-113.

Dublin's sex ratio was probably linked to the changing nature of the economy. As the city became a social and service centre its labour force became more feminised. It was an economy that created more opportunities for females to work as servants or in the hospitality and retail trades.<sup>117</sup> These positions were not only gender specific they were also socially selective, as these employments were unskilled and

<sup>114</sup> They outnumbered men by 1.17 to 1 in 1644 and 1.37 to 1 in 1696, Gillespie, 'Women and crime in seventeenth century Ireland' in Mac Curtain and O Dowd (eds), *Women in early modern Ireland*, p. 50; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, vi, 534; H.M.C., *Ormond*, ii, 113.

<sup>115</sup> Galley, 'A model of early modern urban demography', p. 457.

<sup>116</sup> Mills (ed.), *Register of... St John*, pp 3-180; Berry (ed.), *Register of... St Michan's*, pp 3-135.

<sup>117</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 69; iv, 156-7; Barnaby Rich, *A new description of Ireland*, ed. Edmund Hogan (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., London, 1878), pp 60, 70-2.

held a low social status.<sup>118</sup> As a result, there was a large class of indigent and dependent females in the city. Women formed a higher proportion of the inhabitants of the city's poorest parishes.<sup>119</sup> Indeed their status in urban society meant that 'women were driven to the margins and criminal activity'.<sup>120</sup> There are examples of women who operated or employed in illegal alehouses being prosecuted by the civic authorities.<sup>121</sup> The lowly and precarious economic position of significant numbers of women in Dublin prevented many from ever marrying. Those that were able to marry had to delay their marriage and this reduced the number of children they bore and overall reduced the urban birth rate.

To conclude, this analysis of the demographic regime in the city broadly shows that the patricians governed a society that, due to a high level of deaths and a low birth rate, could not maintain a viable population. This resulted in a situation whereby the long-term viability of the city was in doubt. The gaps in the city's population needed to be filled and there was a need for new people. This may have influenced the patricians in their attitude to migrants. The question arises as to what ensured the flow of people to the city, as there is no ostensible evidence of a general policy, despite the demographic profile, to encourage migrants to settle in the city. The possible reasons for this may lie in the economy of Dublin, at this time.

The pre-industrial city's main source of energy after the horse was human. We gain a good idea of the degree to which human toil helped to sustain the Irish capital, if we examine the varieties of occupations and the numbers of those involved in transportation and manual work in the parish registers. There were many labourers, drawers, carriers, porters, boatmen and coachmen employed in the city.<sup>122</sup> Without the efforts of these people, the city would have been at a standstill. The importance of these people to the welfare and the working of the city can hardly be gauged, given their almost total absence from the sources. In 1682, Ormond was aware of the importance of the 'drudging sort' or the labouring class in Irish

---

<sup>118</sup> Women who worked in alehouses were seen as little better than prostitutes, see: *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 220;iii, 145.

<sup>119</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, vi, 500; Butlin, 'The population of Dublin in the late seventeenth century', pp 61-3.

<sup>120</sup> Gillespie, 'Women and crime in seventeenth century Ireland', p. 50.

<sup>121</sup> Women like Elizabeth Jones who was publicly shamed for allowing students into her alehouse see: J.W. Stubbs, *The history of the university of Dublin* (Dublin, 1889), p. 408.

<sup>122</sup> Henry Wood (ed.), *The registers of St Catherine's parish, Dublin, 1636-1700* (Dublin, 1906), passim; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 147, 182; iv, 211; v, 581.

boroughs.<sup>123</sup> The city's economy was for much of this period composed of household units, in which a family and their dependents produced and sold some goods or provided a service. These household units rich and poor, with their shops and market stalls, needed labour in the form of servants, apprentices or journeymen and this was the norm in urban and rural Ireland.<sup>124</sup> Given the city's reliance upon its human resources, the demographic regime of the city was possibly a threat to its economic well-being. The need to replace workers who died would have been a matter of urgency to guarantee the well-being of the urban economy, especially as the city developed as a centre of trade and the capital of Ireland.

Much of the trade of Ireland passed through the city of Dublin, including manufactured goods, raw materials and livestock. To ensure that goods could be successfully transported and carried, given the era's limited technology, a plentiful supply of human labour was needed. Dublin would have required more labourers, porters and carters than other cities such as York. This was due to the high volume of imports and exports going through the city. Secondly, the capital's port was inadequate and dangerous.<sup>125</sup> Many ships were obliged to unload or load their cargoes and passengers at Ringsend or Howth. Therefore, more workers were involved in the transportation of goods and people in the city. In 1672, Abraham Yaranton describes the heavy costs of doing business in the city because ships had to be unloaded outside the city and its cargoes carried into Dublin. He complained of the cost of ferrying passengers from Ringsend and he describes 'litters' of goods being carried by workers to the city from ships, unable to dock at Dublin.<sup>126</sup> To meet the demand for workers, needed to ensure that the city could function as a centre of trade the Irish capital needed a regular and substantial influx of migrants.

The city attracted the wealthiest in the land and in the 1660s the common council spoke of a 'confluence of gentry' entering the city.<sup>127</sup> Many of these were 'rentiers' who lived in Dublin and received their rents there and spent that income in the city. For example, in the early 1630s a tenant farmer from Waterford had to travel

---

<sup>123</sup> Quoted in Toby Barnard, *A new anatomy of Ireland: Irish Protestant, 1649-1770* (Bury St Edmunds, 2006), p. 280.

<sup>124</sup> Petty, *The political anatomy of Ireland*, pp 10-11; Anon., *A bloody fight at Balrud-derry in Ireland* (London, 1647), available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>) ( 14 Feb. 2007), p. 3.

<sup>125</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, 573; *Cal. S.P. Ire.*, 1660-2, p. 81.

<sup>126</sup> 'Observations on Dublin by Andrew Yaranton', 1672 (*Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 573-6).

<sup>127</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iv, 259.

to Dublin ‘on quarter day’ to pay his rent to his landlord, who resided in the city.<sup>128</sup> The city was also the political capital and this drew many of the landed elite into the city. Dublin’s role as capital, created many opportunities for professionals, in particular those involved in the law.<sup>129</sup> Others came from elsewhere in Ireland, and stayed in the city for extended periods as suitors in the city court or came looking for preferment or gain from the church or state<sup>130</sup>. The kingdom’s officials and administrators, usually based in Dublin, also stimulated the economy with their demand for goods, services and housing. Barnaby Rich noted in 1610 the significance of the lord deputy and his retinue to the economy of Dublin.<sup>131</sup>

This influx of affluent individuals into the city created many employment opportunities. The scale and nature of these are hard to estimate given the existing records, but two areas can be identified which undoubtedly provided employment for migrants. Firstly, the many officials and members of the landed elite needed servants. William Petty stated that every gentleman in the city needed on average two servants in 1683. Inns and cookhouses required live-in servants to meet the demand generated by the city’s wealthy and government officials.<sup>132</sup> In 1678 it was stated that several hundred people of all classes were dependent upon the business generated by visitors and employees of the four courts. The growth in these employments had real consequences for the nature of migration to the city as it increasingly needed female workers, and the expansion of this sector can also be linked in part to the decided female majority in the city.<sup>133</sup>

The city’s emergence as a capital not only spurred on its service industries but also generated employment in the construction industry. Dublin expanded and was beautified over the course of the century and this required a plentiful supply of labour.<sup>134</sup> Much of this was driven by the activities of resident nobles. Individuals like Lord Longford were developing areas outside the city’s walls, while Ormond

---

<sup>128</sup> Anon, *The execution of Thomas Stanhorpe* (London, 1635), available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>) (2 Mar. 2006).

<sup>129</sup> Richard Lawrence, *The interest of Ireland in its trade and wealth stated* (Dublin, 1682), available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>) (29 Aug. 2007), p. 8; Simms, ‘Dublin in 1685’, p. 213.

<sup>130</sup> Petition against removal of the Four Courts, 1683-4 (*Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 608-10); Petty, *The political anatomy of Ireland*, p. 38.

<sup>131</sup> Rich, *A new description of Ireland*, p. 67.

<sup>132</sup> Petty, *The political anatomy of Ireland*, p. 44; Berry (ed.), *Register...St Michan’s*, pp 23, 48, 154.

<sup>133</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, vi, 524.

<sup>134</sup> Maurice Craig, *Dublin, 1660-1800* (Dublin, 1964) chp.1; *Essex papers*, p. 45.



sponsored building projects like the Phoenix Park and the hospital at Kilmainham.<sup>135</sup> The city's emergence as the national capital further boosted the labour intensive building industry. In 1610 it was asserted that it would take '3000 labourers' to build the four courts.<sup>136</sup> Alongside these projects was the constant building and re-building of humbler dwellings and structures. The building industry was no doubt subject to periods of stagnation and decline but it also undoubtedly experienced periods of marked expansion. For example, there was extensive construction undertaken, after the great explosion in Dublin in 1597.<sup>137</sup> During the city's recovery after the wars of 1689-91, the city's stock of 'good housing' increased by 5% in one year. This improvement in the city's housing stock is indicative of a substantial number of new dwelling and a significant amount of re-building of 'poor' housing'.<sup>138</sup> We can see from the above examples how the city's emergence as a metropolitan capital and as a centre of trade created an economy which needed a ready supply of workers in several diverse areas and this generated a demand for migrant labour.

To understand why the city was able to attract large numbers of people from Ireland and elsewhere is possible if we compare Dublin to its surrounding regions. In 1686 an observer noted the marked differences between Dublin and the rest of Irish society.<sup>139</sup> In contrast to the rest of Ireland, which was generally poor and underdeveloped, Dublin was economically advanced and this was typical of the period, when urban centres were generally more affluent than rural areas. Petty gives us a description of rural Ireland, where peasants existed in a basic subsistence economy in the 1670s. In the 1690s, John Dunton described people living a lifestyle based on a pastoral economy in Connacht.<sup>140</sup> Furthermore, for much of the century agricultural prices fetched by farmers were generally low, and, according to Cullen, these lay like 'a shadow over the land' and denied many the opportunities to improve their lot.<sup>141</sup> However, there were areas in rural Ireland that were more developed than

---

<sup>135</sup> Nuala Burke, 'An early modern Dublin suburb: the estate of Francis Aungier, earl of Longford' in *Irish Geography*, vi (1970-3), p. 369.

<sup>136</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 479.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 562-4; Colm Lennon, 'The great explosion in Dublin, 1597' in *D.H.R.*, xxxv (1989), pp 7-20

<sup>138</sup> Anon, 'An account of the houses and hearths in Dublin, 1695-7' in *Philosophical Transactions*, xxxvi (1699), p. 501.

<sup>139</sup> *Cal. S.P. dom.*, 1686-7, p. 93.

<sup>140</sup> *De Renzi Papers* (N.A. Kew, PRO SP., 46/90/29); Petty, *The political anatomy of Ireland*, pp 98-102; John Dunton, *Teague land or a merry ramble with the wild Irish* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Dublin, 2002), pp 56-8.

<sup>141</sup> L.M. Cullen, 'Economic trends, 1660-1691' in T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin and F.J. Byrne (eds), in *A new history of Ireland, iii: early modern Ireland, 1534-1691* (Oxford, 1976), p. 406.

others, some baronies in County Dublin were quite economically advanced as indicated by the high level of occupational specialisation evident in their populations.<sup>142</sup>

Within the city's migration field were the west and especially the north west of England. Between Dublin and that region of England there were many military, trade and business links. Chester, its chief port and urban centre, had long established trading connections with the Irish capital.<sup>143</sup> This region was among the poorest in England, and with its reliance on pastoral farming was not dissimilar to parts of rural Ireland and it too had many who were undoubtedly prepared to travel for work permanently or on a temporary basis. Ireland and particularly Dublin would have been very accessible to these migrant workers and there were regular ships from the region to the capital. This can be seen in 1669 when a young woman, Alice Walker, spent seven weeks in Ireland, possibly as a harvester before returning home to the Chester area.<sup>144</sup> The presence of migrants from north west England is evidenced in several sources and was broad based and significant. Many apprentices moved to Dublin, from that region.<sup>145</sup> A significant number of migrants enfranchised in the city under the act for naturalising Protestant strangers of 1662, were from that area.<sup>146</sup> The Quaker community in Dublin was mainly comprised of migrants from Lancashire and Cumbria.<sup>147</sup> There was even a society for Chester men living in the city in the 1680s.<sup>148</sup>

Wealthy Dublin could have offered many migrants higher wages than those available in their locality. The surviving records are inadequate but they allow us to compare Dublin wage rates and those from its hinterland. All the figures used from Ireland and England in the following discussion are based upon wage rates paid to those without 'diet'. This was a custom where a worker received food and drink in part payment of their wage. Those wage earners who received 'diet' were paid

---

<sup>142</sup> Flatman, 'Some Inhabitants of the Baronies of Newcastle and Uppercross', passim.

<sup>143</sup> Chester Mayor's Book (C.C.A., Archives, ZM/L/2/261); Mayor's military papers (C.C.A., ZM/MP/8-16); The second assembly book (C.C.A., ZA/B/76).

<sup>144</sup> Church of England, Cheshire Diocese, Consistory court, 1669 (C.C.A, EDC/ 3).

<sup>145</sup> Charles Jackson, *English goldsmiths and their marks: a history of the goldsmiths and plate-workers of England, Scotland and Ireland* (C.D. Rom. Dublin, Eneclann, 2007), pp 641-4

<sup>146</sup> Brian W.Chistmas (ed.), 'Some Protestant settlers in Ireland 1665-1710', in *Ir. Geneal.*, vii (1988), pp 349-57.

<sup>147</sup> Isabel Grubb, *The Quakers in Ireland* (London, 1928), p. 32; Beryl Eustace and Olive Goodbody (eds), *Quaker Records: abstracts of wills* (I.M.C., Dublin, 1953), nos, 7, 16, 25, 36, 101, 110, 118, 153, 181, 188.

<sup>148</sup> John Gilbert, *A history of Dublin* ( 3 vols, Dublin, 1882), ii, 388.

broadly similar rates to those who did not receive it. In 1614 the difference between the two types of payment was only one penny a day and the wage rates of those without diet were typical of the rates of remuneration available to manual and skilled workers.<sup>149</sup>

The documentary evidence would suggest that the pay for a day labourer without 'diet' was greater in Dublin than elsewhere in Ireland. Around 1600, a cleaning lady at Trinity College received more pay per day than a labourer in Kilkenny.<sup>150</sup> In 1604 a labourer could expect to receive between four and six *d* in Dublin but only four *d* in the Irish town of Kilkenny.<sup>151</sup> In 1615 a labourer in the Irish capital could expect 6 *d* but his equivalent in Kilkenny could only expect four *d*. In 1622 the rate of pay for a labourer in Bandon was six pence per day in Dublin it was seven and a half *d* per day. Dublin even paid higher than Bandon, an area with a 'high density of English settlers' who would have boosted wage rates in the Cork town.<sup>152</sup> Ormond complained of the high wages that he was obliged to pay in the city in 1668.<sup>153</sup> William Petty in 1674 claimed that a labourer in Kerry could earn four to five *d* a day, whereas in Dublin in this period it was double that sum and a building labourer could expect twelve *d* a day. In the 1690s the Irish labourers who worked the land were described 'as little better than slaves' and worked for a few pence a day. At this time in Dublin the wage rates of unskilled building workers was twelve *d* a day.<sup>154</sup>

It is more difficult to give an outline of the pay differential between skilled tradesmen in Dublin and rural Ireland. We only have some evidence from the early part of the century. The artisans who were building the walls of Bandon around 1600 went on a strike to secure a wage of three *d* a day, while in Dublin a journeyman mason could earn eight *d* a day and a master could earn twelve pence.<sup>155</sup> A master

---

<sup>149</sup> *A proclamation set forth by Sir James Carroll* (Dublin, 1614), available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>) (6 Jan. 2007); Peter Landert, 'English population, wages and prices, 1541-1913' in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, xvi (1985), p. 611.

<sup>150</sup> Stubbs, *The history of the university of Dublin*, p. 25.

<sup>151</sup> John Ainsworth (ed.), 'Corporation book of the Irishtown of Kilkenny, 1537-1628' in *Anal. Hib.*, no. 28 (1979), p. 52; L.M.Cullen, 'Wages and comparative development in Ireland, 1578-1778', in idem, A. Gibson and T.M. Smout (eds), *Comparative aspects of Irish and economic and social history 1600-1900* (Edinburgh, 1987), pp 109-11.

<sup>152</sup> Ainsworth (ed.), 'The Corporation book of the Irishtown of Kilkenny', p. 66; Cullen, 'Wages and comparative development in Ireland 1578-1778', pp 109-11.

<sup>153</sup> Ormond to Matthews, 10 Dec. 1661 (Bodl., Carte MS 49, f. 166).

<sup>154</sup> Frederick Darcy, 'Wages of labourers in the Dublin in the Dublin building industry 1667-1918' in *Saothar*, xiv (1989), pp 17-32.

<sup>155</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 66.

carpenter in Kilkenny could earn six *d* for a day's work in 1615; in Dublin a carpenter could expect to be paid sixteen *d* a day.<sup>156</sup> Unfortunately, it is difficult to offer a fuller comparison in the daily rates between Dublin and other Irish craftsmen, due to the paucity of the sources.

As a capital city the cost of living was much higher in urban Dublin than rural Ireland.<sup>157</sup> This may have meant that after paying for various expenses, especially food, a migrant was poorer, in real terms, than in his native place. This could have been a disincentive for migrants to settle in the city. Yet, as Cullen has shown, real wages, that is the amount of consumables and goods a wage earner could buy with his earnings, remained quite high. This he achieved by estimating how much bread, the main food staple, a waged worker could afford, by the amount of ounces of wheaten bread he or she could purchase with their earnings.<sup>158</sup> For the majority of people, food was the main item of expenditure and its price determined the standard of living of the waged workforce in Dublin, as it did in cities like York.<sup>159</sup> In the Irish capital the 'money wages' a worker received, usually translated into an adequate 'real wage'. However, it must be noted that there were often prolonged periods when a wage earner in the city could barely afford their daily sustenance, during periods of recession and economic downturn as in the 1690s<sup>160</sup>. Overall, the 'real wages' in the city were high and show an improvement upon those received by late sixteenth-century labourers in the city and often higher than those paid to manual workers in the eighteenth century.<sup>161</sup>

Of course, not only Irish migrants migrated to the city, many English natives settled in Dublin. If we compare English and Dublin wage rates, however, it would appear that there was little economic incentive for unskilled and manual workers to emigrate to the Irish capital, apart from the possibility of better chances of finding employment. They could obtain similar wages in local urban centres, even in the relatively underdeveloped north west of England, as indicated in the table below.

---

<sup>156</sup> Ainsworth (ed.), 'Corporation book of the Irish town of Kilkenny', p. 65; *A proclamation set forth by sir James Carroll* (Dublin, 1614), p. 1.

<sup>157</sup> Barnaby Rich, *A new description of Ireland*, p. 25; *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1667-9*, p. 108; Ormond to Matthews 10 Dec. 1668 (Bodl., Carte MS 219, f. 16).

<sup>158</sup> Cullen, 'Wages and comparative development in Ireland, 1565-1780', pp 107-8.

<sup>159</sup> D.M. Woodward, 'The determination of wage rates in the early modern north of England' in *E.H.R.* xlvii (1994), pp 21, 23.

<sup>160</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, vi, 91, 170, 179.

<sup>161</sup> Cullen, 'Wages and comparative development in Ireland, 1565-1780', pp 107-8.

**Daily wages of labourers in Dublin and the North West of England, table 1.18**

	<b>Carlise</b>	<b>Kendall</b>	<b>Chester</b>	<b>Dublin</b>
1600-9	8d	6 to 8d	6d	6 to 7.5d
1610-9	7 to 9d	6 to 8d	8d	6 to 8d
1620-9	8 to 9d	7 to 8d	7 to 9d	7 to 8d
1630-9	8d	7 to 8d	8 to 9d	6 to 7d
1640-9	8d	n/a	8d	8 to 9d
1650-9	8d	8 to 10d	8d	8.5 to 9d
1660-9	8 to 11d	8 to 10d	8d	9 to 10d
1670-9	9 to 12d	10d	8 to 11d	10 to 11d
1680-9	10 to 12d	10 to 12d	9 to 12d	11 -11.5d
1690-9	9 to 12d	10d	10d-12d	10- 11d

Source: Cullen, 'Wages and comparative development in Ireland, 1565- 1780' pp107-8; Woodward, 'The determination of wage rates in the early modern north of England', p. 23; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 66.

Yet if we compare the 'real wages', available to migrants in Dublin to those paid elsewhere in England, it seems that the city offered quite competitive and attractive rates, particularly in the period between 1600 and 1660 when English workers real wages were acutely and even historically low.<sup>162</sup>

For English migrants with some recognised trade or skill there are indications that Dublin could be an attractive option. All we possess are the rates of pay, again without food, for skilled building workers for Dublin and these are mostly from after 1660. If we compare them to pay rates for skilled building workers in northern England and in the southern part of that island, we see that the rates of pay in Dublin were quite attractive, particularly after 1660 (see table below). They were generally higher than those paid in the north of England and similar to those paid in the south. Furthermore, as we have seen, the real wages available in the Irish capital, based upon the quantity of wheaten bread they could buy, were quite high and generally higher than England. The monetary and real wages for skilled workers were enough to lure many migrants from England to the Irish capital.

<sup>162</sup> Woodward, 'The determination of wage rates in the early modern north of England', p. 23.

**Wages for craftsmen in N.W. England and Dublin per day, table 1.18**

	Carlise	Kendall	Chester	Dublin
1610-9	10-12 <i>d</i>	10-14 <i>d</i>	12 <i>d</i> -15 <i>d</i>	16 <i>d</i>
1660-70	18-19 <i>d</i>	12 <i>d</i> -18 <i>d</i>	14-18 <i>d</i>	24 <i>d</i>
1670-80	18-20 <i>d</i>	14 <i>d</i> -18 <i>d</i>	13-18 <i>d</i>	24 <i>d</i>
1680-90	16 <i>d</i> -19 <i>d</i>	14 <i>d</i> -16 <i>d</i>	12 <i>d</i> -16 <i>d</i>	24 <i>d</i>
1690-1700	n/a	16-18 <i>d</i>	14 <i>d</i>	24 <i>d</i>

Source: Woodward, 'The determination of wage rates in the early modern north of England', p. 23; Cullen, 'Wages and comparative development in Ireland, 1565- 1780' pp 107-8; Darcy, 'The wages of skilled building workers', pp 3-12

The generally higher wage rates acted as a real incentive for migrants to move to the Irish capital. Undoubtedly, other economic factors tempted migrants from a wide area to Dublin. Some came to the city tempted by low prices for land in its hinterland. Others may have found a good price for their skills and goods in the city's economy.<sup>163</sup> However a crude picture emerges, from the wage rates discussed above, that suggests that the 'invisible hand' of the market drew people from the hinterland into the city, enticed by higher wage rates and better economic opportunities, as was the case in the city of York.<sup>164</sup>

The mayor and the aldermanic bench may have generally let the market provide the city with an adequate supply of labour. Yet the civic elite did intervene in the economy to ensure there was a ready supply of labour, both skilled and unskilled, to meet the urban economy's needs. Under law, the aldermanic elite as magistrates of labour could set the wage rates and terms of employment for workers in the city.<sup>165</sup> As magistrates for labour, they could insist that servants be bound to their master. This was done to ensure that employers in the city did not lose their work force. Dublin merchants like other Irish entrepreneurs were involved in the growing Atlantic economy.<sup>166</sup> Dublin traders even after the Navigation Acts made it

<sup>163</sup> Canny, *Making Ireland, British*, p. 365; Deposition of James Hoole, 4 Oct. 1642 (T.C.D., MS 810, f. 136).

<sup>164</sup> Galley, 'A model of early modern urban demography', p. 460.

<sup>165</sup> Bolton, *A Justice of the Peace for Ireland*, p. 34; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iv, 211.

<sup>166</sup> John Truxes, *Irish-American trade, 1660-1783* (Cambridge, 1998), pp 3-4, 255-8.

difficult for Irish traders to operate in areas like the West Indies.<sup>167</sup> A Richard Kennedy was sending indentured servants and commodities to Barbados, in the 1660s.<sup>168</sup> By 1674, so many servants seem to have left for the West Indies that it alarmed the municipal authorities. The civic elite were concerned that if so many servants departed the city there could be labour shortages. The mayor and the common council intervened by declaring that servants adhere to an indenture drawn up in the thosel. An indenture as a legal document would have tied the servant to his master and the enforcement of such a policy would have maintained an adequate labour force in the city.<sup>169</sup>

There are several instances of the patricians of Dublin intervening in the labour market. In the early 1600s the common council licensed workmen to come into the city to work, as local builders were leaving for work in the country and this was pushing up prices.<sup>170</sup> The mayor issued a proclamation that set the wage rates for various occupations for particular labourers and those involved in the building industry, such as pavers in 1614. Significantly the rates of pay were seasonal in that the pay from ‘17<sup>th</sup> March to Michaelmas’ was highest. For example, a common labourer without ‘diet’ or food provided by his employer earned eight pence a day in this period and seven *d* a day for the rest of the year.<sup>171</sup> The significance of this is that the months with the highest pay correspond to a rise in the demand for agricultural labour and indicates that the patriciate sought to ensure that the city had a ready supply of manual workers. The city had to compete for labour, as much of the work in the city itself was seasonal. The building trade and the port were busiest during the summer and early autumn. Good weather allowed more building work to proceed and there were more ships crossing the Irish Sea in the summer months.<sup>172</sup> Yet, this was when there was a demand for harvesters in the countryside. This variation in sums payable to labourers also gives an impression that there may have been seasonal migration to the city in summer when the wage rates were highest and when work was freely available. The patricians authorised employers to pay more to labourers and

---

<sup>167</sup> In the 1660s, Dublin merchants traded with Spanish merchants in the Canary Islands, who then transported Irish foodstuffs, stockings and linen to Spanish America, see: Documents relating to the case of Canary’s Company, 1666 (*Cal. S.P. Ire., 1666-9*, pp 568-70, 596).

<sup>168</sup> Petition of Robert Kennedy, 29 July 1662 (Bodl., Carte MS 154, f. 181).

<sup>169</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 104, 199.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid*, ii, 396.

<sup>171</sup> *A proclamation set forth by Sir James Carroll* (Dublin, 1613), p.2.

<sup>172</sup> Darcy, ‘Wages of labourers in the Dublin building industry’, pp 17-19.

others in the summer to ensure that the city did not lose members of its workforce, when agricultural work was readily available in rural Ireland.<sup>173</sup> That the patriciate sought to achieve this by higher rates of pay suggests that the civic elite were aware that market forces could furnish the city with an adequate work force.

The theory that market forces determined flows of migrants to service the urban economy is faced with one great difficulty: the regulation of the urban economy by the guilds. These monopolies and other economic privileges associated with the city could have greatly affected the flow of migrants and their reception in the city by the political and economic elite, the Dublin patriciate.<sup>174</sup> The patricians, as we have seen earlier, were ever-vigilant in the defence of the guilds in the face of threats to their monopolies. This defence of traditional guild privileges by the aldermanic bench usually involved it in, at times, heated disputes with outsiders and newcomers to Dublin. The patricians were involved in a series of actions against Dutch factors and merchants in the early seventeenth century to protect the merchant guild.<sup>175</sup> The Dublin elite's commitment to the guilds' economic right could have made the city a very unwelcome place for migrants and one where it was very difficult to practise a trade or engage in commerce freely.

Much of the urban economy did come under the scope of the fraternities. Over the course of the century the number of guilds in the city grew and more occupations and activities in the city's economy became regulated. In 1600 there were only eight corporations, but by 1700 there were twenty-four, many of these having been created only in the latter part of the century.<sup>176</sup> Whole sectors of the urban economy were open to all-comers and effectively deregulated. An immigrant could seek work without official harassment in economic activities not regulated by the guilds. Work at the city's port appears to have been open to anyone, even recent arrivals.<sup>177</sup> To work in any unskilled activity was usually open to all migrants. Many skilled activities were also outside the control of the guilds. Based upon an analysis of occupations practised in the sprawling parish of St Michan's, it seems that a migrant

---

<sup>173</sup> *A proclamation set forth by Sir James Carroll* (Dublin, 1614).

<sup>174</sup> Webb, *The guilds of Dublin*, p. 39; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, i, 1-5.

<sup>175</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 117; Rolf Loeber, 'The reception of foreigners: Dutch merchants in Dublin and its liberties in the early seventeenth century' in *Dutch Crossings: a journal of Low Countries Studies*, no. 26 (2002), pp 155-68.

<sup>176</sup> Gertrude Thrift, *Transcripts of guild records* (N.A.I., T A., 1235-50); see also appendix 6.

<sup>177</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iv, 211, Regulations for measurers and carriers, 14 Jan. 1678 (*Anc. rec. Dub.*, 579-82).



had the opportunity to obtain a variety of employments that were not monopolised by a guild, such as potter, basket-weaver, gardener, scrivener, rope-maker, comb-maker, sugar-baker and furrier<sup>178</sup>.

We gain an impression of the liberal conditions that awaited many migrants looking for work or opportunities in the economy of Dublin if we compare it with the great English regional centre of York. For example, in Dublin's port, there were no prohibitions that prevented outsiders from finding employment there. In York, there were restrictions on who could work at the city's dock.<sup>179</sup> Natives received preference in the 'carrying' trades such as that of porter and carter in the English city. There were no such regulations in the Irish city. Some skilled occupations were also under guild supervision such as potter or basket-weaver in York that was not the monopoly of any fraternity in Dublin. Accordingly, any individual could practise them in the capital of Ireland. Even native labourers may have been privileged in York and some became free of that city as 'free labourers'.<sup>180</sup> Yet in Dublin there is no evidence that native labourers were privileged or protected from the competition from migrants.

This lack of regulation of many of the unskilled or semi-skilled occupations in Dublin was possibly due in part to the fact that traditionally many Gaelic Irish seem to have worked at these and the long-established Old English civic elite saw no need to privilege or protect this group or their economic interests.<sup>181</sup> Whatever the reasons, many areas of the urban economy were accessible to newcomers, and Dublin seems to have been a relatively 'open' economy compared to other early modern cities. Without this freedom, the migration to Dublin and its population growth would have been less marked and dramatic. Newcomers' ability to access various occupations permitted many Irish Catholics migrants to settle in the city, technically excluded from the guilds of Dublin, after 1650. This is evident in that group's domination of

---

<sup>178</sup> Berry (ed.), *Registers.... of St Michan's*, pp 269, 271, 275, 288, 291,293, 295

<sup>179</sup> D.M. Palliser, 'The guilds of Tudor York' in Peter Clarke and Paul Slack (eds), *Crisis and order in early modern English towns* (London, 1990), p. 134.

<sup>180</sup> Francis Collins (ed.), *Register of the freemen of the city of York ,1559-1759* (York, 1900), available at B.H.O., (<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/source>.) (9 May, 2008), passim.; H.M.C., *Ormond*, iv, 146.

<sup>181</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, i, 272, 280-1, 286-7, 298.

the unregulated fishing trade and the marine transport business in the city in the 1690s.<sup>182</sup>

There appear to have been an acceptance by the civic elite that some workers and artisans needed to be imported to provide necessary skills and services for the urban economy. The mayor as one of the magistrates of labour could 'bring in strangers to work upon an occupation as he shall think expedient'.<sup>183</sup> Occasionally, the patricians also threatened a fraternity's monopoly, by 'opening up the market' to outsiders.<sup>184</sup> This was done usually in order to secure affordable commodities from outside the city for the inhabitants of Dublin. In the 1630s, English butchers were allowed to trade freely in the city, and in 1696, it was ordered that 'country' bakers could work in the city.<sup>185</sup> Despite the regulation of the trade and crafts by the fraternities and the common council in Dublin, the aldermanic bench could be quite open to certain migrants who could offer the city skills or expertise that could boost the urban economy. The patricians of Dublin tolerated and even welcomed outsiders that could contribute in some way to the city's prosperity. In 1622, the patricians of Dublin sought to develop the fishing industry in Ringsend. To achieve this it commanded that the city's 'carmen' or carters were to 'give three days work' in the area. The city's guilds also were obliged to contribute to a bridge in the district. The civic elite recognised that for the venture to succeed, the work of outsiders was required. For example, it allowed fishermen from outside the franchises to work in Ringsend without having to pay customs. Furthermore, the patricians even interfered with the coopers' monopoly in pursuance of their policy. They permitted migrants to operate under licence to work at the manufacture of barrels during the herring season. The stated aim of all these developments was 'for the better encouragement of merchants and strangers resorting hither'.<sup>186</sup> This example of the patriciate's ability to see the economic benefits of migrants was not unique. Alderman Daniel Bellingham attempted to attract Dutch migrant cloth-workers to the city to boost the local textile

---

<sup>182</sup> Anon., 'A list of all the seamen, fishermen, watermen, lightermen, gabbardmen, boatmen, ferrymen and seafaringmen in the kingdom of Ireland in 1697' in *Philosophical Transactions*, xxii (1700), p. 508.

<sup>183</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 457.

<sup>184</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 148, 339; vi., 170; Henry Berry (ed.), 'Minute book of the corporation of Dublin known as the 'Friday book, 1567-1611' in *R. I. A. Proc.*, section c, xxx (1912-13), pp 498, 510.

<sup>185</sup> Gillespie (ed.), *The vestry records of St John*, p. 90; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, vi, 210, 215.

<sup>186</sup> *Anc. recs., Dub.*, iii, 146-7.

industry in 1660.<sup>187</sup> These examples clearly show that the patricians were willing to see the benefits of migrants as contributors to the economy of the city.

These groups of acceptable outsiders all had something in common: they were skilled in a trade or had some other expertise. The civic leaders welcomed them, in the belief that they could contribute to the urban economy. It was a common practice for the civic elite to grant individuals with special skills not already present in the city the freedom of the city. In particular, traders, artisans and craftsmen were seen as ‘beneficial to the commonwealth’.<sup>188</sup> There was an innate belief among the elite throughout this period that ‘trade and manufacture’ were the keys to economic prosperity. Given that there was little concept of economics in this era, this view was almost unquestioned.<sup>189</sup> This may account for the patricians seeking to invite some artisans and traders into the city to boost aspects of the urban economy. The influence of this concept that skilled individuals could enhance trade can be seen in the large numbers of craftsmen and merchants granted the freedom of the city. The value placed on these skilled outsiders by the elite is apparent in their being deemed worthy of the franchise and its privileges as they were thought to be beneficial to the city. (see chapter.2)

The evidence adduced shows that the elite were content to let market forces dictate the flow of migrants to the city. The wealthy city in the midst of poverty could readily attract as much labour as it required. The elite in Dublin were vigorous in the defence of their economic privileges yet, if a migrant wanted to engage in an activity outside the guilds’ remit, he or she was perfectly entitled to engage in doing so without apparent discrimination. The city was also not averse to encouraging migrants to the city in the interest of its economy. The patricians had a personal interest in the growing wealth of the city. Individual aldermen often were responsible for the city’s finances, such as Thady Duffe, who was one of the city’s treasurers in the early years of the century.<sup>190</sup> Skilled newcomers could have contributed to the

---

<sup>187</sup> Barnard, *Cromwellian Ireland*, p. 92; W.C. Stubbs, ‘The weavers’ guild; the Guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Dublin, 1446-1840’ in *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, xxxv (1919), p. 66.

<sup>188</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 9, 118.

<sup>189</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 24; George O’Brien (ed.), *Advertisements for Ireland: being a description of the state of Ireland in the reign of James I, contained in manuscripts in the library of Trinity College, Dublin* (Dublin, 1923), pp 30-1 ; Sir Walter Harris, *Remarks upon the trade of England and Ireland* (Dublin, 1691), available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>) (28 Jan. 2007), pp 1-2; Anthony Dopping, *The case of the Dissenters of Ireland in reference to the sacramental test* (Dublin, 1695), pp 1-2; Sir Francis Brewster, *Essays on trade and navigation in five parts* (Dublin, 1695), pp 6-7.

<sup>190</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 41, 49.

city's funds and make the civic elite's management of the city's finances easier and more efficient.<sup>191</sup> These factors created ample opportunities for migrants, at least in times of peace and plenty.

As we have seen already, there were probably seasonal migrants to the city and many of these labourers or builders returned home or moved elsewhere to find work. Even residents of Dublin may have partaken of the pattern of seasonal migration, leaving during harvest time. The statute of labourers specifically provided for the punishment of servants and others that leave their employer in corporations to work for better rates of pay during the yearly gathering of the harvest.<sup>192</sup> The nature of service in this period was that it was often temporary and only for a specific period of time: that was usually stated in an indenture, or contract, and these were usually for a year or two.<sup>193</sup> Many more servants were only 'servants at will' and had no indentures, and were only employed for a very brief period before being forced to look for employment, elsewhere.<sup>194</sup> The city of Dublin had in all probability a very mobile population, with people coming and going continually.

The loss of these temporary migrants was of little concern in general to the patricians of Dublin. The capital was home to other migrants and long-term residents, whom the civic elite were very eager to retain in their own interest and in the city's. These were the privileged freemen of Dublin. Their privileges were related to their utility to the city. From a practical point of view, they were critical to the well-being of the capital as, artisans and traders, they generated wealth and they paid taxes to the municipal treasury. They aided the aldermanic elite's government in a variety of ways, from serving as constables, or in the militia, and helping to defend the city in times of war.<sup>195</sup> Through their membership of the guilds, they were held to form one of the corporations that composed the town's corporate body.<sup>196</sup> Even as the city's government became more oligarchic in character, the importance attached to the individual citizen, remained. It can be seen in the freemen's continued participation in Dublin's various civic ceremonies, when citizens marched under their guild banners

---

<sup>191</sup> For a list of the city's treasurers see: William Monck Mason, 'Notes towards a history of Dublin' (D.C.A., MS 66, ii, pp 40- 45).

<sup>192</sup> Bolton, *A Justice of the Peace for Ireland*, p. 101.

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56; *Anc rec. Dub.*, v, 221.

<sup>194</sup> Flatman (ed.), 'Some Inhabitants of the Baronies of Newcastle and Uppercross', *passim*.

<sup>195</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 78, 358, 455; iii, 105, 312; vi, 87; H.M.C., *Ormond*, i, 113.

<sup>196</sup> Jacqueline Hill, 'Corporatist ideology and practice in Ireland, 1660-1800' in S.J. Connolly (ed.), *Political ideas in eighteenth century Ireland* (Dublin, 2000), p. 65.

and in distinctive clothing, all designed to demonstrate their position and status in the city.<sup>197</sup> All early modern societies were conceived of as hierarchies. The order of citizen was deemed crucial in the organisation of the city and for its flourishing and stability. Citizens formed a key component in the society. They were the base upon which the patriciate rested its power and its government of the city.<sup>198</sup>

Traditionally, the citizen-body was a minority within the city's general population. It basically represented many of the well-to do and middling class in the city of Dublin. In the seventeenth century it is difficult to estimate the size of this group. By the early 1630s it seems that the citizen body was outnumbered by the number of non-citizens.<sup>199</sup> In 1642, citizens and their wives numbered almost 8,000. This was out of a total population of between twenty and thirty thousand.<sup>200</sup> This would suggest that the male citizens, the most important political and economic body in the city, may have accounted for only approximately one sixth of the population. This important group was small and the loss of any member or potential members could have had a significant impact on the elite and its successful government of the city and civic privileges. For fewer than 10,000 freemen and women received the franchise throughout the entire century. The need to replenish this central component of urban society may have greatly influenced the elite's approach to newcomers.

The loss of enfranchised Dubliners raised acute problems for the elite. As a relatively affluent group, their wealth may have protected them to an extent from the diseases and epidemics that swept the Irish capital. They may have enjoyed a higher standard of hygiene and nutrition, factors that may have made citizens less prone to sickness in the city, while more may have fled the city during the recurring epidemics.<sup>201</sup> Yet it seems likely that many citizens did succumb to disease and death in the city. Unfortunately, the existing records are inadequate for a thorough presentation of the citizen's body's demographic profile. Yet it seems likely that the children of citizens were as vulnerable to other inhabitants to the city's endemic diseases. For an example, only three of Alderman Anthony Sharpe's twelve children

---

<sup>197</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 492-6, iii, 105, 112, 208; Hill, 'Corporatist ideology and practice in Ireland, 1660-1800', pp 67, 72, 77.

<sup>198</sup> Friedrichs, *Urban politics in early modern Europe*, pp 4, 6.

<sup>199</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 312.

<sup>200</sup> H.M.C., *Ormond*, ii, 113 ; Walter Harris, *The history and antiquities of the city of Dublin from the earliest times* (Dublin, 1766), p. 336.

<sup>201</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 420; iv, 2, 10.

lived to adulthood.<sup>202</sup> An impression of the high death rate among citizens' children can be presented in the numbers of children of freemen who were enfranchised by right of birth. Those admitted as citizens by 'birth' accounted for only 1338 out of a total of 9870 new freemen and women enfranchised in the seventeenth century. Indeed, the numbers of those claiming their citizenship by right of birth decreased over the century. This low figure may in part be due to high deaths rates among the sons and daughters of freemen.

**Nos of citizens enfranchised by births**  
**Table 1.19**

1599-1600	160
1610-9	185
1620-9	166
1630-9	234
1640-9	81
1650-9	59
1660-9	140
1670-9	81
1680-9	178
1690-9	54
<b>Total</b>	<b>1338</b>

*Source: Anc. recs. Dub, ii; iii; passim; Abstracts of freemen of Dublin, 1574-1774, compiled by Gertrude Thrift (D.C.A., Thrifts abstracts MSS 71-4).*

These figures would suggest that the citizen body could not replenish itself and that there were insufficient children of citizens to follow in the footsteps of their father's and assume the onerous responsibilities of the 'free'.

There were other factors apart from these at work among the citizenry that prompted the elite to accept the need to co-opt outsiders into the privileges of the 'free'. The evidence indicates that the city did in general lose considerable numbers of citizens and members of the urban elite due to emigration from the city, or withdrawal from civic life. During the plagues of 1603-5 and 1650-2, the common council threatened to disfranchise those citizens who left the city in its time of need.<sup>203</sup> Even in periods of peace and economic stability there seems to have been a persistent problem with citizens leaving the city. This occurred, despite the fact that by law all

<sup>202</sup> Grubb, *The Quakers in Ireland*, p. 34.

<sup>203</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii., 519; iv., p.7.

freemen of a city had to reside 'in the city where he received his freedom'.<sup>204</sup> The best records of this problem facing the patricians are to do with cases of aldermen and common councillors being absent from their duties.<sup>205</sup> The aldermen took a special oath to serve the city and their residence in the borough was critical if they were to succeed in their duties. Yet there were frequent references in the municipal records concerning aldermen and common councillors being absent and neglecting their duties. This problem of absent aldermen and others occurred throughout the century and may have posed problems for the civic administration, for example, in finding suitable recruits for civic offices.<sup>206</sup> Guild records also show a concern with brothers leaving the city and abandoning their obligations to the guild, especially as they did not pay their quarterage or membership fee. A bye-law of the merchant guild warned that 'any brother absent for a year would be disfranchised'<sup>207</sup>. The guild of St Luke ordered that all members who left the city had to have a licence to leave and still had to pay their dues to the fraternity. Despite these ordinances, the evidence indicates that there were plenty of examples of members simply leaving the city and renegeing on their duties as citizens and guild brother.<sup>208</sup>

The labouring and servant class were quite mobile and it seems that tradesmen and merchants from Dublin were migrating elsewhere permanently or temporarily throughout the century. In 1605 the common council complained of citizens who were masons and bricklayers and others leaving the city to work elsewhere in the summer.<sup>209</sup> Skilled workers could also simply move somewhere else for a variety of reasons, and they often took their whole household with them including their servants or apprentices. Many of the freemen of the city were journeymen and they were by definition a mobile group, many of whom would have left the city and established themselves as independent craftsmen or traders' elsewhere in Ireland or beyond. This is likely to have been the case with Dublin smith, Peter Kirkber, who left the city and established himself in Belturbet, County

---

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 278; *Royal commission to inquire into municipal corporations, Ireland*, 1835, p. 15. H.C. 1836 (24), v, 83.

<sup>205</sup> D.C.A., MS 44, p. 23.

<sup>206</sup> Many citizens even paid fines to avoid holding a civic office: *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 26, 73, 195, iv, 124, 156; vi, 76; D.C.A., MS 44, pp 49, 132.

<sup>207</sup> D.C.A., MS 78, pp 18, 82

<sup>208</sup> Charters and documents of the Dublin corporation of cutlers, painter-stainers and stationers, also of the Dublin guild of bricklayers, transcribed by John Gilbert' (D.C.A., Gilbert Collection, MS 82, p. 21).

<sup>209</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 396.

Cavan, in the late 1630s.<sup>210</sup> Others may have left Ireland altogether, and applied for citizenship of English boroughs. In the 1690s several Dublin journeymen petitioned for the freedom of the city of Chester and paid substantial sums for their enfranchisement.<sup>211</sup> Skilled individuals like Thomas White, a silversmith, would have been in great demand. White after completing his apprenticeship in Dublin, instead of seeking the city's franchise he established himself first in Limerick and eventually in London in the 1690s.<sup>212</sup>

Another factor that may have encouraged intra-urban mobility in this period was that many traders or craftsmen were also entitled to the freedom of more than one corporation in the British Isles. For example, the tailor, Hugh Dodd, from Chester was entitled to the freedom of that city by birth and apparently the freedom of Dublin by right of having served an apprenticeship with a freeman in the Irish capital.<sup>213</sup> The entitlement to privileges in more than one borough may have seen many migrants who became free of the city of Dublin seek to settle only on a trial basis, before eventually returning home. In times of war or recession, migrants or their sons' right to claim civic privileges elsewhere may have induced some to leave the city. This may have been the case with William Bladden, who left the city in the 1640s, to claim his right as a citizen of London, a privilege Bladden was entitled to, as his father, William senior, had received the freedom of the English capital, before he had immigrated to Dublin.<sup>214</sup>

One of the prime reasons for this mobility that resulted in citizens disengaging from the city lay in the patricians and other prominent citizens investing in land outside Dublin and subsequently becoming gentrified. Since the elite were the wealthiest group in the city it was only natural for them to seek investment opportunities elsewhere and land was the obvious choice.<sup>215</sup> It was not only a secure investment but it also brought social prestige. An affluent citizen with land could soon become recognised as a member of the gentry. In Ireland, it may have been

---

<sup>210</sup> Ibid., iii, 145; Richard Greaves, *Anthony Sharpe and the community of Friends: Dublin's merchant Quaker, 1653-1707* (Stanford, 1998), p. 29; Mary Hickson (ed.), *Ireland in the seventeenth century, or the Irish Massacres of 1641-2* (2 vols, London, 1884), i, 303.

<sup>211</sup> Chester's Mayor's book 1688-90 (C.C.A., ZA/45b/45-46).

<sup>212</sup> *Commons' jn.*, (13 Jan. 1697), ix.

<sup>213</sup> City of Chester Assembly (C.C.A. ZA/F/7/38)

<sup>214</sup> Gilbert, *A history of Dublin*, i, 12; Mary Pollard, *A dictionary of members of the Dublin book trade, 1500-1800* (Dublin, 2000), p. 38.

<sup>215</sup> Richard Lawrence, *The interest of Ireland in its wealth and trade stated*, ii, 189 ; Barnard, *Cromwellian Ireland*, p. 89; Lennon, *The lords of Dublin*, p. 89.



especially prevalent as one commentator noted that land was so cheap that there was in his eyes a worrying tendency of the merchants of the cities to abandon their business in the cities as a result.<sup>216</sup> There are many instances of wealthy aldermen and other members of the civic elite investing elsewhere in land as the case of former mayors of the city, William Dongan and Thomas Wakefield.<sup>217</sup> These men usually began to accumulate land and investments outside the city even before they were elected to the bench of aldermen and probably continued the process during their terms of office as was the case with Derrick Huiberts, who had land and interest in fisheries in County Dublin, in the 1630s and 1640s.<sup>218</sup>

This practice seems to have led to a gradual withdrawal of aldermen from the city to conduct their own affairs in the countryside. The common council and the aldermanic table seem to have recognised this and introduced several apparent concessions to ensure that leading citizens could still contribute to the city. From the early seventeenth century, aldermen were given a dispensation to attend to their affairs only on given days.<sup>219</sup> After 1660 it was common for aldermen and prominent chief civic officials to be granted a licence to leave the city for England or elsewhere in Ireland. Patricians like Enoch Reader were granted a 'licence for three months' to temporarily move out of the city to pursue their business elsewhere. This allowed aldermen to pursue interests outside Dublin and still serve on the aldermanic bench.<sup>220</sup> Despite the real problems caused to the city by the patricians' and other citizens' involvement in their investments outside the city, the most detrimental aspect of this phenomenon for the citizen body was the probable loss of their sons to city. The move to land coupled with a strategic marriage could earn a merchant's son the distinction of being respected as a gentleman. Indeed social ascent could be quite rapid as in the case of John Dongan, a former mayor, whose first son and heir became a baronet.<sup>221</sup> Because of such practices, many sons of the elite did not become freemen of the city.

This practice of withdrawal from the city was not exclusive to the elite: even moderately successful citizens who were artisans and merchants were investing in

---

<sup>216</sup> Harris, *Remarks upon the trade of England and Ireland*, p. 28.

<sup>217</sup> Anon., *An abstract of all the persons claiming as innocents in the city and county of Dublin* (Dublin, 1664), available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>) (17 Aug. 2007), pp 7, 12, 22, 29, 42,43.

<sup>218</sup> Deposition of Adrian Huyberts, ? 1642 (T.C.D., MS 809, f. 305).

<sup>219</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 401; Lennon, *The lords of Dublin*, p. 56.

<sup>220</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iv. 407; v, 107, 122, 193, 417.

<sup>221</sup> John Dungan, *John Dongan: an Elizabethan gentleman* (Baltimore, 1996), pp 110-11

land from the income they earned in the city, as investments or to supplement their earnings. Even recent migrants to the city soon began to buy up land in the county of Dublin or in the city's hinterland, or engaged in commercial activities outside the city's limits, like William Coventry, a migrant from Chester.<sup>222</sup> The extent of this phenomenon is apparent in the claims of individuals from Dublin for lands and houses in the city's hinterland before the court of claims in the 1660s.<sup>223</sup> Successful individuals, such as the goldsmith, Nathaniel Stoughton, may have moved to their investments outside the city and became yeomen farmers, or left to pursue their business interests elsewhere, and did not contribute to the city.<sup>224</sup> A few soon joined the ranks of the gentry, as in the case of John Allen, an Englishman, who became a citizen and later purchased a large estate in County Dublin.<sup>225</sup> Some English migrants who became citizens of Dublin purchased land in England and eventually returned to their investments there, such as the Quaker, John Stevens.<sup>226</sup> Again, like their peers, the aldermen, many of these citizens' sons did not become freemen and devoted their interest to their inheritances in the hinterland. For the citizen body the effect of this process probably had longer-term consequences and resulted in a possible shortage of suitable candidates for civic offices and the freedom of the city, and a need to enlist outsiders from outside to the citizen body.

It was not only individual citizens' upward social mobility that depleted the citizen body. Another factor that potentially had consequences for the city elite was the downward mobility of individual citizens. The urban economy was a highly competitive one with frequent business failures and with ill-health or even bad luck ruining whole families. As the urban economy became increasingly commercial and competitive over the century, it may have been an increasing phenomenon. The families of several prominent aldermen eventually fell into near destitution and lost their economic and social status. A case in point was that of the former mayor, Lewis Desmyneres, whose impoverished heirs had to petition the common council for

---

<sup>222</sup> Canny, *Making Ireland British*, pp 362-5; Deposition of William Coventry, 2 June 1642 ( T.C.D., MS 810, f. 128); Deposition of James Hoole, 4 June 1642 (T.C.D., MS 810, f. 316).

<sup>223</sup> Anon, *An abstract of all persons claiming as innocents in the City and County of Dublin*, passim.

<sup>224</sup> Deposition of Nathaniel Stoughton, ? 1643 (T.C.D., MS 810, f. 181).

<sup>225</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 201; Rolf Loeber, *A biographical dictionary of architects in Ireland* (Dublin, 1992), p. 13; L.G. Pine (ed.), *Burke's genealogical and heraldic history of the peerage, baronetage and knighthood* (2 vols, 101<sup>st</sup> ed., London, 1956), i, 56: henceforth known as Pine (ed.), *Burke's Peerage*.

<sup>226</sup> 'Will of John Stephens, Jan 4. 1699' in Eustace and Goodbody (eds), *Quaker records: abstracts of wills*, no. 188.

charity.<sup>227</sup> Common citizens were affected in a similar fashion, especially during the often severe economic crises caused by harvest failures and these individuals may have become impoverished. Some received appointments to paid positions in the city as a way of alleviating their poverty, such as Edward Orton, a ‘decayed merchant’, who was appointed a gaoler in Newgate prison in 1604.<sup>228</sup> The heavy responsibilities of being a citizen pushed some into poverty. In 1657 an apothecary, Henry Bollart, lent the city a considerable sum for a banquet to honour Lord Henry Cromwell. After the Restoration, the patriciate failed to repay the loan, as they were probably embarrassed, by then, of having honoured Cromwell’s son. As a result, Bollart grew indebted and he apparently died leaving his widow ‘near ruined’.<sup>229</sup> Because of this downward social mobility, many citizens may not have been able to pay the civic taxes or take office in the city.<sup>230</sup> They may even have become a burden on their community and ended their days living in one of the almshouse administered by their parish or guild.<sup>231</sup> Although these citizens remained in the city, they could no longer fulfil any of the responsibilities of a citizen and new recruits were necessary to fulfil the responsibilities of a freeman or woman.

Warfare scarred seventeenth century Ireland. The city of Dublin did not escape these traumas. The dislocations caused by the fighting and the cost of maintaining and quartering the royal army during these conflicts could be devastating.<sup>232</sup> The various wars, especially the conflict of the 1640s, had a detrimental effect on the citizen body. Firstly, the wars brought financial disaster to many freemen and women of the city. They disrupted trade and curtailed commerce, this led to many privations and the loss of many small and not so small businesses and with these losses, there was often a loss of status. Those impoverished by conflict were often only citizens in name and were unable to contribute anything directly or indirectly to the city. An unknown number left during the wars, as one observer noted in 1643, they ‘daily break up house and scatter their families’.<sup>233</sup> The lawlessness occasioned by the conflicts could be just as destructive to the citizen body. Many

---

<sup>227</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 429; iv, 258; v, 124, 164, 166.

<sup>228</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 425, 459.

<sup>229</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iv, 189, 245.

<sup>230</sup> Bolton, *A Justice of the Peace for Ireland 1635*, p.110.

<sup>231</sup> D.C.A., MS 78, p. 146; N.L.I. MS 134, p. 31; H.M.C., *Ormond*, viii, 360.

<sup>232</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iv, 23, 54, 63, 71.

<sup>233</sup> Extract from the lords justices and council of Ireland report to the speaker of the House of Commons in England, 1642 (McNeill (ed.), *The Tanner letters*, p. 157); *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iv, 3-7.

merchants, such as Thomas Clane who were citizens or potential freemen saw their enterprises ruined by plundering soldiers or pirates.<sup>234</sup> More freemen saw their investments in lands ruined by the depredations of soldiers. Indeed during the 1640s Ormond had to offer his protection to many inhabitants of County Dublin, including prominent individuals like William Fitzwilliam, from the soldiers of the king.<sup>235</sup>

The citizen body was decimated by the loss of freemen killed during the conflict or who died of the plague or famine.<sup>236</sup> Many more citizens became outlaws as rebels or disenfranchised during the years of conflict. The majority of these fled the city and often went into exile.<sup>237</sup> An unknown number of citizens migrated elsewhere and even became free of other cities. Many freemen of Dublin may have been among the 'Irish and others' enfranchised in royalist Chester during the civil wars.<sup>238</sup> The early 1650s saw the transplantation of many Dubliners to Connacht, including an unknown number of Dublin's old citizen-body, who were especially targeted by the commonwealth government.<sup>239</sup> The successive loss of so many freemen or their impoverishment would have created a demand for new citizens after the various war years and possibly long after, as is evident in the aftermath of the mid-century wars.<sup>240</sup>

The physical and social mobility, either upwards or downwards, of the elite and of individuals from the general citizen body, resulted in the loss of citizens and potential freemen to the city of Dublin. One of the main strengths of the city was the commitment and dedication of its citizens, of all social ranks to Dublin and its welfare. The loss of citizens and the refusal of others qualified to become citizens would have greatly weakened the city and sapped the strength of the guilds and indeed the aldermanic elite itself. It would have made filling some of the civic offices problematic, as there were fewer potential candidates able to assume the responsibility of being an officeholder. To ensure the continuing vigour of the city, the patricians may have adopted, if not a welcoming approach to newcomers, at least

---

<sup>234</sup> Freedom Beseech, 1648 no. 15 (D.C.A Fr/B/1648-1824).

<sup>235</sup> John Prendergast, *The Cromwellian settlement of Ireland* (London, 1865), p. 127; *P.R.I. rep. D. K. xxxii*, pp 38, 74,75, 82.

<sup>236</sup> Patrick Logan, 'Pestilence in the Irish wars', in *Irish Sword*, xxv (1966), pp 280-90.

<sup>237</sup> J.G.Simms (ed.), 'Irish Jacobites: lists from Trinity College, Dublin' in *Anal. Hib.*, no. 22 (1960), pp 11-187; R.C Simmington and John MacLellan (eds), 'Oireachtas library: list of outlaws, 1641-7', in *Anal. Hib.*, no. 23 (1966), pp 317-66.

<sup>238</sup> Chester assembly book (C.C.A. ZA/B/76).

<sup>239</sup> Dunlop (ed.), *Ireland under the Commonwealth*, ii, 531, 544, 568; Peter Gale, *An inquiry into the ancient corporations in Ireland* (London, 1834), appendix cxxx; Barnard, *Cromwellian Ireland*, p. 53.

<sup>240</sup> Barnard, *Cromwellian Ireland.*, pp 52, 53; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iv, 2-3.

a pragmatic one and were willing to offer the citizenship to those who it was thought were worthy of the privilege and capable of sustaining its burden.

The social, demographic and economic conditions in early modern Dublin led to a need for migrants. The city's governors' response was one that was largely tolerant of newcomers. There was no great overall migration policy and in general, the civic elite did not restrict or monitor immigrants as in York.<sup>241</sup> This mobility in labour, skills and capital was to the benefit of a city. Without the contribution of these migrants, the city would not have experienced the economic and demographic progress that occurred in this century. The demographic deficit occasioned by the city's high death rates was less acute as the urban economy and the city's other attractions could draw migrants from its hinterland and even beyond Ireland. However, this is not to suggest a liberal approach on the part of the authorities to outsiders and their acceptance that individual enterprise would benefit the city. Rather it signifies that their reception of outsiders was conditioned by other priorities.

In civic ceremonies such as the 'riding of the franchises' the city was designated as a privileged space.<sup>242</sup> The defence and expansion of the privileges of the city in all its forms, economic, political and social were the chief concern of the elite. The patricians' attitude to outsiders was naturally influenced by this preoccupation. The principal behind the patricians' reception of immigrants was these newcomers perceived impact on the city's privileges and those who were privileged. If those who came to the city did not interfere directly or indirectly with the traditional rights and powers of the city they caused little concern. If they could possibly contribute to the city's welfare and upkeep and hence its privileges, they were welcomed. If they endangered or challenged these liberties and rights, they were to be excluded or punished.

---

<sup>241</sup> Chris Galley, 'A model of early modern demography', pp 448-9.

<sup>242</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, i, 91, 201, 492-6.

## Chapter 2

### The patriciate, migrants and the freedom of the city, 1600-92

This chapter will investigate the relationship between the governors of Dublin and those migrants who obtained the franchise of the city. The aim will be to illustrate the urban elite's attitude towards these outsiders, and to discern their probable policy towards them and the possible reasons for their admittance to the privileges of the citizen body. It will also attempt to examine the problems, if any, of integrating these new citizens into the ranks of the Dublin citizenry. To present a coherent picture of the process and to understand the issues involved in the election of newcomers to the freedom of the city, it will be necessary to discuss these migrants to the city in general, and then to assess those who became citizens, according to the long established means of becoming 'free of the city'. The recognised entitlements to the citizenship of Dublin were by right of birth, marriage, fine, or special grace. Those migrants that became freemen by the right of service, who served seven years as an apprentice to a citizen, will be investigated in a following chapter.

During the seventeenth century, there was a significant influx of migrants into Dublin and a corresponding growth in population. Those who obtained their freedom by fine, marriage or special grace were part of this influx into the Irish capital. Yet they probably represented only a small proportion of all the immigrants in the city. New citizens enfranchised by the fine and special grace and marriage and numbered approximately just under 3800.

**Numbers enfranchised as citizens of Dublin, 1600-99, Table 2.1**

<b>Entitlement</b>	<b>No.</b>
Birth	1338
Fine and special grace	3728
Marriage	168
Act of parliament	891
French Protestant	131
Service	3640
Total	9896

Source; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, iii, iv, passim; Abstracts of freemen of Dublin, compiled by Thrift, passim.

The vast majority of those enfranchised were merchants or artisans. Even the many gentlemen enfranchised as citizens were active in trade as merchants, such as Peter Sam, who was in business in the city in the 1620s. Another example of this phenomenon was Robert Kennedy, a Scottish gentleman who worked as a factor in the city in the early 1640s.<sup>1</sup> Generally, no occupation in the metropolitan capital's diverse urban economy was barred to these newcomers. One of the prime concerns of the Dublin magistrates was the administration of the urban economy. The elite of Dublin and elsewhere in Ireland held an almost unquestioned assumption that the activities of traders and artisans would automatically boost the economy. Government policies and individuals' treatises on the condition of Ireland seem to indicate that this was axiomatic.<sup>2</sup> The enfranchisement of skilled and successful migrants was considered as a necessity, to enhance and develop the urban economy. The privileges of the citizenship were reserved for those who could contribute to the city.<sup>3</sup> Their admission to the franchise was part of a reciprocal arrangement, in which, in return for certain rights and exemptions in the city, new citizens were, through their skills and efforts to generate wealth, generally to add to the 'flourishing state of the commonwealth'.<sup>4</sup> This wealth creation in turn was central to the relationship between the corporation and the government. The government granted corporations such as Dublin privileges, in the expectation, they would generate trade and that this would benefit the royal revenues.<sup>5</sup>

Those who petitioned for their freedom were not probably recent arrivals to the city; rather they were already well established in Dublin society. To become a citizen, one had to be a resident of an incorporated borough like Dublin by statute law.<sup>6</sup> Many of those who came in by fine, purchasing their citizenship, were long-term residents. John Allen, a successful builder, who arrived in the city in the early 1600s, was sworn a freeman only in 1630.<sup>7</sup> Another example of this is Giles Rawlins, a gentleman, who appealed for his freedom in 1648 after 'eighteen years residence in

---

<sup>1</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 201; Deposition of Robert Kennedie esq., 12 June 1642 (T.C.D., MS 809, f. 290).

<sup>2</sup> O'Brien (ed.), *Advertisement for Ireland*, pp 32, 34; *Cal. S.P. Ireland, 1615-25*, p. 274; ; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, i, 24; Petty, *The political anatomy of Ireland*, p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 119.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, iii, 9.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 44; Fitzpatrick, *Seventeenth century Ireland*, pp 20-22; 'The customs of Ireland, 1612' (*Cal. S.P. Ire., 1611-4*, p. 195).

<sup>6</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, i, 29.

<sup>7</sup> Loebers, *A Biographical Dictionary of Irish architects*, p. 13; Gilbert, *The history of Dublin*, i, 351.

the city'.<sup>8</sup> Some, who received their freedom, may have been recent migrants, especially in the difficult early 1650s when the exhausted city desperately required new citizens.<sup>9</sup> Overall, it seems that the majority of those who secured access to the franchise were people who had established themselves in the city, drawn by economic forces, and the granting of their freedom was often the final stage in the settlement of these migrants in the city.

The continuous flow of migrants admitted into the city's franchise from the hinterlands, as indicated by the admission rolls, may 'betoken an anxiety on the part of the corporation to maintain population levels' in Dublin.<sup>10</sup> Yet whether those welcomed to the city and admitted as freemen or women were deliberately chosen by the Dublin patriciate, as part of a consistent policy to replenish the pool of citizens is difficult to prove, though it seems unlikely. After the plague of 1603-5 there was no discernable rise in the level of those enfranchised, indicating no attempt to replace the dead citizens by admitting outsiders.<sup>11</sup> By contrast there was such an attempt in the aftermath of the plague of 1649-52.<sup>12</sup> It seems possible that the city's demographic regime was influential in the admission of newcomers, even though there was probably no direct policy on the part of the patriciate to replace the high numbers who died in the city's unsanitary environment. Rather the demographic conditions in the city created opportunities for outsiders to obtain business opportunities and marriage partners which otherwise would have been denied to them, thereby allowing them to qualify for the citizenship. The city's patricians accepted them on an individual basis rather than as part of any grand strategy regarding migrants.

The motivations for so many migrants, from so many backgrounds and with so many differing occupations, to seek to become 'free' of the city are hard to determine. However, the records reveal to us bye-laws and customs that discriminated in favour of the citizen at the expense of the non-citizen. These perhaps can indicate the attractions for newcomers of attaining the citizenship. The citizen was described as being 'free' of the city.<sup>13</sup> This liberty can be viewed as a negative and a positive

---

<sup>8</sup> Freedom besech of Giles Rawlins, gentleman, 1648 (D.C.A., Fr/B/1648, no. 19).

<sup>9</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iv, 2-3, 17.

<sup>10</sup> Lennon, *The lords of Dublin*, p. 31; Anthony Sheehan, 'Irish towns in a period of change, 1560-1630', in Ciaran Brady and Raymond Gillespie (eds), *Natives and newcomers: the making of Irish colonial society, 1534-1641* (Suffolk, 1985), p. 106.

<sup>11</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 420, 435- 512, 538-40.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*, iv, 2-3, 10-11.

<sup>13</sup> D.C.A. Fr/ B/1648, nos, 1-20; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, i, 257, 261; ii, 359, 361.



freedom; negative in the sense that it released the citizen from certain disabilities, and positive in that it enabled him or her to advance or improve his position economically or socially.

The 'unfree' were the non-citizens resident in the city and they were penalised and discriminated against in several ways. Firstly they were denied many economic opportunities in the city, from admission to the guilds to the right to brew ale.<sup>14</sup> If they sought to bring goods into the city for commercial purposes, they were legally obliged by civic bye-laws to pay duties on these items, such as the three-penny custom.<sup>15</sup> It was not just in the economic sphere that the non-citizen suffered costs and disabilities. They had to pay more for their children's education, the ferry across the Liffey, and even briefly in the 1620s, they had to be certified by an alderman to secure residency in the city.<sup>16</sup> These penalties were still imposed upon them, even though they were expected to pay civic and parish taxes.<sup>17</sup>

There were also positive aspects to being free of the city of Dublin. The status offered the chance to become a brother in a guild and to avail of those organisations' economic privileges. Freemen may also have received preference in the leasing of city property, which was a matter decided by the common council.<sup>18</sup> For many it was the path to careers among the paid offices-holders in the city and the clerks of the guilds who were all required to be freemen.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, the 'freedom' of the city opened up the prospect for some of a political career within the city, for the senior civic offices were only open to citizens.<sup>20</sup> Then there was the unquantifiable attraction of the social prestige from being a freeman or a free brother of a guild and citizen, a distinction expressed in civic and guild ceremonies.<sup>21</sup> To obtain the franchise of the city was a necessity for those who sought to advance either economically or socially in the city.

Over time it may have been less onerous to work and live as a non-freeman in the city, especially as some disabilities imposed on non-citizens were gradually removed. After 1672 non-citizens no longer had to pay more than a citizen

---

<sup>14</sup> *Anc. rec., Dub.*, i, 267; ii, 358, 440; iii, 31-3, 285; Webb, *The guilds of Dublin*, p. 134.

<sup>15</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, i, 3; iii, 253; D.C.A., MS 44, p. 96; Webb, *The guilds of Dublin*, p.14.

<sup>16</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 252, 469; iii, 117, 187; Webb, *The municipal government of Ireland*, p. 51.

<sup>17</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 358, 368; iii, 160, 312, 487; Rich, 'A new description of Ireland', p. 63.

<sup>18</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, i, 5; ii, 333; D.C.A., MS 60, p.15.

<sup>19</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 234, 420; iii., 400-1.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 467; iii, 487.

<sup>21</sup> J.Warburton, J. Whitelaw, Robert Walsh, *The history of the city of Dublin* (2 vols, London,1818), i, 99-105; Bye laws of the city of Dublin (R.I.A., 12 D 4, pp 13, 47, 88-9, 191); D.C.A., MS 78, p. 25.

for water, and the ‘unfree’ could freely ply their ‘gabbards’ or craft on the Liffey.<sup>22</sup> The growth of the liberties in particular may have rendered the freedom of the city less pertinent to many newcomers and their chances of economic and social success in the city.<sup>23</sup> Those inhabiting these areas were exempt from guild payments and could trade and work without guild interference, at least in the eyes of the lords of these liberties.<sup>24</sup>

Yet the guilds and civic authorities could obstruct and harass artisans even in the suburbs and the ‘three-penny custom’ was still being levied by the municipal authorities restraining the free movement of non-freemen’s goods.<sup>25</sup> The advantages for freemen to be had by ‘close contact with men of political and commercial influence’ remained strong.<sup>26</sup> For migrants to the city with only limited connections to the city, this must have been appealing. Furthermore, to achieve any sort of high civic office in the society it was still necessary to become a citizen. This is apparent in the table below: the higher the office the more likely the holder was to be a citizen, suggesting that the citizenship was still an asset for those with political or social ambitions in the city.

**Status of civic officers in Dublin, 1684, Table 2.2**

	Citizen	Non-citizen	Total
Mayor, J.P.			
Recorder	7	0	7
Aldermen	19	2	21
Parish guardian	12	11	23
Constable	22	36	58

Source: Mary Clarke, ‘The principal inhabitants of Dublin, 1684’ in *Ir. Gen.*, viii (1990), pp 49-57.

The urban elite concentrated on petitioners for the freedom of the city to an inordinate degree. They were the subject of constant bye-laws and censures

<sup>22</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iv, 279; vi, 2.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, v, 202; ‘The Cheney Letters 1682-5’ ed. Dudley, pp 97-8.

<sup>24</sup> Berry (ed.), ‘The Friday Book’, p 512; Rev. John Robinson (ed.), ‘Christ Church Cathedral, proctors accounts, 1689-90’ in *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, xxxv (1911), p. 262.

<sup>25</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iv, 42, 337; vi, 135; D.C.A. MS 44, p.162; Robinson (ed.), ‘Christ Church Cathedral, proctors accounts, 1689-90’, p. 261.

<sup>26</sup> Greaves, *Anthony Sharpe*, p. 95.

from the common council and the ruling elite. Issues ranging from the payment of their entry fines on time, to the correct form of documentation needed to petition for their freedom were all discussed by the council.<sup>27</sup> To understand the elite's preoccupation with candidates for the freedom of the city, it is necessary to grasp its importance and its exclusive nature. Citizenship was the 'basic institution upon which the early modern urban polity's economic and political privileges were founded'.<sup>28</sup> The freedom of the city was a valuable commodity to be distributed cautiously by the Dublin elite among newcomers. To allow it to fall into the wrong hands, or too many, would have had serious consequences for the city and its institutions and the established freemen and women. Accordingly, the civic elite hedged about every entitlement to the franchise with specific restrictions and requirements.<sup>29</sup>

Apart from these practical concerns, the patriciate may have attempted to ensure that only candidates of a sufficient calibre were enfranchised as citizens. Prospective freemen and women may not have solely been judged on their ability to contribute financially to the city. There seem to have been other criteria required, such as their demeanour or morals. In 1604 a nephew of a future mayor was told 'to be worthy of the status of a citizen'.<sup>30</sup> The patriciate bestowed the privileges of a citizen only on those they deemed worthy of it, for if any individual unworthy of the honour could have compromised or shamed the citizen body. The concept of honour was strong in this era and the patricians referred to Dublin as an 'honourable city'.<sup>31</sup> Those awarded the privileges of the city had to be its honourable representatives and not act in ways that could lead to its disgrace, or abuse the prerogatives of a citizen, such as the right to vote in parliamentary elections.<sup>32</sup> The patricians insisted upon this as morality and utility were strongly linked together: those who could contribute to the city, economically or politically, were the morally sound and 'honourable'. Only upright citizens could aid the patriciate in establishing the city as a loyal, prosperous

---

<sup>27</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 360, 406, 440; iv, 188; Bye laws of the city of Dublin (R.I.A., D 12 4, p. 87).

<sup>28</sup> Merry E. Wiesner, 'Political, economic, and legal structures in early modern Europe' in James B. Collins and Karen L. Taylor (eds), *Early Modern Europe: issues and interpretations* (London, 2006), p. 224.

<sup>29</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 360, 406, 440; iii, 78; iv, 188, 518; v, 103; 471; Webb, *The guilds of Dublin*, pp 34, 154.

<sup>30</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 15, 19; Henry Berry, 'The Dublin guild of carpenters, millers, masons and heliers in the sixteenth century' in *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, xv (1905), p. 325.

<sup>31</sup> They had to be of 'honest life and conversation' see: *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iv, 4.

<sup>32</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 69, 180; v, 284; D.C.A., MS 78, pp 30, 32; Friedrichs, *The early modern city*, p. 220; The bye laws of the city of Dublin (R.I.A., 12 D 4, p. 155).

and English city, which were important to the civic elite in themselves, but were also necessary to secure the civic privileges from the crown.

The election of any newcomer to the citizenship of Dublin began with him or her submitting a freedom beseech, addressed to the corporate body of the city. Every such plea for admittance to the franchise of the city came before the chief civic official and the aldermanic bench. These petitions were, according to a bye-law of the 1580s, to be given to the mayor 'the day before one of the quarter assemblies'.<sup>33</sup> This would have allowed the mayor and the aldermen the opportunity to scrutinise any application. The town clerk drew up the petition on behalf of the candidate for admission to the city's franchise.<sup>34</sup> These official documents were largely formulaic and involved the patriciate and common council considering their application. The mayor, given his status, had great influence over the success or failure of any application.<sup>35</sup> The aldermen also had a say in the selection of new citizens but the extent of this influence is unknowable, due to the inadequate records.<sup>36</sup>

Traditionally there were two main classes of citizens: those who were 'free of the city' but not a guild, and those who were free of the city and a guild.<sup>37</sup> Under civic law only citizens could become free of a guild.<sup>38</sup> If a guild officer admitted a new member before he was free of the city, he could be fined or lose the civic franchise.<sup>39</sup> Usually if one wanted to join a guild, a candidate would first be provisionally accepted by a fraternity and would then proceed to petition the patricians for his freedom of the city. The guild's support was important in a petitioner receiving his citizenship. During the Restoration, the guilds would certify that a petitioner was a 'good workman' and these were probably employed to support a petition for the freedom of the city.<sup>40</sup> Not even the support of a fraternity could

---

<sup>33</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 275; D.C.A., Fr/B/1648, nos, 1-32.

<sup>34</sup> Mary Clarke and Hugh Fitzpatrick, *Serving the city: the Dublin city managers and town clerks* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Dublin, 2006), pp 23-6.

<sup>35</sup> D.C.A., Fr/B/1648, nos, 1-38; *ibid.*, Fr/B/1666, nos, 1-32; *ibid.*, Fr/B/1669, nos, 1-30.

<sup>36</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 434; 'Notes and annals of Robert Ware towards a history of Dublin' (D.C.A., MS 74, p. 152).

<sup>37</sup> *Royal commission to inquire into municipal corporations, Ireland, 1835*, p. 270, H.C. 1836 (24), v, 470.

<sup>38</sup> Bye laws of the city of Dublin (R.I.A., D12 4, p. 153); *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 154, 341.

<sup>39</sup> Pollard, *A Dictionary of members of the Dublin book trade*, p. 308; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 342.

<sup>40</sup> Henry Seymour Guinness, 'Dublin trade guilds a collection of his own and other works' (N.L.I., MS 680, pp 5, 7).

guarantee that a claimant for the franchise could become a freeman.<sup>41</sup> It was only after becoming free of the city that a freeman was legally able to be sworn a brother of an individual guild, at one of their ‘swearing in days’ (see appendix 3). In effect this meant that a guild could only recommend a candidate for the freedom of the city.

The patriciate implemented several civic ordinances relating to the admission of new citizens. The mayor and aldermen imposed conditions on those who were granted the citizenship, which were related to these existing civic bye-laws. They laid down stipulations such as that a prospective freeman could ‘not intrude on any corporation’. That is a craftsman or trader could only employ himself in the occupation or activity outlined in his beseeches to be made free of the city. It was illegal for a freeman to abandon his own calling and begin to ply a different trade. It was feared that such occupational mobility could have had negative consequences for other citizens’ privileges and livelihood.<sup>42</sup> In the early 1670s the patricians threatened to fine several plasterers, who were members of the bricklayers’ guild, to prevent them from working as painters in the city, which was contrary to the terms of their citizenship.<sup>43</sup> Of particular importance was the political elite’s role in deciding the level of fine a prospective freeman had to pay to secure his freedom. The freedom beseeches usually stated that a petitioner ‘would pay the fine their lordships decide’.<sup>44</sup> The patriciate’s decision on the amount payable to secure entry to the franchise can be seen in the freedom beseeches of 1648. The value of the fines fluctuated from 40 shillings in the case of one Patrick Corry, a baker, to the £10 demanded of John Clane, a merchant.<sup>45</sup> This could have resulted in the mayor imposing a high fine on an applicant he deemed unsuitable or a low fine or even remitting a fine for a suitable but indigent candidate for the citizenship.<sup>46</sup>

The mayor’s and the aldermen’s views and their conditions may have been vital in the process that elected newcomers to the citizen body, but they were not the sole authorities in this area. Traditionally the common council, its membership composed of representatives of the city’s guilds, had some influence over

---

<sup>41</sup> In 1683 several stationers and cutlers complained that their petitions for the freedom were being ignored see: Pollard, *A Dictionary of members of the Dublin book trade*, pp 108, 227, 308.

<sup>42</sup> Fr/B/1648, nos, 1-32; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 507; iii, 474; The bye laws of the city of Dublin (R.I.A., 12 D 4, p.19).

<sup>43</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 144.

<sup>44</sup> D.C.A., Fr/B/ 1648, nos, 4,6, 9; *ibid.*, Fr/ B/ 1666, nos, 4, 6; *ibid.*, Fr/B/1669, no.7; *ibid.*, Fr/B/1694, no. 7.

<sup>45</sup> Fr/B/1648, nos, 2, 17.

<sup>46</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*,ii, 417.

the selection process regarding freedom of individuals. On several occasions, the council seems to have deferred some petitioners' pleas to be admitted to the franchise. This occurred in the cases of two clothiers in 1611 and an upholsterer in 1613. These individuals, although they were 'given licence to exercise their trade in the city', had to petition again for their freedom.<sup>47</sup> In 1672 the common council had to agree to the patricians' decision to allow four English Quakers to enter the franchise without swearing all the necessary oaths.<sup>48</sup> These examples suggest that the council ratified any petition for the freedom of the city. There is even a possibility that the common council may even have had some power of veto, as they did in later periods.<sup>49</sup> However, given the legal authority and social prestige that the civic elite possessed, it seems likely that if they approved a petition it was generally unlikely to be dismissed outright by the council.<sup>50</sup> For those who sought to become citizens of Dublin, the patrician class were the main arbiters of their appeal for the freedom of the city.

The influence of the patriciate is underlined by the fact that the mayor and the sheriffs 'swore' in all new freemen and women.<sup>51</sup> This 'swearing in' was undertaken at a ceremony around every quarter assembly day and took place in the tholsel hall. It was a ceremonial affair with mayor, sheriffs and masters of the guilds present. During this ceremony, the new citizen was obliged to kneel before the mayor, demonstrating his obedience to the civic elite and the city's laws. The prospective freeman also had to present arms to the civic officers. In this way, the future citizen showed his willingness to bear arms for the city, if required. The new freeman also had to pay fees to the mayor, the sheriff and other officers to secure his freedom.<sup>52</sup> If a candidate for the freedom of the city, even after his petition for the citizenship had been granted, did not meet specific requirements, such as presenting a weapon to the mayor, the chief civic officer could refuse to enrol him as a citizen.<sup>53</sup>

A significant route for outsiders into the citizen body of Dublin involved a petitioner for the freedom of the city agreeing to pay an entry fine to secure

---

<sup>47</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 9, 13, 40.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, v, 12.

<sup>49</sup> *Royal commission to inquire into municipal corporations, Ireland*, 1835, pp 17-18, H.C. 1836 (24), v, 87.

<sup>50</sup> Gale, *An inquiry into the ancient corporate system in Ireland*, pp 46-48; Webb, *The municipal government of Ireland*, pp 34-36.

<sup>51</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, i, 256, 267; ii, 78, 360; iii, 105; iv, 188.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, iii, 310, 380; N.L.I., MS 610, p. 2.

<sup>53</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 78; iv, 188.

the franchise. Purchasing the freedom of the city was the second most popular way for an individual to be enfranchised, as we have seen in the table above.

It meant, in effect, that a newcomer could purchase the right to be a citizen. The majority of new freemen, who purchased their citizenship, are enrolled in the civic records as earning the privilege ‘by fine’ or by ‘fine and special grace’. The civic elite employed the term, ‘special grace’, to indicate that the citizenship was granted by favour of the patricians and the common council.<sup>54</sup> This phrase, used to describe those who bought the citizenship in the admission rolls, is similar to that used of another class of entrant, who were enfranchised by right of ‘special grace and fine of gloves’ and who only symbolically bought their freedom.<sup>55</sup> The similarity in language used to describe the two groups of new citizens confuses the reality that each obtained the franchise in different ways and they were dissimilar bodies of people. This section of the chapter will deal with those new citizens of Dublin who paid for the distinction of the citizenship and its assorted privileges.

To purchase the right to elevation to the ranks of the citizen body was not new in, or unique to Dublin. This form of admission to the franchise was long established in the city and was an acknowledged pathway to entitlement to the citizenship in Limerick and York.<sup>56</sup> The criteria for this form of enfranchisement were laid down in the sixteenth century by the Dublin patriciate. Among the chief of these was that a petitioner was required to pay, usually a substantial sum, to buy his freedom. The payment of this entry fine was by law to be paid in full upon entry but many may have paid it in instalments.<sup>57</sup> That person had to possess a recognised trade and ‘no applicant could practise a trade or craft, already exercised by a citizen’.<sup>58</sup> The last provision was rarely enforced. Those who became free in this manner had the same political and economic rights as other citizens. Yet, with one important exception, the apprentices and sons of those who became citizens ‘by fine’ were obliged to pay for their freedom, unlike those who were free by right of service or birth, who usually only paid fees to the civic officers for their freedom.<sup>59</sup>

---

<sup>54</sup> *Royal commission to inquire into municipal corporations, Ireland*, 1835, p.14, H.C. 1836 (24), v, 82.

<sup>55</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii; iii, passim.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 345; Maurice Lenihan, *Limerick: its history and antiquities, ecclesiastical, civil and military* (Dublin, 1866), p. 207 ; Friedrichs, *The early modern city*, p. 201.

<sup>57</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 440.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 52, 156, 242; iii, 400-1.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, iii, 406, 440, 454.

Those who sought the freedom ‘by right of fine’ petitioned the aldermanic elite. They usually asked to be considered ‘by grace especial’ and offered to pay any reasonable entry fine as the price of their freedom. The mayor and aldermen give the impression in the 1648 beseeches that they considered each application individually. This is indicated by the range of financial fines, from 40 shillings to £10, that individual petitioners were required to pay for their freedom.<sup>60</sup> Like every other entrant, those who were free of the city ‘by fine’ were dependent on the goodwill of the urban authorities to receive the privileges of a citizen. There are several reasons to suppose that to obtain the franchise by fine was not a simple cash transaction. It seems that several petitioners, who sought to purchase their freedom had their application deferred and never became citizens, as in the case of the perfumer, Adam Boyd in 1612, .<sup>61</sup> Some of those who secured their admission by fine may have secured their freedom of the city with the aid of powerful individuals or even royal letters patent. Andrew Verdon, a stationer from London, seems to have secured his admission in 1612 with the aid of the latter.<sup>62</sup> This is another illustration that a prospective freeman could not simply buy his freedom, but that his petition for his freedom was dependent for its success or failure upon broader considerations.

This entitlement to the freedom of the city was particularly associated with non-residents and immigrants seeking the citizenship.<sup>63</sup> In 1612 one citizen complained that he did not want his son to be ‘driven to fine like a stranger’.<sup>64</sup> During the early 1660s, the common council discussed the practice of purchasing the citizenship. In this discussion, the common councillors refer to this form of entitlement to the franchise as the traditional way immigrants obtained the freedom of the city.<sup>65</sup> An analysis of the admission rolls tells us something of the background of these newcomers who purchased the ‘liberty’ of Dublin. It shows that the majority of those enfranchised by fine had names of English origin (see appendix 7.3). This suggests that the majority of individuals who purchased their freedom were English immigrants. That they were newcomers is evidenced by the fact that many of their

---

<sup>60</sup> D.C.A., Fr/B/1648, nos, 2, 4, 7, 8, 13, 24, 26.

<sup>61</sup> *Anc. rec., Dub.*, iii, 35, 40, 78.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, iii, 54; Canny, *Making Ireland British*, pp 363-6.

<sup>63</sup> Loeber, *A biographical dictionary of Architects*, pp 13, 30; Clarke and Fitzpatrick, *Serving the city*, pp 11, 34.

<sup>64</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 23.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, v, 220.



surnames appear on the rolls for the first time such as the several Hammons enfranchised after 1600.<sup>66</sup>

**Origin of surnames of new citizens by fine, 1600-60,  
Table 2.3**

Gaelic Irish	95
English	1140
Old English	113
Unknown	33
<b>Total</b>	<b>1381</b>

Source: Abstracts of freemen of Dublin, compiled by Thrift, *passim*; Edward McLysaght, *The surnames of Ireland* (2<sup>ND</sup> ed. Dublin, 1992)

In an age when sea travel was easier, safer and possibly cheaper than that by land, many English migrants made their way to the city and purchased their freedom, such as the future lord mayor, John Totty, who was originally from Chester.<sup>67</sup> Once in Dublin, they may have worked and lived in the suburbs for some time and been among the unfree inhabiting in the city.<sup>68</sup> Many of these English artisans in particular thrived in their adopted home such as the carpenter, John Bannister, who eventually obtained the citizenship of Dublin by fine.<sup>69</sup> Some migrants who purchased their freedom came from far a-field, such as Samuel Dancer, a stationer from London.<sup>70</sup> Significantly, many Europeans also seem to have migrated to the city and become citizens by ‘fine’. For example, Isaac Ablyn, a French merchant and Gerald Vanhoven, a Dutch trader, both purchased their freedom of the city.<sup>71</sup> Those who paid a fine for their freedom came from several nationalities, suggesting that the city had quite a cosmopolitan society in the seventeenth century.<sup>72</sup> (see appendix 6).

<sup>66</sup> Abstracts of freemen of Dublin, compiled by Thrift, iii, 45.

<sup>67</sup> Gilbert, *A history of Dublin*, ii, 98.

<sup>68</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 396.

<sup>69</sup> Loeber; *A biographical dictionary of Irish architects*, p. 14; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 3; For other examples of this see: Deposition of William Drope, Oct. 1642 (T.C.D., MS 810, f. 193); D.C.A., Fr/B/ 1648, no. 11; Chester Assembly Book, 1636 (ZA/F//46c/160); Canny, *Making Ireland British*, pp 364-5.

<sup>70</sup> Pollard, *A dictionary of members of the Dublin book trade*, p. 62.

<sup>71</sup> William Shaw (ed.), *Letters of naturalisation and denization for England, Ireland and Scotland, in the seventeenth century* (London, 1894), pp 330, 338.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 330-9; For a list of some of those enfranchised as citizens and their nationality see appendix 4.

The surrounding counties of Dublin were in this period increasingly settled by English and continental migrants. Many of these may have made a ‘secondary movement’ from their initial place of settlement to the city, in order perhaps to find a larger market for their trade or their goods. This was the case with one migrant, Tobias Kramer, a German, and who had settled in County Kilkenny, who then moved to Dublin in the early 1650s.<sup>73</sup> Despite the probable preponderance of English names evident among those who purchased the citizenship, it appears that many apparently Gaelic and Old English craftsmen were enfranchised by ‘right of fine’, at least until 1640. These may have been ‘country’ tradesmen who sought to better themselves in the city. For example, in the case of Richard Barnwell, a tanner from Meath, who became a citizen of the city in the 1630s.<sup>74</sup>

This group of migrants who went on to achieve their freedom of the city ‘by fine’ were probably established in the city for some time. They were distinct from the majority of the native ‘unfree’ class, because of their skills and relative wealth. There are indications that the awarding of the freedom could take time. The possible wait to be accepted can be seen from an example from 1614. Two clothiers petitioned for their freedom and were told to apply again seven years later.<sup>75</sup> It is possible that those who purchased their freedom had previously worked in the city under licence from the city and a guild. Under a bye-law from the sixteenth century, ‘a non-citizen shall not use any trade or mystery within the city, without a licence from a guild or the mayor’. This bye-law meant that any artisan not free of the city had to pay the city for the privilege of working in the city.<sup>76</sup> The successful applicants for the freedom of Dublin by fine may have been among this group who had paid for the right to work in the city. They would have sought the franchise to terminate the payments that enabled them to operate in the regulated urban economy.<sup>77</sup> Possibly they also sought the franchise in order to further their business. It seems that only sworn freemen could open shops in the municipality and those craftsmen who came in by fine possibly sought to secure the freedom of Dublin in order to expand an existing enterprise.<sup>78</sup> Of

---

<sup>73</sup> Pine (ed.), *Burke’s, Peerage*, ii, 345; Shaw (ed.), *Letters of naturalisation*, p. 329.

<sup>74</sup> S.B. Barnwell ‘A seventeenth century Dublin leather merchant family’, in *Ir. Geneal.*, v (1975), pp 184-5.

<sup>75</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 44.

<sup>76</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 230; D.C.A., MS 42, p. 11.

<sup>77</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 397; Henry Berry, ‘The merchant tailors’ guild-that of St John the Baptist, Dublin, 1418-1841’, in *R.S.A.I., Jn.*, viii (1918), p. 20.

<sup>78</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, vi, 93-4.

course there may also have been others who came to Dublin and promptly sought to purchase their 'liberty', in a bid to become successful householders in the city more quickly. This appears to have been the case with William Challcrot, a future alderman in the early 1600s.<sup>79</sup>

There were two classes of journeymen in Dublin. One contained those who had served their apprenticeship with a citizen and could become free of the city by right of service. Other journeymen belonged to the class of artisans and traders who travelled widely seeking employment and were often quite poor.<sup>80</sup> Immigrant journeymen would move to the city and were employed by freemen, as waged employees. Under at least several guilds' regulations, their employers were obliged to enrol them in the fraternity that controlled that craft or service, and these journeymen was obliged to pay a regular fee or 'quarterage' to the guild.<sup>81</sup> Over time, some journeymen may have prospered and sought to become 'free' brothers' of their guild to enable them to become independent householders in the city.<sup>82</sup> To achieve this they needed to become citizens and it seems that many became free by 'right of fine'. There are instances, also of quarter-brothers, many of whom were Protestants from poorer backgrounds, who seem to have also purchased their freedom, such as Patrick Campbell in 1692.<sup>83</sup>

This was not the only connection this group of newcomers to Dublin had with the municipal authorities. They came into contact with the patriciate by serving as officials in the parish administration as churchwardens or overseers for the poor. Some may have even served as constables, as this office was not just restricted to citizens but to all those males of the parish of a certain wealth and status.<sup>84</sup> Another civic institution that may have provided opportunities for immigrants to win the favour of the civic elite was the militia.<sup>85</sup> Every propertied inhabitant was obliged to serve in the city's militia and in this way newcomers could have recommended themselves by their service to the aldermanic elite, especially the mayor. The mayor was traditionally the 'major of the militia', and the aldermen were often captains in

---

<sup>79</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 4.

<sup>80</sup> Mel Doyle, 'The journeymen clubs in Dublin' in *Saothar*, xi (1986), pp 13-16.

<sup>81</sup> Pollard, *A dictionary of members of the Dublin book trade*, pp xxv, 106; N.A.I., M 6118 a, pp 3, 11; 'Petition, answer, and order in the case of the Journeymen tailors of Dublin v the fraternity of St John the Baptist, 18 Sept. 1674' (N.A.I., M.3038).

<sup>82</sup> Pollard, *A dictionary of members of the Dublin book trade*, p. xxx; N.A.I., M 6118 a, pp 7, 8.

<sup>83</sup> Pollard, *A dictionary of members of the Dublin book trade*, p. 161.

<sup>84</sup> Gillespie (ed.), *The vestry book of the parish St Catherine*, p. xi.

<sup>85</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 349.

the force.<sup>86</sup> Those who secured their freedom by fine were not, in all probability strangers to the civic elite. They had already been involved in the city in some position or manner that was viewed as serving the broader community, and had shown that they were able to bear the responsibilities required, to be eligible for the privileges of the citizen.

Those who petitioned for their freedom by fine offered opportunities and also challenges to the urban governors. The fines themselves were often substantial and were no doubt a welcome source of revenue for the city treasury. These fines, like other financial penalties, were treated as a source of income and were paid to the city treasurer.<sup>87</sup> Apart from the financial lure of admitting tradesmen by fine, there were possible positive economic benefits of enfranchising these newcomers to the city. We can illustrate the numbers who came in by fine by their title and occupation.

#### Occupations of new citizens by fine, 1600-40

Table 2.4

Occup.	1600-9	1610-9	1620-9	1630-9
Merchants				13
Service	7		3	10
Building	6	3	2	13
Manufacture	7	7	9	44
Food		2		8
Clothes/Textiles	15	3	3	67
Gentlemen	2			4
Miscellaneous	20	9	2	2

Source: *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 320-550; *ibid.*, iii., 1- 440.

These new entrants were involved in similar sectors of the economy as established citizen-guildsmen. However, they often possessed skills not present in the urban economy, such as James Watson, a ‘Spanish leather worker’.<sup>88</sup> Many of these new entrants by bringing in new skills may have been regarded by the patricians as a boon to the economy of the city. The old civic policy from medieval

<sup>86</sup> H.M.C., *Ormond*, i, 150-1, 248.

<sup>87</sup> D.C.A. MS 35, pp 47, 59, 101 ; Tholsel Court records, 1616-7 (D.C.A., MS C1/J/2/1, p. 56).

<sup>88</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 159.

times urged that the city be self-sufficient.<sup>89</sup> These new citizens with new skills would have enabled the city to produce new products, which was seen as the ideal. The admission, albeit by fine, demonstrates that the city economy may have been tightly regulated but was receptive to technological change and new modes of production.

Those enfranchised by 'right of fine' also posed a problem for the patriciate and the running of the urban economy. The patriciate had to be sensitive to the wishes and interests of the guilds, given the importance of these institutions in various aspects of the city's life and the fact that their representatives sat on the common council.<sup>90</sup> The guilds may have been especially attentive to those who could afford to buy their freedom, as they may have been serious competitors to their members and their livelihoods. There are several cases where a petition for the freedom of the city by fine was deferred. This seems to have been at the request of the representative of the guilds in the common council. For example, Roger Davies, an upholsterer was told to re-apply next year for his freedom in 1614 and it seems he never received that privilege subsequently.<sup>91</sup> It is possible that he was viewed by the guild representative as a threat to existing citizen-craftsmen. The patricians also sought to limit the numbers of citizens out of self-interest. If there were too many freemen, all accessing the various guilds' monopolies, it could have damaged the general citizenry's wealth and economic standing. The patricians were eager to ensure that freemen were prosperous enough to have the ability to become civic officers and militiamen. This was essential, if the patriciate were to govern the city effectively and thereby to satisfy the government, the source of the civic privileges.

Those who could afford to purchase their freedom and were subsequently in a position to pay for admission to a guild, were usually affluent or the middling members of society.<sup>92</sup> The wealthier among this group must have been particularly attractive to the patriciate. The 'city fathers' were responsible for the financial running of the city and they received little or no government assistance. The constant demands on them needed to be financed and often they may have had to rely on wealthy individuals to pay for an immediate and pressing obligation. For example, in 1608 the city militia was despatched to deal with the uprising of Cahir O Doherty.

---

<sup>89</sup> Friedrichs, *The early modern city*, p. 201.

<sup>90</sup> Dudley R. Edwards, 'The beginnings of municipal government in medieval Dublin' in Howard Clark (ed.), *Medieval Dublin: the living city* (Dublin, 1990), pp 147-9.

<sup>91</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 35.

<sup>92</sup> Barnard, *A new political anatomy of Ireland*, pp 268-70.

The goldsmith, James Bee, financed the expedition, although he was later compensated.<sup>93</sup> Legal cases and possibly ceremonies were also financed in this way and demonstrate the patriciate's reliance on wealthy individual citizens.<sup>94</sup> Of special concern was the need for wealthy individuals to take up the city's unpaid and expensive civic offices such as mayor or city treasurer. There was a continual and traditional problem with the Dublin elite trying to evade these onerous responsibilities. Allowing affluent migrants to join the citizen body meant there were more candidates for these civic offices and the burden on existing freemen would not have been as great.<sup>95</sup>

The numbers of those admitted by 'fine' over the first three decades of the century were continually low and indeed the numbers purchasing their citizenship were falling.

**Nos enfranchised by fine, 1600-30,**

**Table 2.5**

1599-1609	85
1610-9	55
1620-9	39

Source: *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 380-500; *ibid.*, iii., 3-180

Given the level of migration, it suggests that there was a restrictive policy adopted by the elite towards outsiders seeking to purchase the citizenship. This cautious policy towards migrants can be partly linked to the religious and political environment in the city. The many aldermen who were Old English Catholics may have felt threatened by the Protestantism of the New English at a time when many were promoting Catholicism in the city.<sup>96</sup> The bulk of the citizen body was still Catholic and they too seem to have resented these newcomers.<sup>97</sup> Religion may have influenced the policy of restricting the numbers who could purchase their freedom, but there was another factor. The elite's desire to preserve civic privileges was the chief factor in this area. Dublin's 'table of aldermen' was a mixed body, consisting of Protestants and Catholics of Old English extraction, and New English Protestants. Yet

<sup>93</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 527; The bye laws of the city of Dublin (R.I.A., 12 D 4, p. 303).

<sup>94</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 243; iv, 189.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.* i, 59; The bye laws of the city of Dublin (R.I.A., 12 D 4, pp 24, 302).

<sup>96</sup> Lennon, *The lords of Dublin*, p. 99 ;Webb, *The municipal government of Ireland* , p. 68; *Franciscans Manuscripts held at Merchant Quay, Dublin* (H.M.C., London, 1906), pp 17-18.

<sup>97</sup> *Essex Papers*; ed. Airey p. 45.

this did not lead to overt conflict over the admission of freemen. Galvanized by the state's threat to their municipal liberties, the two groups cooperated within the sphere of the patriciate, the guilds and the common council out of practical self-interest.<sup>98</sup> Furthermore, the desire for consensus was always the aim in this period. Practical concerns seem to have guided all the aldermen in their consideration of a petition for the freedom of the city. They enfranchised individuals who could contribute to the city, such as the Englishman, John Bournbye, who was granted his freedom upon paying a fine, because 'in short time he would bear some office' in the city in 1613.<sup>99</sup> Above all the aldermanic elite worked together to regulate the numbers enfranchised by fine in the interest of the citizens and the city's privileges.

This restrictive patrician policy is clearly demonstrated in the case of merchants who sought to purchase their freedom. As we have seen in the table above there were no merchants admitted by fine to the citizen body until 1638. However, we do know from several sources that there were a significant number of substantial merchants and traders in the vicinity of the city.<sup>100</sup> The total absence of merchants from those obtaining the franchise of Dublin until the late 1630s suggests that there was a deliberate policy of barring 'stranger merchants' from the citizenship. This was done to protect the important merchant class in the city. If too many immigrant traders operated freely in the urban economy, it could have had serious consequences for the livelihood of citizens who were merchants. It seems likely that the patriciate was influenced by this guild's representatives when considering the admittance of migrant merchants into the franchise.<sup>101</sup> The inability of traders to purchase the citizenship may also be related to the patricians' wish to preserve their own interests. The majority of the patriciate, both Catholic and Protestant, were merchants and prominent in the Trinity guild.<sup>102</sup> Therefore, they may have desired to limit the numbers of traders enfranchised to protect their own business concerns.

This exclusionary policy towards migrants seeking to purchase the franchise in the early years of the century was extended to members of the Dutch and

---

<sup>98</sup> Fitzpatrick, *Seventeenth century Ireland*, p. 46.

<sup>99</sup> *Anc rec. Dub.*, iii, 402.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 519; Loeber, 'The reception of foreigners', pp 157, 160.

<sup>101</sup> Webb, *The guilds of Dublin*, p 140; N.L.I., MS 134, p. 6.

<sup>102</sup> Colm Lennon, 'The shaping of a lay community in the Church of Ireland, 1558-1640' in Raymond Gillespie and W.G. Neely (eds), *The laity and the Church of Ireland, 1000-2000: all sorts and conditions* (Dublin, 2002), p. 54; Berry, 'Records of the guild of merchants', pp 66-8.

German community in the city, such as John Borr.<sup>103</sup> Despite their being a very wealthy grouping, they appear to have been excluded from the franchise for many years. Even those who were not merchants but brewers or artisans, like the brothers William and Henrik Verschoyle were not admitted as citizens.<sup>104</sup> The apparent exclusion of these European migrants from the franchise may in part be related to many patricians' dislike of their Protestantism. More likely, they were denied the opportunity to purchase the freedom of the city on economic grounds. They were highly successful traders and artisans and if they had access to the city's franchise they would be competing with the citizenry on equal terms. This could have been detrimental to many citizens.

This close monitoring of those who entered by fine became much more relaxed after 1638, when the numbers enfranchised by the civic authorities in Dublin in this way increased markedly. If we examine the figures for the 1630s it is apparent that 1638 marked a sudden change in policy. In that year, the city's patricians admitted an unprecedented number. The graph below demonstrates a sharp rise in numbers of citizens who purchased their freedom. This abrupt rise would suggest a new departure in the patricians' attitudes to those enfranchised by fine and a more encouraging approach to immigrants who sought to purchase their freedom.

**Nos of citizens enfranchised by fine 1630-9, Table 2.6**

<u>Year</u>	<u>New citizens</u>
<u>1629-30</u>	4
<u>1630-1</u>	2
<u>1631-2</u>	12
<u>1632-3</u>	7
<u>1633-4</u>	7
<u>1634-5</u>	16
<u>1635-6</u>	10
<u>1636-7</u>	14
<u>1637-8</u>	12
<u>1638-9</u>	146

Source; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 319-370.

Most likely, of all, the urban patricians were responding to government policy. During the mid- to late 1630s Lord Deputy Wentworth attempted to curtail the municipal privileges of Dublin. In particular, he sought the removal of economic privileges which threatened free trade, as part of his policy to boost the customs

<sup>103</sup> Loeber, 'The reception of foreigners', pp 156-62; Shaw (ed.), *Letters of denization and acts of naturalisation*, pp 320-8; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, p. xvii.

<sup>104</sup> Pine (ed.), *Burke's Peerage*, ii, 1164-5.



income, a key source of royal revenue. He conducted a campaign to undermine the traditional rights of Dublin, such as an attack on the mayor's authority as clerk of the market.<sup>105</sup> In particular, Wentworth used the commission for defective titles which threatened aldermen's property rights and their income from the property of the guild of St. Anne and the corporation's property in the old estate of St Mary's abbey.<sup>106</sup> It is hard to determine, given the documentation, why the patricians admitted so many in 1638 and after. It was almost certainly done under pressure from government officials whose views on free trade would have sought a more flexible approach to the admission of freemen to Dublin. There is a possibility that the Dublin elite opened up the citizen body as a means of persuading Wentworth to spare them the rigours of the commission of defective titles. What this does indicate is that the growing influence of the state was bearing down on the patricians and their policy towards immigrants.

The majority of those admitted appear to have been English, at least based upon an analysis of their surnames and contemporary references.<sup>107</sup> This sudden intake of migrants from England, who appear to have been resident in the city, suggests that many outsiders from that kingdom may have found it difficult to obtain the franchise, previously. Significantly, it also saw the first of many German and Dutch artisans and traders to receive the freedom of the city. Approximately ten were awarded the citizenship in the period 1638 to 1640, such as Daniel Vanderbegge and Theodore Schoute.<sup>108</sup> These years marked the end of the old conservative approach on the part of the patriciate to those enfranchised by 'fine', that had been informed by their desire to restrict access to the civic privileges to preserve their value.

During the war years of the 1640s, the city suffered great economic and social hardship and probably depopulation.<sup>109</sup> The admissions system was also apparently under great strain and the bye-laws regulating the admittance of new citizens were reiterated, suggesting that, during the conflict, they had been relaxed or poorly enforced.<sup>110</sup> More importantly, few immigrants were interested in seeking the

---

<sup>105</sup> Fitzpatrick, *Ireland in the seventeenth century*, pp 48-9; Bye Laws of the city of Dublin (R.I.A., 12 D 4, pp 91,92); *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 307-8.

<sup>106</sup> Fitzpatrick, *Ireland in the seventeenth century*, p. 49; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 297; Henry Berry., 'History of the religious guild of St Anne', in *R.I.A. Proc.*, section c, xxxv (1904-5), pp 78-106.

<sup>107</sup> At Strafford's trial it was claimed that there was an increase in English migration to the city see; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, pp xvii, xxxi, 319-70.

<sup>108</sup> Shaw (ed.), *Letters of denization and acts of naturalisation*, pp 336-7.

<sup>109</sup> Anon, *The distressed state of the city of Dublin in Ireland* (London 1643), available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>) (15 Oct. 2006), pp 1-2.; Mac Neil (ed.), *The Tanner Letters*, p. 109.

<sup>110</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 406-7.

freedom of a city in a war zone. This is signalled by the steep fall in the numbers enfranchised by fine.

**No. of new citizens enfranchised by fine, 1638-44**

**Table 2.7**

<u>Year</u>	New citizens.
<u>1638-9</u>	146
<u>1639-40</u>	56
<u>1640-1</u>	13
<u>1641-2</u>	7
<u>1642-3</u>	6
<u>1643-4</u>	13
<u>1644-5</u>	4

Source: *Anc. recs. Dub.*, iii, 280-405

This fall in numbers came despite a much more encouraging attitude to those who sought admission by fine during the war years: indeed briefly, in 1646 ‘regular restrictions on freemen entering were dropped’.<sup>111</sup> This liberal policy can perhaps be best indicated by the elite’s lowering of the money demanded from candidates to purchase the citizenship, compared to previous years. The highest total demanded in 1648 was £10, while in the 1620s one Thomas Evans, a merchant, purchases his freedom for £40.<sup>112</sup> This liberal policy is understandable given the city’s dire state. It needed new citizens to increase the tax base and to develop the corporations’ trade. New freemen were required to help the patricians to pay for the city’s garrison and to re-develop the city, after the ravages of war.<sup>113</sup> The patricians’ willingness to allow more outsiders to purchase their freedom in these years indicates that the patricians were practical men and that they saw the benefits immigrants could bring to the city in a time of great distress. Yet the patricians still sought to regulate the

<sup>111</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 440-1; D.C.A., MS 78, pp 118, 119; Barnard, *Cromwellian Ireland*, p. 83.

<sup>112</sup> D.C.A., Fr/B/1648, nos, 1, 4, 6, 17, 32; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 154.

<sup>113</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iv, p. xxxiv.

enfranchisement process and exclude those unworthy or ineligible for the citizenship, for even in wartime, the freedom of the city had to be distributed cautiously.<sup>114</sup>

In the early 1650s, after the depopulation caused by the wars and plague, there was a concerted policy by the now Protestant patriciate to lure migrants to the city. In 1652 they offered incentives to attract Protestant traders and manufactures into the city. These incentives were advertised in Bristol and London.<sup>115</sup> The emphasis was very much on promoting English Protestant immigration into the city, reflecting that group's total dominance of the patriciate. The amount of 'fine' English immigrants had to pay to become a citizen was not high. Any English Protestant who sought to purchase his freedom had only to pay 20 shillings. These generous terms were on offer from 1652 to 1655<sup>116</sup>. This policy, judging by the numbers enfranchised, was continued until the end of the decade. In total, 752 were allowed to purchase their freedom in the 1650s. It appears that some of these migrants were also offered the property of transplanted Catholics. It was an inducement to potential immigrants and does seem to have drawn many poorer migrants to the city.<sup>117</sup>

Many of these outsiders were probably former Commonwealth soldiers or members of that army's support force, which comprised many craftsmen and artificers. They may have been given preferential treatment in Dublin as in England, where the apprenticeship laws were suspended to enable veterans to become traders and citizens in corporate boroughs.<sup>118</sup> Some European Protestants also seem to have benefited from the policy of the patricians. They too were able to purchase their freedom, on favourable terms, such as the German merchant, Minard Christian.<sup>119</sup> The enfranchisement of European Protestants was also in line with government policies to encourage continental immigration into Ireland.<sup>120</sup> The patricians' welcoming attitude to migrants was aimed at turning the city into a Protestant stronghold, in a bid to preserve their rule. This would also, have won government support and secured for the city its civic privileges, especially its chief one, that of

---

<sup>114</sup> Bye-laws relating to the admissions process were reiterated during the 1640s, see: *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 406, 444, 472, 481.

<sup>115</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iv, 3, 5.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>117</sup> Prendergast, *Cromwellian settlement in Ireland*, pp 52, 53.

<sup>118</sup> C.H. Firth and R.S.Rait (eds), *Acts and ordinances of the interregnum, 1642-60* (3 vols, London, 1911), available at B.H.O., ([http://www british history](http://www.british-history.org.uk)) (20 Sept. 2007), ii, 125.

<sup>119</sup> G.L. Lee, *The Huguenot settlement in Ireland and other literary remains* (Dublin, 1936), p. 46; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iv, 7.

<sup>120</sup> *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1647-60*, pp 826, 853.

self-government, at a time when other Irish corporations had been placed under direct government rule.<sup>121</sup>

The Restoration of Charles II in 1660 ushered in a new era for the city. It was a time that was characterised by a concern for stability and order. This resulted in the effective exclusion of those who refused to demonstrate their loyalty to the monarch by swearing the oath of supremacy.<sup>122</sup> Those who refused to subscribe publicly to this oath could not receive the franchise. This had grave consequences for two classes of migrants, those Catholics and non-conformists who sought to purchase their freedom. The two groups were often seen as a danger to the city, and in 1660 and 1682, the common council pledged to support the monarch against their alleged machinations.<sup>123</sup> The introduction of the act for naturalising Protestant strangers of 1662 should have had grave consequences for this category of entitlement to the citizenship. For it offered all suitable candidates the chance to be admitted as citizens of a corporate town upon payment of a small fine. This fine of twenty shillings was significantly smaller than that levied by the alderman on those who purchased their freedom.<sup>124</sup> The act threatened to make the traditional means of purchasing the citizenship redundant. Yet despite the apparent exclusion of two large religious groupings, the numbers enfranchised remained high.

What factors allowed the civic elite to maintain the practice of people purchasing their freedom of the city? Firstly, the civic elite were deeply opposed to the implementation of the act of 1662 and they seem to have pressurised individuals to purchase their citizenship and not avail of their freedom under the act of 1662, as discussed in chapter four, below. Secondly, the civic elite themselves were increasingly encouraging Protestant migration to the city.<sup>125</sup> This was related to the widespread belief that Irish corporations were crucial to the 'English interest' or Protestant welfare and security in Ireland. The increasing numbers admitted by fine in the 1650s set the trend for future years and mark the beginning of a more liberal policy towards Protestants seeking the franchise in general. It seems likely that the patricians were increasingly willing to allow members of the state church to purchase

---

<sup>121</sup> Barnard, *Cromwellian Ireland*, pp 70-2, 92.

<sup>122</sup> *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1660-2*, p. 601.

<sup>123</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iv, 180, 425.

<sup>124</sup> 14 & 15 Chas II, c 8 [Ire.] (12 Apr. 1662), in *Stat. Ire.*, ii, 498-503.

<sup>125</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 200, 201.

their freedom on generous terms as part of a bid to bolster Protestantism in the city. There are several instances where a petitioner received his freedom on the condition ‘provided he was a Protestant’.<sup>126</sup> After 1660 the usual fine paid by new freemen was between £3 and £5, the highest seeming to have been ten pounds, usually only merchants having to pay this higher price.<sup>127</sup> This was certainly higher than the 1650s, but it appears to have been lower than the sums previously demanded in earlier periods, although the existing records do not allow us to say anything definitive on this matter.<sup>128</sup> The low level of fine suggests that the patricians continued the policy of the commonwealth era and set a deliberately affordable level of fine to encourage skilled Protestant migration to the city. This possibility is further indicated by the continuation in office, after 1660, of many aldermen from the commonwealth such as Richard Tighe.<sup>129</sup>

That patricians’ willingness to allow newcomers purchase their freedom is indicated by the large numbers enfranchised as citizens by ‘fine’.

### No of citizens enfranchised by fine, 1650-9

**Table 2.8**

Years	New citizens
1650-9	752
1660-9	601
1670-9	517

Source: Abstracts of freemen of Dublin, compiled by Thrift, i, ii, iii, iv, passim.

Yet these figures were not as high as the 1650s. This may suggest that the patricians, although more receptive to the petitions of Protestants seeking the freedom of the city, still regulated those admitted, after 1660. The patriciate still had to prevent the unqualified and unsuitable from gaining the freedom of Dublin, in the interest of the citizens and the civic heritage of privileges.

The continuation and growth of this form of enfranchisement may be due in part to the fact that English, Irish or Scottish non-conformists were unable to benefit from the terms of the act of 1662. The oath of supremacy was a requirement for any person wishing to benefit from the legislation and this was unacceptable to

<sup>126</sup> D.C.A., Fr/B/1669, nos, 12, 13, 14, 22.

<sup>127</sup> D.C.A., Fr/B/1666, nos, 1-32.

<sup>128</sup> D.C.A., Fr/B/ 1694, nos, 1-3; Mary Clark, ‘The Dublin city, ‘roll of Quakers’ reconstructed’, in *Ir. Geneal.*, vii (1989), pp 543-51.

<sup>129</sup> *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1663-5*, p. 499.

many, but not all nonconformists.<sup>130</sup> Not all dissenters may have refused to take the discriminatory oaths, English Presbyterians<sup>131</sup> could compromise and like Thomas Bell, a future alderman could swear the oath of supremacy.<sup>132</sup> Others may have taken the required oaths and adopted the tactic of occasional conformity, while remaining privately loyal to dissenting opinions. There were a number of aldermen with nonconformist sympathies, for, unlike York, the city saw no purge of its civic elite after the Restoration.<sup>133</sup> Indeed, an alderman namely William Clifte, despite swearing the officially required doctrinal oaths, still allegedly attended semi-legal ‘conventicles’ or dissenter services in the 1660s.<sup>134</sup> Because of the stipulation requiring the oath of supremacy, many non-conformists were unable to benefit from the act of 1662. Those migrants who could not swear, for their conscience’s sake, the oath of supremacy were forced to purchase their freedom.

That it was legally necessary for a new freeman to take the oath of supremacy was not universally acknowledged. The Elizabethan oath of supremacy, still in force during the Restoration, only demanded that a person seeking to hold civic office was required to swear that the monarch was the head of the church.<sup>135</sup> However, some deemed that it was necessary for all new citizens to swear it but others maintained it was not a requirement.<sup>136</sup> It seems that, by 1672, a citizen was required to swear more than one oath, including the oaths of a freeman and that proclaiming the king as head of the church.<sup>137</sup> Yet this ambiguous situation possibly allowed the patricians to waive or employ the oath of supremacy, whenever it suited their interests. In this confused situation, it was possible for many dissenters to become freemen without their taking the exclusionary oath of supremacy, if the patricians deemed a candidate worthy of the honour of a citizen, or if he was of some benefit to the city.

---

<sup>130</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 400; vi, 186; *Cal .S.P. dom., 1673-4*, p. 444.

<sup>131</sup> ‘Raymond Gillespie, ‘Dissenters and nonconformists, 1661-1700’ in Kevin Herlihy (ed.), *The Irish dissenting tradition, 1650-1750* (Dublin, 1995), p. 19.

<sup>132</sup> Abstracts of freemen of Dublin, compiled by Thrift, i, 134; Hill, *From patriots to Unionists*, p. 36.

<sup>133</sup> P.M., Tillot (ed.), *A history of the county of York: the city of York* (Victoria county history, London, 1961), available at B.H.O., (<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/source>) (3 Aug. 2007), pp 160-4.

<sup>134</sup> Richard Greaves, *God’s other children; the growth of non-conformist churches in Ireland* (Stanford, 2003), p. 77.

<sup>135</sup> 2 Eliz I, c 1 [Ire.] (1 Feb. 1560), in *Stat. Ire.*, i, pp 275-84; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, p. xviii; iii, 577; iv, 400.

<sup>136</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 389; ‘Memorandum concerning the charters to corporations, 1675’ (*Essex Papers*, pp 314-5).

<sup>137</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 4.

A willingness by the patricians to accept the petitions of dissenters from England and elsewhere who were prepared to buy their freedom was partly motivated by practical considerations. Nonconformists were prepared to pay and often pay handsomely for their liberty of the city. These ‘fines’ went straight to the treasury and, like any public body, the city authority was always in need of new resources to pay for the various and relentless demands placed on it.<sup>138</sup> An example of the patricians’ pragmatic approach to the swearing of oaths is illustrated by the case of four English Quakers in 1672. They were allowed to become freemen of the city, despite their reputation as dangerous religious subversives. The patricians, with the agreement of the common council, enfranchised these men in return for a ‘consideration’. Their entry fine was quite hefty and suggests that they were obliged to pay more for their freedom than others did.<sup>139</sup> There were possible economic considerations in admitting non-conformist migrants into the franchise as their industry and capital seen as necessary for the development of trade.<sup>140</sup> Such practical considerations are typical of the patricians and may even have won government support. Ormond, despite being wary of nonconformists,<sup>141</sup> encouraged some London merchants who were congregationalists to settle in the city, in the interests of the urban economy in 1661.<sup>142</sup>

The ‘popish plot’ caused deep concerns among the Irish political nation, including the Dublin patriciate. In 1678 they ordained that all future freemen had to swear an oath of allegiance to the monarch and the oath of supremacy.<sup>143</sup> This by-law suggests that the civic elite were only prepared to admit those who could be trusted with the citizenship. The patricians may have feared that any Catholic or nonconformist could potentially exploit the prerogatives of a freeman, such as holding civic or guild office, to sow dissent in the city. In the years following, the ‘popish plot’, it seems that political tensions were inflamed further by the distribution of a libel against Ormond. The exposure of the Rye House Plot in England kept Dublin in a state of anxiety. The common council and patriciate were increasingly ‘Tory’, as

---

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 58-68; v, 271, 310, 320; vi, 35-6.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, v, 4.

<sup>140</sup> The Earl of Meath welcomed English nonconformists as he attempted to develop his liberty see Gillespie (ed.), *The vestry book of the parish of St Catherine*, p. xi.

<sup>141</sup> J.S. Reid, *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland* (2 vols, Dublin, 1837), i, 281-2.

<sup>142</sup> Greaves, *God’s other children*, p. 34.

<sup>143</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 164, 167.

seen by its petition congratulating Charles II on his proroguing of the English Parliament during the Exclusion Crisis.<sup>144</sup>

Many believed in the political nation that nonconformists were threatening the kingdom. The earl of Arran ordered that justices of the peace and constables in Dublin who were alleged to frequent nonconformist places of worship, were to be monitored.<sup>145</sup> There were efforts aimed at preventing the opening of new dissenting meeting houses in Dublin and elsewhere in Ireland in 1681.<sup>146</sup> There was a real fear in government circles that many Scottish Presbyterians in Dublin were sympathetic to the covenanters in Scotland.<sup>147</sup> By 1683, such was the government pressure on Dublin nonconformists that they agreed to cease worshipping in public.<sup>148</sup>

Whatever, their private sympathies, the patricians were ordered to restrict the activities of nonconformists in Dublin, by the government. For instance, the mayor received government instructions to prevent some unidentified dissenters from worshipping in a 'coventicle' in the city in 1681.<sup>149</sup> The consequences for those immigrants, especially nonconformists, seeking their freedom by purchase were that it made their petition for the freedom of the city extremely difficult, unless they were willing to take the oath of supremacy, to prove their loyalty to the monarch. Because of this tightening up of the enfranchisement system, the number admitted by fine gradually declined.

**Numbers enfranchised by 'fine'  
after the 'Popish Plot',  
Table 2.9**

<b>1678</b>	<b>1679</b>	<b>1680</b>	<b>1681</b>	<b>1682</b>	<b>1683</b>	<b>1684</b>
56	38	33	32	35	32	20

Source; Abstracts of freemen of Dublin, compiled by Thrift, i., ii., iii., iv., passim.

Periods of toleration or 'indulgence' on the part of the royal government enabled dissenters to purchase their freedom. During James II's period of toleration, some seemed to have secured their freedom by purchase such as John Qutermas, a currier, and Roger Gould, a shoemaker, probably English immigrants. These had long

<sup>144</sup>H.M.C., *Ormond*, vi, 57,62; An act of the Lord Mayor, sheriffs, commons and citizens of the city of Dublin, May,1681 (R.I.A., Sr B 53-6).

<sup>145</sup> Lord deputy to governors of cities and counties in Ireland, 24 July, 1683 (Bodl., Carte MS 40, f. 90).

<sup>146</sup> *Cal. S.P. dom.,1680-1*, pp 291, 301, 307, 322.

<sup>147</sup> Hugh Pugh to the Duke of York May ? 1683 (Bodl., Carte MS 219, f. 10); Kilroy, *Protestant dissent and controversy in Ireland*, pp 44, 126, 129.

<sup>148</sup> Arran to Ormond, 4 Aug. 1683 (Bodl., Carte MS 168, f. 155); Gilbert, *The history of Dublin*, i, 345.

<sup>149</sup> Ormond to Arran, 6 July 1681 (Bodl., Carte MS. 219, ff 444-5; 448).



been established and affluent householders in the city but had never received their freedom. Gould and Quatermas, probably only received their citizenship by fine, after many years, because of the royal government's policy, of removing the requirement that new freemen swear the oath of supremacy.<sup>150</sup> The abrogation of the oath of supremacy for Ireland, heralded, a more tolerant policy towards nonconformists. This at a stroke put aside the chief obstacle preventing dissenters from becoming freemen of the city without adopting stratagems such as occasional conformity or the evasion of discriminatory oaths.<sup>151</sup> This and the above examples indicate how politicised the system for the enfranchisement of citizens had become and that it was subject increasingly to external crises and political developments.

The city elite generally welcomed Protestants into the franchise and wished to boost their presence in the city, through migration.<sup>152</sup> Yet it was to be managed by the elite. The patricians traditionally resisted any attempt to 'open' up the freedom of the city as a threat to the city's privileges and their own position. Lord Lieutenant Berkeley and his successor Essex issued the 'new rules' for Dublin in 1671 and 1672. They were designed for the 'better ordering of the city of Dublin' and to increase commerce and manufacture in the city.<sup>153</sup> The new rules aimed at enhancing government control over the various incorporated towns and, by promoting trade, to benefit the crown through customs income. Essex New Rules, also attempted to increase the numbers of new citizens gaining the freedom. This was to be achieved by liberalising and simplifying the way the citizenship could be obtained by fine. The new rules ordered that all migrants and inhabitants of the city who were skilled or engaged in commerce be allowed to gain their freedom for the sum of only twenty shillings and for a similar sum become free of a guild.<sup>154</sup> These terms were very reminiscent of the act naturalising Protestant strangers of 1662. The 'new rules' possible aim was to open up the franchise to those who did not benefit from that piece of legislation. Those eligible to benefit included Irish petitioners from outside Dublin,

---

<sup>150</sup> Clarke (ed.), 'The principal inhabitants of Dublin', pp 51, 52; Abstracts of freemen of Dublin, compiled by Thrift, ii, 123; iv, 203; Dopping, *The case of the dissenters of Ireland*, p. 2; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 398-400.

<sup>151</sup> William III, *An act for exempting his majesties Protestant subjects dissenting from the Church of England from penalties of certain laws* (London, 1690), available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>) (12 June, 2007).

<sup>152</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 202.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, 520-1.

<sup>154</sup> [Essex], *Rules, orders and directions by the lord lieutenant and council for the better regulation of the city of Dublin* (Dublin, 1672), available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>) (2 Apr. 2007), pp 4-6.

and even members of the ‘unfree’ population. The only condition these new freemen had to observe was that they reside in the city.<sup>155</sup>

These orders could have had serious repercussions for the patricians and their position as the gatekeepers to the privileges of a citizen. The provisions relating to the admittance of new citizens would have greatly compromised their ability to vet and select those who were worthy of the distinction of the freedom of the city. The new rules could have had major consequences for their traditional rights. They would have effectively curbed their ability to reject any unsuitable candidate with consequences for the city’s self-government.<sup>156</sup> The threat was not just to the abstract rights of the citizen and the civic elite: also endangered were the practical benefits enjoyed by the common citizens and the members of the civic elite. Firstly, all fines for entrance to the franchise were traditionally handed over to the city’s treasurer. The new rules, by reducing the fine, were threatening a source of income for the city and its expenditure. The lowering of the entry fine could have led to an influx of individuals obtaining the citizenship. Any enlargement of the body of freemen would have consequences for the existing freemen. A privileged group is by definition an exclusive body: any indiscriminate recruitment from outside would have rendered that group less exclusive and diminish their privileges. This caused great concern among some of the guilds and aldermen who lobbied against these provisions.<sup>157</sup>

The impact of the new directives for the city was not as dramatic as it could have been. If we examine the numbers of new citizens enfranchised after the new rules, there is no discernable sudden surge in admissions to the citizenship (see appendix 2). Indeed, there was no appreciable increase in the numbers enfranchised by right of fine, despite the new rules, reducing the cost of purchasing the freedom of the city. The numbers of citizens enfranchised by right of fine actually fell. Even at the time the lord lieutenant was concerned about the low numbers enfranchised under the new rules terms. Furthermore, the directive issued by Essex ordered that the fine be set at only 20 shillings and this according to the surviving freedom petitions was not the case.<sup>158</sup> The usual fines demanded of a petitioner who sought his ‘freedom’ were generally higher. The clear impression is that the new rules had little impact on

---

<sup>155</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>156</sup> Webb, *Municipal government in Ireland*, p. 158; Sean Murphy, ‘The corporation of Dublin, 1660-1760’ in *D.H.R.*, xxxvii (1984), 22-3.

<sup>157</sup> The earl of Essex to the earl of Arlington, 20 Mar. 1674 (*Essex’s letters*, p. 186).

<sup>158</sup> [Essex], *Rules, orders and directions*, p. 3; D.C.A., Fr/B/ 1692, nos, 4-9; *ibid.*, Fr/b/1694, nos, 1-9.

the structures for admitting new citizens, just as they were largely ineffective in introducing ‘innocent Catholics’ into the ranks of Dublin’s citizen body.<sup>159</sup>

It would appear that the patriciate was able to deter many from seeking their freedom under the new rules. They may have used their considerable social authority to dissuade outsiders from seeking their freedom under the lord lieutenant’s directives and forced them to pay the usual entry fine for their citizenship. Essex, concerned at the low numbers of those enfranchised under his orders, inquired about the matter with the lord mayor. The mayor informed Essex, that only a single migrant, an Englishman merchant born in Amsterdam, applied for his citizenship under the new rules.<sup>160</sup> This is remarkable given the generous terms on offer, suggesting further that the elite deterred individuals from benefiting from the lord lieutenant’s dispensation. The apparent evasion by the patricians of the lord lieutenant’s demands is telling. It demonstrates that, despite the interference of successive Restoration administrations to expand the citizen body of the city, the civic elite were able to maintain a degree of independence in the supervision of the system for inducting new citizens into the city’s franchise.<sup>161</sup>

Among the ways for an individual to achieve the franchise of Dublin was the form termed by the civic authorities ‘special grace’.<sup>162</sup> The majority of those who were admitted to the freedom of the city by ‘fine and special grace’ had to pay, usually a substantial financial fine. The remainder of those who obtained the franchise by these means of ‘special grace’ had only to pay a token fine and were, in effect, admitted to the citizenship for free.,<sup>163</sup> as in the case of William Sharburton, a weaver, who in 1669, obtained his citizenship, with a symbolic fine.<sup>164</sup> It seems they were still required to pay the usual fees associated with the process of enfranchisement.<sup>165</sup> This class of new entrant to the franchise usually had only to pay a ‘fine of gloves to the mayor’s wife’.<sup>166</sup> This symbolic fine indicates that the group who came in by token fine had received the special favour of the aldermanic elite. Despite the near identical language used by the civic authorities, namely ‘special grace and fine’, we can treat

---

<sup>159</sup> *Cal. S.P. dom., 1671-2*, pp 166-7.

<sup>160</sup> The earl of Essex to the earl of Arlington, 25 Apr. 1674 (*Essex’s letters*, p. 217).

<sup>161</sup> Webb, *Municipal government in Ireland*, p. 162.

<sup>162</sup> Abstracts of freemen of Dublin, compiled by Thrift, i, ii, iii, iv, passim.

<sup>163</sup> D.C.A. Fr/B/ 1648, nos, 3, 5; *ibid.*, Fr/B/1666, no. 29; *ibid.*, Fr/B/1669, no. 10, 13; *ibid.*, Fr/B/1694, nos, 3, 4.

<sup>164</sup> D.C.A. Fr/B/1669, no. 22.

<sup>165</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 220.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*, ii; iii, passim; Abstracts of freemen of Dublin, compiled by Thrift, i, ii, iii, iv, passim.

this class of new entrant as distinct from those who had to pay a monetary fine to be a citizen. This section will concentrate on those who secured their freedom with only the payment of a token or symbolic fine or as it was termed by the patricians, ‘by special grace and the payment of a fine of gloves’.

These applicants for the franchise of the city were most dependent on the goodwill and the discretion of the aldermanic elite for their freedom. Petitioners did not apply directly for this form of admission: they requested that the mayor admit them upon ‘grace especial’ and, ‘upon such small fines your lordship shall think’. The mayor and the other patricians set the level of fine and if, for reasons that will be discussed below, outsiders were deemed worthy of this form of entitlement, they were not required to pay for their freedom.<sup>167</sup> The mayor, sheriffs and the common council were all entitled to enfranchise a select group of individuals as citizens every year, a privilege of these office-holders that can be traced from the middle ages and continued until the nineteenth century.<sup>168</sup> This custom also occurred in Limerick and other Irish corporations.<sup>169</sup> Even though the common council and sheriffs had a right to grant individuals the privilege of citizenship by ‘grace especial’, the patricians were the ultimate arbiters of who could or could not be admitted.

Like the other traditional entitlements to the freedom of the city of Dublin, this category experienced an increase in numbers, but it did not increase in as dramatic fashion as the other entitlements during the period under review. The small rise over the century suggests that the patricians were none too willing to admit too many to the freedom, gratis. This concern to regulate the numbers enfranchised by ‘special grace’ can be seen in an aldermanic decision in 1672. The ‘table’ of aldermen decided to limit the number of freemen and women that the mayor and sheriffs could appoint to the citizen body, suggesting that there were concerns among the civic elite that too many individuals were being admitted by the free grant of the citizenship.<sup>170</sup>

The admissions rolls do tell us who was favoured by the urban elite with the freedom of the city in this manner, and from these we can draw some conclusions

---

<sup>167</sup> D.C.A., Fr/B/1694, no. 3; D.C.A., MS 44, p. 69; Abstracts of freemen of Dublin, compiled by Thrift, i, ii, iii, iv., passim.

<sup>168</sup> Murray and Lennon (ed.), *The Dublin city franchise roll*, p. viii; *Royal commission to inquire into municipal corporations, Ireland*, 1835, p. 230, H.C. 1836 (24), v, 430.

<sup>169</sup> For Youghal see: Michael McCarthy-Morrigh, *The Munster Plantation; English migration to southern Ireland, 1580-1641* (Oxford, 1986), p. 241; Lenihan, *Limerick: its history and antiquities*, p. 450.

<sup>170</sup> D.C.A., MS 45, p. 34.

regarding those who became freemen and women by ‘special grace’. The admissions rolls show that a wide array of newcomers from a variety of backgrounds and occupations were granted their freedom with only a token fine of a pair of gloves. We can see the social and occupational diversity of these new freemen and women in the table below. By analysing this class of new entrants to the franchise we can see some patterns emerge, which may throw a fitful light upon the urban elite’s policy towards newcomers to the city.

### Occupations of those enfranchised by special grace, 1600-49

**Table, 2.10**

Clerk	1	Plumber	1
Clergy	1	Textiles	4
Officer	5	Gunsmith	1
Soldier	3	Goldsmith	1
Spinster	2	Fish trade	2
Maiden	25	Cook	5
Gent.	16	Painter	1
Noble	12		
Yeoman	13		

Source: *Anc. recs. Dub.*, ii, iii, passim.

The admission rolls show us that a significant number of gentlemen and titled individuals obtained the freedom of the city by ‘special grace and by fine of gloves’, such as viscount Fitzwilliam who was made a citizens in 1630 and the earl of Antrim, who was made a citizen in 1622.<sup>171</sup> These members of the elite also had to beseech the city for their freedom and follow the same procedure, as ordinary migrants who sought the franchise. However, the patriciate had devised a unique freeman’s oath reserved for noblemen, which made no mention of trade, to avoid offending their status and sensibilities.<sup>172</sup> The wealth and influence of these new freemen would readily explain why they were ‘granted the citizenship gratis’. Many of these members of the elite, who received their freedom, came from the city’s hinterland, such as the Baron of Howth, enfranchised in 1614.<sup>173</sup> The wealth, status and the connections of these individuals may have made them very influential figures in Irish society and they could have acted as the patrons of Dublin Corporation.

<sup>171</sup> *Anc. recs. Dub.*, iii, 256.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 257; v, 535-6.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 234, 370.

Noblemen in England were sometimes, advocates and defenders of urban boroughs privileges.<sup>174</sup> Moreover, these noblemen had real political power, as many of those enfranchised were members of the Irish House of Lords, as was the case with Lord Blanney of Monaghan, who was granted the citizenship in 1631<sup>175</sup>.

The practice of enfranchising prominent individuals from the elite continued after 1650. Yet there was a change of emphasis, as increasingly those granted their freedom by 'special grace' were officials or representatives of the king. These officials were occasionally awarded their freedom in return for some favour or service to the city. In 1670 the earl of Arran and his father, the Duke of Ormond, were awarded their freedom after they secured some relief for the citizens from the burdens of quartering soldiers.<sup>176</sup> No doubt, the prestige to be gained by the aldermen from associating with the nobility and senior government officials was also another factor in the admission of these notables into the franchise. This can be seen in the tradition that a nobleman's or senior government officials enfranchisement was accompanied by a civic feast, an opportunity for the patricians to associate with some of the mightiest in the kingdom.<sup>177</sup> These events were often grand affairs and, in the Restoration period, the freedom certificate of the new citizen was presented in a silver box, known as a freedom box.<sup>178</sup> These ceremonies were also opportunities for the civic elite to demonstrate their loyalty to the monarch by publicly favouring one of his officials or representatives. The free bestowal of the freedom of the city on these nobles and influential figures had much in common with the patriciate's policy of bestowing the freedom on the humblest rural tradesman or an English journeyman. These new citizens were in different ways to the benefit of Dublin governors and their consistent attempts to preserve and expand the city's privileges and rights. This practice altered as the century developed and a by-law was passed in 1680 that excluded even noble Catholics from the grant of a free citizenship.<sup>179</sup>

Many members of the gentry from Ireland and England also seem to have been privileged by the bestowal of the freedom of the city by special grace. This

---

<sup>174</sup> Catherine Patterson, 'Conflict, resolution and patronage in provincial towns', in *Journal of British Studies*, xxxvii (Jan.1998), pp 4-34.

<sup>175</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 234.

<sup>176</sup> Ormond to Conway, 12 Nov. 1667 (Bodl., Carte MS 49 f. 465); Sir William Davy's to the Earl of Ossory, 12 Nov. 1670 (Bodl., Carte MS 49, f. 330).

<sup>177</sup> *Cal. Anc. rec.*, iv, 92.

<sup>178</sup> For a full description of one such ceremony see Carte, *A history of the Life of James, first Duke of Ormonde*, ii, 694-5.

<sup>179</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 219.

too was not merely a symbolic gesture by the patriciate, but was done in the interests of the city. Many of these outsiders had the wealth and the necessary education to benefit the borough and its administration. Other examples of immigrants being enfranchised for this purpose were Sir Richard Bolton, an English migrant, and Robert Dixon, son of a wealthy Kildare landowner.<sup>180</sup> These men were admitted to the franchise and soon afterwards held important civic office and ultimately became aldermen.<sup>181</sup> Some gentlemen were admitted to the franchise and given a senior position within the civic government, which could avail of their contacts, as in the case of Sir William Davey who proved most helpful to the aldermen during the furore over the new rules.<sup>182</sup> It was clearly advantageous for the elite to enfranchise these individuals as, once becoming citizens these gentlemen could legally become officeholders and be employed by the patricians in their efforts to retain the civic privileges. Other gentleman immigrants may have been speedily enfranchised as citizens by special grace as their wealth and connections were viewed as offering the city, practical benefits. In 1663 Humphrey Jervis was enfranchised as a citizen. This second son of a Staffordshire gentleman was someone who was probably seen by the patricians as a future contributor to the city's economy and government.<sup>183</sup> Over the years Jervis did indeed contribute to his adopted home, as mayor, builder and businessman.<sup>184</sup>

From the table above it is plain that many yeomen, maids and tradesmen were entered into the admission rolls with only a token fine. This would seem to be at odds with the policy of admitting notables as freemen to secure favours for the city by 'special grace'. However, the enfranchisement of these humble outsiders was linked to the patricians' policy of securing influential individuals goodwill. For members of the elite, including those connected with the royal administration, intervened with the patricians, to enable newcomers to obtain their freedom. An example of this is the case of John Nelson, a yeoman, who was granted his citizenship of the city, 'at the insistance of Lord Chichester' in 1607.<sup>185</sup> He was not alone in this: a small group won their freedom with the support of a highly ranked individual in this period. This

---

<sup>180</sup> Pine (ed.), *Burke's Peerage*, i, 233; Gilbert, *A history of Dublin*, i, 176.

<sup>181</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 27, 54.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid*, v, pp x, 12-18, 55, 150, 190; *Cal. S.P. dom.*, 1672, pp 127-31.

<sup>183</sup> Pine (ed.), *Burke's Peerage*, ii, 402.

<sup>184</sup> Jacqueline Hill, *From patriots to Unionists: Dublin civic politics and Irish protestant patriotism, 1660-1840* (Oxford, 1997), p.23.

<sup>185</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 468.

well-connected set of newcomers admitted to the citizenship of Dublin by ‘fine of gloves’ included an architect, a gunsmith, a tailor and a cook.<sup>186</sup>

The structure of early modern society can offer us some clues as to why Lord Chichester would interest himself in the petty ambitions of a humble craftsman. These great men like the earl of Cork or Lord Chichester were the pivotal figures around whom extensive retinues of servants and dependents of various ranks and occupations circled, seeking employment or patronage.<sup>187</sup> There is a strong possibility that these individuals who were granted the distinction of ‘freedom by fine of gloves’ were the servants and dependents of these luminaries. They were probably migrants, like others of the mobile servant class. Powerful individuals, such as the king’s solicitor, may have sought to reward good service, or try to provide a livelihood for a favoured dependent or servant, by securing for them the citizenship. Masters of great households in this period often sought to secure a servant’s future by some gift, usually of land or a dowry.<sup>188</sup> The practise was not confined to Dublin as another regional capital, York often admitted members of high officials retinues, into the citizenry.<sup>189</sup> It is also possible that these powerful figures sponsored migrants to move to Dublin to contribute to some enterprise they had in the city or its vicinity, and, that they sought the franchise of the city to enable their employees to establish themselves in Dublin.<sup>190</sup>

This type of new entrant was of indirect benefit to the civic elite. To reward a great man’s servant or dependent was also a way of honouring his or her master, and accordingly it could earn the gratitude of that notable. This can be seen in Chichester’s letter to an official who favoured in some way his servants: ‘I do accept this demonstration of yours in very good part’.<sup>191</sup> Therefore, by admitting into the citizenship the dependents of these great men, the aldermanic elite would have been trying to win these senior officials’ goodwill, for current or future ambitions. To be well regarded by these powerful figures would have been of particular importance to

---

<sup>186</sup> Ibid, ii, 468, 498; iii, 35, 90.

<sup>187</sup> Dorothy Townsend, *The life and letters of the earl of Cork* (London, 1906), pp 54-7; ‘The letter book of Lord Arthur Chichester, 1612-4’ ed. R.D. Edwards in *Anal. Hib.*, viii (1938), pp 4-6.

<sup>188</sup> *The letters of the earl of Cork, Lismore Collection*, ed. Rev. John Grossart (6 vols, London, 1885), i, 3, 25, 55, 60; ii, 196, 198.

<sup>189</sup> Tillot (ed.), *A history of the County of York: the city of York*, p. 102.

<sup>190</sup> Canny, *Making Ireland British*, pp 354, 365.

<sup>191</sup> ‘The letter Book of lord Arthur Chichester, 1612-4’ ed. Edwards, p. 34; The guild of merchant tailors gave Wentworth’s tailor a feast in his honour, no doubt hoping to win favour from his master see: Berry, ‘The merchant tailors’ guild, of St John the Baptist’, p. 27.



them in respect of the city's charters, over which men like Chichester would have had great influence at court.<sup>192</sup> The benevolence of these great figures could also be of private benefit to individual alderman, such as Sir James Carroll who won the support of Chichester with regard to some legal issues in England.<sup>193</sup>

Often the patriciate may have had little option but to enfranchise a servant or dependent of one of the elite. In 1666, the future Lord Arran wrote to the council stating that his father the duke of Ormond wished that his servant, one Roger Chamberlin, 'saddler to the duke of Ormond', received the freedom of the city. The corporation complied with this request and enfranchised him 'by special grace'.<sup>194</sup> It was in their best interest to seek the favour of the powerful Ormond, and by satisfying the ambition of a tradesman, they were also furthering their own ambitions that relied often on the personal choices and policies of the lord deputy. The patricians depended upon the lord lieutenant, for he could further some civic policy, such as confirming the three penny custom.<sup>195</sup> How prevalent this was is difficult to ascertain. Yet it seems certain that the citizenship and its bestowal by 'special grace' was part of the patricians' constant efforts to secure and enhance their privileges.

Among those admitted upon the payment of a token fine were a group of women. Of the 46 people enfranchised in this manner during 1650 to 1659, 24 were women.<sup>196</sup> In this period there seems to have been a rise in the number of women who received their freedom in this manner. The increase in this form of enfranchisement is attributable to the apparently growing tendency of the patricians to admit 'spinsters', presumably unmarried women.<sup>197</sup> Women in this era could only access the civic franchise by birth or special grace, the practice of admitting women by right of apprenticeship having ended in the 1570s.<sup>198</sup> Therefore a female migrant could only aspire to be made free of the city by the dispensation of the civic elite.

Some of these women admitted to the franchise may have been 'gentle women's companion', usually poor unmarried female relatives who lived with, and served their wealthier relatives and were a superior class of servant.<sup>199</sup> The presence

---

<sup>192</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 31, 180.

<sup>193</sup> 'The letter book of lord Arthur Chichester' ed. Edwards, p. 17; Patterson, 'Conflict, resolution and patronage in provincial towns', p. 20.

<sup>194</sup> Ossory to the Lord Mayor and corporation of Dublin, 4 Jan, 1669 (Bodl., Carte MS 144, f. 124).

<sup>195</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, i, 55.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, iv, 3-129.

<sup>197</sup> Abstracts of freemen of Dublin, compiled by Thrift, i, ii, iii, iv, passim.

<sup>198</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 108.

<sup>199</sup> Barnard, *A political anatomy of Ireland*, p. 201; *The letters of the Earl of Cork*, ed. Grossart, ii, 198.

of many maidens and 'spinsters' with the illustrious names of the great civic families, such as the Balls, Barnwell and Usher, is discernible and indeed, was quite common. These, too were women constrained to become dependents in the house of more affluent relatives in the city, who were associated with the patriciate. It was not uncommon for landed families from the Pale to despatch their daughters elsewhere, to become servants, such as the daughters of Richard Barnwell, who after losing his lands, saw his daughters forced to go into service, in the early 1600s.<sup>200</sup> The elevation of such female dependents, by the patricians to the citizenship may have been viewed as their dowry, as it was common for the head of wealthy households to enable former servants to marry by providing them with 'marriage portions'.<sup>201</sup> For these former servants, their new citizenship meant that any prospective husband would have become a citizen and these women's chances of the marriage market would have been greatly enhanced.

Enfranchisement of an individual could turn on the clear civic interest. We can see how the aldermanic elite used the freedom of the city as currency to purchase some service or other benefit to the city. For example, when the city needed a plumber, it offered entry to the franchise without fine to any skilled Englishman skilled in that trade. The freedom of one plumber, a Richard Burdie, was 'on condition of fulfilment of his contract with the city'.<sup>202</sup> Another example of this was the case of a glazier who had to supply the local community with glass 'at forty shillings a yard'.<sup>203</sup>

It was not just practicalities that concerned the city fathers; they also used the lure of freedom of the city to obtain services that would enhance the ceremonial occasions and the attendant festivities of the city. One instance is of a yeoman whose grant of freedom was conditional and was dependent on 'his serving in the mayor's kitchen on station days'.<sup>204</sup> The civic insignia of Dublin, such as the king's sword, were a central part of these civic ceremonies and the common council was concerned that they be maintained. At least one goldsmith was admitted 'by fine of gloves' on condition 'he repair the city plate' which presumably included the

---

<sup>200</sup> S.B. Barnwell, 'The Barnwall family in the sixteenth and seventeenth century', *Ir. Geneal.*, iii (1962), p. 251.

<sup>201</sup> *The letters of the Earl of Cork*, ed. Grossart, ii, 67, 89, 145.

<sup>202</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 340-1, 345-6, 354.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 406.

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 358; iii, 282, 301.

insignia of the various officeholders.<sup>205</sup> The fact that these new entrants were admitted to improve the city's ceremonies is indicative of the weight attached to ritual by the civic elite. These civic rituals such as the aldermen's procession on station days, helped to dramatise and enhance the patriciate's authority in the city.<sup>206</sup>

By enhancing the ceremonial life of the city, the patricians were promoting and underlining their own authority and status. An important symbol utilised by the civic elite, to inculcate deference and obedience was the town hall or tholsel. However, by 1603 the tholsel was according to the common council in a state of decay. The rebuilding and the maintenance of the centre of civic administration were particularly important during the early years of the seventeenth century, not just for symbolic power but to also make a political statement. The city and its 'liberties' were being undermined by government policy over their charters and the granting of monopolies.<sup>207</sup> To restore the tholsel was making a point; it showed the urban elite's willingness and determination to maintain its status and traditional prerogatives. The expansion and development of town halls in these years was common throughout England and was related to the buying and securing of charters, the refashioning of the chief civic building being related to this process.<sup>208</sup> To achieve the restoration of the town hall the patricians seem to have turned to outsiders, as the native tradesmen may have been inadequate.<sup>209</sup>

To achieve this policy of maintaining and defining the civic privileges through the town hall, roughly eight migrant tradesmen were granted their freedom by 'special grace'. They paid no fine but rather they paid for their freedom by the application of their labour and expertise. This was made explicit in the case of a plasterer in 1605, who was granted his freedom upon condition that he 'paid in work', by renovating a room in the tholsel. Other examples of this practice include a smith who received his freedom on condition that he 'whitened the walls' of the council chamber and a glazier who was obliged to regular repair the tholsel's windows.<sup>210</sup> This apparent policy is typical of the elite's attitude to new citizens. They

---

<sup>205</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 512.

<sup>206</sup> For the importance attached to rituals and ceremonies see: *Anc. rec. Dub.*, i, 258; ii, iv, 406-7; 505; v, 107; iii, 377; Bye-laws of the city of Dublin (R.I.A., D 12 4, pp 3, 191)

<sup>207</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 358, 494, 499; iii, 36; Fitzpatrick, *Seventeenth century Ireland*, pp 34-6.

<sup>208</sup> See :Robert Titler, *Architecture and power: the town hall and the English urban community, c 1500-1640* (London, 1991).

<sup>209</sup> O'Brien (ed.), *Advertisements for Ireland*, p. 23.

<sup>210</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 436, 454, 492.

were enfranchised out of a sense of reciprocity: in return for access to the city's privileges, they were to add to, or enhance some aspect of Dublin society.

After 1660, and probably earlier, many of the conditions imposed on the petitioners who succeeded in obtaining the freedom of the city by this form of entitlement were related to religion. There are several instances where the condition for securing the freedom stipulated that the candidate be a Protestant. Typical of this is the example of Timothy Mulligan who applied for the freedom in 1669 by a 'beseech of special grace'.<sup>211</sup> Given that this method of obtaining the franchise required only a token fine apart from the usual fees to the clerk of the tholsel, it would seem to suggest that freedom by special grace became a way for the aldermanic elite to increase and strengthen the Protestant presence among the citizen body and in the city.<sup>212</sup> In the case of the weaver, William Sharburton in 1669, he petitioned for his enfranchisement for 'only a small fine', and he was granted his freedom with only a fine of gloves.<sup>213</sup> The entitlement of entry into the freedom of the city by 'special grace' was increasingly applied to boost and strengthen the Protestant presence in the city.

The numbers admitted by 'special grace and fine of gloves' were insignificant. Yet they reveal much about the urban elite's attitude to favoured newcomers. The citizenship, with its rights and privileges, was an asset that, even when it was given for effectively nothing, or at the insistence of a powerful figure, served to further some policy or interest of the city and its authorities. Despite the continuities evident it underwent significant alterations within this period. As the recipients of the citizenship were to an extent the personal choices of the civic elite, it indicates to us, the increasing importance of religious allegiance in the selection of new citizens and that the civic elite were intent on encouraging the migration of Protestants from outside to the city of Dublin. This policy of the patricians would have earned the approval of the various viceroys, who themselves were under instructions to encourage Protestants to settle in the country.<sup>214</sup>

Migrants could also secure their freedom of the city by marriage and there is evidence that several did. As with every other method of obtaining the franchise, the right to freedom by marriage was well established, subject to the city's bye-laws and

---

<sup>211</sup> D.C.A., Fr/B/1669, no. 12.

<sup>212</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 345; v, 186.

<sup>213</sup> D.C.A., Fr/B/1669, no. 22.

<sup>214</sup> 'Instructions to lord lieutenant, the earl of Essex, 1 May, 1672' (*Cal. S.P. dom.*, 1672, p. 34).

overseen by the city authorities. The entitlement to enfranchisement ‘by wife’ was not unique to Dublin, but it was not recognized in several cities like York.<sup>215</sup> It was an old and well-established right to claim the freedom of the city in Dublin by this entitlement.<sup>216</sup> An individual seeking his freedom ‘by wife’ had to abide by the officially sanctioned procedure. Though it was similar to the other methods of achieving the franchise, it had evolved its own characteristics and special requirements. Some petitions from the records of the council do allow us a chance to glean insights into the conditions imposed upon, and entitlements of those outsiders, who married into the franchise.

In 1607, William Bishop, an English merchant, sought his freedom by marriage as did one William Randford in the 1640s. Also there are some petitions relating to the payment and remitting of a fine payable by those citizens who married citizens. The petitioners, Bishop and Randford, were unusual in that they had already been admitted citizens by ‘fine’.<sup>217</sup> Yet admission by marriage offered these two men more attractive terms than did their previous grants of freedom. Admission by right of ‘marriage’ meant that one had to marry a registered freewoman, not just a female inhabitant of the city. It appears that there was no ‘fine’ for entering into the city’s freedoms in this manner.<sup>218</sup> There was a traditional levy called a ‘fine by ball’, payable by all citizens who married, which was imposed on those who became citizens after marriage to a freewoman.<sup>219</sup> It appears that all newly-married citizens, not just outsiders, had to contribute towards a ball or festivities that were held every Shrove Tuesday. This custom appears to have been discontinued as the period progressed and there is no reference to it after about 1630. Even so, this charge does not appear to have been as expensive as purchasing one’s freedom.<sup>220</sup> The sons and apprentices of those outsiders who married insiders had to pay less when they came to seek the city’s freedom, unlike the children and apprentices of those who came in by fine.<sup>221</sup> Finally, according to an ordinance from the 1580s, only a freewoman’s first marriage allowed her husband to petition the authorities for admission into the

---

<sup>215</sup> Webb, *The Municipal Government in Ireland*, pp 58, 61; Tillot (ed.), *A history of the County of York: the city of York*, pp 106.-108.

<sup>216</sup> Lennon and Murray (eds), *The Dublin city franchise Roll*, p. x.

<sup>217</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 406; iii, 464.

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid*, ii, 406, 464.

<sup>219</sup> Poorer citizens only paid a symbolic ‘fine by ball’ of an orange or lemon, see, Tholsel Court Records (D.C.A 1/J/2/1, pp 54-5); *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 349, 364; iii, 141.

<sup>220</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 141.

<sup>221</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 468.

citizen body. As a result no person who married a widowed freewoman could apply for his freedom.<sup>222</sup>

The terms on offer for those who entered the city in this way would have been most attractive, not only financially, in that they did not have to pay a fine. It would have saved their sons and apprentices from a fine, as we have seen above. This form of admission could also offer free entry into at least one of the guilds.<sup>223</sup> Furthermore, those who entered by marriage would have gained entry through their new family links to pre-existing social networks. These social connections would have allowed any newcomer who achieved his freedom ‘by wife’; greater opportunity to clamber onto the higher tiers of Dublin society. An example of this may be William Bishop, and his quick advance to the dignity of an alderman, after his marriage to a freewoman, although such political or other benefits accruing to a new freeman would have depended on one’s marriage partner and her family’s status.<sup>224</sup> These social and financial factors would have made entry into the city’s franchise by marriage highly attractive to any ambitious or needy migrant.

By examining the admission roll 1600-50, we can deepen our understanding of the patriciate’s policy towards newcomers to the city who came into its liberties through marriage. An analysis of the table below, demonstrates that there were few who achieved their freedom ‘by wife’. Indeed, in this period of mass migration to the city mainly by English migrants, the number is strikingly low.<sup>225</sup> Those who were recorded as winning the franchise by marriage only accounted for a small percentage of all those who received their freedom.

#### New citizens enfranchised by marriage, 1600-49

Table 2.11

Year	No.
1599-1609	11
1610-9	6
1620-9	10
1630-9	22
1640-9	10

Source: *Anc. recs. Dub.*, ii, iii, passim.

<sup>222</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 283; 406; iii, 464.

<sup>223</sup> That was the merchant guild see :Webb, *The Guilds of Dublin*, p. 157; Berry, ‘The records of the guild of merchants’, p.58

<sup>224</sup> Lennon, *The Lords of Dublin*, pp 80-1; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 170.

<sup>225</sup> Canny, *Making Ireland British*, pp 220-2; Hill, *From patriots to Unionists*, p.12.

Any petitioner for admission to the freedom could be rejected. For marriage to a freewomen did not guarantee that an individual could just join the select set of the free. Traditionally, admission to the franchise was never guaranteed for anyone, apart from the freeborn, and an applicant's way could be barred, if he was deemed unsuitable by the patriciate.<sup>226</sup> Such applicants may have been forced to pay for their freedom. The sources that have survived tell us little of the selection procedure, which was in all probability, conducted, in private. We do get a glimpse of how difficult it could be, for an appeal for the city's freedom to be accepted in the years between 1600 and 1640. John Franckton, an English printer, who although entitled to admission by marrying the daughter of a freeman, needed the support of no less a figure than the archbishop of Dublin to secure his admission, who may have been Frankton's patron.<sup>227</sup> The limited numbers by themselves do not indicate definitively that the council sought to limit admissions by marriage. Other factors may have impeded the numbers gaining freedom in this manner. The large Old English recusant population in Dublin, many of them freemen, would have been unwilling to marry their daughters to the mainly English Protestant newcomers.<sup>228</sup> There remains at least an impression that the figures are symptomatic of an exclusivist approach on the part of the aldermanic elite, a deliberately restrictive policy on entrants who sought the freedom of the city by marriage.

A breakdown of the occupations of the successful applicants for their freedom in this manner indicates that the council may have been sympathetic to the petitions of the affluent or those of high status.

**Occupations of those enfranchised by marriage 1600-49, Table 2.12**

Clothiers	5	Mason	2
Cooks	6	Brewer	1
Cutler	1	Baker	1
Gent	15	Saddler	2
Knight	1	Tailor	7
Goldsmith	1	Vintner	1
Merchant	5	Misc.	11

Source. *Anc. recs. Dub.*, ii, iii, passim.

<sup>226</sup> *Report of the commission on the corporations of Ireland*, pp 3-11.

<sup>227</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 468.

<sup>228</sup> Lennon, *The Lords of Dublin*, p. 87; Ronan (ed.), 'Archbishop Buckeley's visitation of Dublin', pp 3-25.

The figures show that a high number of gentlemen from outside the city married into the city, as did clothiers and merchants who in general were seen as members of the moneyed class and this was a traditional feature.<sup>229</sup> There are also a number of professionals admitted, one of the first glimpses of that class's inexorable rise to prominence in the city. This would seem to suggest that those who were of a higher social status were admitted by marriage to the citizen body. Yet the presence of humbler occupations, such as bricklayers, would seem to contradict this tentative finding. The probability is that these newcomers too were rather more affluent than a common 'country' tradesman or an English journeyman.

The years following 1650 saw a continuation of the generally low levels of new citizens enfranchised by 'right of marriage'. Even in the 1650s when the city was desperate for English migrants, the numbers admitted by this mode of admission remained low. After 1660 the numbers enfranchised by marriage drifted higher and were, as the table below indicates, a small percentage of all those admitted to the freedom of the city. The limited numbers enfranchised suggest that the city authorities strictly regulated this form of admission to the citizenship.

### **Numbers enfranchised by marriage, 1660-90**

**Table 2.13**

1650-9	1660-9	1670-9	1680-9
13	22	15	26

Source: Abstracts of freemen of Dublin, compiled by Thrift, I, ii, iii, iv, passim

The occupational profile of those admitted by 'right of marriage' after 1660 would suggest that the patricians were more liberal in the granting of the city's freedom than previously.

---

<sup>229</sup> Lennon, *The Lords of Dublin*, p. 79.



## Occupations of those enfranchised by marriage, 1660-88

Table 2.14

<u>Baker</u>	4	<u>Sheerman</u>	2
<u>Barber</u>	1	<u>Saddler</u>	1
<u>Bricklayer</u>	3	<u>Smith</u>	1
<u>Carpenter</u>	12	<u>Shoemaker</u>	1
<u>Currier</u>	1	<u>Tailor</u>	4
<u>Goldsmith</u>	1	<u>Yeoman</u>	1
<u>Gentleman</u>	1	<u>No. Title</u>	3
<u>Girdler</u>	1	<u>Misc. trades</u>	4
<u>Plasterer</u>	1		
<u>Merchant</u>	9	<u>Total</u>	51

Source: Abstracts of freemen of Dublin, compiled by Thrift, I, ii, iii, iv, passim.

This may be related to the increasing wish to protestantize the citizen body. The patriciate, increasingly concerned to promote the English interest, looked kindly upon the petitions of Protestant migrants who wished to become citizens by right of marrying a freewoman of Dublin. Previously they would not have been considered for this entitlement to the franchise. The traditional entitlements to the franchise increasingly excluded Roman Catholics. Anti-Catholic sentiment also affected this entitlement to the citizenship. In 1675 a bye-law was introduced that any freewoman who married a Catholic ‘shall lose her freedom’ and suffer a ‘£20 fine’. The common council acted out of a fear that freewomen ‘might bring in papists or others’.<sup>230</sup> This bye-law was passed in 1675 just after the controversy over the new rules. It seems to be related to a fear that a woman enfranchised by ‘special grace’ would enable a Catholic to become a citizen.<sup>231</sup> Indeed this bye-law was irrelevant in a way since as most freewomen would have been Protestant, the possibility of one marrying a Catholic was remote, as it would have meant her risking alienation from her family. It was usual for a Protestant to stipulate that if his daughter married a Catholic she would be disinherited.<sup>232</sup>

This bye-law may also demonstrate the increasing politicisation of the system that enfranchised migrants as citizens. It was passed after a period of tension between Anglicans and nonconformist groupings within the city caused by the controversy

---

<sup>230</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 103.

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid.*, 104.

<sup>232</sup> Gillespie (ed.), *The vestry records of the parish of St John*, p. 18; The prerogative will of William Parsons, 1655 (N.A., Kew, Prob., 11/213).

over the new rules.<sup>233</sup> The bye-law may have been passed by the Anglican majority to restrict nonconformists who wished to become citizens by right of ‘marriage’ as it sought to exclude ‘papists and others’. That non-establishment Protestants and Catholics were both penalised together in discriminatory measures was typical of the Restoration period, as many Anglicans saw them as equally threatening.<sup>234</sup> During the Jacobite regime in the city, this right to the citizenship was exploited to increase the numbers of Catholics and others enfranchised.<sup>235</sup> The year 1687-8 saw the single largest numbers of citizens enfranchised by ‘right of marriage’ in the entire century.<sup>236</sup>

Another factor that limited the numbers of new citizens admitted by ‘marriage’ was certain cultural assumptions about women. The institution of marriage in early modern Europe involved not just two individuals, but also their families and indeed the broader community. Dublin was no exception to this as can be seen in the custom of ‘fine by ball’, which seems to have been levied or remitted at the behest of the common council. It strongly suggests that any marriage was viewed as a community event, and is another indication that early modern society ‘did not view the public and private sphere as distinct and contrasting categories’.<sup>237</sup> The patricians demonstrated a deep concern over who achieved the franchise, by marriage to a freewoman and enacted bye-laws to control the process. Indeed in the late sixteenth century, when the civic elite stipulated that a named individual freewoman could only marry an outsider, with a licence from the council, to prevent such an eventuality.<sup>238</sup> It is probable that the civic authorities kept close watch on those admitted by marriage, in case the unsuitable or disloyal were allowed to access the citizens’ prerogatives, such as voting for members of parliament. Migrants, as outsiders, seeking this means of securing the freedom of the city would have been especially scrutinised by the patriciate.

---

<sup>233</sup> Hill, *From patriots to Unionists*, pp 56-8; *Cal. S.P. dom., 1673*, pp 444-6.

<sup>234</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iv, 171; v, 232, 247.

<sup>235</sup> *Ibid*, v, 389, 393-4, 407.

<sup>236</sup> Abstracts of freemen of Dublin, compiled by Thrift, i, ii, iii, iv, passim.

<sup>237</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 429; iii., 141 Karen L Taylor and James B. Collins, ‘Interpreting early modern Europe’, in idem and eodem, *Early modern Europe: issues and interpretations* (London, 2006), pp 13-14; Tholsel court records, 1616-7 (D.C.A., MS C1/2/1, p. 55).

<sup>238</sup> After the plague in the early 1570s and its high death toll, the patriciate was concerned that many unsuitable candidates for the franchise would secure their freedom by marriage, to young women and widows and from this dates the bye laws that increasingly limited a husband’s right to become a citizen by ‘right of wife’, see: *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 172, 214.

This strict regulation of who could claim the freedom by marriage can be seen in the patriciate's administration of the system that enfranchised citizens. A widow was often one of the few independent females in early modern society and accordingly usually had a greater choice in their prospective marriage partners than younger single women. This entitlement made them dangerous as they could choose a husband unworthy of the dignity of a citizen and who could even endanger the 'freedoms of the city'.<sup>239</sup> To judge by the language employed by the civic elite in the enfranchisement of women, it appears that they were almost always unmarried. They were all referred to as 'maids' or 'spinsters', both those who were enfranchised by right of 'birth' or by 'special grace'.<sup>240</sup> This, too, was probably related to the fact that if a married woman was enfranchised her husband would also be 'free of the city'. This could have allowed unsuitable individuals into the citizen body. We see something of this concern in the petition of Anne Gubins, who received her freedom by 'grace especial' but on condition that 'she is not married or contracted to be'.<sup>241</sup>

Those who were admitted by 'marriage' demonstrate some interesting points concerning the patricians' reception of outsiders who sought the franchise. Firstly, there was, on balance, a desire that new freemen be of a certain social background. It also demonstrates that the patricians were anxious about those who secured the privileges of a citizen and this in part explains why they sought to limit the numbers enfranchised by this entitlement. If the privileges fell into the wrong hands, the corporate body could be compromised and even undermined and a strong and honorable citizenry needed for the city's welfare and the maintenance of its privileges.

The final action of the patricians in the enfranchisement of migrants was the administering of the oath of a freeman. The swearing of an oath that was in this period, sworn before the mayor and sheriffs, served an important function.<sup>242</sup> It bound the individual to the general citizen body; it set the new citizen apart from the rest of the non-citizen inhabitants of Dublin and ensured his chief allegiance was, apart from the monarch, to the city and his fellow-citizens. The swearing-in of a new citizen was not just bestowing various economic and political privileges upon an

---

<sup>239</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 212.

<sup>240</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, iii, iv, *passim*.

<sup>241</sup> D.C.A., Fr/B/1694, no. 4.

<sup>242</sup> Gillespie, *Seventeenth century Ireland*, pp 40-1; Gale, *An inquiry into the ancient corporate system of Ireland*, p. 50.

individual it was also assimilating the new citizen to the general body of citizens, who were bound by a similar oath. The new freeman was incorporated into the corporate body of citizens who in a sense composed the entity which was the corporation of Dublin. The patriciate by overseeing the oath-taking ceremony were integrating migrants into the city and this marked their transformation from outsiders to insiders.<sup>243</sup>

The wording of the oath and the bond that all new citizens entered into to ensure they complied with civic ordinances tells us much about the reasons for the patricians' reception of migrants who sought to become citizens. They were prescriptive and detail for us, as surely as any policy document, why the city sought outsiders and the reasons for the various restrictions and requirements imposed upon them. They show us that the reception of migrants into the franchise of the city of Dublin was moulded by the need to ensure that customary rights were respected and that the recruitment of new freemen to aid in the efficient running of the city, was necessary to secure its royal charters, that guaranteed its ancient 'liberties'.

The freeman's oath also informs us of many of the preoccupations that influenced the aldermanic elite in their actions towards these new citizens. The oath specifically demanded that every artisan or trader train an apprentice for no less than seven years. This was related to the wish to restrict the numbers who could practise a trade to the benefit of the existing freemen. Upon forfeiture of a bond, a new citizen could not 'intrude' but was to practise only one trade and none other.<sup>244</sup> The seriousness of this offence can be gauged from the fact that the bond was often of a higher value than the admission fine of many new citizens. Then there was the prohibition 'on colouring a strangers goods' upon the threat of disfranchisement. This arose when a freeman declared non-citizens' goods to be his own to avoid the city's customs.<sup>245</sup> These represent the city authorities' concern that any incomer was to respect the civic privileges and that his 'freedom' was not to interfere with the customary rights of his fellow-citizens or the guilds.

Then there were the demands placed upon a new citizen by his oath. Firstly, he was to obey the mayor and the patricians. This meant that he had to follow and observe all their reasonable and traditional demands, from paying their dues as a

---

<sup>243</sup> Apparently only the mayor could swear in a new citizen, see: *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iv, 188.

<sup>244</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, i, 201, 261; ii, 507.

<sup>245</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 261; iii, 311.

citizen to undertaking specific tasks including cleaning the streets. In particular, they were specifically obliged to become members of the militia and to provide arms and provisions for this force.<sup>246</sup> They were also to bear certain civic offices if deemed eligible by the patriciate. If they were unable to meet these responsibilities, they could pay a fine to be excused from the burden.<sup>247</sup> The demand for obedience to the patriciate made the citizenship an onerous burden. So much so that at least one citizen, a John Fagan, gentleman, petitioned the common council in 1611 with the request that he be disenfranchised as he was unable to hold any civic offices.<sup>248</sup> The individual citizen was to place himself at the disposal of the patricians in the interest of the city and to aid the patricians in the efficient running of the corporation

---

<sup>246</sup> *Ibid.*, iii., 78; iv, 180; Bye laws of the city of Dublin (R.I.A., 12 D 4, p. 134)

<sup>247</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, i , 106; ii, 508; iii, 26.

<sup>248</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 443; iii, 26, 105.

## Chapter 3

### The patriciate, migrant apprentices and the freedom of the city, 1600-92

The migration of young men and young women to an urban centre, to enter into an apprenticeship with a trader, artisan or craftsman was a feature of early modern cities. It was a phenomenon that was common elsewhere in Europe in cities like York.<sup>1</sup> This form of migration also seems to have had quite a long history in the city of Dublin as there are examples of it from the mid-sixteenth century and it probably occurred even earlier.<sup>2</sup> The aim of this chapter is to analyse one aspect of this type of migration. It will concentrate on those apprentices who were entitled due to their years of service as an apprentice with a freeman, to petition for and possibly receive the distinction of a freeman of Dublin. Those enfranchised by this entitlement were enrolled in the freedom rolls, or list of citizens, by right of service. To represent the reception of these migrants by the civic elite will involve investigating the process whereby young outsiders were accepted as apprentices to citizens in the city and their subsequent induction into the ranks of the citizenry, after completing their training. There will also be an examination of how the patricians' need to retain the city's heritage of civic privileges influenced the reception of migrants, who became apprenticed to citizens. The chapter will also illustrate how changing political and religious considerations determined the civic elite's policies towards these newcomers to the Irish capital in a century of upheaval and change.

Serving an apprenticeship was a common way of training a young person in early modern Ireland.<sup>3</sup> An unknown number of apprentices in the city were not eligible to apply for the citizenship by right of 'service'. There was a large artisan population in the liberties who employed apprentices in the 1690s. These trainees were not eligible for the freedom of the city because their masters were not free of the city.<sup>4</sup> Women too were excluded from seeking the franchise by this entitlement, even

---

<sup>1</sup> Fredrick, *The early modern city*, p. 96; Rapport, *Worlds within worlds*, p. 295.

<sup>2</sup> S. P. Barnwell, 'The Barnwell family during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, part ii' in *Ir Geneal.*, iii (1961), p. 133; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, i, 412.

<sup>3</sup> Barnard, *A political anatomy of Ireland*, pp 306-7.

<sup>4</sup> Stubbs, 'The weavers' guild', p.79.

if they served their time with a freeman or woman.<sup>5</sup> There were still female members of the weavers' guild, who had almost certainly served an apprenticeship, and there are examples of girls being apprenticed in the 1680s and 90s.<sup>6</sup> None of these, however, could claim the right to be enfranchised despite their years of training.

Those enfranchised by 'service' were a select and distinct group among the city's many other apprentices, because of their masters' status as freemen of Dublin. The presence of two classes of apprentices is exemplified in a civic bye-law from 1683. The civic council ordered that the city's pavers', 'be erected into a corporation' and they were to be joined to the bricklayers' guild in that year.<sup>7</sup> The common council believed that this would lead to improvements in the trade of paving to the benefit of the craft and the people of Dublin. This had consequences for the trainees of these craftsmen. They were now referred to as 'recognisable' apprentices, they were now apprentices associated with a guild and they could potentially, one day, be entitled to petition to become citizens.<sup>8</sup> Because these trainee pavers could technically become citizens, they were subjected to the same strict supervision of a guild and the patriciate, as other apprentices of freemen.

To facilitate a better understanding of the patricians' policy towards young migrants who entered into an apprenticeship with a freeman of the city of Dublin, it is necessary to assess the nature of and trends among those that were enfranchised by 'right of service'. Those who were admitted as citizens by right of service formed a considerable proportion of all those enfranchised by the city in this period. Between 1600 and 1690, approximately 3,188 were admitted into the franchise of Dublin, by right of 'service'. All the other modes of admission in this period accounted for 3,297 new citizens. If we remove from the latter total the roughly 1371 who were admitted as the son or daughter of a citizen, then it is clear that the majority of those who had no previous connection with the city were enfranchised by right of their having served an apprenticeship with a citizen (see appendix, 2). Significantly, it seems that apprentices were employed and trained in many sectors of the urban economy and even the wealthy and influential merchant guild.

---

<sup>5</sup> Women had secured the citizenship by service until 1576 see *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 110; Murray and Lennon (eds), *The Dublin city franchise roll*, p. xi.

<sup>6</sup> Stubbs, 'The weavers' guild', pp 63, 79; Greaves, *Anthony Sharpe*, pp 25, 78, 117.

<sup>7</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 220.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*; Gertrude Thrift, Abstracts of the guild of bricklayers, masons, heliers and pavers guild (N.A.I. TA, 1446).

From 1600 to 1640 there was a steady and continuous intake of new citizens by this right. Those who received their freedom because of their service with a freeman greatly outnumbered those migrants, admitted by other means of entry, such as the right of admission by fine, in the first four decades of the century. The only exception was during the years of 1638-9, when the numbers enfranchised by fine exceeded those who became free of the city by right of service. This form of admission underwent an apparent crisis during the mid-century wars and their aftermath. The numbers who were enfranchised by service collapsed during the war years, only seventy five citizens being enfranchised by this entitlement after 1641.<sup>9</sup>

**Nos enfranchised by service, 1600-40, Table 3.1**

<b>Year</b>	<b>New citizens</b>
1600-9	375
1610-9	384
1620-9	408
1630-9	449
1640-9	81

Source: *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, iii, passim.

The 1650s were little better and it was only towards the latter part of the decade that the numbers enfranchised by service increased. The exact reasons for this dramatic fall are unknown but it was almost certainly related to the wars, famines, plagues and general economic dislocation so evident in the sources<sup>10</sup>. It was only in the 1660s that the figures for new citizens admitted by the entitlement of ‘service’ approached the levels of the 1630s. The 1670s saw a dramatic rise in the numbers of young men accepted as citizens, because they had served an apprenticeship with a citizen. The early 1680s continued this trend, but, by the later years of that decade, the numbers of new citizens by ‘service’ collapsed. This was undoubtedly related to the political turmoil of those years under the Jacobite regime in Dublin.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 382-501.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*, pp xiii, xxxiv, xxxvii.

<sup>11</sup> *The state letters of Henry, earl of Clarendon, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland*, ed. Singer, i, 93, 184, 222.



**Nos of citizens enfranchised by service, 1650-90, Table 3.2**

Year	New citizen
1650-9	144
1660-9	374
1670-9	551
1680-9	338
1690-9	505

Source: *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, iii, passim.

The patriciate was effectively the city's government. Among their wide array of powers was the right to oversee the actions of the fraternities. The Dublin patricians in this regard held largely similar powers to other civic governors in York and Limerick.<sup>12</sup> Traditionally, the aldermanic bench supervised the various fraternities. There were even instances when they imprisoned masters of guilds who defied their orders.<sup>13</sup> The guilds largely acknowledged the authority of the city fathers, even though according to their charters they 'were corporate bodies' with the 'right to enact bye-laws'.<sup>14</sup> Many of the aldermanic elite were themselves guild members as can be seen from their occupations.

**Occupations of aldermen elected between 1600 and 1686  
Table 3.3**

Apothecary	4	Saddler	1
Brewer	1	Sherman	1
Carpenter	1	Smith	1
Chandler	1	Stationer	1
Clerk	1	Tanner	1
Clothier	1	Tailor	2
Cutler	2	Yeoman	1
Gent/knight	12	Victualler	1
Glover	2	Vintner	1
Goldsmith	8	Weaver	2
Leather/ dresser	2	Unknown	22
Merchant	69	<u>Total</u>	<u>138</u>

<sup>12</sup> Quarter sessions minute book (York City Archives, QSF/7, ff 12, 334, 429, 480 ); Lenihan, *Limerick: its history and antiquities*, p. 13.

<sup>13</sup> D.C.A., MS 44, pp 12, 56; Berry (ed.), 'The Friday book', p. 499.

<sup>14</sup> Webb, *Municipal government in Ireland*, p. 58; *Royal commission to inquire into municipal corporations, Ireland*, 1835, p. 269, H.C. 1836 (24), v, 469.  
; The bye laws of the city of Dublin (R.I.A., MS 12 D 4, p. 151).

Source: *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, iii, iv, v, passim; Lennon, *The lords of Dublin*, pp 225-60

Most of the aldermen served as masters or wardens of the wealthy merchant guild, at some time, at least in the period 1600 to 1670.<sup>15</sup> Despite their often close personal relationship with the fraternities, the city's governors usually intervened if they deemed the merchant and craft corporations' activities were harmful to the city's welfare, by right of their authority as magistrates for labourers.<sup>16</sup> For example, the urban elite oversaw the quality of certain goods, such as leather and tallow, they were especially concerned with the prices of essential foodstuffs, and this often led them to override the authority of the guilds.<sup>17</sup>

In keeping with their supervision of guild affairs, the patricians oversaw the employment of an apprentice by a guild brother, and laid down how a fraternity's officials should register that young trainee, with the city. The elite always closely supervised the admission of freemen. Those who sought to become citizens of Dublin by 'right of service' had to abide by specific laws, framed by the patriciate and common council, to ensure that they received their claim for the freedom of the city. These were similar to those governing other modes of admission to the franchise but they were also distinct. The guilds and their brethren may have generally guided apprentices towards the freedom of the city, but it was all strictly supervised by the aldermanic elite.<sup>18</sup> This was similar to other corporations, as in the case of York.<sup>19</sup>

The issue of the origins of these apprentices is crucial to this discussion. It is contended here that those who were enfranchised by right of service were in the main migrants. Dublin as we have seen in chapter one was very probably unable to reproduce itself and needed outsiders to maintain the population. The city's demographic regime ensured that many outsiders were needed to serve an apprenticeship with citizens of Dublin. The high population turnover of the citizen body and desire of many of the citizenry to make their son a gentleman also reduced the number of city youths available for an apprenticeship and created opportunities for migrants. The apparent shortage of native apprentices can be gauged, if we consider

---

<sup>15</sup> Even those aldermen who like Abel Ram or Thady Duffe who were not strictly merchants see :Berry, 'The records of the Dublin guild of merchants', pp 61-3.

<sup>16</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, i, 28; iii, 66; Webb, *The municipal government of Ireland*, p. 58.

<sup>17</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 396, 421; iii, 66; vi, 212; Bye laws of the city of Dublin (R.I.A., 12 D 4, pp 19, 309); Berry (ed.), 'The Friday book', p. 498.

<sup>18</sup> Webb, *The guilds of Dublin*, p. 112.

<sup>19</sup> Y.C.A., Q.S.F. 7., ff 101, 107, 249, 334, 429.

that very few citizens' sons entered some of the occupations regulated by a guild. In the years 1610-90, only seven sons of citizens became 'free' weavers and only one son of a citizen became free of the guild of barber surgeons (see appendix 9).<sup>20</sup> This inability to recruit native apprentices seems to have been a long-term problem in the city.<sup>21</sup>

Young trainees were an economic necessity for artisans and traders. Their unpaid labour was vital for the prosperity and survival of a freeman's business. The household was the basic economic unit in an early modern city such as Dublin.<sup>22</sup> It was a centre for the manufacture and the retailing of goods. Apprentices' labour greatly contributed to the running of these household units.<sup>23</sup> Their value is evident in a merchant guild ordinance that forbade its members from enticing another guild brother's apprentice into his service.<sup>24</sup> Young trainees were to work in their masters' households in return for their board and their training. The citizens of Dublin, unable to employ sufficient number of natives, regularly had to recruit young men from outside the city, for apprentices were vital in the operation of their businesses.<sup>25</sup>

The manner in which the sons of Dublin citizens were enfranchised also strongly suggests that those enfranchised by service were mostly migrants. An unknown number of the city's apprentices were the sons of freemen and in the main were natives of Dublin and not migrants. Those newly qualified craftsmen or traders, like Michael Keyser, a baker, who were the children of citizens, did not claim their freedom of the city by right of service.<sup>26</sup> Rather they tended to claim their 'liberty' by right of 'birth', that is they were enfranchised as the sons of freemen and they were entered into the freedom roll as new citizens by right of patrimony.<sup>27</sup> Even those native apprentices who trained with a master other than their father also seem to have petitioned for their freedom by right of birth.<sup>28</sup> This practice can be seen in the family of John Barnwell, a saddler, whose sons claimed their 'freedom' by birth. One son

---

<sup>20</sup> Abstracts of freemen of Dublin, compiled by Thrift, i, ii, iii, iv, passim.

<sup>21</sup> Gearoid Mc Niocaill, 'Socio-economic problems of the late medieval town' in Mary Dowd and David Harkness (eds), *The development of the Irish town* (Belfast, 1984), p. 17.

<sup>22</sup> John Swift, *Dublin bakers and others* (Dublin, 1949), p. 34; Webb, *The guilds of Dublin*, p. 44; Petty, *The political anatomy of Ireland*, p. 10.

<sup>23</sup> Swift, *History of the Dublin bakers and others*, pp 34-5.

<sup>24</sup> D.C.A., MS 78, p. 21.

<sup>25</sup> Swift, *The history of the Dublin bakers and others*, p.53.

<sup>26</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 422.

<sup>27</sup> For some examples see Abstracts of freemen of Dublin, compiled by Thrift, i.16, 17, 87; ii, 67; iii, 207, 232, 233.

<sup>28</sup> See *ibid.*, i,16; ii, 183; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 52.

was a tanner and the other was a merchant, indicating that their father did not train them.<sup>29</sup>

That those sons of citizens, who served an apprenticeship should continually seek to be enrolled as freemen as the sons of citizens and not as apprentices of freemen, was due to two factors. Firstly, it is probable that enfranchisement by birth was viewed as being a more socially prestigious form of entitlement. Secondly, there were practical considerations. To be enfranchised by ‘birth’ meant that one’s children or apprentices were not liable for a fine upon their petition for the citizenship.<sup>30</sup> This practice among the sons of citizens would strongly suggest that those who sought and received the franchise by service with a freeman were not natives but rather migrants. Some of the young apprentices may have been natives, members of the non-citizen class, yet few of these, due to practical and social considerations, would have secured an apprenticeship with a citizen, as will be discussed below.

Our sources are unsatisfactory with regard to the migration of young men to the city for employment as a citizen’s apprentice. An analysis of the names on the admission rolls may help us to understand the background of these apprentices. The names of those enfranchised by ‘service’ show apparently surnames of Old Irish, New English and Old English origin.<sup>31</sup> At least until 1640 the majority of those admitted had Old English or Gaelic Irish surnames.

**Origins of the surnames of those enfranchised by service 1600-39,  
Table 3.4**

<b>Years</b>	<b>Irish</b>	<b>Old Eng.</b>	<b>English</b>	<b>Unknown</b>
1600-9	132	98	83	41
1610-9	101	140	108	35
1620-9	119	134	118	35
1630-9	115	137	160	37

Source: *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 200-501; *ibid.*, iii, passim; Mc Lysaght (ed.), *Surnames of Ireland*, passim.

<sup>29</sup> Barnwell, ‘A seventeenth century Dublin leather merchant family’, pp 182, 184; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 24, 156.

<sup>30</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 406, 455; ,iii, 19; iv, 48, v, 426.

<sup>31</sup> Abstracts of freemen of Dublin, compiled by Thrift, i, ii, iii, iv, passim; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 280-500; iii, passim.

The preponderance of the names present in these records would have long been associated with the city's hinterland. For example many of those enfranchised by 'service' bear distinguished Old English names from the Pale, like Barnwell or Luttrell. There seems to be a connection between the names of those admitted by 'service' to the franchise in the years from 1600 to 1640 and landowners in the city's hinterland. The surnames of prominent Old English landowners like Archbold, Barnwell and Daniel are prominent among those made citizens by service.<sup>32</sup> Many of the younger sons of the Barnwell families from Meath and Kildare had identical names to some of those enfranchised by right of service before 1640. This suggests that young men from these landed families were apprenticed in the city with freemen in this period.<sup>33</sup> Another typical example of this process was Daniel Byrne. As the second son of a prominent Wicklow family, he could not inherit his father's estate and was accordingly 'bred to trade' and apprenticed to a 'free brother' of the guild of merchant tailors, to enable him to support himself in the future.<sup>34</sup> Several apprentices with surnames connected to those New English who settled in the city's hinterland in the sixteenth century are also discernable in the freedom rolls, prior to 1640. Distinctive New English names such as those of Wolverston and Dixon appear for the first time in this category of enfranchisement.<sup>35</sup>

After 1650 an analysis of the ethnic origin of the names of those enfranchised by service demonstrates a clear break with the past. There is an almost complete absence of Old English names and a patent preponderance of New English names.<sup>36</sup> Some Old English names do occur but these were possibly from families that had conformed to the Protestant faith, such as that of St Lawrence.<sup>37</sup> The absence of surnames traditionally associated with the Pale suggests that the customary networks that brought Old English youths into the city from the city's hinterland, to be

---

<sup>32</sup> 'Forfeiting proprietors in Ireland' in John O Hart (ed.), *The Irish and Anglo-Irish landed gentry* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Shannon, 1968), pp 251-9 ; Smyth, 'Exploring the social and cultural topographies', pp 131-2; Abstracts of freemen of Dublin, compiled by Thrift, i, ii, iii, iv, passim.

<sup>33</sup> Stephen Barnwell, 'Barnwell of Kilbrew, County Meath' in *Ir. Geneal.*, vi (1980), p. 12; idem, 'The Barnwell family during the sixteenth and seventeenth century', *Ir. Geneal.*, viii (1985), pp 448, 450; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 461, 464; iii, 181, 184, 221, 223.

<sup>34</sup> Gilbert, *The history of Dublin*, i, pp 140-1; Pine (ed.), *Burke's Peerage*, ii, 220.

<sup>35</sup> Smyth, 'Exploring the social and cultural topographies', p. 138; Gilbert, *The history of Dublin*, i, 89; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 69, 136.

<sup>36</sup> Abstracts of freemen of Dublin, compiled by Thrift, i, ii, iii, iv, passim ; MacLysaght (ed.), *The surnames of Ireland*, see: appendix

<sup>37</sup> Smyth, 'Exploring the social and cultural topographies', p. 138; Abstract of the freemen of Dublin, compiled by Thrift, iv, 234.

apprenticed had been disrupted. This was no doubt due, in part to those families' losses during the wars, famines and confiscations.<sup>38</sup> For example the name Luttrell, Begg and Dillon, once common amongst those enfranchised by service, disappear from the freedom rolls. The changing nature of the ethnic origin of names is also related to the increasing English ownership of land in Dublin's hinterland. English migrants increasingly possessed a greater share of Ireland's lands. Many surnames associated with new landowners in Leinster begin to appear on the rolls for the first time such as Lee and Vaughan.<sup>39</sup> These landowners who constituted a new gentry class apprenticed their sons to Dublin freemen. For example there is the example of Joshua Allen, who was sent to the city and trained as a merchant, in the 1650s. He came from a wealthy County Dublin family.<sup>40</sup> Another instance of this phenomenon is Abel Ram of the 'Wexford gentry' who was apprenticed in the city.<sup>41</sup> There are other examples of youths from gentry families being apprenticed to goldsmiths in Dublin. This suggests that the growing New English land-owning class continued the practice of the Old English elite of sending their sons to be trained in an occupation by a freeman of Dublin.<sup>42</sup>

There are indications that affluent farmers, traders and rural artisans sent their sons to the capital to learn a trade after 1650 and it probably occurred earlier than this date. Yeoman farmers like John Faulkener from Morristown, County Kildare, or John Hill from Shreene, County Meath, apprenticed their sons as shoemakers in the city in the 1680s.<sup>43</sup> Like the neighbouring gentry, they too had younger sons whose futures needed securing. Scattered examples from the goldsmith guild, in this period also show that the relatively affluent from rural and indeed urban Ireland despatched their sons to obtain training in an occupation by a citizen of

---

<sup>38</sup> Prendergast, *The Cromwellian settlement*, p. 35; Dunlop (ed.), *Ireland under the commonwealth*, ii, 546.

<sup>39</sup> Smyth, 'Exploring the social and cultural topographies', pp 174-5; Abstract of freemen of Dublin, compiled by Thrift, ii, 110; iv, 200.

<sup>40</sup> Abstracts of freemen of Dublin, compiled by Thrift, i, 24; Pine (ed.), *Burke's Peerage*, i, 140; Loeber, *A biographical dictionary of architects*, p. 13.

<sup>41</sup> N.L.I., MS 680, p. 45; Simms, 'Dublin in 1685', p. 220; Robinson (ed.), 'Christ Church Cathedral, proctors accounts', p. 263.

<sup>42</sup> 'Dublin goldsmiths' apprentices' enrolment book' in Jackson, *English goldsmiths and their marks*, pp 641-3.

<sup>43</sup> N.L.I., MS 680, pp 33-4.

Dublin, such as James Kelly, the son of a Limerick merchant, or Sam Clarke, whose father was a Belfast innkeeper.<sup>44</sup>

What motivated members of the gentry, farmers and tradesmen classes to despatch their sons to Dublin despite the fact that apprenticeships in trades and agriculture were widely available in rural districts'?<sup>45</sup> The level of training in the Irish capital may have been viewed as superior to that available in a young man's locality. Dublin, like other metropolitan centres, offered skills and knowledge that were simply unavailable in the hinterland.<sup>46</sup> An apprenticeship in the capital may have been seen as more advantageous, as it would eventually enable a young man to obtain the economic privileges of a citizen and to access the regulated urban economy. Then there was the issue of social mobility. Upon completing an apprenticeship with a citizen in Dublin, the young migrant could aspire to the civic franchise and even rise in the civic hierarchy. An apprenticeship in rural areas brought no such distinction or opportunities, although young men often received some rewards upon completing their term of service.<sup>47</sup>

Another trend in the recruitment of apprentices by freemen of the city is discernible apart from the recruitment of youths from Dublin's hinterland. There is some evidence of French migrants securing apprenticeships in the city, like Sankey Sullyard, a future alderman.<sup>48</sup> Most of these long distance migrants were English. The fact that many English and others came seeking apprenticeships in the city is unsurprising. Typical of a capital city, Dublin would have attracted many long distance migrants.<sup>49</sup> Dublin's growing economy would also have drawn many young men from England. It is probable that the cost of securing an apprenticeship with a citizen of Dublin was cheaper than obtaining a similar traineeship in London or other English cities. There are indications that many of these apprentices were brought to Dublin by English migrants. This was the case with William Bladen, who recruited a

---

<sup>44</sup> 'Dublin goldsmiths' apprentices' enrolment book' in Jackson, *English goldsmiths and their marks*, pp 641, 642.

<sup>45</sup> Indenture of Patrick Meagher, 22 Nov. 1684 (N.A.I. Private accessions, 999/612); Barnard, *A new anatomy of Ireland*, p. 307.

<sup>46</sup> Rapport, *Worlds within worlds*, p. 313.

<sup>47</sup> In 1684, one husbandman was entitled to a cow, a calf, six lambs and a suit of clothes, upon completing his apprenticeship see: N.A.I. Private accessions, 999/612.

<sup>48</sup> Abstracts of freemen of Dublin, compiled by Thrift, iv, 56; Petra Coffey, 'Huguenot freemen of Dublin' in *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, no.26 (1997), pp 635-49.

<sup>49</sup> De Vries, *European urbanisation*, p. 124.

Londoner Nathaniel Williams, to be his apprentice.<sup>50</sup> The sons of English officials were also apprenticed in city. This was the case with Daniel Bellingham, whose father was a senior law officer, and who apprenticed him to a Dutch goldsmith in the city.<sup>51</sup>

Fortunately, we do possess one apprentice's enrolment book and this records the geographical origin of many, though not all, of the guilds apprentices. This document is the enrolment book for the goldsmiths' guild for the period. Whether the goldsmiths' guild and its recruitment of apprentices and their origin is representative of the guild system in Dublin is a matter of conjecture. The goldsmiths may have attracted apprentices from more affluent backgrounds as the craft was one in which the more successful smiths became involved in financial transactions, almost as small scale bankers.<sup>52</sup>

### Origin of parents of guild of goldsmiths' apprentices, 1640-90,

Table 3.5

Dublin	37	Meath	3
County Dublin	6	Munster	4
Connacht	4	Ulster	7
France	1	Wales	4
England	12	Wexford	3
Kildare	3	Westmeath	6
Kilkenny	3	Scotland	1
Laois/Offaly	5	Unknown	41
Louth	4	<b>Total</b>	<b>145</b>

Source: 'Goldsmith apprentice enrolment book' in Jackson, *English goldsmiths and their marks*, pp 642-4.

The largest numbers of recruits were native Dubliners: even so, it seems that two-thirds of all apprentices enrolled with citizen goldsmiths were migrants. A clear majority of apprentices enrolled with the guild were migrants. There were still significant numbers of native Dubliners recruited, but many of these were the sons of freemen and who would have sought their freedom by birth and not by right service. This guild record would seem to indicate that a majority of the apprentices of citizens

<sup>50</sup> Pollard, *A dictionary of members of the Dublin book trade*, p. 380.

<sup>51</sup> D.C.A., Fr/B/1648, no. 7; Pine (ed.), *Burke's Peerage*, i, 203; 'Dublin goldsmiths' apprentices' enrolment book' in Jackson, *English goldsmiths and their marks*, p. 641.

<sup>52</sup> Henry Berry, 'The Goldsmiths Company of Dublin', in *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, xxxi (1901), pp 119-34.



and those who became enfranchised by service were outsiders and originally non-residents of the city.

Socio-economic factors created opportunities for outsiders to become apprentices in the city, despite the probable availability of natives from the ranks of the non-citizen class.<sup>53</sup> These were crucial in drawing young apprentices from elsewhere into the city. There were great extremes of wealth in Dublin, as in every other early modern city. One commentator referring to the Irish capital stated that 'poverty does most imperiously reign over a greater part of the city'.<sup>54</sup> The majority of the native-born non-citizens would have belonged to this class. Traditionally this class were usually among the poorer element of Dublin society and they were generally assigned to the lowest paid employment, such as labourers and in the transport sectors in the city.<sup>55</sup> Unlike other early modern cities, such as York, the poor native labourers did not become citizens. Their occupations, such as porter, were not protected by any guild, as in London.<sup>56</sup> Excluded from any of the civic privileges they were at the mercy of the market and probably formed an indigent underclass in the city.

To acquire an apprenticeship usually involved a fee for an indenture and the apprentice's sponsor paying his master to train the young man in the trade.<sup>57</sup> The future apprentice's family usually paid for the cost of 'binding' a young man to a master. This could be quite costly. A young man's father paid £5 to a cutler in Dublin to undertake his son's training in the 1680s.<sup>58</sup> To 'bind' a youth with a member of the goldsmith guild cost roughly £10.<sup>59</sup> There seems to have been other costs as there were fees to be paid to enrol the young apprentice and the apprentice's family or guardian often paid these.<sup>60</sup> The expense does not seem to have stopped there. The family of an apprentice may have had to supply some of the needs of the young man during his period of training. Two indigent apprentices, whose father was a deceased

---

<sup>53</sup> *Anc. rec. Dublin*, iii, 312.

<sup>54</sup> Anon., *A narrative and account concerning the Hospital at Oxmantown Green* (Dublin, 1673) available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>) (16 Mar. 2008), p. 2.

<sup>55</sup> Mc Niocaill, 'Socio-economic problems of the late medieval town', p. 17.

<sup>56</sup> H.M.C., *Salisbury*, iii, 57.

<sup>57</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 360.

<sup>58</sup> Greaves, *Anthony Sharpe*, p. 79.

<sup>59</sup> Jackson, *English goldsmiths and their marks*, p. 628.

<sup>60</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 380.

citizen, implored the common council to support them during their training in 1674. They were awarded £6 a year in order to finish their apprenticeship.<sup>61</sup>

The costs of an apprenticeship may have simply been beyond the means of the vast majority of the ‘unfree’ population. Citizens may not even have been able to afford the expense of apprenticing their sons. The common council returned one citizen’s fine for exemption from civic office, after his two sons petitioned the common council, in 1692. The money returned to the two youths was to be used to pay for their apprenticeships, presumably, as their family could not afford the necessary sums, for their indentures.<sup>62</sup> Since many Dubliners could not afford to pay the costs of an apprenticeship with a freeman, citizens, who sought an apprentice, were often obliged to recruit the sons of affluent individuals from the capital’s hinterland. Surviving wills indicate that many from the landed and middling class were willing and even accustomed to provide for their children by paying for their training with an artisan or trader. Many affluent individuals left ‘portions’ or sums of cash for their children, who under the law of primogeniture could not inherit the family estate or land. Some of these ‘portions’ were set aside to finance a youth’s apprenticeship. Even modest tradesmen and farmers in rural Ireland left provisions in their wills for the payment of their sons’ or a relative’s apprenticeships.<sup>63</sup> Some more foresighted individuals even set aside the means whereby their heirs could enter a specific guild. A London merchant settled in Askeaton, County Limerick, in the 1630s specifically bequeathed the means for his sons and nephews to be admitted to the staple or merchant guild in Kinsale.<sup>64</sup>

Many aldermen were active as guild officers in the various fraternities.<sup>65</sup> They were involved in the enforcement of ordinances that deterred poor natives and migrants from acquiring apprenticeships with freemen by enforcing guild bye-laws that were socially exclusive. The merchant guild demanded that its apprentices be the ‘sons of freeholders’ and the carpenters’ guild demanded that its apprentices were to be ‘free’; this was a term at the time associated with the propertied class.<sup>66</sup> Many of

---

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, v, 162, 182.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, vi, 76.

<sup>63</sup> ‘The will of John Gray, 19 July 1693’ in Goodbody and Eustace (eds), *Quakers wills*, no.25; ‘Will of William Parsons, 1653 (N.A., Kew, Prob., 32/112); Barnard, *A new political anatomy*, p. 313.

<sup>64</sup> ‘The will of John Maunsell, 1635’ (N.A. Kew, Prob., 31/122).

<sup>65</sup> Stubbs, ‘The weavers’ guild’, p. 62; Berry, ‘The records of the feltmakers’ company’, p. 30; Berry (ed.), ‘The goldsmith company’, p. 131.

<sup>66</sup> D.C.A., MS,78, p. 31; Berry (ed.), ‘The Dublin guild of carpenters, p. 324; Webb, *The guilds of Dublin*, p.25.

the new guilds that were granted charters during the Restoration ordained that all apprentices be of ‘good conversation’, a stipulation that suggests that apprentices had to be of a certain social rank. These examples indicate that only apprentices of a certain background were deemed suitable for the honour of guild membership and the citizenship.<sup>67</sup> Practical considerations may also account for the selection of apprentices because of their background. These young trainees would have been employed usually in their master’s shop or market stall. This required some arithmetic but it also usually required a certain level of literacy. For much of the city’s commercial transactions were undertaken on ‘trust’, that is, by the artisan or shopkeeper extending credit to a customer.<sup>68</sup> In this era, literacy was far from universal and was an aptitude usually associated with the middling and upper class.<sup>69</sup>

The political elite sought to restrict physical and social mobility of the poor by confining apprenticeships to those mainly from the gentry or the middling orders. In Ireland, legislation dating back to the middle ages sought to ensure this policy. It was partly done to ensure that landowners had an adequate workforce and to prevent poor youths from leaving rural areas for urban centres. The legislation directs that those who were the sons of fathers, ‘occupying husbandry, or being a labourer’ were ineligible to be apprentices.<sup>70</sup> As an intermediate governing body, the patricians were obliged to uphold these provisions and to prevent impoverished young country boys becoming apprentices in the city. The Dublin patriciate’s commitment to upholding this socially exclusive policy is seen in the freeman’s oath, which was administered by the mayor. It bound the new citizen to retain only ‘freeborn’ apprentice.<sup>71</sup> The patricians were probably keen to uphold this system as it would have created a favourable impression for the officials in Dublin Castle. It showed that the aldermanic bench were striving to maintain the city as a civil or English corporation.

---

<sup>67</sup> T.P. Le Fanu, ‘A note on two charters of the smiths guild in Dublin’ in *R.S.A.I. Jn.* lviii (1930), pp 156, 162; Berry, ‘The goldsmith company of Dublin’, p.120; Stubbs, ‘The weavers’ guild’, p. 62; Oliver Snoddy, ‘The charter of the guild of St Luke’ in *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, iic (1968), pp 79-87.

<sup>68</sup> *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1666-9*, p. 108; William King, *The state of the Protestants of Ireland under the late King James’s government* (London,1691), available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>) (1 June, 2008), p. 40.

<sup>69</sup> Raymond Gillespie, *Reading Ireland: print, reading and social change in early modern Ireland* (Manchester, 2005), pp 39-42.

<sup>70</sup> M. H. Daly, ‘A few notes on the guild system’ in *D.H.R.*, xi (1950), p. 76; 25 Hen. vi, c. 7 [Ire.](4 May. 1447), in *Stat. Ire.*, i, 8.

<sup>71</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, i, 27.

Increasing opportunities in the professions may have limited the flow of upper class apprentices and more sons of the gentry may have journeyed to Dublin to study and not to serve an apprenticeship.<sup>72</sup> The church and the state increasingly offered young men more attractive options than a trade. This was a concern of one Dublin merchant who complained that, ‘few gentlemen apprentice their sons as merchants’ and he believed it had a negative effect on trade.<sup>73</sup> Overall, it seems likely that the majority of youths apprenticed to citizens still came from the middle ranks of society and the landed class in the city’s hinterland and outside Ireland and that the city’s patricians were probably influential in maintaining this socially selective policy throughout the century. The sources are unsatisfactory and our only evidence for the social origins of apprentices is the goldsmiths’ guild’s enrolment book. It would seem to suggest that the majority of these young apprentices were from the upper strata of society or the sons of artisans, the most common title of an apprentice’s father being that of gentlemen.<sup>74</sup>

The actual recruitment of these migrant apprentices was the concern of individual masters, who needed extra and cheap labour to support their enterprises and households.<sup>75</sup> The sources do not tell us how this was arranged. Some evidence suggests that family connections were vital in the apprenticing of young men to certain trades. There are many examples of apprentices with the same surname as their masters, who were citizens.<sup>76</sup> These young men did not receive their freedom by ‘birth’ but by service, suggesting that they were probably related to their employers but were not their sons. The possibility is that they were nephews or cousins of their masters who trained with their relative in the city. Many migrant artisans and traders recruited their apprentices from family members in their place of origin, such as William Chalcrett, an Englishman, who brought his nephew of the same name to Dublin, to be his apprentice.<sup>77</sup> Even kinship networks appear to have been utilised in the recruitment of apprentices from outside the city. This is indicated by the high

---

<sup>72</sup> For the numbers of sons of landowners who joined the church or professions see William Ball Wright (ed.), *Ball family records* (York, 1908), pp 16-7, 26-7, 31.

<sup>73</sup> Lawrence, *The interest of Ireland in its trade and wealth*, p. 8.

<sup>74</sup> Jackson, *English goldsmiths and their marks*, pp 642-4.

<sup>75</sup> Jocelyn Dunlop, ‘Some aspects of the early English apprenticeship system’ in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, xv (1911), p. 205.

<sup>76</sup> Abstracts of freemen of Dublin, compiled by Thrift, ii, 197, 201; ii, 5, 11, 83, 122, 127; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 15, 111, 149, 173, 198.

<sup>77</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 455.

numbers of Cullons who were enfranchised as barber-surgeons by right of service.<sup>78</sup> Individuals of that surname account for almost one third of all those admitted as the apprentices of freemen barber-surgeons between 1600 and 1630.<sup>79</sup> Masters also seem to have recruited from outside their families in their native place. English migrants who settled in the city employed young men from their home districts as apprentices. An example of this can be seen in the case of Edward Phillips, a tallow chandler, originally from Chester, who employed John Hickcock also from that city, as his apprentice in the 1630s.<sup>80</sup>

To understand the patricians' reception of migrants, it is necessary to outline the system that they oversaw for the induction of apprentices into the various guilds and eventually the civic franchise. A system outlining the process whereby an apprentice was admitted into a guild and ultimately the citizenship had been customary in Dublin since the late middle ages, as in English towns.<sup>81</sup> A civic by-law ordered that all apprentices be enrolled in 1527.<sup>82</sup> This system of enrolling apprentices in Dublin was sanctioned by the government, based upon the evidence from the surviving guild charters, which were issued by the royal court. The government's desire to ensure that all apprentices were registered was probably related to their desire to prevent mobility among the rural poor. The Irish elite also wanted the poor to stay on the land to provide a ready pool of labour. It was incumbent upon the aldermanic bench that the rules regarding apprentices be enforced, or otherwise it would appear that they were failing to implement a royal policy.<sup>83</sup>

The patricians ordained that a system certifying and registering apprentices be observed in the city. The patriciate insisted that all masters and their apprentices honour these procedures and they even stipulated it in the freeman's oath that they obey these procedures.<sup>84</sup> The apprentice, the master and the youth's father or guardian had to appear before the clerk of the tholsel, in the first year of his

---

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 430; iii, 35, 47, 96, 158, 169; Abstracts of freemen of Dublin, compiled by Thrift, i, 203-4.

<sup>79</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, passim; iii, 3-302.

<sup>80</sup> City of Chester Assembly (C.C.A., ZA/F/7/38).

<sup>81</sup> In that year the authorities ordered that all apprentices be enrolled see: The bye laws of the city of Dublin (R.I.A. MS 12 D 4, p. 293).

<sup>82</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, i, 412; Swift, *History of the Dublin bakers and others*, p. 38.

<sup>83</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, i, 173;vi, 379; Dunlop, 'Some aspects of the early English apprenticeship system', pp 203-7.

<sup>84</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, i, 261-2.

apprenticeship.<sup>85</sup> An indenture was a contract that stipulated the terms under which the apprentice would serve his master. The apprentice's details were recorded by the clerk and taken before the city's recorder. These indentures were crucial for the apprentice, without which he was not technically a legal apprentice recognised by the civic elite. They were critical for young men's future, as they would not be admitted to the citizen body or, in theory, the fraternity, by civic, guild and statute laws.<sup>86</sup> Even an incorrect indenture could endanger a young man's chances of becoming free of a guild or the city. The emphasis on identifying and registering apprentices, points to a concern with monitoring the many migrants apprenticed to citizens in the city. It also allowed the civic elite to prevent migrants from poor rural backgrounds from securing a traineeship with a citizen, in line with traditional government policy.

This enrolling of the apprentices' names with the tholsel clerk ensured that several bye-laws could be enforced. For example, it enabled the civic authorities to ensure that all apprentices served seven years. This was demanded to maintain a high standard of skill among the city's work force. The common council in 1691 feared that any apprentice who did not serve the full seven years would have no adequate knowledge of his craft or occupation.<sup>87</sup> Quality workmanship was seen as a boon to the trade and industry of the city. With little knowledge of economics, it was sincerely believed that good quality products would automatically generate wealth and employment. The prosperity of the city was always a concern for the civic elite as the government saw the prosperity of corporations, like Dublin, as vital for the kingdom's welfare. The supply of sufficient and acceptable goods and services to the city were always critical in the patricians thinking and the mayor's duty as 'magistrate of labourers'.<sup>88</sup> An adequate and a high standard supply of goods and services, it was believed, could only be ensured by making apprentices serve full seven year terms. The importance that the civic elite attached to this can be seen in the eventual enfranchisement of these apprentices. When they petitioned for their freedom, they had to be certified by their master's guild that they were competent artisans.<sup>89</sup>

---

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 234; iii, 487.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, iii, 360; The bye laws of the city of Dublin (R.I.A., Ms 12 D 4, p. 299); D.C.A., Fr/B/1648, nos, 2, 6; *ibid.*, Fr/B/1669, nos, 2.

<sup>87</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 530.

<sup>88</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, i, 32; ii, 421; iii, 106, 147, 161; v, 83; The bye-laws of Dublin (R.I.A., 12 D 4, p. 124).

<sup>89</sup> Freedom certificate from the guild of barber-surgeons, 1666; freedom certificate from the guild of smiths, 1666 (D.C.A., Fr/B/1666).

It was illegal to be free of a guild before being enfranchised by the city and the system of indentures allowed the elite to enforce this bye-law.<sup>90</sup> This was unique to Dublin.<sup>91</sup> In other cities, an apprentice was free of a guild and then the city. This practice may have evolved out of the civic elite's predecessors desire to exclude Gaelic Irish from the guilds.<sup>92</sup> By demanding that individuals be first free of the city before becoming free of a fraternity it allowed the patricians to monitor all those who entered a guild. It was continued in the seventeenth century, even after it became illegal to discriminate against the Gaelic Irish in such matters.<sup>93</sup> This practice allowed the patriciate to ensure that the many migrants among the apprentices could be vetted and that no apprentice could benefit from membership of a guild without undertaking the burdens of a citizen. There was the possibility that apprentices would become free of the guild and then would not seek the freedom of the city. If a journeyman or master of a trade was free of the guild and not of the city, he could enjoy the economic privileges of the fraternity and not have to bear the heavy and expensive duties of a citizen, such as the payment of 'scot and lot'. By demanding that youths enter into an indenture before their apprenticeship, it was possible for them to monitor who could and should become a freeman upon completion of their 'years of service'.<sup>94</sup>

The rules regarding apprentices receiving the freedom of the city were employed in the perceived interest of the existing guild brethren and freemen. The guilds and the city sought to provide each free brother and citizen with a share of the wealth derived from the city's economic privileges. An example of this was the merchant guild's practice of collective buying of goods, which it then distributed among its brethren.<sup>95</sup> Another example of this is in the civic bye-law restricting every butcher to only one stall in the city's meat market.<sup>96</sup> The long service period required to finish an apprenticeship before an individual was able to trade freely was designed to be anti-competitive. For it prolonged, the period a young artisan could wait before he could enter into business himself and this would have been to the benefit of the

---

<sup>90</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, i, 262; ii, 122; iii, 330; v, 158; Berry, 'The Dublin guild of carpenters, masons and heliers', p. 325; The bye laws of the city of Dublin (R.I.A., 12 D 4, p. 153).

<sup>91</sup> *Royal commission to inquire into municipal corporations, Ireland*, 1835, p. 6, H.C. 1836 (24), v, 74.

<sup>92</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, i, 315, 317, 321, 346, 355, 379, 382-3.

<sup>93</sup> 11 Jac. I., c. 5 [Ire.] (30 Nov. 1612), in *Stat. Ire.*, i, 441-2.

<sup>94</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 360.

<sup>95</sup> D.C.A, MS 78, p. 62; Webb, *The guilds of Dublin*, p. 39; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, i, 4.

<sup>96</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 523.

established masters and journeymen. It is worthy of note that many apprentices became free of the city before the guild and some had to serve more years with a master as a journeymen, such as John Chamerlen in 1601. He only became a free brother of the merchant guild after serving three years as journeyman for his master.<sup>97</sup> Similarly, newly qualified bakers were obliged also to serve their employer for three years as a journeyman baker.<sup>98</sup> This was done to ensure that every free craftsman or trader, be he a master with a shop, or a waged journeyman, would not have too many competitors.

The elite needed to limit new freemen to ensure that citizens could make a reasonable living and enjoy tangible benefits from their citizenship. Furthermore, restricting new citizens was necessary to prevent internal strife within the guilds. Tensions between masters and journeymen were sometimes evident and any rapid intake of new citizens could have exacerbated existing problems. In 1674 there was a legal dispute between the journeymen and masters of the guild of merchant tailors. The journeymen accused their employers of exploiting them, claiming they were being ‘pent up in rooms without meals’ and that they were only trying to ‘seek the liberty to work honestly’. The master of the guild, Matthew Nulty, denied their accusations and called their protests a ‘mutiny’.<sup>99</sup> To prevent such ‘disorders’, the patricians, ever anxious to maintain order and calm, would have sought to minimise the numbers admitted to the franchise. The certifying of apprentices and the lengthy duration of their period of service would have ensured that there was no rapid influx of apprentices who could have adversely affected the wages and conditions of journeymen and lead to unrest with the guilds.

The patricians above all enforced the system of apprenticeship because it was an exclusive one, in that it restricted the numbers that could be free of the guild and the city, and hence those who could provide certain services and retail certain wares and goods that were monopolised by the city’s guilds. The apprenticeship system was an instrument of monopoly and was well suited to the needs of patricians as they sought to maintain the guilds’ special status in Dublin and in turn the economic privileges of the citizens, upon whom the patricians relied upon for their

---

<sup>97</sup> Berry, ‘The records of the Dublin guild of Merchants’, p. 58.

<sup>98</sup> Swift, *History of the Dublin bakers and others*, p. 38; *Anc. rec. Dublin.*, i, 412.

<sup>99</sup> Petition, answer, and order in the case of the Journeymen tailors of Dublin versus the fraternity of St John the Baptist, 18 Sept. 1674 (N.A.I., M.3038).



pre-eminence in the city.<sup>100</sup> Apprenticeships also allowed the patricians to carefully admit only selected and suitable migrants and outsiders to access the economic privileges. These outsiders were continually needed to supplement the citizen body, which otherwise would have contracted dangerously, over time. The apprenticeship system managed to admit outsiders in a strict and orderly manner without endangering the existing prerogatives of the freemen.

Migrant apprentices posed considerable difficulties for the civic elite. They differed from other immigrants in that they were certainly all young. By civic law they could not be younger than sixteen and generally it was believed that no one older than twenty-four, could be an apprentice.<sup>101</sup> Their youthfulness rendered them a major responsibility and concern for their masters, guilds and, ultimately, the patriciate. As young outsiders they had to be controlled and disciplined in the interests of the city. Yet their youthfulness also obliged the civic elite to oversee their 'education' as men and as citizens of the city of Dublin. It is possible to gain an impression of what the patricians demanded of apprentices from their indentures. There are no surviving examples of apprentice indentures from Dublin in this period. Examples from elsewhere allow us to say something of their nature and purpose. These indentures were designed as a contract to set out the working relationship and duties between a master and his future trainee. The apprentice was bound not to marry or fornicate, divulge his master's secrets, nor damage his goods and obey his master's commands. While for his part the employer was bound to feed, maintain and adequately train his young charge.<sup>102</sup> Ideally, this should have guaranteed the rights of the apprentice and his future master and bound them both in a mutually beneficial and harmonious relationship that conformed to the patriarchal ideal.

The guilds set forth strict ordinances to discipline apprentices, so that masters had dependable workers and that the young men were moral and respectable.<sup>103</sup> The civic authorities were also agents in the socializing and disciplining of apprentices. Several bye-laws were aimed at the misbehaviour of the journeymen and apprentices in the city. For example 'bear baiters' were expelled from Dublin as they

---

<sup>100</sup> Webb *The guilds of Dublin*, p. 39; Dunlop, 'Some aspects of the early English apprenticeship system', pp 203-7.

<sup>101</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 293; Dunlop, 'Some aspects of the early English apprenticeship system', pp 205.

<sup>102</sup> Steven Smith, 'The ideal and reality; apprentice- master relationships in seventeenth century London' in *History of Education Quarterly*, xxi (1981), p. 459; N.A.I., private accessions 999/661.

<sup>103</sup> D.C.A. MS 78, pp 19-21; D.C.A., MS 82, p. 44.

were thought to be corrupting apprentices to the cost of their masters.<sup>104</sup> There were occasions when the patricians directly intervened to control the citizens' apprentices. One instance of this municipal interference is from 1606 and is noteworthy in that it states that, if a master or a guild failed to discipline an apprentice, the civic authorities would punish the offender.<sup>105</sup> The commons in 1640 urged the patriciate to intervene in the punishing of apprentices 'that a course might be laid down in this assembly for reforming the apprentices'.<sup>106</sup> Any master who sought to discipline an apprentice received the support of the mayor. Unruly apprentices could even be imprisoned by their employers, with the agreement of the mayor as overseer of the city's gaol.<sup>107</sup> The punishment and even incarceration of some apprentices is indicative of the seriousness with which the civic authorities took the disciplining of apprentices. The patricians sought by these measures to produce a quiescent and dependable workforce in the city. Their commitment to the control of the city's apprentices can be evidenced by a bye-law from the 1590s. It calls for the expulsion of those apprentices and journeymen who refused to accept the prescribed working conditions.<sup>108</sup>

It was vital that these young men be upright and respectable for their future. Only former apprentices, it appears, had to present themselves before a jury of freemen, if they sought the freedom of the city. The earliest evidence that we have for such a jury is from 1648, but this practice may have been considerably older.<sup>109</sup> The patricians probably selected these juries. They were composed of twelve freemen who usually came from other guilds.<sup>110</sup> They would then adjudicate upon the morals and rectitude of the candidate for the freedom of the city. If the former apprentice failed to satisfy the jury he could have his claim for the freedom deferred or even denied. The patriciate wanted only the honourable to hold the citizenship, for only they could be trusted with the privileges and duties of a citizen. For instance, they had to ensure that all future freemen could be trusted to become reliable and loyal members of the city's watch or militia. The concern with future freemen's morals and character can be linked to the patricians' wish to ensure that no citizen's actions could discredit the city, especially in the eyes of government officials.

---

<sup>104</sup> *Anc. rec. Dublin*, iii, 167; The bye laws of Dublin (R.I.A., MS 12 D 4, p. 285).

<sup>105</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 460.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, iii, 380.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 244.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 306, 310.

<sup>109</sup> To be found on the back cover of the binding of D.C.A., Fr/B/1648.

<sup>110</sup> Freedom jury, 1694 (D.C.A., F/J, 1694-1824).

The patricians sought to control the citizens' apprentices out of a real concern for stability in the city. Citizens' apprentices were mostly migrants and outsiders and this could have made the patricians anxious over their conduct. The apprentices formed a distinct group within the city and seem to have associated together in several ways. They played sports together, and in 1615 there were complaints of them playing tennis and 'stoodball'. The apprentices and journeymen of the tailors' guild had their own celebrations.<sup>111</sup> Despite several guilds adopting sumptuary laws and other regulations, like other young men, they followed fashion.<sup>112</sup> This associative behaviour, typical of migrants, at times led to apprentices becoming involved in actual or planned disturbances in the city. Apprentices were accused of being involved in two of the gravest outbreaks of disorder in the city. In 1631 they were alleged to have been involved in a riot in response to the closure of a mass house by Protestant aldermen in the city.<sup>113</sup> They were also implicated in the disturbances known as the 'Bloody Bridge' riot.<sup>114</sup> The patricians' willingness to discipline apprentices was related to a general fear of instability, for the dangers it could unleash and possible criticism from the government.

The apprentice's indentures were legally binding documents. Under this the employer had certain rights over the apprentices. It ensured that if a homesick youth left his employers household he was contravening his indentures and in breach of contract. This allowed the mayor and other aldermen to issue warrants of arrest against the runaway apprentices.<sup>115</sup> This allowed the individual guild 'brethren' great control over their young charges and ensured that the freemen of the city had dependable workers. There was a real problem in Dublin with runaway apprentices. There are several instances from the tailors and goldsmiths guilds of young migrants returning to their home, such as Edward Palmer, who left his master, a goldsmith, in 1657 and absconded, probably back to his native England.<sup>116</sup> That it was a major concern can be seen in the many references to preventing apprentices from

---

<sup>111</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 40; Berry, 'The merchant tailor guild', p. 27.

<sup>112</sup> They wore their hair long, this was held to be against their 'vocation' see: *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 380.

<sup>113</sup> H.M.C., *Franciscan MSS*, p. 17.

<sup>114</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iv, 541.

<sup>115</sup> The bye laws of Dublin (R.I.A., 12 D 4, p. 289).

<sup>116</sup> N.L.I., MS 680 pp 33-4, 101-3; 'Dublin goldsmiths' apprentices' enrolment book' in Jackson, *English goldsmith and their marks*, pp 642-4.

absconding in several guild charters.<sup>117</sup> This is unsurprising as the apprentices were generally outsiders and many simply left their masters and returned home. The patricians acted to prevent apprentices leaving their places of employment, without the consent of their masters. In 1613 the common council ordered that no inhabitant of the city or its suburbs was to give sanctuary to a runaway apprentice. It even forbade anyone to hold the property of such young men, such as chests, upon payment of a fine.<sup>118</sup> The indentures offered a legally recognisable means of controlling young apprentices in the city and providing the citizen body with a reliable and disciplined workforce.

The interventions of the patricians into the affairs of these mostly young men could also be benign. For example, they intervened in the case of James Watson (a future mayor) in 1620 when he was alleged to have dismissed apprentices before their seven-year term. He did this, allegedly to prevent these apprentices from 'becoming masters and becoming his competitors'.<sup>119</sup> On another occasion, an unnamed guild 'imposed a great dinner and a fine of 4 pounds' on any apprentice who sought admission to the fraternity. The common council objected to this measure and stated that the said apprentice was 'free to ply their trade', without becoming a brother of the said fraternity, if the guild in question did not change its policy. There are examples also of the city fathers remitting the fees due to them from apprentices on their becoming free of the city, on account of their 'poverty' or some personal misfortune.<sup>120</sup> These examples show that these newcomers were not excluded from, and indeed benefited from, the paternalistic ethos of the aldermanic class. The aldermanic elite in York also demonstrated a concern with the welfare of apprentices in the city.<sup>121</sup>

Upon completion of their seven years' service the now qualified artisan or trader petitioned for his freedom. If it was granted the apprentice took the same oath and entered into the same bond as other freemen. He then had to pay a fee to the mayor and the sheriffs for swearing him in as a citizen. Yet many apprentices, apart from these fees, had to pay a fine to secure their freedom and this it appears was

---

<sup>117</sup> Le Fanu, 'A note on two charters of the smiths guild in Dublin', p 162; Berry, 'The goldsmith company of Dublin', p. 120; Stubbs, 'The weavers' guild', p. 62; D.C.A. MS 78, pp 1-4; Snoody, 'Charter of the guild of St Luke', p 85; N.L.I., MS 680, p. 28.

<sup>118</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 45.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, iii, 159.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, iii, 459; v, 121, 122; D.C.A., MS 35, p. 101.

<sup>121</sup> Y.C.A. Q.S.F.7, ff 334, 429, 480.

payable to the city treasury and the patriciate. This fine was set usually at 20 shillings and this was levied over the entire century. The fine had to be paid by those apprentices who received their citizenship, who were not the sons or apprentices of freemen who had secured their freedom 'by birth' or 'service' and whose masters had become freemen usually by 'fine'. This was the case with Aaron Crossly, who in 1677 was obliged to pay this charge because his master had been enfranchised by 'fine'.<sup>122</sup> It probably was levied most often on migrant apprentices as they were usually recruited by those who had arrived in the city at an earlier date and paid for their freedom by fine.<sup>123</sup> The apprentices of English migrants, who, as we have seen, were more likely to purchase their freedom of the city, were particularly liable for this fine.<sup>124</sup> The origin of this practice is unknown, although it continued well into the eighteenth century.<sup>125</sup>

The thinking behind this practice, apart from its being a source of income, seems again to be related to the need to restrict access to guild membership and the citizenship. It shows the patricians seeking to preserve the exclusivity of the citizenship. By forcing certain masters of apprentices to pay a fine for their freedom, it probably delayed the numbers of young men petitioning for their freedom 'by service'. That this practice was resented can be seen from an incident in 1653. Newly-enfranchised citizens who had entered by fine sought the removal of the entry fine for their apprentices.<sup>126</sup> It may have presented real difficulties for youths who served their time with the many poorer citizens.<sup>127</sup> Their master may have been unable to pay their entry fine to the citizenship. This was apparently the only disadvantage that these outsiders experienced and, even at that, it had more to do with their masters' status than their own. There are no indications that outsiders who became citizens by 'service' formed a distinct group in the city or suffered any discrimination.

Unfortunately the records do not survive which would allow us to investigate whether apprentices from outside the city were more or less likely to become journeymen or independent householders in the city. It seems that what was more important than their geographical origin for their success or not in Dublin were their connections in the city. Many apprentices bore distinguished names such as Barnwell

---

<sup>122</sup> Abstracts of freemen of Dublin, compiled by Thrift, i, 190.

<sup>123</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 406, 459; iii, 44, 380.

<sup>124</sup> See chp. i, pp 10-11.

<sup>125</sup> Hill, *From patriots to Unionists*, p. 37.

<sup>126</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iv, 3-4, 14.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, iii, p. xxxiv.

and Usher. To come from such families would have greatly facilitated their chances of success in the city.<sup>128</sup> The preponderance of the name, Cullon, in the barber-surgeons' guild would have greatly smoothed the path of several apprentices of that surname. Another possibility is that an apprentice served his 'years' with an alderman and this could have improved his chances of success such as Abraham Rigg who served his 'years' in an alderman's household.<sup>129</sup> These are possible examples of 'sponsored mobility', where an individual's connections or relations ensured his ascent up the social ladder. Other apprentices may have advanced, thanks to their own ability, although the records are inadequate on this issue. Just as important as these relationships for an apprentice in making his way in the world was the guild he joined. A young man who became a member of the prestigious merchant guild had more of a chance of succeeding economically and he could eventually become a member of the city's lucrative staple.<sup>130</sup>

The patrician class of the city supervised and regulated these apprentices and admitted them as citizens without discrimination, as they were essential to the maintenance of the city's welfare and in turn its privileges. These apprentices in truth contributed to the city, long before they became 'cess payers' and potentially office holders in the city. They contributed to their master's household as workers and, as these independent householders were the city's main tax-payers, and seen as vital to the city's economy, the apprentices were strengthening this important group.<sup>131</sup> One of the patriciate's most onerous duties in this period was their oversight of the militia.<sup>132</sup> Apprentices upon commencing their service had to serve in the militia and apparently enlisted in a company directed by the guild of their master.<sup>133</sup> Any master who failed to present his apprentice at a muster of the militia could be fined. In these ways the young trainees were aiding the city governors in one of their burdens, a duty that was necessary for the maintenance of their chartered privileges.<sup>134</sup> Several viceroys took an interest in the city's militia and even inspected them, particularly

---

<sup>128</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, iii, passim ; Berry, 'The records of the Dublin guild of merchants', pp 60-2.

<sup>129</sup> D.C.A., Fr/B/1648, no. 2.

<sup>130</sup> Jane Ohlmeyer and Eamon O Ciardha (eds), *The Irish statute staple, 1596-1687* (Dublin, 1999), p. ix; D.C.A., MS 78, p. 134; Webb, *The guilds of Dublin*, p. 24.

<sup>131</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 358, 420 519, iii, 487.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, iii, 88, 107; vi, 87; Swift, *The history of the Dublin bakers and others*, p. 75.

<sup>133</sup> D.C.A., MS 78, pp 101, 113; *ibid.*, MS 81, p. 24; Berry, 'The merchant tailor guild', p. 26.

<sup>134</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 105, 125.

during periods of tension. The earl of Strafford inspected the militia, during the early phase of the Covenanter disturbances in Scotland.<sup>135</sup>

In theory an apprentice was to follow a definite and structured career route.<sup>136</sup> They were first to become journeymen and then masters with their own household and independent shop. The patriciate admitted and oversaw these apprentices to educate them in the needs of citizenship. It was vital for the patriciate that the citizen body be replenished, with suitable candidates. For, it was typically envisaged by the patricians that these outsiders would eventually become the vital taxpayers, office-holders and militiamen that the patriciate required for their successful administration of the city and to fulfil government policies. These were demanded by the crown, the dispenser of the city's and the aldermen rights and privileges. To ensure that the city retained its privileges, the civic elite gave former apprentices from outside the city, the same protection and liberties, as other freemen, to enable them to bear the varied responsibilities of a citizen.

The patricians were influenced, as we have seen, by political considerations in their reception of newcomers. Their supervision and enfranchisement of the apprentices of citizens was similarly conditioned by evolving political and religious concerns. Apprenticeships to citizens were important because they offered an entrance to the privileges of a citizen. To reserve or deny individuals apprenticeships with citizens could influence the composition of the freemen. Apprenticeships with citizens could also be used to attract immigrants to the city, who could benefit the policies of the city's governing elite. Conversely, the prohibition on certain groups becoming apprenticed with freemen could be employed to penalise or restrict those deemed suspect or disloyal to the civic elite. The following section will analyse the politicalisation of the apprenticing of young men to citizens of Dublin.

The largely recusant or conforming Old English elite that held sway in the city attempted to restrict those who could purchase the freedom of the city. This was in response to a surge in immigration from England and beyond, and the need to preserve the privileges of the existing citizens. In 1619 there were complaints over the numbers of 'people with their children who daily resort to this city out of England and

---

<sup>135</sup> *Cal. S. P. Ire., 1633-47*, p. 234; *Ibid, 1663-5*, p. 174; *ibid, 1669-70*, p. 210; Gillespie, *Seventeenth century Ireland*, p. 139.

<sup>136</sup> Webb, *The guilds of Dublin*, p. 24.

Flanders' and who were begging or leaving the city without paying their debts.<sup>137</sup> Yet, the patricians did not attempt to regulate the numbers of migrants, who had served apprenticeships with citizens from becoming free of the city. If we compare the two forms of enfranchisement, it is evident that there were far more migrants enfranchised by service than by fine in the early years of seventeenth century.

**Numbers of new citizens enfranchised 1600-30,  
Table 3.6**

	Service	%	Fine
<b>1600-9</b>	375		85
<b>1610-9</b>	384		55
<b>1620-9</b>	408		39
<b>Total</b>	1167		174

Source: *Anc.rec.Dub.*, ii, iii, passim.

A significant number of new citizens enfranchised by service bore English surnames in the period between 1600 and 1630 (see appendix 7.2). Given that there was some antagonism from the Old English elite towards English migrants, especially in the early years of the century, the large numbers admitted with English surnames is surprising.<sup>138</sup> Surviving documentary evidence suggests that there were many English-born youths apprenticed to citizens, in these years,<sup>139</sup> as for example, Thomas Lucas, who enfranchised as an architect by right of service was, almost certainly, English.<sup>140</sup> This may have been simply the result of the patricians' inability to exclude trainees from England, often recruited by English immigrants. The elite were aware of the precedent whereby the Gaelic Irish had been banned from any apprenticeship in the city. These bye-laws had proved impossible to enforce and were unsuccessful.<sup>141</sup>

The patriciate's apparent willingness to enrol and enfranchise these young men was due to practical demands. Apprentices were valued workers, especially after

<sup>137</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 117.

<sup>138</sup> Lennon, *The lords of Dublin*, p. 216.

<sup>139</sup> 'Dublin goldsmiths' apprentices' enrolment book' in Jackson, *English goldsmith and their marks*, pp 642-4; Pollard, *A Dictionary of members of the Dublin book trade*, pp 101, 123; City of Chester Assembly Book (C.C. A., ZA/F/7/38).

<sup>140</sup> Loeber, *A biographical dictionary of architects*, p. 69.

<sup>141</sup> Lennon, *The lords of Dublin in the age of reformation*, p. 35.



their initial training.<sup>142</sup> Dublin's 'free' artisans and traders needed their labour and skills to aid them in the running of their households and enterprises and the sums they paid for their training was also no doubt welcome. The patricians tolerated English or even native Dubliners recruiting these outsiders as they appreciated that these citizens needed to employ suitably qualified candidates to serve in their households. Given the devastation after the Nine Years' war and plagues of 1603-5<sup>143</sup>, some citizens could possibly only recruit English migrants and only they had the means to pay for an indenture. Any interference with citizens' recruitment of suitable apprentices could have undermined freemen's workshops and retail outlets. The patricians were always keen to ensure the citizens' prosperity and livelihood, for without their input the patricians would have had grave difficulties in governing, and maintaining the city's charters.

In 1638, after probable pressure by the Wentworth administration, there was a rapid and unprecedented influx of outsiders into the civic franchise and the guilds (see chapter two). This intake of outsiders into the franchise continued over the next three years. They all attained the citizenship by fine, suggesting that they were newcomers to the city. The patricians may have sought to deter these newcomers from taking up the citizenship.<sup>144</sup> Many of those enfranchised, such as the Dutch goldsmith, Daniel Vandenhaven, had apprentices, and they were entitled to petition for their freedom, because their masters had become free of the city.<sup>145</sup> As a result, there was a surge in the numbers seeking their freedom by service. The numbers suddenly eligible to become citizens by service was probably large, based on the numbers of artisans and traders enfranchised, after 1638.

A sudden influx of apprentices entering the citizenship had potentially serious consequences for the patricians. Too many traders and artisans in the urban economy would have diminished the value of the guilds' monopoly and therefore made guild membership and even the citizenship less attractive. The patricians responded to this predicament in 1640. They insisted that each new apprentice of these new freemen was to pay a fine upon securing his citizenship. The patricians

---

<sup>142</sup> Rappaport, *Worlds within worlds*, p. 315.

<sup>143</sup> *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1601-3*, p. lxxii; The mayor and sheriffs of Dublin to secretary Cecil, 7 Jan. 1603 (*Cal. S. P. Ire., 1601-3*, p.244); *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1603-6*, pp 93, 192.

<sup>144</sup> There was a controversy over the high level of fees that the mayor charged for their enrolment as citizens see: *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 346.

<sup>145</sup> D.C.A., Fr/B/1648, no. 4; 'Dublin goldsmiths' apprentices' enrolment book' in Jackson, *English goldsmith and their marks*, p. 642.

went further, illustrating the anxiety felt at the prospect at an unregulated influx of new citizens by service. They demanded that these apprentices, whose masters had recently entered by 'fine', had to wait a full seven years after their master had become free, before they could become citizens of the city.<sup>146</sup> The bye-law apparently made no distinction between apprentices in their first or last year. This would have greatly prolonged these apprentices' wait to become free of Dublin, delaying their opportunity to become journeymen, establish shops or become a guild brother. This insistence that apprentices serve the required seven years' apprenticeship can also be linked to the patricians' need to demonstrate their continued control over those who secured the franchise of the city, after the liberalisation of the admission system in 1638. The bye-law itself did not remain in force for long and it would appear that it was forgotten during the turmoil after the great rebellion of 1641<sup>147</sup>.

There was one radical and dramatic change in the patricians' policy towards the admission of apprentices to the franchise, and that was in respect to the religion of citizen's apprentices. Prior to the rebellion, a petitioner's religion was not of great importance in the admission system. This altered during the turmoil of the 1640s and early 1650s and the emergence of an all-Protestant patriciate.<sup>148</sup> Increasingly, Catholics were excluded from employment as apprentices with Dublin citizens. In 1652 it became illegal for any Catholic to be apprenticed in the city, when it was declared that 'Protestants only to be taken as apprentices'.<sup>149</sup> This coincided with the commonwealth policy of turning corporations into Protestant bastions and the growth of various Protestant sects in the city, which were deeply suspicious of the native Catholics.<sup>150</sup> The bye-law certainly exhibits a determination to exclude Catholics from the franchise, for the city was suffering from a lack of manpower and was impoverished.<sup>151</sup> There had been a collapse in the number of apprentices in the city, judging by the numbers enfranchised in the years 1651 to 1654. The recruitment of Catholic apprentices from rural Ireland would have made economic sense but the prohibition on them is indicative of the anti-Catholic sentiment in the city.

---

<sup>146</sup> *Anc. recs Dub.*, iii, 380.

<sup>147</sup> This stipulation was not mentioned in a tightening up of the indenture system in 1642 see: *Ibid.*, iii, 407.

<sup>148</sup> Barnard, *Cromwellian Ireland*, pp 44-5; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iv, 3-4, 38.

<sup>149</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iv, 11, 38.

<sup>150</sup> Barnard, *Cromwellian Ireland*, pp 70-2; William Urwick, *Independency in Dublin in the olden days* (Dublin, 1862), p.11.

<sup>151</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iv, 3, 10.

The prohibition against Catholic apprentices did discriminate against individuals of that faith but it also privileged Protestants. It sought to encourage Protestant migrants to move to the city as apprentices. By banning Catholics from this form of employment, it was expected that Protestant masters would be obliged to recruit their co-religionists. This would have forced householders to look for suitable Protestant apprentices outside the city and abroad and would have increased the numbers of Protestant immigrants coming to the city. This policy is indicative of the patricians' desire to turn the city into an all-Protestant entity. The government would have favoured such a strategy. It was important that the patriciate did not deviate from commonwealth policy in this decade as the new administration was willing to impose direct rule on urban corporations in this era, and the Dublin patricians were keen to retain the privilege of self-government.<sup>152</sup>

The patricians still demanded that these youths be enrolled and were trained for a full seven years. Even in years of crisis, the apprenticeship was respected. However, the civic elite were not simply content to reserve apprenticeships for Protestants, but even offered them incentives. Previously, the apprentices of those who secured their freedom by fine were obliged to pay a charge upon their enfranchisement. The early 1650s saw a flood of new freemen enfranchised by fine. These were almost all English migrants. Their apprentices were not required to pay the traditional fine when they were to be made free of the city.<sup>153</sup> This concession to these new migrants and demonstrates the elite's efforts to accommodate newcomers to the city, in these difficult years. These measures seem to have been successful in attracting many young English migrants to the city to serve an apprenticeship (see appendix 7.2). So successful, indeed, that by 1660, the numbers enfranchised by 'service' had almost reached their pre-war levels.

---

<sup>152</sup> Barnard, *Cromwellian Ireland*, pp 75-8.

<sup>153</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iv, 38.

**Citizens enfranchised by service 1650-9**  
**Table 3.7**

Year	Nos
1639-40	13
1640-1	15
1641-2	20
1642-3	7
1643-4	2
1644-5	3
1645-6	11
1646-7	15
1647-8	18
1648-9	40
Total	144

Source: *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 304-409

After 1660, the patriciate of Dublin sought to uphold and maintain the apprenticeship system in the city. It appears that during the commonwealth period the process of enfranchising apprentices had been put under severe strain. There are instances of indentures being lost or not recorded by the town clerk.<sup>154</sup> The patricians were eager to restore good order to the system. In 1671 they ordered that all indentures be enrolled in the future and that the ‘old ways’ be restored.<sup>155</sup> That the patricians sought to overhaul the system is unsurprising in that the apprenticeship system dovetailed with values approved of by the Restoration government and the broader society. Firstly, apprenticeships were considered to be a way of inculcating sound Protestant values of discipline and hard work. Secondly, apprenticeships offered a way of controlling young men. In the Restoration, anything that offered increased security was welcome after ‘the distempered times’ of the 1640s and 1650s.<sup>156</sup> The Restoration patriciate continued to uphold ordinances against Catholics becoming apprentices. At least one guild, the merchant guild, had technically outlawed the taking of Catholic apprentices by its members in 1662.<sup>157</sup> The ban on Catholic apprentices reiterated again in 1670. After the ‘popish plot’, in 1679, the ban on Catholics becoming apprenticed to citizens was confirmed and it seems to have been more rigorously enforced. The Trinity guild increased the fine imposed on any master who employed a Catholic apprentice.<sup>158</sup>

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, iii, 474; v, 121.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, iv, 527.

<sup>156</sup> Barnard, *A new political anatomy of Ireland*, pp 303-4; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 121.

<sup>157</sup> D.C.A, MS 78, p. 21.

<sup>158</sup> Webb, *The guilds of Dublin*, p. 154; D.C.A., MS 78, p. 165; Greaves, *Anthony Sharpe*, p. 77.

The Catholic youths prohibited from the apprenticeships with citizens were in the main migrants or members of an immigrant community in the city. Many Catholics were expelled from the city during the 1640s and early 50s; these were generally members of the property-owning and artisan class.<sup>159</sup> Yet others stayed in the city, even during the commonwealth.<sup>160</sup> Those that remained were generally the poor and members of the labouring class. It seems that 'Irish' labourers and servants licenced to stay in the city.<sup>161</sup> One such example of this phenomenon was William Skelton, of 'the Irish nation', a servant from Fermanagh, who resided with his master in the city, in the early 1650s.<sup>162</sup> These generally poor individuals would not have had the financial means to pay for their sons' vocational training with a citizen. Only among the immigrant Catholics returning after 1660 were there those with the means and the probable literacy to secure a valuable apprenticeship with a citizen. They were the sons of returning Dubliners who were forced from their homes during the wars and transplantation, such as John Arthur or John Lyneham.<sup>163</sup> Others were the sons of those who received some of their old estates under the direction of the court of claims, following the land confiscations of the Cromwellian regime and who sought apprenticeships with citizens.<sup>164</sup>

The 1660s saw a group of Roman Catholics admitted to the citizen body under royal pressure. The crown had designated them as 'innocent Catholics', who had stayed loyal to the monarch during the 1640s.<sup>165</sup> There were to be Catholic freemen in the city, well into the 1690s.<sup>166</sup> The bye-law of 1667 was aimed specifically at this group; it explicitly states that 'many of the papist religion do entertain papist servants and apprentices' and this was made illegal.<sup>167</sup> The right of these Catholic freemen as heirs of 'ancient freemen' was recognised, and legally they

---

<sup>159</sup> Simmington and MacLellan (eds), 'List of outlaws, 1641-7', pp 317-67; Dunlop (ed.), *Ireland under the Commonwealth*, ii, 531, 543, 666, 707.

<sup>160</sup> Dunlop (ed.), *Ireland under the Commonwealth*, ii, 544; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iv, 530-7.

<sup>161</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iv, p. xx.

<sup>162</sup> Examination of William Skelton, servant to Mr Coal of Thomas Court, Dublin, 26<sup>th</sup> Feb. 1652, in Hickson (ed.), *Ireland in the seventeenth century*, pp 205-6.

<sup>163</sup> Upon the petition of John Arthur, ? Aug. 1665 ( Bodl., Carte MS 49, ff 62-3); *Cal. S.P. Ire.*, 1660-1, p. 67.

<sup>164</sup> *Cal. S.P.Ire.*, 1663-5, pp 62, 65, 91, 105, 107, 114, 122, 125, 136; Lawrence J. Arnold, *The Restoration land settlement in County Dublin, 1660-80: a history of the administration of the acts of settlement and explanation* (Dublin, 1993), p.140.

<sup>165</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 402-6.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*, vi, 151-2.

<sup>167</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iv, 527-28.

could trade and ply their craft freely in the city.<sup>168</sup> Yet they could not employ a co-religionist as an apprentice. The Catholic freemen would have bitterly resented this bye-law as it denied them the opportunity of recruiting relatives and technically even their sons as apprentices. These freemen needed apprentice labour to maintain their household business. Without an apprentice and his cheap labour any householder would have had real difficulties. If they wished to continue to employ unwaged trainees, they had to engage a Protestant. This meant that a Catholic freeman had to allow a Protestant to become part of his household. James Malone, a Catholic bookseller, seems to have employed a young English migrant by the name of Isaac Warineer, as his apprentice in the 1670s.<sup>169</sup> The ordinances against Catholic apprentices, by the Protestant civic elite, would have served to penalise and harass the small numbers of Catholic freemen within the citizen body. The prohibition on freemen taking Catholic apprentices was probably part of a broader policy to exclude these ‘innocent Catholics’ from the full benefits of the citizenship.<sup>170</sup> It would also have greatly restricted the numbers of Catholics who could conceivably petition for the freedom of the city and ensure that Protestant domination of the citizen body continued, which was seen as vital for the city’s privileges.

Unlike the bye-laws from the Commonwealth era, these civic ordinances did not deny Catholics opportunities to become apprentices in the city. It simply denied them the opportunity to serve an apprenticeship with a freeman of any denomination and the hope of becoming free of the city ‘by service’. For, as ever with the patricians of Dublin, there was strong element of pragmatism in their reception of newcomers, even those who were suspect. Those Catholics returning to, or establishing themselves for the first time in the city, were soon of great importance to the urban economy. By 1678 they were so important that Ormond did not heed a call from the English parliament to expel them on economic grounds.<sup>171</sup> Catholic bakers were particularly numerous in Dublin.<sup>172</sup> This is indicated in the high number of bakers enfranchised during the Jacobite regime.<sup>173</sup> To prohibit all Catholic apprentices would have

---

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, v, 400-1.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, vi, 137; Pollard, *A dictionary of members of the Dublin book trade*, pp xxvi, 396.

<sup>170</sup> *Cal. S.P. dom.*, 1672, p. 404.

<sup>171</sup> ‘Ormond to Henry Coventry, 17 Feb. 1679’ (Bodl., Carte MS 146, f. 161).

<sup>172</sup> George Blackhall, *Rules for the Assize of bread* (Dublin, 1699), available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>) (13 Jan. 2008), p. 4; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, vi, 220.

<sup>173</sup> 78 bakers were enfranchised between 1687 to 1688 by the Jacobite patriciate, see: Abstracts of freemen of Dublin, compiled by Thrift, i, ii, iii, iv, *passim*.

undermined these Catholic traders and artisans, and could have undermined the entire economy. The civic elite in particular may have been unwilling to deny the many Catholic bakers the labour of apprentices as these tradesmen were vital for in the city's food-supply.<sup>174</sup>

The Restoration patriciate sought to encourage English Protestant immigration into the city.<sup>175</sup> One of the ways they sought to achieve this was to restrict apprenticeships to Protestants. In 1670 the stated reason behind the policy of excluding Catholics from apprenticeships with citizens was that such 'apprentices were to the discouragement of Protestant craftsmen and settlers'.<sup>176</sup> The patricians clearly wanted to keep the prize of apprenticeships leading to enfranchisement as a Protestant preserve. By restricting apprenticeships to Protestants only, the city's elite may have hoped to draw members of that faith to the city by offering them the lure of a trade, and after a few years the prospect of becoming a freeman. The patricians, by passing the bye-law of 1670, were in a way reviving the policy adopted by their predecessors in the 1650s, using the prize of an apprenticeship with a citizen to entice Protestant migrants to the city. The patriciate by this discriminatory policy would have won the approval of state officials, for they were under instructions to encourage Protestant immigration, to strengthen the 'English' interest in Ireland.

The creation of the Blue Coat School in Oxmantown offered many poor Protestant boys the opportunity to secure an apprenticeship with a citizen upon completion of their education. These boys were often the sons of poorer citizens and members of the non-citizen population in Dublin. The school was envisaged as providing for the city's Protestant poor by equipping them with skills to work themselves out of poverty and contribute to their community's welfare and interest.<sup>177</sup> The guilds had close ties with this institution and they helped to establish the school. Certain guilds like the weavers placed two youths in 'service' with its members every year.<sup>178</sup> Prominent aldermen, like Daniel Hutchinson, even sponsored some of these

---

<sup>174</sup> There were few Protestant bakers in the city, see: *Anc. rec. Dub.*, vi, 210, 215.

<sup>175</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 220.

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*, v, 527.

<sup>177</sup> Anon., *A narrative and account concerning the Hospital*, pp 53-55; F.R. Falkiner, *The foundation of the Hospital and Free School of King Charles II, Oxmantown Dublin* (Dublin, 1906), p. 35; Barnard, *A new political anatomy of Ireland*, p. 310.

<sup>178</sup> Stubbs, 'The weavers' guild', p. 63; Anon., *Narrative and account of concerning the Hospital*, pp 6-20.

children financially.<sup>179</sup> The mayor was one of the school's governors and could even choose some of the school's pupils.<sup>180</sup> The exclusion of Catholics from serving as a trainee with a citizen would have helped to increase the numbers of places that were available for pupils of Oxmantown. To place every 'Hospital' boy in an apprenticeship with a citizen would have created real difficulties for the governors of the school. The mayor and other aldermen usually composed the school's board of governors. Every year it appears they had to find a significant number of apprenticeships, approximately sixty, with freemen from the mid-1670s onwards, for these boys.<sup>181</sup> The continued exclusion of Catholics would have eased their difficulties. The success of this school and the placing of boys into apprenticeships were also important for the urban governors. The foundation of the school was a source of great interest to senior members of the government such as Lord Ossory, who saw it as benefiting the Protestant community in Dublin.<sup>182</sup> It was always necessary for the patriciate to be seen to be implementing government policies and wishes. The continued exclusion of Catholics from apprenticeships with freemen facilitated the development and success of the Blue Coat school project by creating training and employment opportunities for its past pupils.

Yet not all Protestants were equally privileged. The opportunities for a young nonconformist migrant to become apprenticed to a citizen and in due course to become a freeman were limited. The continuing vigour of the various congregations that formed the dissenting community in Dublin, amidst the demographic conditions prevailing in the city, suggests there was large-scale migration to the city, by nonconformists.<sup>183</sup> Generally a head of household preferred an apprentice to be of his faith. Nonconformist masters would have sought out an apprentice of the same religious affiliation. That this recruitment of outsiders of the same faith was common among the city's dissenting communities can be seen in the example of the Quakers. It could be argued that they may have adopted a more stringent position on the matter

---

<sup>179</sup> The alderman sponsored two boys see 'Children sent into the Hospital by the several benefactors' in Falkiner, *The foundation of the Hospital and Free School*, pp 70-1

<sup>180</sup> Ibid, p.76; Charles Mc Neill (ed), 'King's Hospital manuscripts' in *Anal. Hib.*, xii (1944), pp 327-30.

<sup>181</sup> 'Children sent into the Hospital by the several benefactors' in Falkiner, *The foundation of the Hospital and Free School*, pp 70-1.

<sup>182</sup> Anon., *A narrative and account concerning the Hospital on Oxmantown*, p. 3; Barnard, *A new anatomy of Ireland*, p. 310.

<sup>183</sup> Urwick, *Independency in Dublin*, pp 23-4; H.M.C., *Ormond*, vi , p. 26; Irwin, *A history of Presbyterianism in Dublin*, p. 11-4.



but their actions and attitudes were typical of nonconformist congregations, which were often highly disciplined and exclusive groupings. Dublin's Quakers tended to recruit apprentices from their own community in Ireland and England. The broader Quaker community was instrumental in negotiating indentures and procuring apprenticeships for young Quakers. Indeed, that community's leaders frowned upon any Quaker who employed non-Quaker apprentices and all such trainees were obliged to appear before a committee and vetted.<sup>184</sup>

Any new freeman or free brother of a guild was obliged to take the oath of supremacy and any apprentice seeking his freedom of a fraternity would have been obliged to comply.<sup>185</sup> This enforcement of doctrinal oaths became stricter after the new rules controversy and the popish plot, due to a desire by the Anglican elite to bar those who could be potentially seditious. This prevented some dissenters from seeking the franchise, 'by right of service'<sup>186</sup>. There seem to have been some young nonconformists who served 'their years' with a citizen and enrolled their indentures, which did not require the taking of the oath of supremacy. The increasingly Anglican civic elite had never banned the employment of nonconformist apprentices by freemen. Yet many were unable to become fully free of the guild or the city upon completing their term, due to the oath of supremacy. Their position was anomalous. They could technically be apprentices of freemen but could not become free. Many possibly became quarter-brothers, and indeed the development of this system could have been a response to those who, upon serving their apprenticeship, were unable to become a full guild brother.<sup>187</sup> Some apprentices of freemen may have had to wait for the tolerant policy of William III to secure their freedom of the city. This seems to have been the case with Jacob Sherrif, a joiner, who was a prominent inhabitant of the city in 1684, and served as a parish constable, suggesting he was a Protestant and yet who only became free by service in 1690. He appears to have served his apprenticeship with a freeman but was only able to claim his 'freedom' after many years and only then during a period of 'indulgence' or toleration of nonconformists.<sup>188</sup>

---

<sup>184</sup> Greaves, *Anthony Sharpe*, p. 73.

<sup>185</sup> The oath of supremacy was stipulated in several guilds charters see: *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1665-9*, p. 143; *ibid., 1669-70*, p.216; *ibid., 1670 and addenda*, p. 291; Webb, *The guilds of Dublin*, p. 155.

<sup>186</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 164.

<sup>187</sup> The earliest known quarter brother was a Quaker see: Webb, *The guilds of Dublin*, p.148.

<sup>188</sup> Clarke, 'Principal inhabitants of Dublin, 1684', p. 53; *Commons' jn.*, (10 Nov, 1691), x ; Reid, *The history of the Presbyterians in Ireland*, ii, 441.

The success or failure of this policy of restricting apprenticeship to Protestants is impossible to state accurately given the fragmentary nature of the sources. There is some evidence that individual freemen did continue to employ ‘papists’ as trainees, right into the mid-1690s.<sup>189</sup> Yet these young men could not petition for their freedom of the city or become full members of a guild. Many of these eventually became quarter-brothers, like the stationer Luke Dowling.<sup>190</sup> This was an inferior form of guild freedom. There is impressionistic evidence that, in general, the apprentices of Dublin were largely members of the reformed churches. During the ‘popish plot’ the lord deputy was informed of a possible conspiracy by the apprentices of the city ‘to burn down the city’s mass houses’; these were the Catholic community’s unofficial churches.<sup>191</sup> This perhaps indicates that the apprentices of the city were largely Protestants. Another factor showing the possible success of the patriciate in this restrictive policy is shown in the influx of probable Catholics into the franchise in 1687-8, after the issuing of a new charter by James II.<sup>192</sup> It is impossible to verify if all those admitted were Catholic, but it seems that the vast majority were of that confession. Among those who were enfranchised after the granting of the new charter, only three received their freedom of the city ‘by service’.

**New citizens of Dublin by means of enfranchisement 1687-8,  
Table 3.8**

Fine	712	Birth	134
Marriage	30	Service	3
		Total	981

Source: Abstract of freemen of Dublin, compiled by Thrift, i, ii, iii, iv, passim.

This would imply that almost no Catholic served an apprenticeship or was indentured with a freeman of the city at the time or earlier. The almost total absence of new freemen ‘by service’ highlights the possibility that the entitlement to the franchise after an apprenticeship to a freeman was almost exclusively confined to Protestants natives of Dublin and migrants, during the Restoration.

<sup>189</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, vi, 184.

<sup>190</sup> Pollard, *A dictionary of members of the Dublin book trade*, p. 396.

<sup>191</sup> H.M.C., *Ormond*, iv, 359, 364, 366; H.M.C., *Franciscan MSS*, p. 17.

<sup>192</sup> H.M.C., *Ormond*, v, 351; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 389-91, 426.

The Dublin Jacobite regime, by removal of the requirement that citizens had to swear the oath of supremacy, facilitated a rapid inflow of Catholics into the franchise. The patriciate rescinded a bye-law that required the sons and apprentices of those who came in by fine to pay a charge for their freedom. This was possibly done to enable the sons and apprentices of the new Catholic freemen to quickly and effortlessly, obtain the franchise and to encourage young men from rural areas to migrate to the city.<sup>193</sup> This was related to a deliberate policy to catholicise the city's government and the citizen body and was related to Tyrconnell's ambitions for his co-religionists in Ireland.<sup>194</sup> Interestingly, the Jacobites were repeating a policy adopted by the Dublin civic elite in the commonwealth. This is another example of the politicization of the reception of the many young apprentices that made their way to the metropolitan city. It must be noted, at least from the charters issued to the guilds by James II, that the apprentices were still required to serve seven years and to present indentures.<sup>195</sup> This dispensation did not last long and the end of the Jacobite war saw the return of the Protestant patriciate and the re-imposition of those civic bye-laws barring Catholics from apprenticeships with freemen in the city.<sup>196</sup>

The patricians' policy towards apprentices was in many ways simply a continuation of the past. They sought to limit the numbers employed and who could become freemen in order to secure the welfare of individual citizens. They continued to supervise the apprentice system as a means of maintaining the economic privileges of the merchant and craft guilds and their monopoly. It was a system that was highly selective and it sought and largely did ensure that those who achieved their freedom by service were a select and suitable group, the members of which could by their skills enhance the urban economy and who in time become sufficiently wealthy to contribute to the city as tax-payers and civic officers. The importance the elite attached to the system of apprenticeship is illustrated by the fact that, despite all the political changes in the composition of the elite, all seem to have upheld it.

The break with the past was the exclusion of Catholics and to a lesser extent dissenters from apprenticeships. The Protestant interest that came to dominate the city after 1650, apart from the Jacobite interlude, utilised the existing inherited

---

<sup>193</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 426.

<sup>194</sup> Gillespie, *Seventeenth century Ireland*, p. 281.

<sup>195</sup> Le Fanu (ed.), 'A note on two charters of the Dublin guild of smiths', pp 162-6; Charter of the Dublin guild of weavers, Mar. 1688 (*Cal. S. P. dom.*, 1687-8, pp 345-8).

<sup>196</sup> *Cal. Anc. Rec. Dublin*, vi, 7.

apprenticeship system for the maintenance of the 'English interest and Protestant religion'<sup>197</sup>. There was little adaptation of the system required to exclude Catholics from this entitlement to the franchise. The scheme had always been designed to bar certain groups which were considered unworthy of this honour or were seen as a threat to the borough. In the sixteenth century there had been civic and guild ordinances against Gaelic Irish apprentices and since the middle ages there had been sanctions against those not 'freeborn'.<sup>198</sup> It is arguable that the one great discontinuity with the past was not that certain groups of immigrants were disqualified but the identity of those barred from the right of enfranchisement by 'service' was transformed

---

<sup>197</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, vi, 87.

<sup>198</sup> *Royal commission to inquire into municipal corporations, Ireland*, 1835, p. 12, H.C. 1836 (24), v, 80.  
; D.C.A., MS 78, p. 19.

## Chapter 4

### The state, migrants and the freedom of the city, 1660-95

This chapter will concentrate on the reception given by the patriciate to those petitioners for the freedom of the city who were eligible for that privilege either directly or indirectly, because of state policy. These were distinct groups of migrants, were entitled to the freedom of the city and its attendant privileges, because of some government action. Among this class of migrants were those in the special category freed by the terms of the act of parliament for, 'the encouragement of Protestant strangers' of 1662. At other times, they were admitted under the traditional categories such as by a payment of an entry fine, but their enfranchisement was due to some government initiative. An example of these would be the admission of Quakers into the franchise in the 1690s.<sup>1</sup> What linked all these apparently disparate groups together was that their enfranchisement was dependent upon some form of intervention by the government. This is not to say that none of these newcomers would have secured their freedom of the city by the traditional means. However, in many ways they did comprise new types of entrants to the franchise and their enfranchisement was a departure from the conventional means of achieving the freedom of the city. The aim of the following chapter is to investigate the policy of the patricians of Dublin towards these migrants and the challenges and opportunities they created for the urban elite, especially with regard to the long-standing, civic privileges.

Over the century, state intervention in Dublin's civic government increased.<sup>2</sup> During the Restoration this became more formal and blatant and was enshrined by the act of explanation of 1665 that allowed the lord lieutenant to 'make rules for walled towns'.<sup>3</sup> This was typical of the period not just in Dublin but elsewhere in the cities of the three Stuart kingdoms, including York.<sup>4</sup> The Restoration

---

<sup>1</sup> 14 & 15 Chas. II c. 7 [Ire.] (12 Apr. 1662); *Anc. rec. Dub.*, vi, 35-6.

<sup>2</sup> Fitzpatrick, *Seventeenth century Ireland*, pp 7, 10; Webb, *Municipal government in Ireland*, pp 149, 151.

<sup>3</sup> 14 & 15 Chas. II, c. 7 [Ire.] (12 Apr. 1662); 'New Rules for the corporation of Dublin, 1672' in *Anc. rec. Dub.*, i, 56-67.

<sup>4</sup> That city's government in the early 1660s was reconfigured by royal commissioners for the regulation of corporation see: Tillot (ed.), *The history of the county of York: the city of York*, pp 173-86; 13 Chas. II, c. 4 [Eng.] (12 May, 1663), in *Stat. at large.*, ii, pp 49-50.

government sought to exercise greater control over municipal boroughs to prevent opponents using them to challenge royal authority and to guarantee that these parliamentary boroughs returned loyal M.Ps to the Irish parliament.<sup>5</sup> This interference affected the admission of freemen. For the composition of this group would determine the allegiance of the city, since from them were drawn the civic officers and aldermanic elite who governed the urban borough. Directives such as the ‘new rules’ that were imposed by successive lord lieutenants were symptomatic of this new interventionist approach by the government towards boroughs, like Dublin.<sup>6</sup> They ended the role of the city commons in the elections of civic officials and vested them entirely with the patriciate, the city’s recorder, sheriffs and the town clerk. Their choices, in turn, had to be ratified by the viceroy. As a result of these innovations the state gained ever more formal control over the city’s affairs.<sup>7</sup>

The state could ensure that its aims were met by using both its legal rights and its informal influence upon the Dublin elite and its administration of the city. The various lord lieutenants or lords justices exerted considerable unofficial weight as sources of patronage upon the civic elite’s decisions as they could reward compliant aldermen with offices and honours, as was the case with Mayor John Totty who was apparently knighted for his service to the king’s representative.<sup>8</sup> They also simply used their prestige to overawe the patricians and, in doing so could generally secure some policy objective or personal wish: often this involved their choice of candidate obtaining an appointment within the city. So great was this, that Lord Lieutenant Ormond could recommend that Humphrey Jervis be accepted as an alderman or that William Smith should be elected mayor in 1664, despite the fact that there was already a mayor-elect, namely Richard Cooke.<sup>9</sup> Such interference by powerful government figures was common: the earl of Orrery dominated Limerick for many years and was even able to exclude one elected mayor from office.<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup> Friedrichs, *The early modern city*, pp 44-5; J.H. Sacret, ‘The Restoration government and the municipal corporations’ in *E.H.R.*, xxxv (1930), pp 287-303.

<sup>6</sup> Webb, *Municipal government in Ireland*, p. 156; Appointment of Recorder; letter written to William III from mayor and sheriffs of Dublin, 1690 (*Anc. rec. Dub.*, vi, 636); ‘Proceedings in connection with lord Berkely’s rules for the corporation of Dublin, 1672’, (*Anc. rec. Dub.*, 626).

<sup>7</sup> [Essex], *Rules, orders and directions*, pp 8-11.; Hill, *From patriots to Unionists*, pp 49-50.

<sup>8</sup> *Cal. S. P. dom., 1672*, pp 127-9; Richard Bagwell, *Ireland under the Stuarts and during the interregnum* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 3 vols, London, 1963), iii, 107.

<sup>9</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iv, 263; v, 71.

<sup>10</sup> Lenihan, *Limerick: its history and antiquities*, pp 203, 205.

The royal government had great legal powers with regard to corporations like Dublin. For the city's privileges ultimately depended upon royal charters and these could be curtailed or even cancelled by the royal authorities, using a legal procedure known as *quo warranto*. This was a writ issued by the lord chancellor against corporate boroughs which had abused or exceeded their privileges. It was the crown's ultimate sanction against unruly and disobedient boroughs.<sup>11</sup> These official and unofficial powers gave the state real power over urban centres like Dublin in this era.

The elite, had on the face of it no option but to satisfy the demands of government, the granter and guarantor of privileges, by enfranchising specified individuals and groups, for ultimately they were 'creatures of monarchy'.<sup>12</sup> Yet these government actions raised real and troubling problems for the patricians of Dublin. The state initiatives were all aimed at liberalising the admissions system in some fashion. These could have had grave consequences for the exclusive nature of the citizenship and grave costs for the individual citizen, the fraternities and the corporation. For any sudden and unregulated influx of newcomers could have destabilised the entire civic system and devalued the citizenship. Furthermore, these migrants had a right to the freedom of Dublin, based upon criteria drawn up by the royal government. This compromised the patricians' role as guardians of the franchise and raised the possibility that unsuitable and undeserving candidates would acquire the citizenship. The challenge for the elite, in relation to these newcomers was how to placate the government and appear as dutiful subjects, without compromising the 'freedoms' of the city and guilds and their own traditional role in the process of enfranchisement. How the patricians attempted to negotiate between these two contradictory demands and their success or failure will be assessed in relation to each of the categories of newcomers who were to be admitted to the franchise of the city, with the formal or informal support of the state.

In 1662 the Irish parliament passed the act for the encouragement of Protestant strangers. The framers of the act sought to persuade skilled Protestant migrants from outside Ireland to settle in the 'corporate towns of Ireland'.<sup>13</sup> The

---

<sup>11</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, pp xv, xiv; Mark Kishlansky, *A monarchy transformed; Britain 1603-1714* (London, 1996), pp 278-9.

<sup>12</sup> Speech of Sir Ellis Leighton, Recorder of Dublin on the 4<sup>th</sup> April at the Tholsel (*Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 558-62).

<sup>13</sup> 14 & 15 Chas. II, c. 7 [Ire.] (12 Apr. 1662); *Commons' jn. Ire.*, (4 Mar. 1661), i., pt. 2.

ostensible aim of the act was to revive the economy of the towns after the disruptions of war and plague in the 1640s and 50s. It was typical of government thinking that economic development needed to be imposed from outside by outsiders and could not evolve from local Irish circumstances.<sup>14</sup> The act also sought to promote the Protestant interest in the towns and the whole kingdom of Ireland and this was related to the desire to strengthen that community's presence on the island.<sup>15</sup> Those eligible had to meet several criteria in order to achieve the freedom of a corporate town under the act and these underline the government's policy aims. Firstly, they had to be skilled artisans or traders. The act carefully stipulated that those who were to benefit from the act and their servants and apprentices had to be Protestants.<sup>16</sup> This was to create all Protestant households under Protestant masters and in this manner to transform the city of Dublin and other corporate towns into bastions of the English presence in Ireland. These objectives show that the act was a great departure, as before its passage this act there had been no state policy with regard to encouraging migrants to settle in Irish corporations.

The numbers of entrants who were admitted to the franchise by this statute formed one of the larger groups among the various categories of freemen, during the Restoration and approximately one in eight of all new citizens received their freedom under the terms of the legislation.

**Nos enfranchised by Act of Parliament, 1662-90,  
Table 4.1**

<b>Years</b>	<b>Nos</b>
1662-9	81
1670-9	96
1680-9	327
<b>Total</b>	<b>504</b>

Source: 'Abstracts of freemen of Dublin, compiled by Thrift', i, ii, iii, iv, passim.

The act initially was only for seven years and something of a temporary measure. However, individuals were benefiting from its terms in Dublin and Limerick after the

<sup>14</sup> J.H. Andrews, 'Notes on the historical geography of the Irish iron industry' in *Irish Geography*, iii (1956), pp 139-49.

<sup>15</sup> *Commons' jn. Ire.*, (4 Mar. 1661) i, pt. 2 ; *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1667-9*, p. 711; *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1669-70*, p. 224.

<sup>16</sup> 14& 15 Chas. II, c. 7 [Ire.] (12 Apr. 1662).



period of time set out in the legislation.<sup>17</sup> For example, the act was intended only to be in force until 1669, but after this date many migrants to the Irish capital benefited from its terms, roughly sixty. It went into abeyance during the year 1672 in Dublin and no migrants seem to have benefited from its terms. However it was reintroduced after the popish plot, possibly with a view to increasing the Protestant presence in a period of sectarian tensions and perceived Catholic threat. During the Jacobite regime the act does not seem to have been in operation, although a new form of the act was passed in 1692 and many migrants availed of its terms in Dublin.<sup>18</sup>

This was an entirely new category of admission, it is worthwhile to discuss the places of origin, confession, and the occupations of those enfranchised in this way. Firstly, under the terms of the law they had to be Protestant and ‘aliens’ or non-Irish. The legislation entitled English and Scottish subjects of the king to apply under the terms of the act as they were technically aliens in Ireland, a concept which William Petty stated ‘was absurd’. As Ireland had been conquered by the ‘English interest’, how could English people be foreigners in that kingdom?<sup>19</sup> Members of one of the Protestant confessions in Europe were eligible to petition for their freedom under the act. Indeed the original framers had such European Protestants in mind when they were drafting and debating the statute in the Irish parliament.<sup>20</sup> It was not necessary for all new freemen under the act to be Anglicans or even adhere to the Church of Ireland. Non-Anglican Protestants from Europe could apply for their freedom of Irish boroughs as long as they took the oath of supremacy.<sup>21</sup> A tolerant approach to foreign Protestants coming to Ireland is also evident in the act of uniformity (1666) which stated ‘the penalties of the act of uniformity shall not extend to the foreigners or aliens of the foreign reformed churches’.<sup>22</sup> This would have offered these migrants a measure of religious toleration that they may not have received in their native place.

The state’s latitude towards these foreign Protestants was in contrast to the official attitude to the many native-born Scottish or English Dissenters, as they

---

<sup>17</sup> Lenihan, *Limerick: its history and antiquities*, p. 345.

<sup>18</sup> 4 Will. & Mary c. 2 [Ire.] (10 Apr. 1692), in *Stat. Ire.*, pp 401-3.

<sup>19</sup> Petty, *The political anatomy of Ireland*, p. 32.

<sup>20</sup> Brian W. Christmas (ed.), ‘Some Protestant settlers in Ireland 1665-1710’, in *Ir. Geneal.*, vi (1988), pp 349-58; G. L. Lee, *The Huguenot settlement in Ireland* (Dublin, 1936), p. 216; *Commons. Jn. Ire.*, (4 Mar. 1661), i, pt. 2.

<sup>21</sup> 14 & 15 Chas. II, c.3 1662 [Ire.] (12 Apr. 1662).

<sup>22</sup> Kilroy, *Irish dissent 1650-1750*, pp 23-4; Gimlett, *The history of the Huguenot settlement in Ireland*, p. 226;

were seen, unlike foreign nonconformists, as a threat to royal authority after the commonwealth period. They, too, were required to swear the oath of supremacy, but that was contrary to many nonconformists' beliefs and therefore many would have been unable to benefit from the legislation.<sup>23</sup> The possible exclusion of many nonconformists from the benefits of the new act is seen in the almost total absence of migrants from Scotland, granted their freedom by its provisions (see table below). Few Scots benefited because in the main, they were Presbyterians and many of them would have found the oath of supremacy unconscionable. Since it was a requirement that all the beneficiaries of the act had to swear this oath, many Scots were unable to take up their freedom of an Irish corporation. It would appear that the legislation of 1662 was typical of the exclusionary policies of the Restoration politics with regard to nonconformism.<sup>24</sup> Because of the doctrinal oaths, Anglicans from the British Isles and European Protestants were to be the chief beneficiaries of the generous terms of the act, at least until the more tolerant times of William and Mary.

The sources do not exist that could offer us a definitive account of the geographical origins of these new freemen who became enfranchised by the act in Dublin. There survive a record of a sample of those that secured the franchise of several Irish towns under the act.

**Origins of migrants enfranchised by the act in Ireland, 1662-73,**

**Table 4.1**

England	138	France	16
Ireland	35	Scotland	2
Low Countries	24	Unknown	12
Germany	10	Total	237

Source: Christmas (ed.), 'Some Protestant settlers in Ireland', pp 34-4.

<sup>23</sup> 'Names of suspected and dangerous Anabaptists in the County of Dublin, 1661' (Bodl., Carte MS 33, f. 224) ; Carte, *A history of life of James, first Duke of Ormonde*, ii, 338; James Mc Guire, 'Government attitudes to religious nonconformity in Ireland, 1660-1719' in C.E.J. Caldicot, H. Gough, and J.P.Pitton (eds), *The Huguenots in Ireland: anatomy of an emigration* (Dublin, 1987), pp 261-2.

<sup>24</sup> Gillespie, *Seventeenth century Ireland*, p. 228; Instructions to the lords' justices, May 14, 1661 (*Cal. S. P. Ire., 1660-2*, p. 679).

This sample is from a source that lists many of those who received their freedom in Irish corporations, including Dublin, under the act for ‘encouraging Protestant strangers’. Many of those named in this document appear in the Irish capital’s roll of freemen. They were enrolled as citizens in the freedom rolls of Dublin by right of the ‘act of Parliament’, in reference to the fact that they availed of the terms offered to migrants in the legislation of 1662. The terms of the act, were intended to encourage outsiders to settle in Ireland. Indeed it did attract many continental migrants to Irish corporations. Yet the majority of those who secured their freedom under the act, at least in this period, were born in England. Many of these may have been English migrants but others may have been long-term residents of Ireland who had lived in the country and moved to Dublin and sought their freedom under the terms of the act of 1662. The most unusual feature of the operation of the act was that many of those admitted were of Irish birth. It appears that many came from other Irish corporate towns, rural communities, and even Dublin.<sup>25</sup> However, the act does not define fully who was an ‘alien’ or a ‘stranger’ and this ambiguity may have allowed some Irish natives to obtain the freedom ‘by act of parliament’.<sup>26</sup>

The act was explicit when it authorised that only tradesmen or those skilled in some ‘mystery’ could benefit from its terms, and a breakdown of those admitted into the Dublin franchise suggests that this was broadly the case.<sup>27</sup>

Occupations of those admitted by ‘Act of Parliament’ 1662-1699,  
Table 4.3

Construction	86	Merchant	148
Manufacturing	200	Food/Beverages	101
Textiles	93	Misc.	94
Clothes	73		
Service	55		

Source: Abstracts of freemen of Dublin, compiled by Thrift, i, ii, iii, iv, passim

This was in line with the intentions of the government to boost urban economies in Ireland after the devastation of the wars in the 1640s.<sup>28</sup> The

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., pp 34,36,38, 39.

<sup>26</sup> Abstracts of freemen of Dublin, compiled by Thrift, i, ii, iii, iv, passim; 14 & 15 Chas II. c. 7 [Ire.] (12 Apr. 1662).

<sup>27</sup> 14 & 15 Chas II, c. 7 [Ire.] (12 Apr. 1662).

instigators of the act wished to develop the economy by introducing new migrants with novel skills and trades. Merchants composed a significant number of the new freemen who secured their freedom under the act. These were often ‘factors’ or agents from other areas and regions who came to the city to import or export commodities and goods. As citizens, they would not have had to pay the ‘three penny custom’ and other dues.<sup>29</sup> They were also admitted into the powerful and influential merchant guild.<sup>30</sup> The act of 1662 helped to ‘open up’ the urban economy to many more traders and contributed to the growing trade evident in the city during the Restoration.

The motivations for these migrants in seeking to be enfranchised by the act are easy to comprehend. They were entitled to relatively easy access to the franchise of any corporate town in Ireland. A Protestant artisan or trader had apparently a passport into the citizen body under the terms of the act. The cost of the entry ‘fine’ to become enfranchised in a borough was kept to a reasonable 20 shillings. Furthermore, it decreed that the entry fine into all of the guilds without exception was to be also ‘20 shillings’.<sup>31</sup> This was also very low, in comparison to the fraternities’ usual entry fine, such as the merchant guild.<sup>32</sup> Once enrolled as freemen, they could trade and open shops and were to be shielded and encouraged within the compass of the guild system in the city, with little financial cost. This must be set against a generally prosperous background in the city at least for the first years of the act coming into force.<sup>33</sup> The act offered a speedy and affordable way to the status of citizen and householder in contrast to English corporate boroughs such as Chester or York, where the entry fine for admission to the city remained prohibitively high.<sup>34</sup>

The chief civic officers, in particular the mayor and the recorder, were central to the administration of the act. They received instructions to tender the oaths of supremacy and allegiance and then the freeman’s oath to any petitioner who sought to become free. Once a migrant took the oath of supremacy he was then eligible to take the oath of a freeman and to be enrolled in the citizen’s roll.<sup>35</sup> Only males were

---

<sup>28</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 308; Gwynn Aubrey (ed), ‘Reports on the Rawlinson Collection of manuscripts’ in *Anal. Hib.*, no.1 (1930), p. 18; Gillespie, *Seventeenth century Ireland*, p. 183.

<sup>29</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 252, 183, 252, 537; Gillespie, *Seventeenth century Ireland*, p. 245.

<sup>30</sup> Berry, ‘The records of the Dublin guild of merchants’, p. 53.

<sup>31</sup> 14 & 15 Chas II, c.7 [Ire.] (12 Apr. 1662).

<sup>32</sup> D.C.A., MS 78, p. 63.

<sup>33</sup> Petty, *The political anatomy of Ireland*, p.7; Gillespie, *Seventeenth century Ireland*, pp 253-4.

<sup>34</sup> An entry fine of £20 was usual for even craftsmen in both cities see Chester assembly book, 1688-91 (C.C.A., ZA., ff 234-7) ; Tillot (ed.), *A history of the County of York: the city of York*, pp 186-198.

<sup>35</sup> 14 & 15 Chas. II, c. 7 [Ire.] (12 Apr. 1662).

enfranchised in Dublin, under the act of 1662 in this period.<sup>36</sup> The framers of the act were probably conscious of the fact that many civic officials in the corporate towns of Ireland would possibly refuse to swear a potential freeman under the act and therefore set out a number of safeguards designed to ensure that those entitled to the freedom of a corporation received their liberty. The act stated that any candidate whose petition was refused had two means of redress to gain his citizenship. Probably, this was an attempt to ensure that the local urban elites in Ireland did not stymie the policy of the government and illustrates that they realised how jealously the local urban elites like the Dublin patriciate guarded and controlled the system of enfranchisement.

Firstly, an eligible petitioner under the act and whose petition was blocked by a corporation, could in theory be sworn a freeman of that borough by a neighbouring justice of the peace. The mayor would have been faced with a *fait accompli*.<sup>37</sup> The second method of securing the freedom of Dublin under the act, which may have been more popular, entailed the candidate for the freedom approaching the court of chancery to secure his enfranchisement. Here, ‘before his grace the lord chancellor’, he took the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. The court then certified that he had ‘taken the necessary oaths’. The frustrated applicant could reapply to the borough, which initially refused his petition, with a legal document from the lord chancellor ordering his enfranchisement.<sup>38</sup> If the mayor and the aldermen of the city then refused to accept this petitioner they were in breach of the law and defying the lord chancellor of Ireland, one of the most senior legal officers in the realm, and this could have resulted in an offending civic officer being fined.<sup>39</sup> These stipulations, if actively enforced, would have effectively taken away the ability of the patricians of Dublin to oversee aspects of the system of admission to the franchise.

The patricians in principle were not against skilled Protestant migrants entering the franchise. The apparently unregulated way they were to be admitted raised several issues for the patriciate that threatened the civic privileges and the system that traditionally distributed the ‘freedom of the city’. As always, the patricians worried about numbers and feared that a possible flood of newcomers could

---

<sup>36</sup> Abstracts of freemen of Dublin, compiled by Thrift, i, ii, iii, iv, passim.

<sup>37</sup> *Anc rec. Dub.*, iii, 220-4.

<sup>38</sup> Chancery certificate of Thomas Lee, 1666 (D. C.A., Fr/B/1666); Christmas (ed.), ‘Some Protestant settlers in Ireland’, p. 251.

<sup>39</sup> 14 & 15 Chas. II, c. 7 [Ire.] (12 Apr. 1662).

have undermined the exclusive nature of the citizenship and guild membership, especially at a time when many outsiders were already becoming free of the city and guild. Typical of this expansion in the number enfranchised was the increase in new brethren into the Trinity Guild; so great were their numbers that the administration of the fraternity had to be changed and streamlined.<sup>40</sup> The prospect of unknown numbers entering the citizen body, at a time when it was expanding, raised the possibility that existing freemen would suffer. Of particular concern, as always, was the maintenance of the guilds' monopolies. Increasing numbers of traders and artisans able to work freely within the preserve of the fraternities could have rendered their privileges meaningless and reduced these bodies to being merely social bodies or lobby groups.

The urban governors kept a watchful eye on all those who secured their freedom, typified in the often exacting conditions they imposed on successful candidates for the franchise, designed to ensure those who were unworthy of the franchise were not enfranchised.<sup>41</sup> After the act, unknown outsiders could technically appear and demand the freedom of Dublin, without proper vetting of their petition or examination of their motives. In 1667 it was complained that unknown people were obtaining the franchise under the act and that in future they had to 'let themselves be known'.<sup>42</sup> These men, it seems, had to go to the tholsel house and again prove that they were qualified to become freemen. This bye-law which suggests that the patricians' close monitoring of the admission system had been compromised, at least for those who were enfranchised by the act of 1662, and this factor had implications for the reception of those who came in by the act of parliament in the city.

Those who came in by the act may not have been honourable or worthy of the dignity of the citizenship. It was a concern of the corporation and the city that its members be upright and worthy of the privilege of citizenship or guild membership. This quality was deemed essential in a society where mutual obligations were the cement that bound society together.<sup>43</sup> Since they were unknown, they were also potentially politically or religious suspect and this may have caused grave anxiety. This can be seen in an incident from 1682, during a period of political uncertainty and even worries about political revolt on the part of the government and the patriciate.

---

<sup>40</sup> Webb, *The guilds of Dublin*, pp 154-5; D.C.A., MS 78, p. 165.

<sup>41</sup> Webb, *The guilds of Dublin*, p. 25; Dublin citizen's freedom bonds (D.C.A. Fr/bond/ 1674-1702, passim).

<sup>42</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iv, 309, 518.

<sup>43</sup> Gillespie, *Seventeenth century Ireland*, pp 202, 204; Oliver Snoddy (ed.), 'A charter of the guild of St Luke', p. 85; D.C.A., MS 78, p. 20; Freedom Jury, 1694 (D.C.A., Fr/ J, 1694- 1820, p. 2).

Suspensions that some ‘who are not qualified’ received their freedom under the act led to the common council calling on the mayor, sheriffs and treasurer to examine ‘all such persons’.<sup>44</sup> It is probable that because of the manner of their admission ‘by the act’, they were not as familiar to the authorities as other freemen and hence in a time of uncertainty that they were liable to be viewed as potentially subversives or dangerous.

Another difficulty posed for the patricians of Dublin by those who came in under the act of 1662 was that it appeared, at least initially, to have rendered the practice of admitting citizens by fine irrelevant. Under the act all ‘foreign’ Protestants with a craft or skill were eligible for the citizenship of the city. Previously many of those who applied under the act would have had to have paid usually a substantial sum to purchase their freedom but now almost any artisan who was prepared to swear the oaths could secure his freedom for a set and nominal fine of 20 shillings.<sup>45</sup> Given that Roman Catholics were technically barred in practice from becoming freemen by the oaths of supremacy, there were potentially few if any candidates for the freedom of the city by ‘right of fine’. The possible loss of petitioners who sought to purchase the freedom of the city may have had more practical consequences. Those freemen who had bought their citizenship had long been a lucrative source of income. Fines from new citizens seem to have been an important source of municipal funding as they were in other cities such as York.<sup>46</sup>

The reaction of the urban authorities towards those enfranchised under the act could have been coloured by patent abuses. One such case demonstrates the fact. In 1666 Thomas Lee, a cook, approached the court of chancery asking to be made free under the act after apparently being rejected, for reasons unknown by the municipal elite. Lee was granted his request and the chancellor issued him with the document ordering that he be made free of the city. This in itself would have antagonised the patricians. But the fact was that Thomas Lee was legally ineligible to benefit from the act for he was a native-born Dubliner.<sup>47</sup> The example of Lee was not an isolated one and many Irish natives were enfranchised in Irish boroughs, including

---

<sup>44</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.* v, 341, 349 ; An act of the Lord Mayor, sheriffs, commons and citizens of the city of Dublin, May, 1681 (R.I.A., Sr. 3 B 53-6).

<sup>45</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 430, 440; iii, 77; 14 & 15 Chas. II, c. 7 [Ire.] (12 Apr. 1662).

<sup>46</sup> *Anc. recs. Dub.*, iv, 541; Clarke and Fitzpatrick, *Serving the city*, p. 23; D.C.A. MS 44, p.69; Tillot (ed.), *A history of the County of York; the city of York*, pp 160-5.

<sup>47</sup> Chancery certificate of Thomas Lee, 1666 (D.C.A., Fr/B/1666); Christmas (ed.), ‘Some Protestant settlers in Ireland’, p. 251.

Dublin, under the act.<sup>48</sup> A possibility remains that the act was corruptly implemented and that individuals were sworn in illegally under the terms of the act by justices of the peace or at the court of chancery in return for probably hefty fees. Furthermore, it appears that, although the provisions of the original act were intended to run for seven years, it was in operation beyond this date (appendix 2). It is possible that under government pressure, they obliged corporations to admit new citizens by act of parliament.<sup>49</sup> These would have created a sense of grievance among the civic elite.

The patricians' negative reaction to the migrants who availed of the act can be seen from a petition dated 1663. In this, there were calls for Dublin to be exempt from the act naturalising Protestant strangers. Significantly, it was initiated in the commons and this shows that the hostility to the act may have been widespread in the guilds, as these new freemen were perceived to be threatening the fraternities' monopolies. It was agreed that an agent be employed to argue for Dublin's 'exemption from the act' and indeed the common council agreed that the 'the guilds were to pay a cess' for the proposed case.<sup>50</sup> In 1667 the plan to despatch an agent to plead Dublin's case in England was abandoned or it had failed. A new initiative was undertaken by the patricians with the apparent encouragement of the commons against the implementation of the act in Dublin. This time they petitioned Ormond, the then Lord Lieutenant, to exclude the city from the act.<sup>51</sup> It was included in a list of suggestions designed by the commons and patricians to rectify 'abuses' in the city and it demonstrates the possibility that unsuitable individuals were receiving their freedom under the law. The petition to Ormond did not succeed with regard to the Dublin's exclusion from the act. The lord lieutenant, like his successors, could not comply, as he and they were under definite royal instruction to help 'Protestant strangers' in Ireland.<sup>52</sup>

The corporation's opposition to the implementation of the statute had no great effect on government policy. However, there are indications that the civic elite may have obstructed those who sought to become enfranchised by the act. Despite the stipulations contained in the act to protect any Protestant migrant from being obstructed in his claim for freedom of a corporation, the mayor and sheriffs of Dublin

---

<sup>48</sup> Christmas (ed.), 'Some Protestant settlers in Ireland, pp 248-56.

<sup>49</sup> 14 & 15 Chas II c. 7 [Ire.] (12 Apr. 1662); 2 Anne, c. 14 [Ire.] (25 Mar. 1703), in *Stat. Ire.*, pp 48-9.

<sup>50</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iv, 249.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid*, iv, 309.

<sup>52</sup> *Cal. S.P. Ire.*, 1661-2, p. 558; *Cal. S.P. Ire.*, 1666-9, p. 761; *Cal. S.P. Ire.*, 1669-70, p.79.



could have delayed or rejected a petitioner seeking his freedom under the terms of the legislation. Forcing individuals to go to the court of chancery or a neighbouring justice of the peace and this doubtlessly involved costly and time-consuming proceedings. In 1667 three merchants were forced to apply to the court of chancery for certificates, forcing the elite to recognise their right to be enfranchised under the act.<sup>53</sup> The great social authority of the aldermanic elite may have dissuaded others from the option of forcing the mayor and aldermen to grant them the freedom of the city under the act of 1662. For example, a humble English journeyman may have felt unable to embark on an action that would have infuriated the patricians.<sup>54</sup> There are many instances of stationers who were entitled to their freedom under the act, seeking their freedom by 'fine' or became quarter-brothers, even though it involved more expense than applying under the act.<sup>55</sup> The civic elite could, occasionally have even acted, contrary to the act of 1662 to deter a migrant from his freedom. Mayor Abel Ram refused to enrol two merchants, who were sworn in as freemen of the city by a justice of the peace outside the city which was technically illegal under the act, in the early 1680s.<sup>56</sup>

Such examples suggest that the patricians acted in various ways to restrict the numbers qualifying for their freedom under the statute 'naturalising Protestant strangers'. As a result they effectively limited the numbers enfranchised by this entitlement and thereby preserved their control over the entrance of new citizens into the franchise, ensuring that the citizenship remained an exclusive privilege. That the act did not secure the numbers of migrants envisaged by the government can be seen in an order from the Irish privy council in 1673 reiterating the need for the migrants to settle in Irish corporations, like Dublin. The stipulations in the new rules for Dublin that sought to lower the level of entry fine payable to purchase the freedom of the city indicated that the act was not achieving the intended results or fulfilling expectations.<sup>57</sup>

Despite their opposition to the terms of the legislation of 1662, the patricians did not apparently discriminate against or penalise those who were

---

<sup>53</sup> Extract from the admission roll of the merchant guild for the year, 1668 (N.A.I., Thrift TA 1230, p.1).

<sup>54</sup> To behave in a forward manner towards an alderman could have led to a fine see: Bye-laws of the city of Dublin (R.I.A., 12 D 4, p. 327).

<sup>55</sup> Pollard, *A dictionary of members of the Dublin book trade*, pp 82, 108, 143,160, 608.

<sup>56</sup> Abstracts of freemen of Dublin, compiled by Thrift, i., 145; *ibid.*, iii, 133.

<sup>57</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, i, 60; *Cal. S.P. dom.,1673*, pp 456, 528.

enfranchised by the act. This can be seen in the career of William Blackhall. Blackhall the second son of a Limerick gentleman, he obtained his freedom under the terms of the act of parliament of 1662. Yet he was quickly elected, after his enfranchisement, an alderman.<sup>58</sup> The patricians were pragmatists and if an immigrant could contribute to the city, by holding office, they generally welcomed him, even if they disliked the manner of his enfranchisement.

After the 'popish plot' the patricians were apparently more accepting of those who sought the franchise by right of the act. The numbers admitted as citizens by the act increased markedly (see appendix 2). It is possible that the civic elite were willing to put their concerns aside, in order to encourage qualified Protestants to settle in the city, during a period of anxiety, to bolster the 'English interest'. After the re-introduction of the act in 1692, to encourage Protestant immigrants to settle in Irish corporations, the city appears to have responded positively to those who sought to take advantage of its terms.<sup>59</sup> This can be seen in the large numbers enfranchised by right of the act and it was the second most popular way of achieving the civic franchise. In total 505 received their freedom by right of the act<sup>60</sup>. It was a striking departure by the patricians as the new act in conjunction with the abrogating of the oath of supremacy meant that ever more migrants could be enfranchised and it opened up the franchise to dissenters.<sup>61</sup> The economically difficult years after the war may have made the elite more amenable to the workings of the act than previously, as skilled migrants could boost the struggling post-war economy. This new spirit of cooperation also suggests willingness to compromise over traditional policies regarding new freemen, in the broader interest of the Protestant community after the trauma of the reign of James II.<sup>62</sup> The patricians' new attitude after the war suggests they had adopted the position of the Whigs who aimed to create a united Protestant front and, to do this they rejected discrimination against nonconformists.<sup>63</sup> Dublin's elite accordingly were more welcoming of ever greater numbers of Protestants, of

---

<sup>58</sup> Pine (ed.), *Burke's Peerage*, i, 111;

<sup>59</sup> William III, *An act exempting his majesties Protestant subjects dissenting from the Church of England from penalties of certain laws* (London, 1690), available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>) (2 Mar. 2007).

<sup>60</sup> Abstracts of freemen of Dublin, compiled by Thrift, i, ii, iii, iv, passim.

<sup>61</sup> *Commons' jn.*, ( 10 Nov. 1691), x; Mary Clarke (ed.), 'The Dublin city 'roll of Quakers' reconstructed', in *Ir. Geneal.*, vii (1987), p. 544.

<sup>62</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 509; vi, 7, 10.

<sup>63</sup> For a Dublin alderman's opinion see: Brewster, *Essays on trade and navigation*, pp 7-11.

whatever religious background, to bolster the city against the continuing Catholic threat.<sup>64</sup>

In 1682 a bye-law was passed by the common council to encourage French Protestants fleeing from persecution in France to settle in Dublin. The bye-law stated that ‘the said Protestants might be encouraged in their trade and callings.’<sup>65</sup> The bye-laws were aimed at French artisans and other skilled craftsmen and manufacturers. The terms on offer were extremely generous as they were to pay ‘no fines or fees’ for their citizenship, and they were freed from all city taxes for five years.<sup>66</sup> They had to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy. The bye-law in question was only temporary, but in 1687 it was extended for another five years and it was again renewed in 1692.<sup>67</sup> This raises the question as to why this bye-law was even passed. The Huguenots could have become free of the city under the terms of the act of Parliament and even by special grace. We know that many did avail of the citizenship by these and other means and in particular substantial numbers of French migrants were enfranchised under the act of 1662.<sup>68</sup> It seems that the civic ordinance of 1681 was intended to benefit the poorest members of the refugee community. Those entitled to benefit from its provisions had to have property worth less than £20.<sup>69</sup> The bye-law sought to benefit those French Protestants who could not afford the fine and fees associated with other methods of enfranchisement. The bye-laws encouraging French Protestants to settle in the city were passed during periods of intense persecution in France and large numbers of refugees were arriving in, or heading to Ireland.<sup>70</sup> Indeed, they can be seen as relief measures for the most desperate of the French Protestant refugees.

This bye-law and its subsequent extensions reveal the extent of the crown’s and its representatives’ influence upon the city and the conduct of its admission policy. Lord Lieutenant Ormond, perhaps the pivotal figure in Restoration Dublin, had as early as 1660, taken an interest in the establishment of foreign traders in or in the vicinity of Dublin to boost the skills of the city in the belief that the urban

---

<sup>64</sup> Kishlansky, *A monarchy transformed*, pp 258-9.

<sup>65</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 228, 229.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, v, 230.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, v, 383; vi, 43.

<sup>68</sup> Coffey, ‘Huguenot freemen of the city of Dublin, 1660-1729’, pp 636-50.

<sup>69</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 229.

<sup>70</sup> *Cal. S.P. dom.*, 1681-2, pp 343, 412.

economy would benefit.<sup>71</sup> William III took a personal interest in the policy of settling French Protestants in Ireland for broadly similar reasons to Ormond: indeed he actively sought to resettle French refugees living in Switzerland in Ireland.<sup>72</sup> That there was pressure on the civic elite to receive these refugees is undoubted, but it was informal and it was not backed up by statutory or legal action.<sup>73</sup> Yet it achieved significant results in that it secured many Huguenots their freedom, approximately 124, and it apparently provoked no obvious opposition from the civic governors.<sup>74</sup>

The admission of certain Huguenots under the bye-law of 1682 and its extensions created real and challenging problems for the elite. Firstly, the French Protestants' status and substantial numbers rendered them a target for the disgruntled and disaffected in the city. Indeed, the first arrivals seem to have caused some tensions among the general population and even some instability. There was a conspiracy to expel the recently arrived Huguenots out of the city by local apprentices and journeymen in 1682. In the same year an individual was arrested for sending anonymous letters calling on people to act against these interlopers.<sup>75</sup> The reception of the French Protestants was unique.<sup>76</sup> Unlike other petitioners, whose applications were generally carefully vetted by the patriciate, they were admitted en bloc and many may not have been entitled to or worthy of the freedom of the city. We gain a glimpse of how problematic this could be for the civic elite from an incident in 1695. In that year one James Dennis, who was accepted as a Huguenot and admitted a citizen under the bye-law was disenfranchised when it was discovered he was in reality a French Catholic.<sup>77</sup>

French Protestant migrants created particular problems for the guilds. They were entitled to their freedom of the city and to apply for membership of a guild. The Trinity guild of merchants did offer the refugees freedom to merchandise and retail in the city.<sup>78</sup> It seems that many Huguenots did not become citizens or if they did, did not receive permission from a relevant fraternity to practise a restricted trade. This

---

<sup>71</sup> A. K. Leask, 'History of tapestry making in Ireland' in *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, lviii (1930), pp 12-19; H. M. C., *Ormond*, v, 12.

<sup>72</sup> P.R.O. State papers (N.A., Kew, S.P., 105/58, 59, 82).

<sup>73</sup> Peter Drelincourt, *A speech made to his grace the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and to the Lords of his Majesty's most honourable privy council* (Dublin, 1682), available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>.) (10 Dec. 2006).

<sup>74</sup> Coffey, 'Huguenot freemen of the city of Dublin, 1660-1729', pp 637-50.

<sup>75</sup> H.M.C., *Ormond*, vi, 265, 340.

<sup>76</sup>

<sup>77</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, vi, 125.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, vi, 119; D.C.A., MS 78, p.124.

created problems for at least some of the guilds. In the 1690s, the weavers ordered their officers to act against Huguenots and others illegally selling cloth.<sup>79</sup> In 1698 the merchant tailors forced ten Huguenot tailors to pay fees to the guild in order that they might continue to trade. These French Protestants could have become free of the city and guilds, but chose not to, probably to avoid the burdens and expense, involved in being a citizen and guild brother<sup>80</sup> Huguenot immigrants, despite their official welcome, were infringing the rights of the guilds and, as a corollary, the privileges of the city and the citizenry.

The generous reception of Huguenots by the civic elite was not simply a case of a subservient council deferring to the wishes of the lord lieutenant and other government officials. There also seems to have been a genuine concern for the welfare of the Huguenots and a general agreement with the government's policy. In early 1682, just before the bye-law was passed at the quarter assembly, the patricians were involved in a scheme to raise financial aid for the refugees.<sup>81</sup> This was not the first time that the Dublin patriciate exhibited sympathy for the plight of foreign Protestants. In the 1650s they collected funds for the Waldensian sect in Italy and in the 1660s collected funds for Polish Protestants.<sup>82</sup> The easy terms of admission offered to the Huguenots were symptomatic of a general willingness to admit Protestants as freemen. The patricians of Dublin by 1682 were all Protestants and they may have been genuinely sympathetic to the French immigrants out of fellow-feeling for their co-religionists.<sup>83</sup> As noted above, the French refugees could have been enfranchised by traditional means, such as by special grace, but the bye-laws granting unprecedented terms to French Protestants reflected the corporation's acting, in part, out of a sense of pan-Protestant solidarity. Indeed the stated reason for extending the advantageous admission terms to French Protestants was because of 'the persecution in France' in 1691.<sup>84</sup>

The generally welcoming approach to the Huguenot citizens by the civic elite demonstrates that it was in general agreement with the central government's

---

<sup>79</sup> Greaves, *Anthony Sharpe*, p. 80; MS 82, p. 45.

<sup>80</sup> Berry, 'The merchant tailors' guild-that of St John the Baptist', p. 28; D.C.A., MS 81, p. 34.

<sup>81</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 228.

<sup>82</sup> Dunlop (ed.), *Ireland under the Commonwealth*, i, 45; *Cal. S.P. dom.*, 1682-3, p. 455.

<sup>83</sup> Hill., *From patriots to Unionists*, pp 34-6; *Anc. recs, Dub.*, v, 271.

<sup>84</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, vi, 43.

policy of turning the city into a bulwark of Protestantism.<sup>85</sup> The patricians came to hold a changing concept of the citizenship, seeing it not as simply a status that benefited the city but an institution that strengthened the Protestant minority in the city and Ireland. The civic elite knew that ultimately the privileges of the corporation of Dublin and its citizens were reliant upon the continuation and the strength of the English interest. This led them to see the preservation and enhancement of the civic privileges not in narrow parochial terms but as part of a larger community. In pursuit of the security of the Protestants in Ireland and their attendant privileges, the patricians were prepared to compromise in the customary process of enfranchising individuals and were even willing to tolerate possible infringement of existing and long held civic privileges. In order to induct suitably qualified outsiders, who by their wealth and enterprise could benefit the corporation and, in turn, benefit and strengthen the general Protestant community. This flexibility does not mark a reluctance to defend civic 'liberties' but a recognition of the overriding need to preserve the Protestant status in Dublin and in the wider realm.<sup>86</sup>

The Quakers were another group whose efforts to attain the freedom of Dublin benefited from government legislation. Members of this confession in this period were almost all English, and all the 'Friends' who applied for the freedom of Dublin were almost certainly migrants from Ireland's larger neighbouring island.<sup>87</sup> They soon established themselves in the city and many quickly became shop owners and middling artisans in the generally favourable economic conditions that prevailed in the city for much of this period.<sup>88</sup> In many ways, the more prosperous members of this community should have been readily welcomed into the ranks of the citizenry. They were Protestants and roundly rejected Catholic doctrine, especially the authority of the pope, and they became a generally economically successful grouping within the city, contributing to its well-being. Yet in reality they were at best a suspect group to many in the city. Indeed, many of their

---

<sup>85</sup> J.D. Le Touche (ed.), *Register of French conformed churches in Dublin* (Dublin, 1890); Simms, 'Dublin in 1685', p. 216.

<sup>86</sup> Their continuing willingness to defend traditional rights can be seen in the controversy over the royal appointment of the city recorder, which the corporation held to be in breach of their privileges, see : 'Letter written to William III from the mayor and sheriffs of Dublin, 1690' in *Anc. rec. Dub.*, vi, 636.

<sup>87</sup> Grubb, *The Quakers in Ireland*, pp 3-7.

<sup>88</sup> Wright, *A history of the rise and progress of a people called Quakers*, pp 149-50; Simms, 'Dublin in 1685', p. 225.

fiercest critics were Baptists or Presbyterians and Mayor Robert Deey, a dissenter, arrested several during his term of office, for non-payment of tithes.<sup>89</sup>

In the period 1650 to the 1680s the 'Friends' were occasionally harassed by the civic authorities and many were even arrested. The Quakers in Dublin suffered like their fellow-believers all over the British Isles.<sup>90</sup> Their beliefs led them to actions, considered in the period to be anti-social or subversive. Their doctrine of 'the inner light' was reckoned dangerous as was the prominent role ascribed to women within their organisation. Quakers refused to pay their contribution to the parish in the form of tithes and they refused to recognise public holidays. This involved them in confrontations with the public, especially because they failed to close their shops on these holidays.<sup>91</sup> Their behaviour also led them into direct confrontations with the mayor of Dublin.<sup>92</sup> Above all, their refusal to swear any oath was widely seen as proof they were a dangerous group outside society's conventions and norms.<sup>93</sup> The Quakers inability to swear an oath in a society that regarded their swearing as necessary for order and stability disabled them from joining the citizen body of Dublin as it did in other towns and cities in Ireland and England. Any 'Friend' who had ambitions to be a citizen was confronted with another difficulty, that of a freeman's military duties. To be a citizen was automatically associated with service in the militia. In 1661 it was ordained that every new freeman must swear the freeman's oath, 'kneeling with guns' and in 1678 during the popish plot every new freeman was ordered to furnish himself with arms.<sup>94</sup> The pacifism of the 'Friends' made these duties impossible and therefore unable to participate fully in civic life.<sup>95</sup>

Some Quakers became citizens of Dublin in 1672, without swearing the necessary oaths.<sup>96</sup> This seems to have been related to the liberal approach of government officials, within the context of the Declaration of Indulgence aimed at easing discriminatory laws against nonconformists and Catholics. In 1674 the

---

<sup>89</sup> Kilroy, *Irish Protestant dissent*, pp 100-2. William Stockdale, *A cry of oppression* (Dublin, 1683), available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>) (10 Nov. 2006), pp 128-30

<sup>90</sup> Stockdale, *A cry of oppression*, pp 128-30; William Penn to Ormond, January 1684 (Bodl., Carte MS 199, ff 5-7).

<sup>91</sup> *Cal. S. P. Ire., 1667-9*, pp 373-8; Wight, *A history of the rise and progress of a people called Quakers*, pp 78, 80, 89, 91.

<sup>92</sup> Stockdale, *A cry of oppression*, pp 130-2.

<sup>93</sup> *Commons' jn.*, (25 June, 1663), vii, Anon., *The case of the people called Quakers, relating to oaths and swearing* (London, 1673), available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>) ( 3 Aug. 2007).

<sup>94</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iv, 188; v, 167.

<sup>95</sup> Dublin citizens' freedom bonds (D.C.A., Fr/bonds, 1674-1702, passim).

<sup>96</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 12.

aldermanic bench denied these Quakers some of the citizens' privileges until they took the necessary oaths.<sup>97</sup> After this the admission of Quakers seems to have been abandoned until 1688 when James II, eager to bolster his support in Dublin, sought to admit some Quakers. Significantly none were tempted to enter the franchise during the period of Jacobite domination, except the sons and daughter of those already free of the city, such as Anthony Sharpe's children.<sup>98</sup> Some Quakers were associated with the Catholic regime and the said Anthony Sharpe even served as an alderman under the new regime in Dublin.<sup>99</sup> After the entrance of William III and the return to power of a Protestant patriciate it would have seemed unlikely that Quakers, given their reputation and the collaboration of some of the sect with the Jacobites, would have had any hopes of becoming freemen.

Again the role of the central government revolutionised an aspect of the admissions policy of the city of Dublin. In 1688 the English parliament passed an act that abolished the traditional oath of supremacy in Ireland and replaced it with a new oath.<sup>100</sup> It aimed to ease religious tensions in the kingdoms by removing some of the religious disabilities of the dissenters, as it was worded in such a way that was acceptable to Trinitarian nonconformists.<sup>101</sup> The act also permitted a novel way of taking oaths that was designed to benefit Quakers. The teachings of the 'Friends' precluded them from swearing any oath in the conventional manner. The act enabled Quakers taking an oath to affirm or assent to its wording, rather than swear the oath.<sup>102</sup> This provision, allowed Quakers, for the first time, to take the required oaths to become a freeman of the city.<sup>103</sup> Furthermore the difficulties posed for them by the military obligations of a citizen were also removed when they were exempted from all such duties.<sup>104</sup> Yet they still had to have the necessary qualifications to be admitted as freemen. All of those Quakers returned as freemen after the act were merchants or artisans and all could afford to pay substantial fines.<sup>105</sup>

---

<sup>97</sup> They had to pay the three penny custom, see : D.C.A., MS 44, p.36.

<sup>98</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 402-34.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, v, 478; Wright, *The rise and progress of a people called Quakers*, pp 149-50; Reid, *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, ii, 350.

<sup>100</sup> Reid, *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, ii, 420-1; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, vi, 10.

<sup>101</sup> The new oath did not refer to the monarch as head of the church see: William III & Mary II, *An act for exempting his majesties Protestant subjects dissenting from the Church of England*, p. 2.

<sup>102</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, vi, 74-6, 254-7.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, vi, 29, 38.

<sup>104</sup> Clarke, 'The Dublin city 'roll of Quakers'', p. 544.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 543-51.



The reaction of the patricians is hard to gauge but at a relatively early date in 1690 the city was willing to admit Quakers who affirmed the oath of supremacy, unlike York.<sup>106</sup> These new entrants to the franchise were listed on the Quaker roll, a document that listed all those of that faith that assented to, rather than swore the necessary oaths.<sup>107</sup> Quite quickly over two dozen freemen were entered on this roll. The possibility of assenting to the act rather than swearing created a possible threat at least in the eyes of the city authorities. If anyone could assent to the oath it could result in Roman Catholics simply affirming the oath of supremacy. This in turn could have led to an unwanted influx of Catholics into the franchise with resulting grave political consequences and even potentially instability. The council accepted the principle that Quakers could affirm the oath, but confined this to them alone and made clear it was not a precedent for others who wished to gain admissions: ‘no one, Quaker excepted, should win freedom without the oath’.<sup>108</sup>

Toleration of the Quakers and their right to become enfranchised was threatened by a sudden crisis. After an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate William III in England, the common council demanded that all the city’s inhabitants subscribe to a declaration. This bound the subscriber to defend the life of the king, the Protestant succession and called for vengeance against all those who threatened the monarch.<sup>109</sup> Such sentiments were incompatible with the ‘Friends’ pacifist teachings. It was ordered by the council that all existing and future freemen including, pointedly, Quakers were required to subscribe to the declaration, suggesting that they expected opposition from adherents of that faith. This act specified that Quakers should adhere to the Declaration and did not exempt them in any way. Failure to do so could result in disfranchisement. Meeting such a demand could have been problematic for many Friends, and even unconscionable, given their commitment to non-violence.<sup>110</sup> Several Quakers did comply with the Declaration and it did not deter others from seeking their freedom. This episode tells us much about the nature of the patriciate’s policies of toleration. It was a practical policy, not an ideological conviction. The Quakers received their freedom of the city to contribute to the Protestant interest.

---

<sup>106</sup> Anon., *To the respective members of the house of commons; the humble application of the people commonly called Quakers* (London, 1695), available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>.) (4 Feb. 2007).

<sup>107</sup> Clarke (ed.), ‘The Dublin city ‘roll of Quakers’’ pp 543-51.

<sup>108</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, vi, 38.

<sup>109</sup> Kishlansky, *A monarchy transformed*, pp 307-8; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, vi, 154.

<sup>110</sup> *Anc. recs, Dub.*, vi, 140-1, 154.

Despite provisions in the Declaration being contrary to Quaker doctrine it was imposed upon them. Toleration was not out of principle, or else they would have exempted the Quakers as pacifists, rather it was a practical necessity to draw all the non-Catholic forces together in the interest of the city and its Protestant inhabitants. This policy would have won favour with the government as such moves would have been seen as strengthening the corporation.

The admission of Quakers into the franchise of Dublin illustrates some important changes in the patricians' attitudes to new citizens. Firstly it stresses the increasing link between eligibility for the franchise of Irish corporations and government policy and how sensitive the patricians could be to government wishes. The freedom of the city was increasingly politicised. It also demonstrates how flexible the notion of who could be a citizen was under the influence of political and religious considerations. The Quakers with their refusal to bear arms and swear oaths were in many ways the antitheses of the traditional citizen. The idea of the citizen could be re-negotiated, to suit the common Protestant cause and a migrant's reception in the city was increasingly dictated by the perceived benefit to the 'English interest' in the city of Dublin.<sup>111</sup>

Another group that sought the franchise of the city after the Restoration with the limited support of the state were a distinct number of Catholics among the mass of native Irish migrants to the city. After the re-establishment of royal government in the island there was a significant level of Catholic migration to the city. Indeed between 1660 and 1680, according to William Petty, the community's population almost tripled and by 1682 their numbers were so great that it alarmed the Church of Ireland authorities.<sup>112</sup> Undoubtedly, some of these migrants had been drawn from the city's hinterland by the expanding urban economy and added to the existing community of servants and labourers and even some artisans that are evident from the 1650s.<sup>113</sup> Others were former residents or their descendents who were returning to a city where they had long-standing connections and many indeed were scions of distinguished Dublin families.<sup>114</sup> Many may have regarded themselves as natives simply returning home and entitled to the restoration of their former privileges within

---

<sup>111</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, vi, 87, 137.

<sup>112</sup> Simms, 'Dublin in 1685', p. 217; Archbishop of Dublin to the lord lieutenant, 10 Oct. 1682 (Bodl., Carte MS 33, ff 560-1).

<sup>113</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iv, pp ix, 119; Dunlop (ed.), *Ireland under the Commonwealth*, ii, 568; Berry, 'The merchant tailors' guild- that of St John the Baptist', p. 27.

<sup>114</sup> Anon., *An abstract of all the persons claiming as innocents*, pp 29, 42, 43.

Dublin society because of their loyalty to the king.<sup>115</sup> This group were unwelcome outsiders and interlopers to the emerging Anglican elite and they treated them accordingly.

During the commonwealth administration of Dublin there had been bye-laws against Catholics becoming freemen or women of the city and this, allied with the transplantations to Connacht, effectively ended their presence in the citizen body.<sup>116</sup> The Restoration ushered in a more sympathetic approach to Catholics and their grievances, and the state and its representatives were less anxious about popery than the Irish Protestant elite. Those declared ‘innocent papists’, those who had stayed loyal to the King during the Commonwealth period, were looked on favourably by the royal court and by the king’s representative in Ireland, Lord Lieutenant Ormond.<sup>117</sup> Not all the native Irish were included. Any Catholic who had joined the rebellion of 1641 in any way, or had even been associated with the Catholic confederacy was denied the royal favour. ‘Innocent Catholics’ were usually those who had demonstrated their loyalty until the withdrawal of the royal authority like Sir Henry Talbot. Many were former royalist soldiers who had gone into exile and had served under royal command and ‘those that had served faithfully the ensigns beyond the sea’, such as Cary Geoghan from Kilmainham.<sup>118</sup>

In 1660 King Charles II was petitioned by a group of Roman Catholics from Dublin, who declared that they ‘had demonstrated their loyalty’ to Ormond and asked that they be restored to their traditional rights and privileges in the city, including the freedom of the city. Their petition was successful and it signalled a royal policy whereby loyal Catholics were to be permitted to return to Irish corporations and entitled to become freemen.<sup>119</sup> The king used his prerogative to sell or grant Catholics letters patent that entitled them to their freedom of a borough and the return of their property. In 1661, one ‘papist’, a James Lyneham, petitioned the king ‘for the restoration of his estate and possessions and the freedom of Dublin’. His

---

<sup>115</sup> R. Nangle to Tyrconnell 26<sup>th</sup> Oct. 1686, in John Gilbert (ed.), *A Jacobite narrative of the war in Ireland, 1688-91* (Shannon, 1971), pp 198, 200.

<sup>116</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iv, 3-5, 119.

<sup>117</sup> *Cal. S.P. Ire.*, 1660-2, pp 345-6; Charles II, *His majesty’s gracious declaration for the settlement of his kingdom of Ireland* (Dublin, 1660), available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>) (20 Apr. 2007), p. 21; Archbishop of Dublin to Ormond, Jan. 1669(Bodl. Carte MS 37, f. 3).

<sup>118</sup> Charles II, *His majesty’s gracious declaration.*, pp 20-2; J.P. Prendergast, *Ireland from Restoration to the Revolution, 1660-90* (Dublin, 1887), pp 13-4.

<sup>119</sup> The king to the lords justices concerning the papist inhabitants of Dublin, 4 June.1661 (*Cal. S.P. Ire.*, 1660-2, pp 345-6; *Essex Papers*, pp 345-6).

petition was successful and he received letters patent that legally obliged the patricians in Dublin to grant him his freedom and his former property.<sup>120</sup> In 1661 the king wrote to the lords justices of Ireland instructing them to act to ensure the ‘restoration of Catholics’ in the boroughs including the right to be freemen.<sup>121</sup> The actions of the royal government and the discretionary power of the king to grant letters patent to returning ‘innocent Catholics’ would have undermined the anti-Catholic legislation and bye-laws.

This ‘indulgence’ towards ‘papists’ was resisted by the leaders of the Protestant community in Ireland and many were concerned by the ‘boldness of the Irish papists’.<sup>122</sup> The opposition was led by the lords justices of Ireland. They objected to the re-introduction of Catholics into the municipalities, including Dublin, on the grounds that such a policy would lead to an ‘inlet of papists into the corporations’ that could threaten the Protestant interest.<sup>123</sup> Dublin along with other Irish boroughs petitioned the restored monarch to reconsider his policy of toleration towards ‘innocent papists’. Such was the opposition that the monarch ordered Ormond to cease ‘restoring’ Catholics in 1663.<sup>124</sup> A compromise seems to have been reached after much debate and opposition. It was decreed that ‘concerning the resettling of the Irish papists’ by Charles II, the lords justices were to ‘restore them to trade and traffic’. However, it was specifically stated by the king that these Catholics deemed to be ‘innocents’ were not to hold civic office or be involved in city’s government.<sup>125</sup> As a result, a limited group of eligible Catholics were recognised as having the entitlement to receive from the patricians of Dublin the freedom of the city.

Before we turn to the attitude of the patricians towards these newcomers who sought to resettle in Dublin, we must examine two factors that influenced the elite’s views, namely property and popery. Catholics were seen as the committed enemies of the Protestant community and, crucially, its privileges, always

---

<sup>120</sup> The king to the lord justices for James Lyneham of Dublin, 18 June 1661 (*Cal. S.P. Ire., 1660-2*, p. 360); Bagwell, *Stuarts*, ii, 123; Gale, *An inquiry into the ancient corporate system of Ireland*, appendix, cxxxii.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, appendix, xxxii; The king to the Lords Justices of Ireland, 4 June (*Cal. S. P. Ire., 1660-2*, pp 345-6).

<sup>122</sup> The lord justices and council to Secretary Nicholas, 21 Aug. 1661 (*Cal. S.P. Ire., 1660-2*, p. 408).

<sup>123</sup> The lords Justices to the king, ? Mar. 1662 (Bodl., Carte MS 44, f. 576).

<sup>124</sup> The king to Ormond, 5 July 1663 (Bodl., Carte MS, ff 529-30).

<sup>125</sup> Gale, *An inquiry into the ancient corporate system of Ireland*, appendix cxlix; Webb, *Municipal government in Ireland*, p. 160.

a concern for the patricians.<sup>126</sup> Despite their patronage by the monarch and their professed loyalty, and even though many were from well-known families, the patricians and others were possibly concerned that these returning Catholics were still the enemy and were at heart disloyal. The idea of an ‘innocent Catholic’ to those within the civic elite was a contradiction in terms, an outright impossibility. Figures like the earl of Antrim, a figure widely suspected of involvement in the rebellion of 1642, but yet who, with the support of the monarch, was deemed an ‘innocent Catholic’, would only have confirmed their fears.<sup>127</sup> Above all it was the sheer numbers of ‘Irish papists’ that probably troubled the Dublin authorities as it did the lords justices. Even the limited and ‘loyal’ numbers of Catholics proposed by the royal court for admission to the franchise would have been viewed as the beginning of a process whereby the citizen body would have become dominated by them.<sup>128</sup>

Just as significant for the patricians in their attitude towards these innocent Catholics was the property issue. In the proclamation of Charles II he had linked the innocent papists’ right to the freedom of the city, with the return of their property lost during the commonwealth. Under the act of Settlement (1661), those Protestants and Catholics deemed ‘innocent’ by the court of claims were entitled to the return of their ‘despoiled property’. Those ‘innocent Protestants’ were entitled to their property in the various boroughs of Ireland, including Dublin, while those deemed ‘innocent Catholics’ were to be compensated for their losses and rewarded for their loyalty, by securing property to the value of their losses near the municipality but not ‘inside the walls’.<sup>129</sup> This was possibly done to allay the fears of Protestants; by excluding Catholics from the walled districts of boroughs, the urban centres would have remained Protestant strongholds in case there was a repeat of the events of 1641. The practical issue of compensating these innocent Catholics would have been extremely difficult for the Dublin authorities. They held little city lands and what they did own they had leased to individuals during the 1650s.<sup>130</sup>

---

<sup>126</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iv, 230.

<sup>127</sup> Jane H. Ohlmeyer, *Civil war and restoration in the three Stuart kingdoms: the career of Randall MacDonell marquis of Antrim, 1609-83* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 267; *Cal. S.P. Irel., 1666-9*, pp 179, 564.

<sup>128</sup> Gale, *An inquiry into the ancient corporate system of Ireland*, appendix, cxxxii; Maureen Mac Geehan, ‘The Catholics of the towns and the quarterage dispute in eighteenth century Ireland’ in *I. H. S.*, vii (1952), p. 93.

<sup>129</sup> Charles II, *His majesty’s gracious declaration for the settlement of Ireland*, pp 21-2.

<sup>130</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iv, 3-10, 77.

We can sense some of this anxiety over the property issue in a petition from the city's aldermen in 1661, when they successfully requested that the monarch confirm the traditional prerogative of corporate towns to seize the goods and property of outlaws and traitors. This was possibly agreed to by the royal government to allay the fears of Dublin's elite that a flood of returning former 'rebels' from Connacht and overseas would return to the city and try to repossess their confiscated properties.<sup>131</sup> Despite the confirmation of this traditional civic right, the issue of the 'restoration' of property continued to embitter political life in the city as it did elsewhere in Ireland. That the possible transfer of property antagonised many within the elite can be seen in an incident from 1664. In the run up to the act of explanation, that sought to clarify many aspects of the act of settlement, several prominent Dubliners, held a meeting. The group discussed the upcoming act and Alderman Preston was so incensed by the possibility that property could be returned to Catholics, that an informer to the lord lieutenant reported his words as possibly seditious.<sup>132</sup> Such was the opposition, that in 1662, the king decreed that in Irish boroughs 'houses were to remain in Protestant hands'. The numbers of 'innocent papists' to be restored was effectively limited in the act of explanation (1665) and those few named only received property outside the city limits, even the influential earl of Antrim.<sup>133</sup> Furthermore, they were forbidden from acquiring property in any walled corporation.<sup>134</sup> This calmed the situation, but it disappointed the Catholics. The claims of those 'innocent papists' for property confiscated during the 1650s persisted. These individuals claimed that dozens of houses and tenements in the city should be returned to their possession, and this kept the issue alive, and doubtlessly antagonised the Protestant elite.<sup>135</sup>

The patricians were constrained to accept those classed as 'innocents' despite concerns over security and property. In 1687 they claimed that they had admitted several hundred such petitioners since 1660 to the number of '400 or 500'.<sup>136</sup> Who they were is almost impossible to say given the paltry surviving

---

<sup>131</sup> 'Copy of the petition to the king of the agents employed by the mayor, sherrifs, commons and citizens of the city of Dublin' (*Cal. S.P. Ire.*, 1660-2, pp 7-8).

<sup>132</sup> 'Information concerning words in relation to the pending act of explanation' (Bodl., Carte MS 49, f. 370).

<sup>133</sup> Gale, *An inquiry into the ancient corporate system in Ireland*, pp 58-60; *Cal.S.P. Ire.*, 1663-5, pp 476-8;

<sup>134</sup> Despite these restrictions lord lieutenant Essex believed Catholics were still entitled to become free of Irish corporations see: *Essex Papers*, p. 314-5.

<sup>135</sup> Anon, *An abstract of the claims of innocents in Dublin city and county*, pp 2-20.

<sup>136</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 399; Hill, *From patriots to Unionists*, p.44.

sources, as is their definition of who was deemed eligible by the civic elite as being entitled to enfranchisement. They patricians may have only regarded those eligible for admission those who had been certified as innocent by the court of claims. Other innocent papists may have had their innocence declared by the king or his lord lieutenant.<sup>137</sup> Many of those ‘innocent Catholics’ who successfully petitioned for the freedom of Dublin apparently could claim the privilege by ‘birth’, at least according to the common council in 1687. That is, they were entitled to their freedom by right of their father’s status as a citizen, by ‘hereditary right’.<sup>138</sup> This would suggest that those ‘innocent Catholics’ who secured their freedom had some previous connections in the city and were originally of a relatively high social rank.

It seems that, despite their qualifying for the city by ‘right of birth’, most Catholics secured their freedom by right of fine and special grace, in this period. For if we examine the numbers admitted by ‘birth’ it seems unlikely that many, if any, Catholics received their freedom by that form of entitlement, during the early to mid-1660s. The rise in the numbers of those enfranchised by fine and special grace suggests that many ‘innocent Catholics’ secured it in this manner.

**Numbers of new citizens by entitlement 1660-5,  
Table 4.4**

	Fine	Fine /grace	Birth	Marriage	Service	Act of Parl.
1660	17	13	7	2	31	
1661	14	22	17	1	44	
1662	8	19	9	4	18	15
1663	39	74	2	4	41	10
1664	41	58	28		60	9
1665	21	40	10	1	63	14

Source: Abstracts of freemen of Dublin, compiled by Thrift, I, ii, iii, iv, passim.

The significant rise in those enfranchised by fine in 1663 to 1664 is possibly telling. The numbers enfranchised in 1663 by fine was the highest number admitted to the freedom of Dublin by this entitlement in the whole Restoration period. This corresponds with the beginning of the viceroyalty of Ormond, who was somewhat sympathetic to some Catholics, probably for political considerations.<sup>139</sup> As we have seen in a previous chapter, individuals who secured the backing of a senior member of the political establishment often secured the citizenship by fine and special

<sup>137</sup> *P.R.I. rep. D.K.*, xxxii, p. 66.

<sup>138</sup> *Anc. rec.Dub.*, v, 399, 400-1.

<sup>139</sup> Hill, *From patriots to Unionists*, p.33.

grace. The rise in numbers enfranchised by fine signals that possibly many innocent papists were restored or elected to the citizen body by the lord deputy's formal or informal influence. In these years, connections with the duke helped many returning Old English to regain their lands. It appears that the patricians may have enfranchised, those Catholics who had the support of Ormond or his family.<sup>140</sup> It seems that the claims of the sons of those Catholics enfranchised under the act of settlement were recognised and they became citizens by right of birth, even after 1664.<sup>141</sup>

The limited restoration of some Catholics to the franchise was probably acceptable to the city's patrician class.<sup>142</sup> Firstly, by only admitting a limited number of Catholics as freemen they could assuage the fears that a powerful Catholic faction could destabilise the citizenry. Furthermore their numbers would not have been significant enough to alter the political balance in the common council, or have much impact on the election of the city's M.Ps.<sup>143</sup> By appearing to accommodate these Catholics, the patricians could present themselves as obeying the will of their sovereign and demonstrate their loyalty, and in this way avoid any conflict on the matter with Lord Lieutenant Ormond. The individual patricians especially needed to appear loyal as many of them had served during the commonwealth administration. For instance, Alderman Thomas Fullam had to prove himself an 'innocent' before the court of claims in 1662, presumably in regard to his activities during the previous regime.<sup>144</sup> Such individuals may have had good reasons to wish to demonstrate their loyalty to the restored monarchy, out of self-interest and even self-preservation.

The place of these Catholic freemen in the political and social life of the city was anomalous. Their freedom was only designed to allow them to engage in commerce and some forms of trade, according to the compromise of 1661. Undoubtedly, Catholic freemen's scope for playing a full role in the city's economy was curtailed by their exclusion from full membership of at least some of the guilds, again due to the impositions of doctrinal oaths.<sup>145</sup> Despite this, some Catholics were admitted into a limited number of fraternities. In 1673, a petition from a group of

---

<sup>140</sup> Lawrence J. Arnold, 'The Irish court of claims, in 1663' in *I.H.S.*, lvi (1985), pp 417-20.

<sup>141</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 393.

<sup>142</sup> Even the fiercely anti-Catholic Orrery accepted the claims of 'innocent papists see: *Essex Papers*, p. 8.

<sup>143</sup> Gale, *An inquiry into the ancient corporate system of Ireland*, appendix, clxxi.

<sup>144</sup> *P.R.I. rep. D.K.*, xxxvii, pp 44, 66.

<sup>145</sup> Keating, 'The guild of cutlers', p. 137; Webb, *The guilds of Dublin*, p. 147.



Catholic freemen claimed that they were ‘brethren of several corporations’.<sup>146</sup> The guilds of barber-surgeons and St Luke apparently permitted some Catholics to join as full brothers. There is evidence that a Catholic became a guild officer and that one was referred to as an alderman.<sup>147</sup> Such examples demonstrate less the tolerant attitude of the elite towards Catholics than their pragmatic attitude evident in the admission of outsiders. They were lenient to these Catholics so that they could share some of the responsibilities and burdens of the citizens and the guilds.

In reality, ‘innocent papists’ were not the equal of their brother-citizens. Some may have been occasionally permitted to become guild members and officers and even attain some civic offices, like others free of the city. The benefits of their citizenship depended upon the discretion of the Protestant citizenry and patriciate, or connections to important figures like the lord lieutenant who could suspend a doctrinal oath. Some Catholics may have benefited from relationships established as members of the influential and religiously mixed guild of St Anne.<sup>148</sup> Their subservient status in the political system is revealed in a petition of 1673. In that year many Catholic freemen did not attend a general assembly of citizens, which was boycotted by Protestants during the new rules crises. They later petitioned the lord lieutenant stating that they regretted their absence and candidly admitted they did so because of Protestant pressure, upon ‘whose opinions depends our welfare in this city’. Here the small number of Catholic citizens was frankly admitting their secondary status in the corporation.<sup>149</sup>

This arrangement with regard to ‘innocent papists’, whereby they were allowed to exercise the ‘freedoms’ of the city, at the discretion of the civic elite, continued until the introduction of the new rules and Charles II’s policy of ‘indulgence’ or religious tolerance between 1671 and 1672. This indulgence coincided with two royal policy initiatives. The first was that the royal authorities sought to establish a Catholic grouping overtly loyal to the crown, namely those who supported the Remonstrance. The Stuart monarch’s policy of religious toleration was also designed to promote his foreign policy objectives and the lenient treatment of

---

<sup>146</sup> ‘Protests by Protestant of the Church of Ireland, Presbyterians and Catholics against the New Rules, 1673’ (*Cal. S.P. dom.*, 1673, p. 446).

<sup>147</sup> Henry Berry, The ancient corporation of barber surgeons or guild of St Magdalene, Dublin’ in *R.S.A.I. Jn.* xxxii (1903), p. 230; Pollard, *A dictionary of the members of the Dublin book trade*, p. xiv.

<sup>148</sup> Berry, ‘History of the religious guild of St Anne’, pp 21-106; Abstracts of the deeds of the guild of St Anne (R.I.A., Charles Haliday Collection, 12 G 10, pp 56-120).

<sup>149</sup> *Cal. S. P. dom.*, 1673, pp 444-6.

Catholics and dissenters can be seen as part of this liberal policy.<sup>150</sup> Between late 1671 and 1672, two royal proclamations were issued which were intended to ease restrictions on Catholics in general and especially ‘innocent Catholics’. The first proclamation rescinded a proviso in the act of explanation that disqualified Catholics from obtaining property within the limits of a corporation. The second ordered that ‘innocent papists’ should have their claims of citizenship in Irish corporations’ recognised.<sup>151</sup> That many Catholics entitled to the privilege of the freedom failed to be enfranchised in the early years of the Restoration is evident in the proclamation of Charles II ‘that declared all ancient freemen of the corporations should be restored to their rights and privileges’.<sup>152</sup> This proclamation was to an extent repeating the monarch’s orders of 1660 regarding innocent Catholics. It was also crucially different in that in this proclamation the king did not declare that he would use his prerogative to restore ‘innocents’ to their property.

The new rules were a set of ordinances aimed at the ‘better regulating’ of the borough and they were proclaimed by Lord Deputy Berkley and reissued, with some modifications by his successor, the earl of Essex.<sup>153</sup> They were an attempt to establish the city’s government on a firm footing during a period of rapid expansion.<sup>154</sup> The directives were also an attempt to formalise the government’s authority over Irish corporations with the aim of increasing trade and ensuring stability.<sup>155</sup> The directives also sought to clarify the situation over the admission of Catholics to the freedom of boroughs, like Dublin. It seems that the government envisaged a general ‘indulgence’ for all eligible Catholics to become free of the city, not just those ‘innocent Catholics’. Both Berkeley’s and Essex’s, set of ordinances did not require that a new citizen swear the oath of supremacy, which was unacceptable to Catholics.<sup>156</sup> Both sets of ‘rules’ allowed ‘Protestants as well as others’ to become free of the city. Essex stated that he believed this was ‘aimed at the encouragement of

---

<sup>150</sup> Bagwell, *Stuarts*, iii, 99; Kishlansky, *A monarchy transformed*, pp 245-8.

<sup>151</sup> ‘Order for permitting Roman Catholics to purchase houses and trade in corporations, 1 Feb.1671’ (*Cal. S.P. dom.*, 1671-2, pp 137, 166, 185); The king to the lord deputy, 6 April 1671 (*Cal. S.P. Ire.*, pp 166-7).

<sup>152</sup> Mac Geehan, ‘The Catholics in the towns and the quarterage dispute’, p. 92; Gale, *An inquiry into the ancient corporate system of Ireland*, appendix xiii.

<sup>153</sup> *Cal. S. P. dom.*, 1672, p.653; Bagwell, *Stuarts*, ii, 99,109; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, i, 56-8.

<sup>154</sup> Essex to Arlington, 1 July 1672 (*Essex Papers*, p. 94).

<sup>155</sup> Essex to Arlington, 1 July 1672 (*Essex, Papers*, p. 117); [Essex], *Rules, orders and directions*, p.3.

<sup>156</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, p. xii.

foreigners of any religion' to settle in the city.<sup>157</sup> Indeed, in December 1672, the king's secretary stated that he had authorised the bringing of Roman Catholics from Flanders and elsewhere in Europe to settle in the city.<sup>158</sup> It appears that the royal government sought to open up the city's franchise to all suitable Catholics. This tolerant approach was, at least according to Essex, to be confined to the city of Dublin and was not intended to be extended to other Irish corporations.<sup>159</sup>

The government also sought to enable Catholics to obtain senior civic offices in Dublin, despite the provisions in the new rules that office holders swear the discriminatory oath of supremacy.<sup>160</sup> It seems that only those deemed loyal and dependable Catholics by the viceroy would have been considered for these positions. This was to have been achieved by the monarch, under the royal prerogative, excusing individuals from having to take the exclusionary oath. A committee that included Richard Talbot was formed to draw up a suitable list of such candidates, although, after some opposition, the crown's representatives put it aside.<sup>161</sup>

The power of the state meant that the new rules nearly succeeded in enabling certain propertied Catholics to obtain and enjoy the privileges of freemen of the city, without any discrimination and disability. It seems that the earl of Arlington in London issued letters patent permitting some Catholics to enter into the freedom of various Irish corporations. For a brief period, the prospects for at least some Catholics brightened and with the patronage of the lord deputy, it seemed they had been 'restored to their ancient privileges'<sup>162</sup>. At least one Catholic, the future Jacobite, James Malone, secured his citizenship in these years and the fact that he secured the privilege by 'grace especial' strongly hints that he obtained it by letters patent bestowed upon him by some representative of the king.<sup>163</sup> But there were only a few Catholics enfranchised, in this period, as indicated in the low numbers securing their freedom by fine and special grace, the form of enfranchisement associated with new citizens who secured their rights with the 'king's letter' (see appendix 2).

---

<sup>157</sup> 'Essex to Arlington, 20 Aug. 1672 (*Essex Papers*, p. 17).

<sup>158</sup> 'Arlington to Essex, 24 Dec. 1672, (*Ibid*, p.48).

<sup>159</sup> 'Essex to Arlington, 17 Aug. 1672 (*Ibid*, p.17).

<sup>160</sup> Essex, *Rules, orders and directions*, p. 4.

<sup>161</sup> 'Majesty's letter preventing them (Catholics) to become municipal officers' Dec. 1672, (*Cal. S.P. dom.*, 1672-3, p.75).

<sup>162</sup> *Cal. S.P. dom.*, 1672., p.326;; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, pp x, xii.

<sup>163</sup> Pollard, *A dictionary of members of the Dublin book trade*, p. 396; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, vi, 131.

Initially Berkeley's new rules were accepted. Issued during Charles II's period of indulgence or religious toleration, they may have won the support of many dissenters. Nonconformists no doubt resented the requirement that the oath of supremacy be sworn by all office-holders and those who sat on the common council. They supported the viceroy in the hope he would either suspend or excuse select individuals from having to swear the oath.<sup>164</sup> Significantly the two mayors who were appointed by the lord deputies during the new rules crisis were both connected to the nonconformist community. Sir John Totty was a former Cromwellian soldier, while Robert Deey was a Presbyterian.<sup>165</sup> However, things changed under Berkeley when, allegedly under pressure from the Anglican archbishop of Dublin, the oath of non-resistance was inserted. This antagonised the large non-conformist element within the civic elite and citizen body. An attempt by the lord lieutenant to interfere with the city's lucrative water rates also stirred opposition. Many would have agreed with Doctor Loftus in 1673 that the 'new rules were destructive of the liberties of the city' and opposed the new rules on political principle.<sup>166</sup>

The opposition to the new rules was fierce. The corporation was disrupted for several years and the guilds were antagonised, as well as the general populace.<sup>167</sup> So great was the opposition, that Berkeley issued a proclamation against rumour-mongers. Essex leaves us a picture of Sir John Totty, who became one of the 'new rules', greatest critics, and others conspiring against the new rules in coffee houses, the new forum for politics and the emerging public sphere in this era.<sup>168</sup> This controversy engulfed Dublin society and even took on a popular character, which worried members of the elite.<sup>169</sup> Even the aldermanic elite were divided publicly over the rules and several of the 'Presbyterian faction' were expelled by the mayor and needed the earl of Shaftsbury's support to gain re-admittance.<sup>170</sup> However, opposition was not total. Many guilds were opposed to the directives but others seem to have

---

<sup>164</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, p xvii; v, 400.

<sup>165</sup> *The Essex Papers*, p. 435; 'Statement by Anglican guild representatives, 1673' (*Cal. S.P. dom.*, 1673, p. 444).

<sup>166</sup> *Cal. S.P. dom.*, 1673, p. 527.

<sup>167</sup> Lord lieutenant Essex to Secretary Arlington, 5 Jan. 1673 (*Cal. S.P. dom.*, 1673, p. 591); 'Essex to Arlington, July 8, 1673 (*Essex Papers*, p. 92).

<sup>168</sup> 'A true and impartial account of the disorders in Dublin', May 1672 (*Cal. S. P. dom.*, 1673, pp 127-30); *The Essex Papers*, p. 345.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 197-8, 291, 301.

<sup>170</sup> *Cal. S. P. dom.*, 1671-2, pp 418-9; *Cal. S.P. dom.*, 1672, p. 644.

accepted them.<sup>171</sup> Significantly, it also seems that the majority of patricians did not actively oppose the new rules. Those who did, the Presbyterian faction, were a minority on the aldermanic bench.<sup>172</sup>

Given that they were associated with the admission of Catholics into the privileges of freeman and even possibly civic offices there were no real anti-Catholic measures and none of the usual inflammatory rhetoric against popery expressed in the common council.<sup>173</sup> This was a contrast to earlier enactments of the civic elite. Any concessions to Catholics often provoked some discriminatory measure. In 1670 a meeting of Roman Catholic clergy in Dublin initiated the tightening of a bye-law against Catholics taking apprentices.<sup>174</sup> Indeed, there was a tacit acceptance by the majority of the patriciate of the possible general admission of Catholics into the city's citizen body and their participation in civic life. Indeed they were remarkably solicitous of the rights of Catholics and sought their participation in the campaign against the new rules. For example, they defended the right of a Catholic alderman to be mayor and were against the appointment of Sir John Totty to that position. Similarly they raised no objection to the selection of a Scottish Catholic, Sir Leighton Ellis as the city's recorder.<sup>175</sup> There were even a dozen Catholics appointed as guild representatives.<sup>176</sup> This did spark some opposition among the elite. However, Essex claimed that only the mayor and one alderman, the fiery John Totty, objected to their presence.<sup>177</sup> The attitude of at least the majority of the civic elite was striking and out of line with Protestant opinion in Ireland.<sup>178</sup>

The civic elite to secure their privileges, appear to have sought to present themselves as accommodating the interests of Catholics, favoured by the government. Prior to the new rules introduction the king's representative in Ireland threatened the civic elite with drastic changes. Their charters were challenged and reviewed and there was an investigation into their levying of tolls and customs. Both Essex and Berkeley based their extensive authority over the corporation on the act of explanation

---

<sup>171</sup> Ten guilds petitioned against the New Rules, these were the merchants, tailors, glovers, bricklayers, smiths, painter-stainers, sheerman, weavers and goldsmith see: *Essex papers*, p. 194.

<sup>172</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, p. x; *Cal. S.P. dom.*, pp 127-31.

<sup>173</sup> Hill, *From patriots to Unionists*, p. 54.

<sup>174</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iv, 527-8.

<sup>175</sup> Hill, *From patriots to Unionists*, pp 50-1; H.M.C., *Ormond*, iv, 446; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, p. viii.

<sup>176</sup> *Anc. rec., Dub.*, v, p. xii.

<sup>177</sup> Essex to Arlington, 8 July 1673 (*Essex Papers*, pp 93-4).

<sup>178</sup> Essex feared that if Catholics were admitted as citizens of Irish corporations that Protestant merchants would emigrate, while the withdrawal of the Declaration of Indulgence was greeted with bonfires in Ireland, see: *Essex Papers*, pp 19, 57.

(1665).<sup>179</sup> The government clearly held the whip hand and the patriciate in the main seemed to have complied with the wishes of the government, out of fears that if they did not their prized civic privileges could be curtailed or even withdrawn. The lack of opposition to the possible introduction of even more Catholics is telling and teaches us much about the priorities of the civic elite. They were far more concerned with their privileges than any perceived threat by Catholics, illustrating the primacy of practical considerations over ideological concerns, at least in these years. Furthermore, the generally cooperative approach of the patricians towards potential new Catholic freemen was made possible by the fact, that unlike the previous controversy of 1660-2, it was not linked to any transfers of property out of Protestant hands.

Ultimately, the failure of the 'new rules' to secure the government policy of admitting Catholics into the corporation of Dublin was because of the opposition of the Irish political elite.<sup>180</sup> Above all it failed to achieve its objectives because of the changing political scene in London. The religiously tolerant policy of Charles II was dashed to pieces by a fearful and suspicious political nation in England. Parliament forced the king to rescind his 'Declaration of Indulgence' and soon it introduced anti-Catholic measures as in the Test Act (1674).<sup>181</sup> The parliament extended their intolerant policy to Ireland and set up a committee to investigate the situation in Ireland, with regard to 'popery'. They ordered that all civic officers took the oath of supremacy to ensure that no Catholics held any municipal office.<sup>182</sup> Furthermore they even demanded that only licensed Irish Catholics could live in boroughs, a motion that won widespread support from the Irish political elite and a royal proclamation to that effect was issued.<sup>183</sup> In this climate the policy of introducing Catholics into the freedom of Dublin became unthinkable and again it is evident that national politics influenced the enfranchisement of individuals as freemen of the city of Dublin. Even after the failure of the tolerant policy of the government it

---

<sup>179</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 500-3; English Privy Council to the lord deputy, 6 June 1670 (*Cal. S.P. Ire.*, 1669-70, pp 224-5); 'A true and impartial account of the disorders in Dublin' May 1672 (*C.S.P. dom.*, 1672, pp 127-30);

<sup>180</sup> 'Address to the king concerning Irish grievances, Mar. 17<sup>th</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> 1673' in Anchtel Grey (ed.), *Debates in the House of Commons* (6 vols, London, 1776), iii, 198-200.

<sup>181</sup> Gillespie, *Seventeenth century Ireland*, p. 264; 24 Chas. II, c.ii [Eng.] (9 Feb. 1673), in *Stat. at large*, v, 782-85.

<sup>182</sup> *Commons' jn.*, (25 Mar. 1673), ix; Grey (ed.), *Debates in the House of Commons*, ii, 97, 119-20; *Cal. S.P. dom.*, 1673-5, pp 157-63.

<sup>183</sup> *Cal. S.P. dom.*, 1673-5, pp 1, 559.

seems that the Dublin patriciate maintained something of its forbearing approach to ‘innocent’ Catholics seeking the franchise. It did not disfranchise those few of that faith admitted as citizens during the period of ‘indulgence’, unlike the Limerick urban elite.<sup>184</sup>

In a report of 1674 it seems that the lord deputy accepted the old position as outlined in the compromise of 1661 and implicitly accepted the failure of the new rules to alter the system for granting the freedom of the city to Catholics. He ordered that existing Catholic citizens have their claims to the freedom confirmed, suggesting that only ‘innocent Catholics’ or their sons could secure their freedom in Irish corporations as was the case before the new rules.<sup>185</sup> Individual Catholics still appear to have petitioned for the freedom of the city, such as Christopher Jans, the scion of a distinguished Old English family with long-standing connections to the city. He applied for his freedom in 1677 or 1678 but was refused.<sup>186</sup> His experience was typical of the many Catholics that returned to the city after the Commonwealth but could not secure the franchise despite their long connections with the corporation. That Catholics were excluded from the franchise in Dublin and indeed other Irish boroughs is underlined by James II’s remarks that Catholics in urban centres ‘are generally refused to be admitted freemen’ and ‘much less to bear any office’.<sup>187</sup>

The issue of Catholics seeking admission to the franchise was not settled. In 1685 the situation in Ireland was revolutionised when James II was crowned. A committed Catholic, he favoured a general policy of toleration that would promote Catholicism in his kingdoms. The liberalisation of the admission system in corporate boroughs to the benefit of Catholics and dissenters was central to this policy in Ireland.<sup>188</sup> In 1686 the king’s lord deputy, acting under instructions from James, began to apply pressure on the Dublin elite to force them to admit those ‘Roman Catholics entitled to their freedom’.<sup>189</sup> Lord Lieutenant Clarendon declared that there

---

<sup>184</sup> Lenihan, *Limerick: its history and antiquities*, p. 167.

<sup>185</sup> Gale, *An inquiry into the ancient corporate system of Ireland*, appendix xxx; ‘Concerning the charters to corporation, 1673’ (*Essex Papers*, pp 314-5).

<sup>186</sup> Pollard, *A dictionary of members of the Dublin book trade*, p. 380;

<sup>187</sup> Charles McNeill (ed.), Reports of manuscripts in the Bodelian library, Oxford, in *Anal. Hib.*, no.1 (1930), p.109.

<sup>188</sup> Reid, *The history of Presbyterianism in Ireland*, ii, 346, 350; John Miller, ‘The earl of Tyrconnell and James II’s Irish policy, 1685-8’ in *Historical Journal*, xx (1977), pp 811-2; *Cal. S.P. dom., 1686-7*, pp 405-8.

<sup>189</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 376; Sir Paul Rycout’s, ‘Memorandum and letters from Ireland 1686-7’, ed. Patrick Malvin, in *Anal. Hib.*, no. 27 (1972), p. 128; The king to Clarendon, 3 Aug. 1686 (*The state letters of Henry, Earl of Clarendon*, ed. Singer), p. 219.

was no legal basis for their exclusion from the franchise.<sup>190</sup> Furthermore he emphatically outlined who could be admitted when he ordered that ‘Roman Catholics their heirs, widows and apprentices’ could become citizens and in doing so enlarged the potential number of candidates for the freedom of the city and levelled the previous distinctions between Protestant and Catholic petitioners for the freedom of the city.<sup>191</sup> Initially, according to Clarendon, the Dublin patricians were willing to admit Catholics and he wrote to London that they would enfranchise members of that faith from Christmas 1686.<sup>192</sup> Clarendon was wrong and had misread the situation and the strength of feeling of the Protestant patriciate.

The two houses of the corporation agreed to form a committee and consulted with lawyers in late 1686. A petition from the aldermen and the commons was drawn up addressed to the viceroy. This formal request reiterated the city’s loyalty and attached to it was a letter from Charles II, vouching for the city’s loyalty. It rebuffed the claims of the Catholics that they had been denied the franchise as ‘misinformation’. It asserted that those Catholics mentioned in the act of settlement that ‘they and the heirs of any them were ever refused or denied by your petitioners’.<sup>193</sup> Furthermore, it argued that many of the Catholics who wanted their freedom could not afford to bear the burden of being free and it would be detrimental to their interest if they were made free. It suggested that they had been actually advantaged by being unfree and would possibly be disadvantaged by being made free.<sup>194</sup>

Tyrconnell, replaced Clarendon shortly afterwards and he seems to have had an even more radical agenda. In early 1687 he replied to the patriciate and commons’ petition. He ignored their arguments and referred only to their refusal to admit Catholics as ‘disobedience’ and that his majesty ‘was not well satisfied’.<sup>195</sup> Then the lord deputy threatened the corporation with the ultimate sanction. Tyrconnell stated that the king’s lawyers were being ordered to bring a warrant of *quo warranto* against the city. This legal process could involve the removal of the city’s charters

---

<sup>190</sup> Reid, *The history of Presbyterianism in Ireland*, ii, 345

<sup>191</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.* v, 390.

<sup>192</sup> Clarendon to the lord treasurer, 6 Oct. 1686 (*The state letters of Henry, Earl of Clarendon letters*, ed. Singer, p. 29.

<sup>193</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*,v, 394.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, v., 394-5.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*,v., 407; Rycault, ‘Memorandum and letters from Ireland’ ed. Malvin, p. 153.



and the end of its political and economic privileges.<sup>196</sup> The patricians were faced with a stark choice of either defying the monarch over an issue that would they believed have threatened their privileges or to see those privileges removed by a *quo warranto*. Elsewhere in Ireland, urban elites, such as that in Limerick, had already bowed to Tyrconnell's demands.<sup>197</sup> The patricians and the common council had little choice but to acquiesce for resistance would have resulted in their effective dissolution and in the loss of the city's privileges. Unlike the earlier controversies with the royal government over the enfranchisement of Catholics, they did not appear to have any support from within the establishment. In April 1687 the civic government of Dublin drew up a petition offering to comply with the king's and his lord deputy's wishes and recognising the right of all qualified Catholics, not just 'innocents', to attain the franchise.<sup>198</sup>

The civic elite openly resisted this government policy of Catholic enfranchisement much more strongly than they did during the new rules and the early years of the Restoration, although ultimately it was futile (see above). That the admission of Catholics was central to their opposition can be seen if we compare the proceedings in Dublin with those in York, during James II's attempts to extend his control over the corporations in his kingdoms. The English city was concerned that James's policy was endangering traditional liberties, while in Dublin, the opponents of the king's policy mostly concentrated upon the enfranchisement of Catholics.<sup>199</sup> The Dublin elite were anxious about feared changes that could have endangered their position. There were no limitations to the number of 'papists' who could obtain offices, under Clarendon's and Tyrconnell's proposals. For the patriciate, this created a risk that the city's government would fall into the hands of the 'Irish'. This was a disaster in itself, but at a time when the monarch was a Catholic, it was positively dangerous to many. The patricians fought to maintain the restrictions on Catholics to ensure that they continued to control the corporation, and thereby to preserve their privileges and 'to secure themselves and their prosperity'.<sup>200</sup>

Immediately after the submission of the Dublin patricians, there appears to have been an influx of Catholics into the franchise. It seems that the vast

---

<sup>196</sup> Millar, 'The earl of Tyrconnell and James II's Irish policy', pp 811-2; *Cal .S.P. dom., 1686-7*, p. 405; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v. pp xlv, xlvi.

<sup>197</sup> Lenihan, *Limerick: its history and antiquities*, pp 211.

<sup>198</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 408.

<sup>199</sup> Tillot (ed.), *The history of the county of York; the city of York*, pp 184-6.

<sup>200</sup> King, *The state of the Protestants in Ireland*, p. 77.

majority of them were admitted by fine, as can be judged by the dramatic rise in the numbers enfranchised by this form of entitlement (see figure below). This suggests that many, if not all of them were, migrants to the city. Outsiders like the English Catholics, John Edgerton and William Weston, secured their freedom by ‘fine’ in 1688.<sup>201</sup> Some may have even been among those Catholics who returned to the city in the early years of the Restoration such as the merchant, John Hoare, who also purchased his freedom in 1688.<sup>202</sup> Many may have been quarter-brothers in the various guilds and were exploiting the new liberal policy in order to be admitted as full citizens and full brothers of their guild.

**Numbers admitted by 'fine' 1680s,  
Table 4.5**

1681	1682	1683	1684	1685	1686	1687	1688
10	17	11	4	1	5	215	418

Source: ‘Abstracts of freemen of Dublin’, compiled by Thrift, I, ii, iii, iv, passim.

The patriciate established under the new charter issued by Tyrconnell reconfigured the aldermanic bench and the common council.<sup>203</sup> A clear majority of the patricians were now Catholics.<sup>204</sup> Many of the city’s guilds also received new charters, as in Limerick and elsewhere in Ireland, and many came under Catholic control.<sup>205</sup> Their control of the city government was further strengthened by the migration of many leading Protestants from the city.<sup>206</sup>

This initial liberal policy of the Jacobite patriciate was, it seems, replaced by a more cautious one. In early 1688 the civic governors decided to reduce the number of occasions upon which citizens could be sworn. It appears that it was being carried on a weekly basis but the patricians decided that the ceremony could only take place on the quarter days, in line with traditional practices.<sup>207</sup> This may

<sup>201</sup> Pollard, *A dictionary of members of the Dublin booktrade*, pp 160, 400.

<sup>202</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, p. xiii.

<sup>203</sup> *Anc. rec. Dublin*, v, 427; Gillespie, *Seventeenth century Ireland*, p.283.

<sup>204</sup> It appears that the non-Catholic patricians consisted of two members of the Church of Ireland, two non-conformists and two Quakers see *H.M.C. Ormond*, viii, 351.

<sup>205</sup> King, *The state of the Protestants in Ireland*, p.79; John Herbert (ed.), ‘Charter granted to the Limerick brogue makers on 3<sup>rd</sup> July 1688’ in *N. Mun. Jn.*, iii (1941-2), pp 132-6.

<sup>206</sup> *H.M.C., Ormond*, viii, 475; King, *The state of the Protestants in Ireland*, pp 87-93.

<sup>207</sup> *Anc Rec. Dub.*, v, 471.

have been part of a civic policy to regulate more closely the admission system and even designed to restrict numbers. They also reiterated the requirement that a citizen be a resident of the city before they be enfranchised. This was probably an attempt to deny the franchise to opportunists from outside the city who sought to benefit from the new regime.<sup>208</sup> For it appears from others Irish corporations' experiences in these years that 'Catholic countrymen' were simply coming to the city, seeking to be enrolled.<sup>209</sup> These actions indicate that the new elite wanted to preserve the traditional method of enfranchisement, no doubt in a bid to maintain the exclusive nature of the privileges of the city. It also demonstrates that the Jacobite patriciate like its predecessors was concerned to maintain the rights of the city in the face of a massive influx of migrants into the city. The structures of the city and its whole system of privileges demanded a selective policy towards potential outsiders and all patricians of whatever political hue or religious allegiance recognised this.

By 1690 the political situation was reversed and William III had entered the city and restored the Protestant interest to its position of eminence in the city. With the defeat of James II the last hopes of the Catholics to be admitted to the civic franchise and offices vanished. The patriciate was rapidly reconstituted as an all-Protestant body and the city's old charter was restored.<sup>210</sup> Significantly dissenters who had been raised to the rank of alderman during James II reign were left in office, such as Anthony Sharpe, and this again suggests that the corporation was now more tolerant of dissenters after 1690.<sup>211</sup> They were willing to accommodate different Protestant groupings, to enable them all to unite in the face of the papist peril. The Catholic aldermen were officially purged from the city's government and all those 'papists who had illegally succeeded in the corporation'.<sup>212</sup> The situation had been restored to that prior to the accession of James II but circumstances had also changed and the prospects of Catholics attempting to obtain the franchise would in particular be affected. The fears that the Protestant patriciate had voiced in earlier controversies regarding the enfranchisement of Catholics were proven to be justified in the years of Jacobite control. The admission of Catholics had proved to be a threat to the welfare of the city and above all to the privileged position of the propertied Protestants in the

---

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid.*, v, 461.

<sup>209</sup> *The recollections and diary of Narcisus Marsh, 1638-1696*, ed. Raymond Gillespie (Cork, 2003), p. 68.

<sup>210</sup> 4 Will III & Mary, c. 9 [Eng.] (3 May. 1688), in *Stat. at large.*, iii, 154-5.

<sup>211</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 494, 635.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.*, vi, 75.

city. Catholic freemen were a threat to the city's Protestant patriciate. There could be no compromise, and after 1690 the city council set up a variety of measures that excluded Catholics from the franchise.<sup>213</sup>

The attitude of the post-Jacobite patriciate to those newcomers enfranchised by the Jacobite dispensation is noteworthy. In 1691 there was a bye-law passed that effectively sought to disfranchise Catholics and to seize their property. This would have reversed the gains they made between 1687 and 1689. Furthermore, all Catholics in the city were obliged to swear an oath of allegiance, which meant recognising that William and Mary were the legitimate monarchs, unacceptable to many Dublin Catholics.<sup>214</sup> Juries composed mainly of freemen outlawed many citizens who had been active in James II's cause. In total, all the senior Jacobites who had acquired their freedom were outlawed, including Thomas Hackett, the former mayor, and John Kearney, the previous town clerk. The outlawing of these freemen would have depleted the numbers of those new citizens, who won their freedom under James II dispensation. In total, 118 Jacobites, many of them citizens, were outlawed by Dublin juries.<sup>215</sup> The rest seem to have been largely left with their citizenship, although there were attempts to disenfranchise eight Catholics during the assassination scare of 1695.<sup>216</sup>

The apparently tolerant approach may have been as a result of the elite's need for independent householders to contribute to the city by paying tax or housing troops. Indeed, there seem to have been Catholic citizens in the city beyond 1700, despite their effective exclusion from the franchise and recurring bouts of hysteria over 'popish' conspiracies.<sup>217</sup> Again, this is further evidence of the strong pragmatism of the patricians and how their policies were moulded by necessity. The post-war period was difficult economically and the city needed all its citizens to undertake 'scot and lot' and as many independent householders as possible to provide accommodation for royal troops billeted upon the city. Many Catholic citizens may have escaped disfranchisement through corrupt practices by paying bribes to

---

<sup>213</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 509; vi, 2, 8.

<sup>214</sup> All Catholics within a thirty mile radius of the city had to swear an oath of allegiance to the new monarchs, see: 3 William II & Mary II, c. 9 [Ire.] (4 Mar. 1691), in *Stat. Ire.*, i, 401-3.

<sup>215</sup> Simms (ed.), *The list of 'outlawed Jacobites'*, pp 11-136.

<sup>216</sup> *Anc. rec. Dublin*, vi, 123,149.

<sup>217</sup> *Ibid*, vi, 8, 26, 137, 188, 222.

patricians like Humphrey Jervis to avoid taking discriminatory oaths.<sup>218</sup> The apparent toleration of Catholic citizens was as usual motivated by practical considerations. The patricians, in the interest of the city and its welfare, could rarely afford to be consistently dogmatic in the pursuit of their objectives. They were willing to compromise and be flexible with regard to the reception of outsiders and were not as heavy-handed in their treatment of Catholics as their opposites in Limerick.<sup>219</sup>

The changes in the admission system due to government action were one of the features of this period. There was clearly a growing intervention by the state in the city's affairs, generally. This had been a characteristic of the city since the reign of Elizabeth I. Dublin, like other Irish cities, was especially prone to interference by the government. The extent of this can be gauged if we compare the experience of Dublin with that of another great regional capital, York. That city did not have to contend with such blatant interference as the acts naturalising Protestant 'strangers'.

The problems this intrusion brought for the patricians of the city were two-fold. Firstly, the state always tended to desire the 'opening up' of the franchise which was contrary to the traditional approach of the patriciate, which sought to restrict the franchise to protect the value of the citizenship and the rights of civic bodies, like the guilds. Despite the inherent difficulties raised by the civic elite, they had by and large to obey as their privileges were dependent upon royal support. The general acceptance of the state's role in the election of newcomers to the citizen body with the exception of Catholics is not just a case of the patricians bowing before the leviathan of state power, or the corporation acting as 'the creatures of monarchy'.<sup>220</sup> Those who secured their freedom were those who were inherently acceptable to the civic authorities. Those whom the royal authority or its representatives championed were artisans or merchants of some cast. The civic authorities had a long tradition stretching back to the city's earliest days of admitting such skilled migrants. Despite the drastic changes there was clearly much continuity, as it was held that these new citizens could contribute to the running of the city and the growth of its economy.<sup>221</sup> The Quakers are a good example of this as they were simply too wealthy to be excluded

---

<sup>218</sup> Humphrey Jervis did not deny the charge but he claimed he was paid by Catholics to doctor the wording of the oath, but he deceived them and tendered the correct and legal form of the oath of allegiance see: *Anc. rec. Dub.*, vi. 594, 599, 604; *Common. jn. Ire.*, (Sept. 21, 1697), iii.

<sup>219</sup> Soldiers were quartered exclusively upon Catholics and they were largely confined to an 'Irish town' see: Lenihan, *Limerick: its history and antiquities*, pp 179, 209.

<sup>220</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 559.

<sup>221</sup> *Ibid*, v, 134 -234.

indefinitely from the franchise and the guilds. They had the requisite financial means that the city always needed to finance its affairs and the guilds.

The second great issue for the civic elite was the religion of those who enjoyed some government support. The bulk of those who were admitted were all Protestant, except 'innocent Catholics' and those admitted between 1687 and 1688, during the Jacobite regime. The patricians who were a Protestant body desired their co-religionists to migrate to the city. In 1652 they actively sought English and Protestant migrants.<sup>222</sup> The patricians in 1666 stated that they were sympathetic to Protestant immigration.<sup>223</sup> In 1678 there were calls for the city to be walled, as much of the city was un-walled and therefore vulnerable to Catholic attacks and this was to the 'discouragement of Protestants'. New walls it was argued would be, 'an encouragement to foreigners' presumably foreign Protestants.<sup>224</sup> The patricians of Dublin were, apart from the Jacobite interlude, were part of the Protestant interest and this persuaded them to accept the state's sponsorship of their co-religionists.

The state clearly had a major impact on the admission of freemen in this era. Yet the patricians skilfully managed these newcomers so that they did not disrupt the established ways. These outsiders were obliged to adhere to various by-laws to ensure they conformed to the policies of the city. For instance, they had to join a guild. Similarly, although they may have been unwelcome, the elite made sure that they played their part as citizens. These newcomers may have been novel in many ways. Yet the attitude of the patricians towards them was the same as that towards any other newcomer who sought the franchise: to avail of the citizenship they had to conform to the municipality's policies and contribute financially or by holding office to the government of the city. In this they successfully negotiated the dilemma presented to them of appearing loyal to the crown and its representatives, while upholding traditional privileges and policies.

---

<sup>222</sup> *Ibid.*, iv, 3-4, 38.

<sup>223</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iv, 202.

<sup>224</sup> *Ibid.*, v., 202.

## Chapter 5

### The patriciate, migrants and the defence of economic privileges, 1600-1700

The city of Dublin and its surrounding districts received a massive influx of people and a concomitant rise in population throughout the seventeenth century, as we have seen in previous chapters.<sup>1</sup> The vast majority of these migrants, irrespective of their ethnic origin or occupation, were termed the ‘unfree’ by the municipality of Dublin.<sup>2</sup> The aldermanic elite, at least in the surviving municipal records, tolerated the ‘unfree’, and only demanded of them that they should pay to the city various civic taxes and the ‘three penny custom’.<sup>3</sup> This largely forbearing attitude displayed by the Dublin patricians towards the large ‘unfree’ class in the city did not extend to one significant group among this large class. These were the group of tradesmen, artisans and retailers who ‘intruded’ on the various guilds or the organisation of staplers in the city.<sup>4</sup> The latter organisation that regulated the trade in some primary products was structured like a guild and had strong links with the merchant guild.<sup>5</sup> In Limerick, the merchant guild was known simply as the guild of staplers.<sup>6</sup>

This ‘intrusion’, as it was known, occurred when those who were not members of the guild or not under licence from a fraternity infringed on the monopoly of one of the guilds by trading or selling goods within the city limits. A bye-law stated that ‘no foreigner shall keep shop or exercise any craft, faculty or science without appointment’ from the mayor or guilds. If an individual engaged in a trade or retailed goods, except some types of food, without paying a fee to a fraternity or without the exemption of the municipal leaders, that person was engaged in an illegal activity.<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Cullen, ‘Population Trends in seventeenth century Ireland’, p. 154.

<sup>2</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 358, 396; iii, 105, 113; vi, 85.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 358; iv, 63; v, 94, 187, 394, 419.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 358, 396; iii, 33, 37, 106; , iv, 144;v, 345, vi, 85; Ohlmeyer and O Ciardhe (eds), *The Irish statute staple books*, pp 1-4.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 1-3; 14; D.C.A., MS 78, p. 19.

<sup>6</sup> Lenihan, *Limerick : its history and antiquities*, p. 702.

<sup>7</sup> Bye-laws of the city of Dublin (R.I.A., 12 D 4, pp 23, 45); *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 30-1.

This was not a new phenomenon and some of the bye-laws against these intruders can be traced back to medieval times.<sup>8</sup>

This chapter will concentrate on the patriciate's defence of the corporation's chief economic privilege, namely the civic guilds' monopolies, as migrants were a direct threat to their rights. Before we proceed, it is necessary to examine the status of the guilds' control over selected aspects of the urban economy. There are many examples in this era of urban economies becoming effectively deregulated, a phenomenon that occurred all over western Europe. This liberalisation process was often due to state policies that frequently curtailed civic and guild economic privileges to increase trade and commerce. Then there were the pressures of a growing market economy. Many metropolitan cities in Europe witnessed rapid demographic and economic growth and this generated demand for goods and services. Many members simply left the traditional trade and craft organisations to further pursue their own interests, unfettered by guild regulations.<sup>9</sup>

The rise of a class of proto-capitalists in particular often proved fatal to the guild system in early modern urban economies. The latter needs some further explanation. Wealthy individuals often reduced the city's artisans and traders, including guild members, to the status of wage-earners. The proto-capitalists sometimes established large workshops or trading concerns. This was often achieved by introducing the 'putting out' system, paying migrants and rural-dwellers a set rate for their labour. These proved too much for many guild members and they were unable to compete with the proto-capitalists and were often reduced to becoming the employees of these entrepreneurs. Those who sought to survive increasingly ignored the restrictive guild practices, such as limiting the number of apprentices or journeymen they could employ, in order to compete. The effect of these was to break up the traditional fraternities of traders and artisans for they no longer offered any real benefits to members.<sup>10</sup> To assess the strength of the guilds' position in Dublin, it is necessary to see if these developments occurred in the Irish city. If they did, what was their effect, on the various fraternities' regulation of their monopolies'?

---

<sup>8</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, i, 4-5; ii, 459; iii, 199, 215, 397.

<sup>9</sup> Robert Du Plessis and Martha Howell, 'Reconsidering the early modern economy: the case of Lille and Leiden' in *Past and Present*, no. 94 (Feb. 1992), pp 49-53.

<sup>10</sup> J.R. Kellet, 'The breakdown of guild and corporation control over the handicraft and retail trade in London' in *English History Review*, lx (1958), pp 381-94.



In the early part of the century, the state did threaten the guilds' rights, among other civic economic privileges, in a bid to promote trade and hence its income from customs.<sup>11</sup> The city's ability to control the customs and to levy 'poundage' was taken out of the patriciate's hands.<sup>12</sup> There were also direct threats to the guild system. The year 1614 saw the lord deputy, during a dispute over the city's customs, threaten to withdraw the merchant guild's charters and this would have effectively ended that fraternity's monopoly. Even more threatening to the guilds was the proposed legislation in 1640 to end the guilds' rights to prosecute alleged intruders in their own tribunals. This would have prevented the various guilds from enforcing their monopoly and rendering them only trade organisations.<sup>13</sup> The outbreak of the great rebellion probably prevented the passage of the bills. After 1660 the state was more amenable to the guilds, in part because they facilitated Protestant control of the urban economy.<sup>14</sup> Indeed the Restoration period saw an expansion in their numbers as new fraternities were incorporated by the grant of royal charters. In total eight new guilds were formed between 1660 and 1690 (see appendix 3). Despite growing state interference in the municipal corporation, the guilds retained their privileged place within the urban economy. However, the brotherhood of staplers was redundant by the end of the Jacobite wars.<sup>15</sup>

Dublin's population and economy grew significantly over the course of the century. There was a rise in demand, and a market for new commodities and services. These created new commercial opportunities for traders and artisans. In other early modern cities, this resulted in many of them leaving the guild system to pursue their own interests. However, it seems that the guilds were still valued by skilled workers and retailers in the city. For traders and craftsmen still sought to establish guilds in the city. A fraternity's charters were usually granted, after prominent citizens petitioned, and lobbied government officials for the right of a groups of artisans to be incorporated into a recognised guild. For example, Alderman Daniel Hutchinson,

---

<sup>11</sup> Gale, *An inquiry into the ancient corporate system of Ireland*, appendix xxxii; 'Scheme for increasing the revenue' Oct ? 1607, (*Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, p. 75).

<sup>12</sup> Gale, *An inquiry into the ancient corporate system of Ireland*, appendix xlvii, xviii.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, appendix xxxii; 'Scheme for increasing the revenue ? Oct. 1607 (*Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, p. 76); 'Petition of Dublin merchants 4 Nov. 1611', (*Cal. S.P. Ire., 1611-4*, p. 24); Webb, *The guilds of Dublin*, p. 43.

<sup>14</sup> Hill, *From patriots to Unionists*, p. 34.

<sup>15</sup> This body regulated the trade in basic goods, such as wool see: Ohlmeyer and Ciardha (eds), *The Irish staple books*, pp iii-x.

helped the guild of chandlers to obtain a royal charter.<sup>16</sup> This process could be costly and frustrating as can be seen in an abortive attempt by the brewers to form a guild in the city in the early 1670s and they had to wait until the 1690s to secure a charter.<sup>17</sup> The fact that successful artisans and traders initiated the formation of guilds indicates that the fraternities and their privileges were held to be relevant and valuable, even in the generally expanding and market-orientated urban economy of the later part of the century.

The emergence of proto-capitalists is evident in the examples of Sir Daniel Byrne and Anthony Sharpe; they employed large numbers of artisans and semi-skilled workers, many of whom were almost certainly guild members.<sup>18</sup> The guilds were able to accommodate the proto-capitalists and their ambitions: indeed many such entrepreneurs, like those mentioned, were guild brothers or served as guild officers in their fraternities.<sup>19</sup> This was possibly due to these individuals being men of their 'time', who could not conceive of a successful enterprise outside the system. Moreover, the guilds may have satisfied the need for status and respect and so marked a feature of the time, like the wealthy Limerick Grocers who sought to form their own guild, so that, in the words of a contemporary 'they could strut through the streets'.<sup>20</sup> It can be cautiously stated that, despite pressures on the traditional economic system, the guilds' monopolies were still respected and valued by the citizens and the patriciate, and that they still regulated much of the urban economy.

It seems that those who broke the civic bye-laws with regard to illegal trading in the city were mainly migrants and outsiders. The language used to describe these interlopers refers to them as 'foreigners and strangers'.<sup>21</sup> The civic elite applied these terms generally to describe all those who were not natives of Dublin. The term 'stranger' was used to describe all those from outside the city: for example, one Henry Walsh, a Waterford merchant, was described as a 'merchant stranger'. The term 'foreigner' was also used to indicate those from outside the city.<sup>22</sup> The terms could be interchangeable and it seems that both phrases can be safely assumed to mean that

---

<sup>16</sup> Thrift abstracts of guild records (N.A.I., TA., 1439); *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1669-70*, pp 215, 782.

<sup>17</sup> *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1669-70*, pp 277, 299, 281, 324, 361; Thrift abstracts of guild records (N.A.I., TA 1449).

<sup>18</sup> Byrne, was a contractor for the commonwealth army, while Sharpe, employed a substantial number of textile workers see: Gilbert, *The history of Dublin*, i, 142-4; Greaves, *Anthony Sharpe*, pp 3, 69.

<sup>19</sup> Berry, 'The records of the Dublin Guild of Merchants', pp 62-3; Stubbs, 'The weavers' guild', p. 69.

<sup>20</sup> Lenihan, *Limerick: its history and antiquities*, p. 701.

<sup>21</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 124; iii, 12, 33, 62, 47, 106, 183; iv, 83; v, 190, 202, 336; vi, 40.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, iii, 339; iv, 473; v, 21; D.C.A., MS 78, p. 104

those referred to, were migrants or travellers to Dublin<sup>23</sup>. This would seem to suggest that those who ‘intruded on the various corporations’ were migrants to the city, although it is possible that some natives not free of the city also encroached upon the guilds’ monopolies.

Before we can attempt to tackle the issue of the policy of the patricians towards those who came to sell and make goods illegally in the city, we need to outline something of the nature of this group. Given the sources, an impression of this group of migrants is the best that can be achieved. Dublin was relatively accessible by land and in particular by sea to many migrants seeking betterment or simply seeking to make a living to move to the city. Dublin was a capital city and, like other capitals, it ‘tended to attract more long distance migrants’. It seems probable that the city drew many artisans and others who attempted to work outside the officially sanctioned guild system from a wide geographical area.<sup>24</sup>

It is impossible to establish the geographic origin of those who moved to Dublin, and who were later labelled ‘intruders’. However, many English migrants from north west England made their way to the city, and many of them manufactured and sold goods in the city without the required permission. There are several extant references to English tradesmen, not citizens, operating in the city illegally.<sup>25</sup> There are also references to French, Welsh, Dutch and Scottish interlopers throughout this period. For example, there was a complaint made in 1648 against one Le Smed, apparently a French perfumer, and one Mc Kneather, an iron merchant, from Scotland.<sup>26</sup> There are also indications that artisans from urban centres and nucleated settlements in Ireland and took to the roads looking for work.<sup>27</sup> There are several examples of skilled workers in Ireland who left their homes to seek work, and Dublin would have been a prime destination, for migrants such as Francis Knight, an iron founder, who left Fermanagh for the Irish capital in 1641, or John Baddiley, a Chandler from Offaly, who moved to the capital in the 1680s.<sup>28</sup> The ethnic origin of

---

<sup>23</sup> Webb, *The guilds of Dublin*, p. 15.

<sup>24</sup> De Vries, *European urbanisation*, p. 90.

<sup>25</sup> Deposition of William Coventry, 10 Nov. 1642 (T.C.D., MS 810, f. 128); ‘Petition of John Hickock, 1653’ (C.C.A., Chester Assembly rolls, ZA/F/83/12); Pollard, *A dictionary of members of the Dublin book trade*, pp 308, 372, 559; Will of Joseph Axtell, soap boiler, 6 Mar. 1647 (N.A., Kew, Prob., 11/199).

<sup>26</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 474; D.C.A., MS 78, p. 134; Loeber, ‘The reception of foreigners’, pp 155-68.

<sup>27</sup> Many of these migrated to England see; Fitzgerald, ‘Poor Irish migrants in England’, pp 32-3.

<sup>28</sup> Will of John Baddiley, 9 Jan. 1699, in Eustace and Goodbody (eds), *Quaker wills*, no.15; Canny, *Making Ireland British*, p. 473.

these intruders was not a concern of the elite. If they were English or Gaelic Irish, once they threatened a guilds' monopoly, they were treated as transgressors who were infringing guild and civic bye-laws.

These intruders practised a variety of occupations. The list of economic activities engaged in by the 'intruders' included those of merchant, wireworker, seamstress, shoemaker, fishmonger, soap boiler, seller of spirits, spectacle maker, stabler and victualler and wholesale traders. There were also references to seamstresses, which suggest that women migrants too came to the city for employment.<sup>29</sup> This gives an impression of the range of activities engaged in by interlopers who infringed on the economic privileges of the city. It was clearly not confined to one trade or occupation and, as one petitioner complained, outsiders 'intrude upon most of the corporations'.<sup>30</sup> The number of guilds grew as the century wore on; in 1600 it was eight but by 1700 was twenty-three (see appendix 3). This meant that a greater number of the occupations of the non-citizen group were regulated by the guilds and hence ever greater numbers of outsiders could have been defined as intruders by the guilds and the aldermanic bench.

The socio-economic status of those labelled by the guilds and patriciate as infringing on the 'liberties of the corporations' is again a difficult question to answer. There are some examples that suggest that the economic wealth of these individuals was as diverse as their origins or occupations. The Dutch merchants who came and traded illegally in Dublin were quite affluent such as Peter Wybrants (1580-1639)<sup>31</sup>, while many English merchants who were 'intruders' settled in the city appear from their wills to have been quite prosperous, such as the Londoner Samuel Rhodes.<sup>32</sup> There were others who appear to have belonged to the middling ranks of society like the Chester freeman and 'skinner' who settled in the city in the 1620s.<sup>33</sup> There were also skilled workers who were vilified as threatening the city's privileges who may have been on the verge of poverty and penury. These included men like Patrick Maguire, a tailor from County Fermanagh, or Mull[inery] O Loughlin, a

---

<sup>29</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 418; iii, 63, 157; iv, 85; Ohlmeyer and O Ciardha (eds), *The Irish staple books*, p. 369.

<sup>30</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 157.

<sup>31</sup> Loeber, 'The reception of foreigners', p.158; Deposition of Adrian Huiberts, Nov.1642 (T.C.D. MS 809, f. 315); Will of Theodore Schout, 4 Apr. 1656 (N.A., Kew, Prob., 11/212).

<sup>32</sup> Will of Samuel Rhodes, 16 May 1653 (N.A., Prob., 12/199); Will of Jonathan Bellars, 11 June, 1679 (N.A. U.K. Prob, 11/359); Will of Christopher Percieval, 11 May, 1606 (N.A., Prob., 11/108); Will of John Hey, ? 1670 (N.A. Kew, Prob. 11/332).

<sup>33</sup> Chester Apprenticeship registers, 1616-8 (C.C.A., ZM/AB/1).

barber-surgeon from Tyrone, who both came to Dublin in 1641. They both walked to the city and could easily have been arrested as vagrants, as they were homeless and unemployed. They or similar craftsmen could easily have plied their trade in Dublin, illegally. The tailor Maguire, for instance, seems to have paid his lodgings on the route to Dublin by ‘mending clothes’ and he could quite easily have set himself up in the city’s suburbs. We see here a great array of persons who as ‘foreigners and strangers held the city charters in contempt’, according to the civic elite, by plying their trade without official permission.<sup>34</sup> The intruders’ social origin was no more important than their ethnic origin to the patricians and the guilds. The city’s governing elite and guilds classed them all as intruders.

The imprecise and general terms, ‘foreigner’ and ‘stranger’, were used to denote those who infringed upon the rights of the guilds. However, there is reason based on guild records, that wandering journeymen may have comprised many of those who threatened at least the craft guilds’ monopolies. These journeymen or ‘country journeymen’ had been apprenticed elsewhere in the country. Once out of their apprenticeship, they usually had to have served their master for some time after their apprenticeship, as was the case in Dublin with the guild of merchants.<sup>35</sup> After this, many left their master’s house and had to make their own way in the world. Many appear to have wandered to Dublin and set themselves up in the city. The felt makers, bakers, merchant and merchant tailors’ guilds specifically refer to the problem of journeymen working illegally in the city.<sup>36</sup> Many of these ‘intruders’ travelled from England such as John Whalley, a native of London, the future necromancer, who first came to Dublin as a journeyman shoemaker.<sup>37</sup>

Many wandering journeymen may not have been able to work legitimately in the city due to insufficient certification that proved they had served a full apprenticeship. Several guilds passed by-laws that only journeymen, who had served seven years, could work in the city.<sup>38</sup> The government supported this policy by the guilds. For example it was specifically stipulated in several royal charters that

---

<sup>34</sup> Examination of Patrick Maguire, 27 Oct. 1641, (T.C.D., Dublin, MS. 809, f. 104); Examination of Mull(iney) O Loughlin, 27 Oct. 1641, (T.C.D., MS 809, f. 195); *Anc rec. Dub.*, iii, 113.

<sup>35</sup> Berry, ‘The records of the Dublin guild of merchants’, p. 63.

<sup>36</sup> Berry, ‘The merchant tailor guild- that of St John the Baptist’, p. 26; N.A.I., M.6118 a, p. 8; D.C.A. MS 78, p. 107; Swift, *History of the Dublin bakers and others*, p. 72.

<sup>37</sup> Gilbert, *The history of Dublin*, i, 188-93, 377-80; Pollard, *A dictionary of members of the Dublin book trade*, pp 106, 119,144, 160 181, 222, 342, 397.

<sup>38</sup> N.A. M 611a, p. 6; Transcript of records of the guild of St Luke, transcribed by M.H. Daly (R.I.A., 1954, RRG /34/E, p. 6).

were granted to guilds.<sup>39</sup> It seems that many journeymen who arrived in the city could not prove that they had served their full term of training and as a result were effectively barred from practising a trade.<sup>40</sup> This was quite common, as often many journeymen trained in rural areas had no indentures proving their service. Furthermore, there was a class of journeymen referred to as ‘clubs’: these were craftsmen who were not fully trained, or had not served the legally required seven years apprenticeship, and could not under guild bye-laws and charters. Those included the apprentice from Chester, Thomas Everton, whose master had not enough work for him and released him before his full term of training and who migrated to Ireland to trade there until the rebellion of 1641. The guild of feltmakers and St Luke specifically outlawed the employment of these unqualified craftsmen.<sup>41</sup>

New applicants to the craft guilds had to prove their skill in that trade and if they were not ‘sufficient workmen’ and could not demonstrate an adequate standard of workmanship to a guild, they were, according to guild bye-laws, precluded from practising that craft. Any weaver who sought to become a guild brother had to present himself before the master and wardens and other senior brethren of the guild and demonstrate that he was a competent workman.<sup>42</sup> The goldsmiths, cutlers and feltmakers demanded ‘proof pieces’ as evidence of good workmanship from each and every applicant for the freedom of their guilds, or even a licence to work in the city. If they failed to provide such an item of a sufficient standard, they were forbidden to practise their trade. This occurred to two painter-stainers, who were ‘strangers’, Edward Exshaw and John Roberts, who in 1697 ‘did not give a proof-piece and were refused admission’.<sup>43</sup> Those who did not meet the guilds high standards were often forced to practise their trade without the permission of the guilds. Therefore, there was a reservoir of migrant artisans and craftsmen who could not enter the guild system even if they wished to petition a guild for possible membership or even to seek permission to operate a craft in the city. These artisans if they engaged in their trade

---

<sup>39</sup> *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1665-9*, pp 143, 153; *ibid, 1669-70*, 144, 216, 291.

<sup>40</sup> N.A.I., M 6118 a, pp 7-8.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid*, p.6; R.I.A., 1954, RRG/34/E, p. 4, 6; Chester second assembly book (C.C.A., ZA/F/26/27).

<sup>42</sup> Webb, *The guilds of Dublin*, p. 227; Keating, ‘The guild of cutlers’, p. 137; Berry, ‘The records of the feltmakers’ guild of Dublin’, p. 31.

<sup>43</sup> Keating, ‘The guild of cutlers’, p. 137; N.A.I. M 6118 a, p.11; Berry, ‘The goldsmith company of Dublin’, p. 129.

or craft were branded intruders. Cities like York similarly suffered from journeymen, usually from rural areas, working illegally in their economy.<sup>44</sup>

The most important feature of those classed as ‘intruders’ was the location of their home and places of work and business, which were usually the same, in the city and its suburbs. The city was not one single administrative unit under the government of the patriciate. There were four or five distinct enclaves near the city franchises, which were independent jurisdictions and outside the city’s control. These were St Sepulchre, Christ Church cathedral’s precincts, and the liberty of Thomas Court and Donore and St Patrick’s cathedral.<sup>45</sup> These adjacent jurisdictions were under the authority respectively of the archbishop of Dublin, the dean of Christ Church cathedral and the earl of Meath. The extent and the rights of these liberties had ‘never been satisfactorily delineated or defined’, which led to constant quarrels and legal suits between the different jurisdictions.<sup>46</sup> Indeed the city never really recognised their independent status and attempted to either to absorb them or have the government incorporate them into the municipality.<sup>47</sup> The municipality, the merchant, and the various craft guilds claimed that trade and commerce in the liberties’ were within their ambit and these claims are mentioned in several fraternities’ charters such as that of the merchant guild.<sup>48</sup> The various liberties, which had their own administration, headed by a seneschal, were keen to assert their immunity from municipal or other bodies’ interference. The various liberties’ rights ultimately derived from royal charters, some of which were almost as old as the city’s.<sup>49</sup> The liberties charters and rights were legally recognised by the state.<sup>50</sup>

The tangible influence of the lords of the liberties like the archbishop of Dublin and the earl of Meath would also greatly hinder the prosecution of ‘intruders’ by the guilds and the patriciate. The first earl of Meath was well connected at the royal court.<sup>51</sup> The second had been loyal to the monarchy during the commonwealth and

---

<sup>44</sup> Tillot (ed.), *A history of the county of York; the city of York*, pp 145-9.

<sup>45</sup> Warburton, Whitelaw and Walsh, *A history of the city of Dublin*, i, 124, 167; 980-3

<sup>46</sup> *Royal commission to inquire into municipal corporations, Ireland*, 1835, p. 3, H.C. 1836 (24), v, 71.

<sup>47</sup> Lennon, *The lords of Dublin*, p. 43; The king to Ormond, 15 June 1672 (Bodl., Carte MS 40, f. 232); *Cal. S. P. dom., 1672*, pp 196, 725.

<sup>48</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 358; iii, 54, 245; Webb, *The guilds of Dublin*, p. 87; N.L.I., MS 680, pp 6, 11.

<sup>49</sup> *Royal commission to inquire into municipal corporations, Ireland*, 1835, p. 220, H.C. 1836 (24), v, 420.

<sup>50</sup> Gilbert (ed.), *Historic and municipal documents*, pp 12, 45, 141.

<sup>51</sup> The king to St John, 13 Sept. 1621 (*Cal. S.P. Ire., 1615-25*, p. 349).

suffered accordingly and this made him a powerful figure after the Restoration.<sup>52</sup> The government may have seen the immunities enjoyed by Christ Church and St Patrick's liberties as benefiting the established church, and as a result the clerical lords of these may have enjoyed some special favour. This can best be seen during the Restoration when the privileges of St Patrick's and Christ Church were quickly restored and confirmed by successive lord deputies. This was part of a general policy to strengthen the Church of Ireland in the city after its disestablishment during the commonwealth.<sup>53</sup> In the early 1670s, the archbishop of Dublin and the dean of St Patrick's were simply able to prevent the civic corporation from levying fines upon those it deemed 'intruders' within their areas by simply protesting to the lord lieutenant.<sup>54</sup>

One of the privileges common to all the liberties was their freedom from 'gildage', which in effect meant that any craftsman or trader was not required to defer to or pay any dues to any guild.<sup>55</sup> The lords of the respective liberties claimed to have the exclusive legal right to 'correct and order any labourer or artificer' based upon their own royal grants. Accordingly, these lords asserted that they were free to regulate trade in their estates, immune from all outside interference, including that of the guilds and the mayor of Dublin.<sup>56</sup> Yet in the eyes of the guilds and patricians, those engaged in a trade in the liberties were 'intruders' and law breakers, who were flouting Dublin's civic laws and royal charters. Many of the complaints made against 'foreigners' were specifically directed at 'persons not free that open shops in the several liberties', as in 1612, when the common council complained of 'the multiplicity of foreigners that daily increase in Christ Church yard'.<sup>57</sup> The civic authorities viewed these individuals as interlopers, in contempt of the city laws and customs, yet, given the liberties' charters and their lords' influence, they could only approach the problem of 'intruders' in these enclaves in a cautious and circumspect manner.

---

<sup>52</sup> Carte, *A history of James, First Duke of Ormonde*, ii, 200-2.

<sup>53</sup> *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1671-2*, pp 278, 631; Firth and Raith (eds), *Acts and ordinances of the interregnum*, ii, 355-7.

<sup>54</sup> *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1671-2*, p.196; *ibid., 1672-3*, p.725.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid., 1671-2*, pp 373-4; William Monck Mason, *A history of the antiquities of the collegiate church of St Patrick's* (Dublin,1776), p. 183.

<sup>56</sup> *Royal commission to inquire into the municipal corporations, Ireland, 1835*, p. 220, H.C. 1836 (24), v, 404.

; Canon J. B. Leslie (ed.), 'Calendar of leases and deeds of St Patricks Cathedral, Dublin' in *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, lxi (1935), p. 34; Christchurch charter, 4 May 1574 (*Cal. S.P. Ire., 1574-85*, p. 524).

<sup>57</sup> *Anc .rec. Dub.*, ii, 374, 396-7; iii, 19.



The liberties offered a loophole to those who wished to engage in commercial activity, without the overbearing influence of the guilds, as they also did in York.<sup>58</sup> They offered freedom from the guilds and their demands. Any artisans such as Thomas Smith, a shoemaker, who, in 1601, wished to become established in the city, could settle in the yard of Christ Church cathedral and there he could freely live and work.<sup>59</sup> They were even freely able to open shops on a long term basis in these enclaves, like the Cumbrian Quaker Nicholas Jackson, who had a shop in the liberty of St Sepulchre in the 1680s.<sup>60</sup> Even substantial entrepreneurs like William Barnard, a clothier from Gloucester, could operate in the liberties.<sup>61</sup> Whether any craftsman or trader could establish themselves in these enclaves is hard to determine. There were restrictions in the liberty of Christ Church with regard to who could reside in that area. A tenant could be fined if he ‘admitted a stranger to stay’ without consulting the manorial authorities, indicating that the liberty’s authorities regulated who could visit or reside in the cathedral’s precincts.<sup>62</sup> The religious affiliation of any trader or craftsman who sought to set up a workshop in a liberty may also have been an issue, particularly after 1660. It seems that the earl of Meath may have discriminated against some Catholics who wished to be his tenants. John Dunton, the English traveller, stated in 1698 that in the earl’s manor there were only ‘four papist masters of families dwelling in all the liberty’.<sup>63</sup>

In the main, merchants and craftsmen would have been welcome to live and set up business in the liberties. The lords of the liberties saw these immigrants as tenants who were providing welcome extra income while the clerical liberties depended on the income from their residents to maintain the cathedrals and other buildings that were in their trust. The two ‘religious’ liberties would soon have been in desperate financial straits without the income from entry fines and leases.<sup>64</sup> It seems that the leases and the ‘entry fine’ for the right to set up some form of household in a liberty could be expensive: for example in 1600 John Myles, a smith, had to pay 20 shillings a year for a cellar. The cost of a lease for a cellar in the yard of

---

<sup>58</sup> Friedrich, *The early modern city*, pp 31-2.

<sup>59</sup> Gillespie (ed.), *The first chapter book... Christ Church*, pp 54, 160-4.

<sup>60</sup> ‘Will of Nicholas Jackson, 4 June 1690’ in Eustace and Goodbody (eds), *Quaker wills*, no.118.

<sup>61</sup> ‘Will of William Barnard, in 12 June, 1682’ in *ibid.*, no.16.

<sup>62</sup> Gillespie, *The first chapter book... Christ Church*, pp 67, 105.

<sup>63</sup> Dunton, *Teague land*, p. 139.

<sup>64</sup> Kenneth Milne, ‘Restoration and regeneration 1660-1800’ in *idem*, *Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin: a history* (Dublin, 2000), pp 263, 268; Archbishop of Dublin to Ormonde, ? Mar. 1661 (Bodl., MS Carte 43, ff 118-9).

Christ Church seems very high compared to other leases in the city. In 1605 a merchant leased a house for 10 shillings a year in St Nicholas Street.<sup>65</sup> It appears that leases in other liberties were probably not as expensive as the strategically- situated Christ Church Yard, it seems that their value too, was boosted by their location's legal status. The liberties authorities, were aware of the significance of their immunities and correspondingly charged high rates for leases and rent. The drive by officials in the liberties to earn income by exploiting their immunities can be seen from a description of Christ Church in 1634 by Lord Deputy Wentworth. The king's representative in Ireland complained to Archbishop Laud that 'there were on diverse buildings erected upon the fabric of Christ Church and the vaults and cellars underneath the church itself turned all to alehouses and tobacco shops'.<sup>66</sup>

The lords of the liberties and their seneschals to develop and maintain these independent enclaves also needed immigrants. In the archbishop's liberty of St Patrick's, many leases were given to outsiders. Several of these obliged the new tenants to carry out repairs to the property they were renting. In 1674, one Robert Brady was granted a lease on attractive terms, but he had to 'rebuild Ponyquart House' in the liberty of St Sepulchre. Other leases too involved a 'covenant' to repair houses and to 'leave premises habitable'.<sup>67</sup> Not only did these tenants help to maintain the liberty, but they also helped to develop and expand these jurisdictions. In 1670, one Thomas Lynegar built four houses in the liberty.<sup>68</sup> The manorial lords also needed the financial and other contributions of the elite. From paying cess for improvements like paving, to serving in the watch, the liberties needed newcomers to fulfil its duties, just as the municipal authorities needed migrants to aid them in their government of the city.<sup>69</sup>

The various liberties not only sought to protect its valued tenants, but also sheltered these individuals' sub-tenants.<sup>70</sup> The sub-division of properties sub-let to individuals was common, despite civic bye-laws and this practice also occurred in the liberties. The authorities in these areas permitted the activities of sub-tenants as

---

<sup>65</sup> Gillespie (ed.), *The first chapter book..... Christchurch Cathedral*, p. 105; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 454.

<sup>66</sup> Earl of Strafford to the Archbishop of Canterbury ,10 Sept. 1636, in *The earl of Strafford's letters and despatches*, ed. Knowler, i, 169.

<sup>67</sup> Leslie (ed.), 'Calendar of leases and deeds of St. Patrick's', pp 34, 36, 50,54, 65; Robinson (ed), 'Christ Church Cathedral, proctors accounts' p. 265.

<sup>68</sup> Leslie 'Calendar of leases and deeds of St Patricks', p. 50.

<sup>69</sup> Monck Mason, *The history and antiquities .... of St Patrick's*, pp 183-4; Gillespie (ed.), *The first act chapter book ... Christchurch Cathedral*, pp 162-5.

<sup>70</sup> Leslie (ed.), 'Calendar of leases and deeds of St Patricks' p. 41.

they contributed rents to the various leaseholders, and, without their contributions, the taking of expensive leases by new tenants may have been impossible. These tenants may have been the ‘strangers’ referred to by the dean of St Patrick’s as opposed to ‘inhabitants’ who had long-term leases with the liberty. The liberty recognised the right of this group to trade and retail in their jurisdictions. In the early 1600s the dean of St Patrick’s declared that ‘all inhabitants and strangers could retail in the liberty’.<sup>71</sup>

The opportunity for outsiders to rent property in the liberties was important in the encouragement of a certain type of migrant, referred to in contemporary sources as ‘sojourners’. Many tradesmen and retailers seem to have settled in the city on a temporary basis. Some may have brought their wares or skills to the city for a short time before returning to their original abode. Meetings of parliament or the presence in the city of the vice-regal court afforded them a lucrative market, for a fixed period. This was the case in London, where many ‘country’ tradesmen would trade unofficially, leaving their family in their native place during sessions of parliament.<sup>72</sup> Possible examples of this practice can be seen in traders from Cumbria and Chester who resided in the liberties but whose families remained in England.<sup>73</sup> Other itinerant traders and artisans would visit the city with goods to find a market there, such as one Green, a tailor, who arrived in the Dublin with a batch of clothing, to sell, during an economic downturn in his native place in England.<sup>74</sup> The relatively easy access to rental accommodation evident in the liberties facilitated these temporary migrants.

It must be noted that not all ‘foreigners and strangers’ who came to the city to exercise a trade worked illegally in the liberties. There is evidence that some may have worked within the municipality’s jurisdiction. There are references to ‘shops in private houses’ and people secretly retailing ‘under pretence of giving samples’. These examples seem to refer to people retailing goods covertly within the municipal bounds, as they could open shops and engage in various commercial transactions in the liberties, with some degree of freedom.<sup>75</sup> Therefore, the civic elite were dealing

---

<sup>71</sup> Monck Mason, *The history and antiquities... of St Patricks*, pp 182-3.

<sup>72</sup> Graunt, *Natural observations*, p. 6.

<sup>73</sup> Will of John Bunyeart, 1 Dec. 1690’ in Eustace and Goodbody (eds), *Quaker wills*, no.7; Will of Joseph Hanks, 2 Apr. 1692’ in *ibid*, no. 12 ; Will of John Hutchinson, 13 May, 1690 in *ibid.*, no.25; Will of John Balster, 21 Feb. 1686 in *ibid.*, no. 101.

<sup>74</sup> *Cal. S. P. Ire., 1665-6*, p.156.

<sup>75</sup> D.C.A., MS 81, p. 10; Berry ‘The merchant tailors’ guild-that of St John the Baptist’ p. 34: *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 36; iii, 106; iv. 108; N.A.I., M 6118 a, p. 8.

with a problem that occurred even within their own jurisdiction. However, the liberties were essential to the successful settlement of many migrant traders and artisans in the city. They offered most craftsmen or indeed anyone engaged in commerce from a broad social background an area that was readily accessible, where they could live and trade, without the impositions of the guilds.

The various guilds were to the forefront in combatting newcomers' illegal trading and retailing in the city, for they were directly threatened. To understand why the fraternities were concerned with these individuals, we need to understand something of the nature of these institutions. The guilds established by royal charter, as was the case with the guild of coopers in 1665, or by a charter from the common council, as was the case with the short-lived 'guild of stablers' in 1605.<sup>76</sup> These charters were constitutions for the guilds and delineated their rights and privileges. Over the centuries many were issued or confirmed. All the charters granted broadly similar powers to the fraternities of traders and craftspersons. They were bodies that could elect masters and wardens and they had the right to pass bye-laws governing their members. Most importantly of all, the guilds were guaranteed a monopoly over the manufacture and the sale of commodities or services associated with their occupation within the limits of the corporation of Dublin.<sup>77</sup> One historian of the guilds has asserted that 'the *raison d'être* of the guilds was the maintenance of their liberties and monopoly'.<sup>78</sup>

The threat from outsiders working and trading in areas connected with a guild's privileges was real. Craftsmen and retailers in the liberties, without the burdens of a citizen or guild membership may have had fewer overheads and could have undercut the prices of established guild members.<sup>79</sup> The activities of craftsmen and shopkeepers not 'free of the city' often provided unfair competition to citizens. It was not just the guilds' monopoly that was threatened but individuals' livelihoods and the collective security offered by the guilds. The competition from outsiders, it would appear, was too much for many freemen. Several petitioners in the 1620s claimed 'they were overthrown by these intruders'.<sup>80</sup> Negative economic trends and events were often attributed to human agency, in this period. In Dublin, it appears that

---

<sup>76</sup> N.L.I., MS 680, p.1; *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1665-6*, p. 143.; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 389.

<sup>77</sup> Webb, *The guilds of Dublin*, pp 1-12; N.L.I., MS 680 pp 10-11; *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1665-9*, pp 141-2, 270-1; Thrift abstracts of guild records (N.A.I., TA. 1430-50).

<sup>78</sup> Webb, *The guilds of Dublin*, p. 39; N.A.I. M 6118 a, pp 5, 15, 22, 23, 27.

<sup>79</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 398.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, iii, 113.

citizens may have unfairly blamed immigrants for impersonal economic trends. For example, the difficulties caused by a major recession in the early 1630s were put down to Dutch merchants.<sup>81</sup> Given that many freemen struggled to make a living at the best of times, they were likely to resist any competition fiercely, especially from illegal traders and artisans within the city's franchise.<sup>82</sup>

The charters gave the guilds real powers to defend and enforce their monopolies. Their legal powers could even be described as sweeping. A good and typical example of these is given in the charter of the merchant tailors' guild. It gave the guild's officers, the masters and wardens of the fraternity 'magisterial powers'. They had 'power to inquire into all offences connected with the art' of tailoring, especially with regard to all those who engaged in that craft illegally in the city. Officers of the fraternity had the 'right to seize work' of intruders and the master and warden could enter the houses of 'those not free of the guild', to see if any illegal tailoring was being carried on there. In theory the master and wardens of the guild 'had power to fine or imprison' any person who infringed the guild's bye-laws, including intruders and even enter private dwellings.<sup>83</sup> Limerick's guilds had similar powers.<sup>84</sup> It is probable that 'intruders' could be prosecuted by tribunals or juries composed of senior brethren of guilds, who usually sat in the fraternity's hall.<sup>85</sup> Here they could issue a warrant for the arrest of an intruder and impose fines.<sup>86</sup> Importantly, the tailors' jurisdiction extended for 'seven miles around the city'. Some of the other guilds held larger jurisdiction. They all had in common the right to exercise their powers in the suburbs and liberties of the city and legally act against intruders in these areas.<sup>87</sup>

The guild records for this period are fragmentary and yet our sources are adequate enough to demonstrate that the guilds did use the considerable powers vested in them to prosecute interlopers. From the early years of the century the tailors' guild was quite active in upholding their rights. In 1616 the Trinity guild was accused

---

<sup>81</sup> *Report on the manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont* (2 vols, H.M.C. London, 1905-9), i, 71, 72

<sup>82</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, p. xii.

<sup>83</sup> Charter of the Dublin merchant tailor guild, 1688 (N.L.I., MS 67, pp 9-11); *Cal. S.P. Ire.*, 1666-9, pp 782-3; *ibid.*, 1669-70, pp 21-7.

<sup>84</sup> Lenihan, *Limerick: its history and antiquities*, p.703; Herbert (ed.), 'The charter of Limerick's brogue makers', pp 34-7.

<sup>85</sup> Webb, *The guilds of Dublin*, pp 17, 109; Gale, *An inquiry into the ancient corporate system of Ireland*, appendix xxxii; Ohlmeyer and O Ciardha, *The Irish statute staple books*, p. 369.

<sup>86</sup> D.C.A. MS 81, p. 5.

<sup>87</sup> N.A.I., M6118 a, p. 11.

of harassing any trader who threatened their monopoly.<sup>88</sup> Even during the years of war, the fraternities sought to uphold their rights. The merchant guild in 1647 tried to force traders in Christ Church cathedral to recognise its right to regulate trade in the city<sup>89</sup>. After the Restoration, it seems that the fraternities remained vigilant in the defence of their liberties. The weavers' guild prosecuted sixteen intruders in 1686 alone, and the merchant guild regularly intervened to halt what it deemed to be illegal retailing.<sup>90</sup> Even newly created guilds such as St Luke's actively sought to safeguard its recently granted monopoly.<sup>91</sup>

The guilds enforced their rights in several ways. The seizure of goods was a common way of punishing or deterring intruders.<sup>92</sup> It seems that the merchant guild regularly seized goods on sale illegally in the city. The guilds also had the right to levy fines on those who impinged on their monopolies and often goods were seized in lieu of these fines. There is evidence that intruders were forced to appear before a guild tribunal and often forced to pay a fine. For examples, in 1615, an English and a Welsh tailor were both fined 5 shillings by the merchant tailors' guild, 'for following the trade when not free'.<sup>93</sup> These fines could be more substantial as the city in 1611 passed a bye-law setting the fine at £5, while the guild of barber-surgeons could fine an unlicensed healer or surgeon '100 shillings for each month' of a miscreant's intrusion.<sup>94</sup>

Traditional ceremonies or 'walks' whereby masters and wardens and selected brethren of a guild traversed the city's franchises were an important feature of municipal life. This ritual demonstrated the extent of a guild's authority. Of especial concern to the guilds, on these occasions, was the suppression of intruders, especially journeymen, working illegally in the city.<sup>95</sup> The guild officers appear to have used their considerable powers to seize intruders goods on these days. In 1698 Anthony Sharpe, the master of the weavers' guild on one such 'walking day', sought

---

<sup>88</sup> 'Customs of Ireland, 1611', (*Cal. S. P. Ire., 1611-4*, p. 195).

<sup>89</sup> D.C.A. MS 78, p.

<sup>90</sup> Greaves, *Anthony Sharp*, p. 89; Berry, 'The records of the Dublin gild of merchants', p. 62.

<sup>91</sup> Pollard, *A dictionary of members of the Dublin book trade*, p. 173; Keating, 'The guild of cutlers', p. 137.

<sup>92</sup> Berry (ed.), 'The Friday Book', p. 509; *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1611-4*, p. 196.

<sup>93</sup> Berry (ed.), 'The merchant tailors' guild- that of St John the Baptist', p. 26.

<sup>94</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 22, 33; Webb, 'The ancient corporation of barber surgeons', p. 224

<sup>95</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 26; Stubbs, 'The weavers' guild', p. 67; Greaves, *Anthony Sharpe*, p. 80; N.A.I. M 6118 a, p. 32.

to harass hawkers selling woollen cloth illegally in the city.<sup>96</sup> The guild of feltmakers regularly publicly burned hats seized from illegal hat-makers within their franchise during their walks. Other guilds may only have had their clerk record the names of intruders in the city and then proceeded with legal action against these offenders.<sup>97</sup>

Despite their powers of enforcement and their will to defend their privileges, the guilds constantly sought the patricians' support in dealing with the issue of intruders. This suggests that the guilds may have often been unsuccessful in their battle against those who threatened their monopolies. In the common council the fraternities, through their representatives, frequently petitioned the patricians to intervene to deal with the issue. The numbers of those 'intruders' may have been simply too great for the guilds to deal with. In 1643, for instance, the lords justices demanded that the bakers in Dublin, 'free and unfree', hand up a quota of biscuits to the army. The substantial number of bakers not free of the guild can be seen by the fact that they had to supply as many biscuits as those who belonged to the bakers' guild, suggesting a parity in the numbers of free and unfree bakers in the city.<sup>98</sup> In the 1680s there were 200 brothers and quarter-brothers of the guild of weavers. Yet the liberties of Thomas Court and Donore contained numerous weavers and other related trades.<sup>99</sup> These examples give an impression of the scale of the problem of 'intrusion' facing the merchant and craft guilds in the city.

Another reason why the guilds needed the help of the patricians was that these migrants who were intruders used the courts to challenge the authority of the guilds. For example, in the early 1600s, the merchant guild seized goods from traders in St Patrick's liberty. The court of chancery forced the city to order the master and wardens of the merchant guild to return what they had seized after a case brought by those who had their wares confiscated.<sup>100</sup> If the goods of these intruders were returned by a higher court after seizure by a fraternity, this implied that the court tacitly rejected the rights of a guild to regulate a trade in a liberty.<sup>101</sup> As a result of

---

<sup>96</sup> Many of these were French Huguenots see: Greaves, *Anthony Sharpe*, p. 57.

<sup>97</sup> Berry, 'The merchant-tailors' guild-that of St John the Baptist', p. 35; idem, 'The records of the felt makers' company in Dublin', p. 33.

<sup>98</sup> H.M.C., *Egmont*, i, 188.

<sup>99</sup> Greaves, *Anthony Sharp*, pp 76-7; Dunton, *Teague land*, p. 67; Warburton, Whitelaw, Walsh, *A history of the city of Dublin*, ii, 980-4.

<sup>100</sup> *Report on the manuscripts of the late Reginald Rawdon Hasting*, ed. Francis Bickley ( 6 vols, H.M.C., London, 1930-47), iv, 2

<sup>101</sup> Berry (ed.), 'The Friday Book', pp 500-1.

such cases the fraternities may have needed the help of the municipality to deal with outsiders whom they deemed to be intruders.

There is some evidence to suggest that these migrants may have banded together to secure their interests. The Dutch merchants and factors in the city were ever ready to stand up to the demands of the fraternity.<sup>102</sup> There are indications that these newcomers to Dublin acted together on many levels. Illegal shopkeepers in St Patrick's liberty jointly petitioned the lord deputy against the seizure of their goods by the master of the merchant guild.<sup>103</sup> In 1692 many loom owners in Dublin's liberties who were not guild members acted together to come to an arrangement with the fraternity of weavers over their 'intrusion'.<sup>104</sup> The organisation of immigrants, who traded in the liberties and their use of the law courts to defend their interests, made the guilds dealings with them problematic. With such well connected and organised opponents it is no surprise that the guilds sought the assistance of the civic elite.

The aldermanic bench of the city responded positively to the fraternities' petitions regarding intruders and was actively involved in the suppressing of those who threatened the liberties of the guilds. The city seems to have been a partner, sometimes the senior partner, in the actions taken against those who worked or traded in the city illegally. The relationship between the civic elite and the guilds made it arguably impossible for the 'table of aldermen' to ignore the problem of intrusion. The guilds were supervised in many ways by the urban elite, especially the mayor as 'magistrate of labour', who could intervene in the guilds' regulation of their trade. This authority also brought responsibility for the guilds and this meant that the mayor and aldermen may have had to act sympathetically towards their grievances. The aldermanic elite were also directly affected by illegal traders and craftsmen operating in the city. Many of the aldermen were guild brothers and these intruders were also affecting their enterprises. Above all, while the guilds may not have been 'departments of the civic government' the patricians relied on these to aid them in the running of the city (see Chapter One).<sup>105</sup> Therefore, if the guilds were undermined, it could have had consequences for the city's privileges. The patricians' administration had to be capable and efficient, otherwise they would have fallen into disfavour with government officials, who had the power to restrict the city's rights and exemptions.

---

<sup>102</sup>H.M.C., *Egmont*, i, 71-2.

<sup>103</sup>Berry (ed.), 'The Friday Book', p. 510.

<sup>104</sup>H.M.C., *Hastings*, iv, 3.

<sup>105</sup>Webb, *The guilds of Dublin*, p. 14; idem, *Municipal government in Ireland*, pp 26, 51.



The authority of the mayor and aldermen of Dublin had been growing at the expense of the guilds or the commons for some time.<sup>106</sup> Yet the oligarchy of substantial merchants and artisans who controlled the government of the city were still respectful of the opinion of the guilds' representatives who sat in the common council. The common councillors or 'numbers' were elected by the guilds and represented their interests in the lower chamber. The fear of intruders must have been a great concern to the guilds' representative and they seemed to have raised the issue frequently. There was also pressure on the civic elite to act upon the problem of 'foreigners and strangers' who were encroaching on the guilds' monopoly from the citizen body. Individual petitioners who claimed they were ruined 'by the intrusion of outsiders' raised the issue of 'intruders' in the common council.<sup>107</sup>

The prospect of citizens in difficulty due to outsiders who in the eyes of the municipality were engaged in illegal activities was one any of the civic governors had to be seen to resist. These complaints against 'foreigners and outsiders' were no doubt greatest at times of stress. Between the petitions calling for action against migrants threatening the city's privileges and harvest crises that usually initiated an economic downturn there appears to have been some linkage (see appendix 10). It seems likely that the numbers intruding upon the monopolies grew in this period. Harvest failure or natural calamity could drive many subsistence migrants into the city. These disasters were also economic crises. The price of food became so high that people could no longer afford any goods or service. Many rural craftsmen lost their livelihoods. Some left their locality searching for work such as Barnaby Clements, a smith, who left Waterford and eventually arrived in England. Indeed large numbers of these wanderers made their way as far as England.<sup>108</sup> No doubt during these crises many tradesmen from rural Ireland moved in desperation to the city for work, including men like William Turner, an iron worker who arrived in the city in 1641, looking for employment. To provide for themselves and their families these desperate individuals resorted to working in the city illegally.<sup>109</sup>

---

<sup>106</sup> Lennon, *The lords of Dublin*, chp. 2; idem, 'The beauty and eye'; Dublin in the sixteenth century', in Art Cosgrove (ed.), *Dublin through the ages* (Dublin, 1988), p. 52.

<sup>107</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 12, 64.

<sup>108</sup> Fitzgerald, 'Poor Irish migrants in Britain', p. 27.

<sup>109</sup> Canny, *Making Ireland British*, p. 244.

Skilled immigrants from rural Ireland who came to the city during periods of economic depression caused great difficulties for the citizens of Dublin. They provided more competition for scarce customers at times when guild members were under great pressure. For, during these years of poor harvests, many guild brethren, suffered considerable economic difficulties. Guild members and citizens who were journeymen, were often made redundant during these recessions. In the economic downturn of the early 1670s, some journeymen feltmakers petitioned their guild for help to enable them to emigrate, owing to their difficult circumstances. In the late 1680s the lord deputy was concerned about the many unemployed journeymen in the city.<sup>110</sup> In the early 1620s it was claimed that many shop-owners were ‘overthrown’ and forced to close their shops. Such events would have meant disaster for a whole household not only the master but also for his journeymen and apprentices all of whom would have been unemployed. The patriciate felt obliged to act, to protect these hard-pressed guild members, given that their right to rule the city was morally justified by their paternalism. That the elite were deemed to be morally obliged to defend the rights of citizens can be seen in a petition from 1623. A petitioner urged the civic elite to act so that ‘fatherly providence might be taken for the debarring of foreigners’.<sup>111</sup>

It is also apparent that not all of these squalls of protest from the representatives of the guilds in the commons corresponded to recessions. In particular, the period between 1606 and 1620 and the years 1655-6, which were periods of economic stability and growth, saw vehement condemnations of those craftsmen allegedly illegally competing with free guildsmen.<sup>112</sup> Even in good times, the guilds were unhappy with the prospect of unregulated artisans and retailers in the city. They were making a living in the city without paying for the privilege or shouldering any of the city’s burdens. The responsibilities of being a citizen could be financially draining and it was thought that this entitled them to their economic privileges.<sup>113</sup> The freemen merchants and craftsmen contributed to the city while the majority of intruders allegedly did not. It was they, the freemen, who paid the ‘several taxes and other

---

<sup>110</sup> Berry, ‘The records of the feltmakers’ company of Dublin’, p.31; H.M.C., *Ormond*, viii, 205; Petition, answer, and order in the case of the Journeymen tailors of Dublin v the fraternity of St John the Baptist, 18 Sept. 1674 (N.A.I., M.3038); Mel Doyle, ‘The Dublin guilds and Journeymen’s clubs’, in *Saothar*, iii (1977), pp 6-9.

<sup>111</sup> *Anc. Recs Dub.*, iii, 117.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 390-501; iii, 71-108.

<sup>113</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 12, 64; iv, 71;v, 400.

charges' demanded by the elite.<sup>114</sup> Therefore, the patriciate had to become involved in attempts to oust interlopers compromising the economic privileges of the city, due to pressure from the representatives of the guilds and the city's main taxpayers. Furthermore, the civic elite would have done everything in their power to ensure the welfare of the guild members, as they formed a significant majority of the citizen body. The elite depended upon them to undertake various essential civic duties, which were necessary for Dublin's security and welfare. Without these contributions, the elite's ability to govern would have been in doubt and so too were the civic privileges.

The early decades of the seventeenth century were the years that witnessed the largest numbers of complaints against 'strangers and foreigners'. Yet these years were probably good economically, given the absence of any real problems with the harvest between 1603 and 1620.<sup>115</sup> They seem to be linked to the concerns of the Old English citizens at the increasing penetration of the city by English immigrants'.<sup>116</sup> The New English were probably resented by the citizens and indeed many patricians of the city, especially as they may have had more skills and trading connections than the established Dublin freemen, and were successfully competing with them in the city's economy. It was also a time when the city's charters and other privileges had come under threat and even curbed as in the right to of Dublin's patriciate to collect customs. Those migrant retailers and craftsmen were undermining traditional privileges when they already seemed to be under attack from the government. Indeed the two were linked in several bye-laws and petitions. The commons complained in 1612 that the monopolies and 'foreigners' were leading to a situation where the 'liberties are likely to be overthrown'.<sup>117</sup> The concern with illegal artisans and retailers in the city seems to have been in part an expression of fear and resentment by the Old English of the growing numbers and strength of the New English, and the threat to the city's ancient rights before the expanding powers of the state.

Several of the petitions urging that the aldermen take action against intruders refer to the community of Dutch migrants in the liberties.<sup>118</sup> They were mainly involved in the city's export and import trade and they became so successful

---

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., ii, 358; iv, 438.

<sup>115</sup> Raymond Gillespie, 'Harvest Crises in early seventeenth century Ireland' in *I.E.S.H.*, xi (1984), p. 6.

<sup>116</sup> E.R. Dix, 'A Dublin Almanac of 1612' *R.I.A. Proc.*, section c, lxx (1912), p. 329.

<sup>117</sup> D.C.A., MS, 78, p. 116; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 36.

<sup>118</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 519; iii, 107, 109, 248, 299.

that they eventually were responsible, according to a government official, for a quarter of the city's customs.<sup>119</sup> They were formidable competitors for the city's merchants, and, in the 1630s were alleged to have driven many traders out of business. Their involvement in the wholesale trade of leather and other goods was especially serious for the city's staple and several Dutch merchants, including Peter Wybrants, were accused of intruding upon the brotherhood of staplers.<sup>120</sup> They were also active in other activities. One Dutchman, Henry Verschoyle, was a significant brewer in the city, while other Dutch migrants were goldsmiths.<sup>121</sup> The Dublin civic authorities regularly acted against the wealthy Dutch merchant community in the liberties. Their efforts were of little avail. For many government officials viewed the Dutch migrants sympathetically, as their business acumen would increase trade in the kingdom. In 1623, in part to deal with the civic authorities' complaints about Dutch merchants in the liberties, the privy council announced that they could only trade in gross but not retail.<sup>122</sup> This was not observed and the Dutch community continued to pose a special problem for the patriciate. They remained a focus of resentment on the part of the civic elite until 1638, when they were gradually enfranchised and became influential in the city's government.<sup>123</sup>

In 1610 an unidentified petitioner complained that the great number of migrants engaged in some form of commerce was leading to the 'utter subversion and overthrow of the government'.<sup>124</sup> This may appear to be merely hyperbole, yet in reality the activities of intruders were in one sense a direct challenge to the charters and the government of the city. Another petitioner from 1611 stated it more bluntly by suggesting that because, of this influx, the 'city's liberties are likely to be lost'.<sup>125</sup> These may have been extreme examples from a specific period of heavy migration to the city, yet they do demonstrate the perceived threat caused by intruders to the system. Indeed the view of the patrician class of those migrants who came to the city and infringed the privileges of the citizen body was coloured by their perceived threat to Dublin's traditional liberties. The chief attraction of the citizenship was its

---

<sup>119</sup> Victor Treadwell (ed.), *The Irish commission of 1622* (I.M.C., Dublin, 2006), p. 29.

<sup>120</sup> Ohlmyer and O Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute stable books*, p. 2.

<sup>121</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 248; Lennon, *Lords of Dublin*, p. 43; Jackson, *English goldsmiths and their marks*, p. 641.

<sup>122</sup> Treadwell (ed.), *The Irish commission*, p. 44.

<sup>123</sup> Loeber, 'The reception of foreigners', p. 161.

<sup>124</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 12, 62.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, iii, 36.

economic privileges, especially the ability to access a guild's monopoly.<sup>126</sup> If individuals came to the city and engaged in trade or a craft freely without paying charges to a guild or petitioning for their freedom, there was little incentive for others to seek to become citizens. Not only would it have deterred petitioners from seeking to be 'free of the city', but also their actions were compromising the very institution of the citizenship.<sup>127</sup> The body of citizens was the central institution of the city and upon them were laid many of the civic responsibilities and duties that were necessary for the upkeep of the city. Without the citizenry the patricians would have found it impossible to maintain the Irish capital as a secure, civil and prosperous corporation that was required of them by the government.

The patriciate responded to the threat posed by migrants who encroached on the guilds privileges in two ways. Each tactic was dependent upon the location of intruders and if they were within the direct area under municipal control or in the liberties. The policy towards illegal workers and retailers within their districts was simply one of physical or legal suppression of their activities. The mayor and aldermen in the city held magisterial powers in the city. The mayors and the senior aldermen along with the recorder of the city were justices of the peace. Each alderman was assigned a ward to supervise and in these they held considerable influence.<sup>128</sup> Any intruder who was selling a commodity or an artisan selling his wares from his workshop was breaking civic bye-laws. The mayor and aldermen were active in shutting up the shops and seizing the goods of these outsiders and generally used their considerable powers to assist the guild officers in the suppression of intruders.<sup>129</sup> This need for the support of the mayor and the rest of the aldermanic elite demonstrates that the master and wardens of guilds were regularly unable to protect their monopolies.

To understand the role of the aldermanic elite we need to draw on some examples of cases against 'intruders'. The identification of these intruders may have rested with the guilds. At least one guild, the merchant tailor fraternity, used paid informers to identify those who threatened their rights. These informers may also

---

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, iii., 440; The bye laws of the city of Dublin (R.I.A., MS 12 D 4, p. 153).

<sup>127</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, vi, 84-5.

<sup>128</sup> Bolton, *A Justice of the Peace for Ireland*, p. 67; The bye laws of the city of Dublin (R.I.A., 12 D 4, pp 1, 4, 11).

<sup>129</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 106.; Greaves, *Anthony Sharpe*, p. 34; D.C.A., MS 78, pp167, 168.

have been potentially witnesses in legal cases against intruders.<sup>130</sup> Another possibility is that the clerk or beadle of a guild drew up lists of suspected offenders and passed them to the patricians.<sup>131</sup> After the identification of these offenders, the guild officers then needed the intervention of the patriciate to uphold their rights. That is not to say that the guild officers always needed the intervention of an alderman in their prosecutions of intruders.

However, the guilds often needed the support of the patriciate as they attempted to impose their will upon intruders. The seizure of goods in private houses or the shutting of illegal shops may have been the occasion of resistance by individuals. Some intruders resisted by physical force or attempted to evade the authorities, as in the example of David Swann who was an intruder on the city's goldsmith company in the early 1690s. He fled from the guild officers with his goods and on another occasion denied them access to his home.<sup>132</sup> The presence of the mayor, whose person it was illegal to 'attack by word or deed', would have greatly aided the guild officers in their actions against intruders.<sup>133</sup> This would explain the petitions in the common council for the mayor to 'shut down shops' of intruders. Their presence was needed so that the guild officers were able to act effectively against those who threatened their privileges. The guild officers needed the authority and practical support of the patricians in dealing with stubborn and difficult cases of intruders.

The mayor and the aldermen were of particular use to the guild in their prosecution of outsiders who resisted the fines and forfeitures of the guilds or persisted in their illegal trade. If they refused to heed the guilds, by non-payment of a fine, then the aldermen and in particular the mayor became involved. The ultimate sanction, as stipulated in the fraternity's charters against someone who intruded on the privileges of the guild, was arrest and imprisonment.<sup>134</sup> These punitive measures needed the support of the urban governors. The aldermen could arrest any offender they deemed a law-breaker such as an illegal trader. It seems that they and the constables under them could act only on a warrant from the mayor or recorder.<sup>135</sup> For

---

<sup>130</sup> D.C.A., MS 78, p. 101.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid., p. 23; N.A.I., M 6118 a, p. 9.

<sup>132</sup> Berry, 'The goldsmith company', p. 131.

<sup>133</sup> William Monck Mason, 'Notes towards a history of Dublin' (D.C.A., MS 64, i., p. 68).

<sup>134</sup> N.L.I., MS 134, pp 2-5.; *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1662-5*, pp 5-6.

<sup>135</sup> Bolton, *A Justice of the Peace for Ireland*, p. 14; Bye-laws of the city of Dublin (R.I.A., 12 D 4, p. 7).

example, in 1612, in an action against a tailor who was working without the permission of the merchant-tailors' fraternity, the guild had a tailor arrested by a constable, who was later paid.<sup>136</sup> If the master or warden of a guild sought to imprison an individual, they usually had to avail of the city's prison. The mayor's permission would have been necessary for as chief civic officer, only he could consign persons to the city's jail.<sup>137</sup> For example, in 1616 a tailor who intruded was detained at Newgate, his detention being possible only with the support and agreement of the mayor.<sup>138</sup> Without the active support of the patricians, many of the sanctions available to the guilds, such as imprisonment, would have been ineffective or only powers on paper.

At least some of the guilds were authorised to send those who intruded upon their privileges to 'quarter sessions of Dublin'. Incidents of intrusion were not just offences against the individual fraternity but also the bye-laws of the city.<sup>139</sup> Significantly the mayor for the year was also a justice of the peace for the city of Dublin, along with the recorder and some senior aldermen. They would have adjudicated at these sessions, when a guild sought to prosecute an intruder.<sup>140</sup> The support and sympathy of this court was vital for the guilds and the preservation of their monopolies. It was the highest court in the city and its judgements were probably partial towards the claims of the guilds, as in other cities.<sup>141</sup> An intruder could have recourse to a higher court but, given the expense involved, it was probably cheaper to accept the court's decision. The authority of this court did much to bolster the guilds' legal claims in the city and strengthened their position with regard to those who intruded upon their monopolies.

With regard to those intruders who challenged the guilds or city's privileges and who resided in the liberties, the civic authorities adopted a less aggressive approach and one marked by legal means and even political lobbying. Given the strength of the lords of the liberties and their legal status, a more political and diplomatic approach was needed to deter successively migrants operating in these jurisdictions to the detriment of the city's guilds and citizenry. The first tactic was to prosecute intruders or the lords of the liberties in various courts. Certain

---

<sup>136</sup> D.C.A., MS 78, p. 4.

<sup>137</sup> Bolton, *A Justice of the Peace for Ireland*, p.16.

<sup>138</sup> D.C.A., MS 78, p. 4.

<sup>139</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, i, 439-62; iii, 39, 112.

<sup>140</sup> Bolton, *A Justice of the Peace for Ireland*, p. 7; *Royal commission to inquire into the municipal corporations, Ireland*, 1835, pp 31, 458, 1836 (24), v, 99, 658.

<sup>141</sup> Kellet, 'The breakdown of guild and corporation control', p. 125.

groups, in particular the Dutch merchants, were the subject of various legal cases by the patriciate in a bid to curb illegal trading in the suburbs.<sup>142</sup> Individual aldermen and the city's recorder were ordered to carry out prosecutions against illegal traders. This was quite common, and in 1633 it was stated 'that the city had many suites in several courts', not all of these being related to intruders.<sup>143</sup> These cases could on occasion be successful, as in 1621, when the court of the castle chamber ruled that one Francis Sam could be fined for trading in the liberty of St Thomas as he was not a member of the merchant guild.<sup>144</sup> This case resolved nothing and over the years many more migrants were apparently free to settle in the liberty of St Thomas and trade outside the guild system with impunity, and overall the legal efforts against 'intrusion' had little effect.

Apart from targeting individuals or groups within the liberties, the city sought to curtail the activities of migrants encroaching upon the guilds in the liberties by gaining political support. On several occasions, but especially in the early years of the century, the city employed a city agent to plead their case against the liberties at court or with persons of influence.<sup>145</sup> This municipal representative was despatched by the city to the royal court, to plead for the city and its charters and also call for action against intruders in the liberties. We have a glimpse of this process from the 1630s when Sir John Gough and his brother are portrayed as haplessly and unsuccessfully trailing after the royal court during its wanderings to avoid the plague.<sup>146</sup> The civic elite were instrumental in the organisation and the funding of these agents and usually the various guilds were the main contributors.<sup>147</sup> On at least one occasion they secured 'the king's letter against strangers' in 1615, and this was upheld by the privy council in 1623. This seems to have been a document condemning 'intruders' and prohibiting their activities, yet its effectiveness in dealing with 'strangers and foreigners' in the liberties of Dublin was doubtful.<sup>148</sup> Even then the municipal policy to persuade the government to curtail the privileges of the liberties meandered on endlessly. The civic elite attempted to impose its will upon the

---

<sup>142</sup> Berry (ed.), 'The Friday Book', pp 510-3.

<sup>143</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 55, 69, 200, 273; Treadwell (ed.), *Irish commission of 1622*, p. 201.

<sup>144</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, i, 200-2.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 189; iii, 36, 53, 115.

<sup>146</sup> H.M.C., *Franciscan MSS*, p. 81.

<sup>147</sup> D.C.A., MS 78, p. 24; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 36, 53.

<sup>148</sup> The king to St John, 13 Sept. 1615 (*Cal. S.P. Ire., 1615-22*, p. 18).



ecclesiastical liberty of St Patrick's as late as 1684 by using its influence at court and this too was unsuccessful.<sup>149</sup>

The relative success or failure of the fraternities, the mayoralty and aldermen in their attempts to suppress intruders is difficult to assess. The evidence available to us, although it is only impressionistic, suggests that they were engaged in a losing battle. The often extreme language of the civic authorities to describe the foreigners, and the regular petitions calling for ever greater measures or actions against those who encroached on the economic liberties of the city suggest not so much strength but weakness on the part of the authorities against intruders. Socio-economic considerations also militated against the city's fight against interlopers. The ever-growing liberties of the cities that experienced much of the city's growth in population and economic activity made it easier to engage in commerce outside the control of the guilds.<sup>150</sup> The sheer growth in the population of Dublin's liberties facilitated the penetration of the urban economy by those outside the guilds. In fact the economic axis of Dublin shifted to the liberties and away from the control of the city's aldermen. The liberty of the earl of Meath saw a boom in the woollen trade in this period and this was largely beyond the effective control of the weavers' guild and the patrician class.<sup>151</sup>

The apparently ongoing process of seizing goods, fining offenders and imprisoning them was a long and often expensive one, and the laws against foreigners must have been a drain on the resources of the fraternities. In 1612, the merchant tailors' guild had to pay the tholsel clerk for a warrant and a constable to arrest a tailor working at that trade without permission.<sup>152</sup> The guilds also had to pay for the support of the aldermen and mayor in cracking down on migrants working illegally in the city. Elaborate and expensive 'gifts' were often awarded by the guilds to aldermen who enforced civic laws against intruders. In 1683, the then mayor, Humphrey Jervis, received a 'piece of plate' for 'shutting down the shops of intruders'.<sup>153</sup> Given that Dublin experienced high levels of migration in the seventeenth century the probability is that large numbers of people sold or made

---

<sup>149</sup> Robinson (ed.), 'Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin: proctors accounts', p. 262.

<sup>150</sup> Hill, *From patriots to Unionists*, pp 5-7.

<sup>151</sup> There were at least 220 loom owners in the liberty, see: John Webb, *Industrial Dublin since 1698 and the history of the silk trade* (Dublin, 1914), pp 3-5; Stubbs, 'The weavers guild', p. 79.

<sup>152</sup> D.C.A., MS 81, p.19.

<sup>153</sup> Tholsel court records, 1616-7, (D.C.A., 1/J/2, p. 6); Greaves, *Anthony Sharpe*, p. 88; D.C.A., MS 78, pp 166, 168.

goods without permission of the fraternities. This meant that there were ever more ‘intruders’ to prosecute. The prospect of enforcing the rules and the punishing of individuals became increasingly onerous and expensive for the guilds. Therefore, the crackdowns on intruders could have become less and less frequent, as the century progressed. This is hinted at in 1692, when the municipal authorities stated that byelaws against unauthorised retailing were enforced only ‘from time to time’.<sup>154</sup>

Yet the fraternities and the patricians continued to enforce the traditional sanctions against ‘those strangers and foreigners’ who were trading illegally in the city well into the eighteenth century and they continued to receive the backing and support of the aldermanic elite.<sup>155</sup> It seems that the expulsion of these illegal traders was never the ultimate aim of the authorities, as the possibility of achieving such a policy was always remote. It was arguably not the fact that craftsmen and traders were active in the urban economy, illegally, but that they did not ‘pay yearly consideration to the guild’ or petition to become ‘free’ of the city that antagonised the fraternities and the patricians.<sup>156</sup> The authorities were willing to compromise over the issue as long as these immigrants recognised their rights and authority in that occupation or economic activity. The guilds demanded that any migrant traders or artisans pay for the right to operate within the city’s franchise. After 1670, they wanted these outsiders to become quarter-brothers.<sup>157</sup> Although the intruder may have continued to be a competitor, at least he was paying for the privilege and contributing to the city. The custom of paying for the right to undertake certain activities in the franchises of Dublin was not confined to ‘intruders’. Carmen and lawyers too had to pay for the opportunity to operate within the franchise of the city.<sup>158</sup> The guild and apparently the urban governors simply sought that any non-freeman who engaged in a commercial activity regulated by a fraternity should pay for that privilege.

The various tactics of the civic authorities to deal with intruders such as the seizure of goods, fines and threat of imprisonment and even their legal actions against the liberties, can be seen only in part as attempts to expel migrants or even to restrict the business of those who remained outside the official ambit of the

---

<sup>154</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, vi, 84.

<sup>155</sup> Berry, ‘The records of the felt makers company of Dublin’, p. 33; Keating, ‘The guild of cutlers’, p. 137; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, vi, 124; v, 45.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 396; Ohlmeyer and O Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books*, p. 368.

<sup>157</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 396; vi, 84; Webb, *The guilds of Dublin*, p. 234; Berry, ‘The ancient corporation of barber surgeons’, p. 230.

<sup>158</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 125, 319; iv, 148.

guilds. It appears that some outsiders at least were driven from the city or were forced to seek employment in occupations beyond the guilds' control. This seems to have happened to many bakers in the 1690s.<sup>159</sup> Rather they can also be viewed in part as efforts to force intruders to recognise the guilds and city's prerogatives, as in the case of an English gunsmith in 1613 who was ordered 'to come to terms with the guild of smiths' by the common council.<sup>160</sup> Even the city's organisation of staplers allowed traders to export staple goods under licence.<sup>161</sup> The guild records are unsatisfactory in this respect and at best give only an impression of the general policy of the fraternities and the elite towards migrants who 'intruded'. But, generally, they show that the fraternities sought that intruders pay the guilds for the right to exercise his skill or business within their jurisdiction.

In 1613-14, the merchants'-tailors' guild fined two tailors for illegally working in the city without the permission of the guild. They were possibly fined by the tribunal of the guild, and forced or agreed to pay the guild in future for the right to ply the tailoring trade in Dublin. Yet, as long as they received the permission of the guild, they were not intruders but rather had 'the protection of the guild'.<sup>162</sup> The fraternity of St Luke on several occasions ordered that intruders such as John Dunn were 'to be brought in', presumably indicating that such individuals were to be forced to comply with the guilds bye-laws.<sup>163</sup> This policy of licensing outsiders was not carried out on an ad hoc basis: at least in the barber- surgeons' guild it had been a formal policy, for some time. That fraternity had its own 'book of foreigners' which apparently recorded all those who were not guild members who were paying for the privilege to work at one of the trades under the auspices of the guild.<sup>164</sup> The governing body of the city seems to have condoned this policy of licensing outsiders who were engaged in a trade or business related to a guild's monopoly, as they were content to see outsiders paying contributions to the various fraternities. The aldermanic bench required strong guilds to regulate and oversee sectors of the urban economy. The licensing of outsiders bolstered guild control over their monopolies and indeed strengthened those bodies. The regular payment of 'foreigners' to the guild would have helped to finance the brethrens' activities and other responsibilities.

---

<sup>159</sup> Blackhall, *Rules for the assize of bread*, pp 10-13.

<sup>160</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 430.

<sup>161</sup> Ohlmeyer and O Ciardha (eds), *The Irish statute staple books*, p. 370.

<sup>162</sup> D.C.A., MS 80, p. 46; Gale, *An inquiry into the ancient corporate system*, appendix xxxii.

<sup>163</sup> Pollard, *A dictionary of members of the Dublin book trade*, p. 173, see also, pp 308,372, 559.

<sup>164</sup> Berry, 'The ancient corporation of barber-surgeons', p. 231; Stubbs, 'The weavers' guild', p.79.

Also there were restrictions imposed on these individuals which would have placed these 'foreigners' under the same discipline as guild members, especially with regard to the number of apprentices they could employ. The guild of weavers was concerned that journeymen in the liberties 'had taken two apprentices each' in 1692.<sup>165</sup> Later an agreement between the fraternity of weavers and 'foreign' textile workers allowed the former to practise in the city but obliged them to reduce the number of apprentices they employed. This was to prevent these outsiders training too many apprentices who would have in turn become journeymen and masters and this would have been to the detriment of those citizens who were weavers. At least one other guild imposed similar restrictions in relation to licensed craftsmen and apprentices- the guild of barber-surgeons. In 1692 it ordered its quarter brothers to swear that they were 'not to learn any boy or servant' the craft without permission.<sup>166</sup> The regulation of the number of apprentices a guild-licensed artisan employed would have served to minimise the number of those who could enter a trade in the future. This was needed to ensure that the existing guild members did not have too many competitors in the future.

A 'foreign' craftsman under licence from a guild would also have to make his work conform to the fraternities' standards. The guild of cutlers, stationers and periwig-makers decreed that every quarter-brother had 'to take a bond to pay his quarterage and 'obey, observe, submit and stand'.<sup>167</sup> This would have resulted in quarter-brothers and 'foreigners' adhering to the same standards of workmanship as the full brothers. It is probable that they too would have had their work inspected by officers of the guild. This would have secured the quality of work of the commodity. The product would have been set at a 'fair' price, one ordered by the guild and that did not undercut the brethren of the guild, nor overcharge the inhabitants of the city. This was the traditional policy of the guilds and indeed the provision of commodities at a fair price and of sufficient standard was a justification for the establishment of these bodies. For example, the guild of bricklayers and coopers petitioned the viceroy for charters, in part on the basis that they could provide good quality goods and

---

<sup>165</sup> Stubbs, 'The weavers' Guild', p. 70; Berry, 'The records of the felt makers' company of Dublin', p. 30; Webb, *The guilds of Dublin*, p. 206.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 207.

<sup>167</sup> N.A.I., M 6118 a, p. 11; Webb, *The guilds of Dublin*, p. 235.

adequate services to the city.<sup>168</sup> Again by licensing foreigners to work in the city the guild was ensuring that its rules were enforced. This was in line with municipal policy, as they were eager to see that the city was well provisioned with cheap and good quality goods, in the interest of trade. For example, in 1623, the patricians intervened to ensure that the barrels used in the herring fisheries at Ringsend were of an adequate standard as they sought to promote that trade.<sup>169</sup> Such actions that were seen to promote commerce would have earned the patricians credit with the government, the dispenser of the civic privileges.

Those migrants who did come to terms with the guilds and who were licensed by the fraternities to work in the city did not have complete freedom. They were able to practise their craft in the city but, unless they became freemen, they could not officially open a shop. This was enshrined in a long-standing civic by-law.<sup>170</sup> Many would have been forced to operate in the city as journeymen and therefore could not legally sell their wares directly to customers. This meant that if ‘unfree’ journeymen sought to sell their goods, they were obliged to sell them through the shops of free citizens who had legally recognised businesses. As a result these ‘foreigners and intruders’ became dependent on the free brethren of the guild and many may have been reduced to working for daily wages for master craftsmen and merchants in the city. Many would in effect have become the servants of those artisans and traders who were free of the city.<sup>171</sup>

The sources are scant in relation to this process but we have some examples and one of the most informative deals with a goldsmith who was working illegally in the city in 1693. In that year a goldsmith, Timothy Hevin, probably a French immigrant and ‘not a free brother’, had been retailing his own goods from an illegal shop he had opened. The master and wardens of the goldsmiths’ guild forced him to shut down his shop. They also obliged him to become a quarter-brother of the guild and to pay a regular fee every quarter to the fraternity. The guild permitted him only to work privately in his room. As he was not free of the guild he could not legally stamp his work: this, and the fact that he had no shop from which to sell his wares,

---

<sup>168</sup> Royal charter of the Dublin guild of cooper, 3 Oct. 1667 (*Cal. S.P. Ire.*, 1666-9, p. 142); The king to the lord deputy concerning the corporation of bricklayers, 1 May 1667 (*Cal. S.P. Ire.*, 1666-9, pp 782-3).

<sup>169</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, i, 58; iii, 147.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*, iii, 101; iii, 483; vi, 84-5.

<sup>171</sup> N.A.I., M 6118 a, pp 6, 8, 10; Pollard, *A dictionary of members the Dublin book trade*, pp 119, 121, 160, 181, 397.

suggests that he had to sell them to a free goldsmith or became a paid employee of a goldsmith.<sup>172</sup> Many migrant traders and artisans licensed by the guilds were in effect subordinated to the freemen of the city. They provided the freemen with skilled labour and a supply of goods for their commercial enterprises. This helped to enforce the citizens' economic position and therefore their privileged status in the hierarchy and this was similar to the situation in the English city of York.<sup>173</sup>

The general willingness of the patricians and the guilds to license migrants to work within the franchises could have undergone certain changes as the century wore on. After 1660 it became increasingly difficult for Catholics and dissenters to enter the citizen body and hence the guilds due to the imposition of the oath of supremacy.<sup>174</sup> This oath was unacceptable to Catholics and unpalatable to many nonconformists and therefore a deterrent to their becoming freemen. Were these two groups, the Catholics and non-conformist Protestants, also excluded from the traditional licensing system regulating outsiders to ply a trade or retail in the city? This would have raised real problems for the guilds as during the Restoration many Catholic tradesmen moved to Irish corporations, like Dublin, or returned to the city after the commonwealth.<sup>175</sup>

The old arrangement of newcomers paying the guild for the privilege of working in the franchises continued. This created an opening for all those migrants unwilling to take the oath of supremacy. At least two guilds, the weavers and the barber-surgeons, forced migrants to pay for the 'recognition of the guild', apparently without any reference to their religious affiliation.<sup>176</sup> Migrants licensed by the guild were not required to take an oath because they were not technically becoming full members. Catholics and dissenters could secure the permission of a relevant guild to practise their craft or engage in commerce for a regular payment to the said fraternity. The situation in Dublin can be likened to Limerick. There the Catholics traders and merchants who lived within the franchise were simply required to pay a fee and treated like others who were licenced by the guild, to operate in the city.<sup>177</sup> That many

---

<sup>172</sup> Berry, 'Goldsmith's company of Dublin', p. 131; Keating, 'The guild of cutlers', p. 134; Berry, 'The ancient corporation of barber surgeons', p. 230; D.C.A., MS 78, p. 175.

<sup>173</sup> Tillot (ed.), *A history of the county of York: the city of York*, p. 44.

<sup>174</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.* v, 396; vi, 509.

<sup>175</sup> Anon., *A narrative of events in Ireland since the late plot*, p. 3.

<sup>176</sup> Berry, 'The ancient corporation of barber-surgeons' p. 229 ; Stubbs, 'The weavers' guild', p. 79; Webb, *The guilds of Dublin*, p. 236.

<sup>177</sup> Lenihan, *Limerick: its history and antiquities*, p.703.

Catholics worked in the city under the licence of guilds can be seen from a bye-law of 1678. During the ‘popish plot’ and its attendant anti-Catholic hysteria, all ‘foreigners’ were ordered out of the city, indicating that many ‘papists’ were licensed artisans and traders in Dublin.<sup>178</sup> The various guilds would have readily accredited Irish Catholics to work at an occupation they supervised. This ensured that the fraternities could still effectively regulate a given trade or craft. It also offered a valuable source of income.<sup>179</sup> Another possible reason was the need to increase the numbers associated with a guild to promote its status. This occurred in Limerick, with the guild of grocers who sought to impose their will upon the city’s Catholic merchants, in an attempt at the aggrandisement of that fraternity.<sup>180</sup> The Restoration in Dublin, saw the continuation of the city’s traditional policy towards economic migrants, that of integrating them where possible within the guild system to the benefit of the city.

During the Restoration, a system of quarter-brothers was introduced into the guilds. A ‘quarterer’ could enjoy the economic privileges of the guild without being entitled to a brother’s political rights, such as holding an office in the guild. As they were not full members, they were not required to swear the oaths.<sup>181</sup> The quarter-brothers were not the same as those who were registered as ‘foreigners’ with guilds. Significantly the guild of St Mary Magdalene held separate rolls for each.<sup>182</sup> A quarter-brother was a permanent member of the guild who participated in guild life. These ‘brethren’ were entitled to the economic privileges of a guild for a higher fee than a full free brother, and could even possibly open a shop and retail goods. The main restriction upon them was that they could not serve in the offices in the guilds and participate in decision-making. A ‘foreigner’ was possibly only permitted to work in an area connected to the guild’s monopoly on a temporary basis and was not viewed as a member of the guild.<sup>183</sup> Again we see here the emphasis of the guilds was much more on inclusion of skilled outsiders than exclusion.

The evolution of the institution of quarter-brother is difficult to trace. It possibly began informally. Anthony Sharpe, a Quaker from Shropshire, was invited to attend meetings of the weavers’ guild even though he was not a brother and soon

---

<sup>178</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 164.

<sup>179</sup> Quarter brothers fees were a valuable source of income for the felt makers guild see: Berry, ‘The records of the Dublin feltmakers’ company’, p. 44.

<sup>180</sup> Lennihan, *Limerick: its history and antiquities*, p. 704.

<sup>181</sup> Mary Mac Geehan, ‘The Catholics of the towns and the quarterage disputes’, pp 110-1

<sup>182</sup> Webb, *The guilds of Dublin*, p. 219; Berry, ‘The ancient corporation of barber-surgeons’, p. 230.

<sup>183</sup> Mac Geehan, ‘The Catholics of the towns and the quarterage disputes’, pp 110-3.

became a quarter-brother.<sup>184</sup> It was probably a response to the flood of migrants that entered the city after the Restoration, as in the great city of London, which also developed a system of quarter-brothers.<sup>185</sup> Tellingly, the city of York, which experienced less rapid migration, does not seem to have adopted the quarter-brother system. The quarter-brother system was a flexible one as it allowed increasing numbers of migrants' access to the guild's monopolies. Yet it also allowed the guilds to maintain their regulation of their trade or occupation and to benefit from the quarter-brothers regular payments. It seems that many English Protestant migrants became quarterers, such as Richard Dennis, an English stationer from London.<sup>186</sup> The records of the goldsmith guild show that some European Protestants such as Abraham Voisin also availed of the opportunity to become quarterers.<sup>187</sup>

The system of quarter-brothers allowed the guilds to accommodate the many migrants who could not become citizens and guild brothers due to the oath of supremacy. Technically, as a 'quarterer' was not a full member of a fraternity, he did not have to swear the controversial oath. Many Catholic and nonconformist migrants availed of this to trade and work in the city. The first recorded quarter-brother was the Englishman, Samuel Claridge a brother of the Trinity Guild in 1672. Claridge was a well-known and a leading member of Dublin's Quaker community.<sup>188</sup> Several Quakers were admitted as quarterers as they were simply too successful and wealthy to be ignored by the guilds. Merchants like Claridge, offered to pay a substantial and no doubt tempting 'quarterage' payment four times a year to the Trinity Guild.<sup>189</sup> Many Catholics also became quarter-brothers, such as Luke Dowling, a stationer, or Timothy Connor, a wig-maker.<sup>190</sup> This system enabled the many skilled workers of that faith who migrated to Dublin to operate in the urban economy.

The traditional consensus between the guilds and the patricians in seeking to integrate economic migrants into the city, in order to preserve and enhance the privileges of the citizens, broke down, over the introduction of the quarter-brother system. Its development was not welcomed by the civic elite. They regarded it as an

---

<sup>184</sup> Grubb, *The history of the Quakers*, p. 23.

<sup>185</sup> Hill, *From patriots to Unionists*, p. 46.

<sup>186</sup> Pollard, *A dictionary of members of the Dublin book trade*, p. 149.

<sup>187</sup> 'List of foreigners and quarter-brothers' in Jackson, *English goldsmith and their marks*, pp 656-7.

<sup>188</sup> Greaves, *Anthony Sharpe*, pp 39,123; Webb, *The guilds of Dublin*, p. 148.

<sup>189</sup> Webb, *The guilds of Dublin*, p. 69.

<sup>190</sup> Pollard, *A Dictionary of members of the Dublin book trade*, p. 56; Webb, *The guilds of Dublin*, p. 167.



‘innovation’, a ‘custom never used in any other corporate city or town’.<sup>191</sup> They construed the activities of the guild in admitting the quarter-brothers as an ‘intrusion’, and as a threat to the city’s ancient liberties. The system of quarterers was seen as undermining a fundamental tenet of the citizen body. It was always held that the heavy responsibilities of a freeman were compensated for by his economic privileges. The emergence of quarterers who had access to the city’s economic freedoms, without the burden of citizenship, threatened this traditional contract. The patricians feared that the emergence of quarterers would deter people from seeking the franchise and this would have reduced the citizen body, upon which the patricians relied to sustain the city and ensure that Dublin was loyal and prosperous, which was necessary for the maintenance of its traditional rights.

In 1675 the patriciate outlawed quarter-brothers. They ordered the wardens and masters of the guilds not to swear in any more individuals as quarterers.<sup>192</sup> The seriousness of the patriciate on this question can be seen in an address of the mayor to the Trinity guild. It threatened to fine any civic officers who swore in such brothers.<sup>193</sup> It seems that the civic elite, at least at this stage, did intend to end the system of quarter-brothers. This meant that Catholics and those dissenters, unable to become freemen, could not become quarter-brothers and had the choice of leaving their occupation or, if they continued, facing prosecution as ‘intruders’. The prohibition of quarter-brothers would have deterred many non-Anglican migrants from establishing themselves in the city.

The policy of the patricians soon underwent a change. In the same year that it banned the category of quarter-brothers in the fraternities, it rescinded its decision. This *volte face* was at the instigation of some unidentified guilds. They complained that since many Roman Catholics were quarter-brothers and could not become freemen, as a result they were beyond the guilds’ control and in particular their ‘quarterage’ payments were missed and badly needed. The patricians partially relented and admitted quarter-brothers on condition that they were first free of the city.<sup>194</sup> This compromise allowed some Protestants to continue as quarterers, as long as they became citizens. Yet, since Catholics could not secure their freedom, they were, to all intents and purposes, no longer able to become quarter-brothers.

---

<sup>191</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 85.

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.* v, 84.

<sup>193</sup> D.C.A., MS 78, p. 62.

<sup>194</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 130-2.

This apparent compromise soon failed, as it became apparent that would-be citizens were avoiding petitioning for the freedom. They simply were becoming quarter-brothers and availing of the guilds' economic rights to trade freely and open shops. The common council suspected that individuals were not becoming freemen to avoid the burdens of civic office.<sup>195</sup>The patricians again undertook a drastic policy change and forbade the guilds to admit any new quarter-brothers. Interestingly it occurred during the anti-Catholic hysteria known as the 'popish plot' scare. Not only did the elite ban it but they also ordered that no quarter-brother 'live and trade in the city'.<sup>196</sup>This was possibly a security measure against Catholics and indicates that the majority of these guild members were adherents of that confession. The fact that the patricians sought to expel these 'quarterers' also indicates that they believed that many quarter-brothers were migrants. If this bye-law was rigorously enforced it would have greatly restricted the opportunities for Catholic migrants in the city. It is also another example of how political considerations affected the patricians' reception of outsiders in the city.

The effect of this decree was negligible and there is evidence that the weavers', merchant and barber-surgeons' guilds still enrolled men as quarter-brothers.<sup>197</sup>Indeed the patricians themselves acknowledged, the failure again effectively to end the practice of people becoming quarter-brothers and changed their policy towards these guild members for the third time in the space of a little over seven years. In 1683 they ordered that all quarter-brothers, who could take the necessary oaths, should petition for their freedom. In this way they were tacitly accepting the system of quarter-brothers and admitting failure in their efforts to curb the practice.<sup>198</sup>They only demanded that those 'quarterers' who could become freemen should apply for their freedom. The patricians appear unusually weak and indecisive in the face of the creation of a second class of free brethren in the city's various fraternities. The institution of quarter-brothers was evolving and the political and religious environment was changing, too. The quarter-brothers' system became increasingly a preserve of Catholics and it offered a way for well-to-do and successful

---

<sup>195</sup> Ibid, v, 132.

<sup>196</sup> Ibid.,v, 167.

<sup>197</sup> Webb, *The guilds of Dublin*, pp 205-6; Greaves, *Anthony Sharpe*, p. 215; Berry, 'The ancient corporation of barber surgeons', p. 230.

<sup>198</sup> *Anc. rec.Dub.*, v, 341.

individuals from that faith to be integrated and absorbed by the system.<sup>199</sup> The threat of this institution to the citizenship and to the numbers seeking to become enfranchised did not occur. Indeed, the freedom rolls show that many still sought to become citizens (see appendix 2). The quarter-brother system that grew after the Jacobite wars provided the Protestant patriciate with a ready-made device to uphold the Protestant interest in the city. It relegated Catholics to an inferior status, subordinate to the privileged Protestant citizens and guild brethren within the city. Furthermore, it also enabled the fraternities to continue their control over much of the economy of the city.<sup>200</sup>

The growing toleration of this practice also enabled the many Catholic immigrants in the city to ply a trade or engage in skilled occupations. It also tells us something about the attitudes of the patricians to the native Catholic community and to migrants of that faith. The Dublin patriciate, by effectively tolerating the system of quarter-brothers in the city, was also tacitly demonstrating their acceptance of non-Anglican immigrants in the city. For, by allowing Catholics, even outsiders to become ‘quarterers’ they enabled many of that faith to settle and trade in the city, on a secure and permanent basis. There was as ever a practical basis to this policy. Catholic migrants who became quarter-brothers could contribute to the city’s economy. Indeed, they were important in the baking industry and the adequate supply of bread was always a key concern of the elite.<sup>201</sup> The patricians’ *de facto* recognition of the system of quarter-brothers was a return to the traditional policy that sought to include economically useful migrants, rather than exclude them.

As we have seen, traditionally the guilds and the municipal authorities required that ‘strangers’ pay for the right of trading and working in the city’s franchises until they petitioned for their freedom. The patricians actively wanted some of these ‘intruders’ to become citizens. Increasingly the civic authorities sought to ensure that any Protestants who were entitled to the freedom of the city took up that opportunity. It was government and civic policy to encourage Protestants to become freemen to strengthen that denomination’s position and status, locally and nationally. Many Protestants who settled in the city despite the incentives did not petition for their liberty, but instead chose to work at their calling outside of the guilds

---

<sup>199</sup> Mc Geehan, ‘The Catholics of the towns and the quarterage dispute’, pp 113-4.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 117.

<sup>201</sup> Swift, *A history of the bakers of Dublin and others*, pp 6-7; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, vi, 314.

and the citizen body. Prosperous merchants such as the Welshman, Owen Price, or the wealthy Gloucester gentlemen, Christopher Winterington, did not become citizens, despite inducements such as the act of 1662.<sup>202</sup> Given the onerous responsibilities imposed on citizens, it was not uncommon for those eligible to become freemen to evade the dubious distinction.<sup>203</sup> The municipal authorities in this era acted against ‘foreigners and intruders’ to pressurise those, namely Protestants, who could be free and choose not to be free to petition for the franchise. The municipality wanted citizens as they were tax-payers and could contribute in several other ways to the city treasury and government.<sup>204</sup>

In the 1680s this civic policy to encourage Protestant immigrants to become citizens is illustrated by a civic bye-law against ‘foreigners’ intruding on any of the city’s guilds. Anyone caught trading illegally was to pay the sum of 40 shillings. This sum is significant as under the act for the naturalising of Protestants (1662) a petitioner for the freedom of the city had to pay 20 shillings and to secure the freedom of a guild also for 20 shillings.<sup>205</sup> The fine for being a ‘foreigner’ and operating outside the guild system was the same sum for securing the liberty of the city. This could be seen as encouraging the eligible to seek their freedom. An intruder was faced with the option of a fine, while on the other hand, for the same price he could secure the freedom of the city. Another example of this policy of encouraging eligible ‘intruders’ to seek their freedom is from the 1690s when the commons complained of those who could be free instead choosing to ‘intrude’ upon the guilds. The civic governors ordered that this ‘abuse’ stop and that those responsible be made to petition for their freedom. These intruders were threatened by the usual sanctions but these would be waived if they applied for the freedom of the city.<sup>206</sup> Indeed by the early 1690s simply to petition for the freedom of the cit ‘or be enrolled as a freeman or woman’ was sufficient for the authorities to waive the levy of the three-penny custom. This concession and departure from previous practice was possibly to further encourage Protestants to seek the franchise.<sup>207</sup> These examples would seem to signal that in this era complaints and actions against foreigners were often used not to

---

<sup>202</sup> Will of Owen Price, 2 Oct. 1683 (N.A., Kew, Prob., 11/373); Will of Christopher Winterington, 1 Dec. 1668 (N.A., Prob., 11/312).

<sup>203</sup> Hill, *From patriots to Unionists*, p.34; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 400-1.

<sup>204</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, vi, 394; v, 342, 534.

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid.*, v, 337.

<sup>206</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, vi, 35.

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid.*, v, 537.

exclude people from the city or even to compel them to pay for the privilege of trading in the city, but rather to integrate select individuals into the citizen body. Undoubtedly, this related to the patricians' desire to encourage Protestant settlement in the city.<sup>208</sup> This was an ongoing policy of the civic elite to encourage suitable candidates to petition for their freedom. After 1660 this policy was directed towards Protestants only and was in turn related to the increasing drive to strengthen the Protestant interest in the city.

The ordinances and campaigns against illegal traders and craftsmen could indicate that the Dublin civic governors were insular, and blindly endorsed the guilds' monopoly. To an extent this was true for a variety of reasons: the patricians did strive to exclude outsiders from challenging the guilds' monopolies. They saw it as their duty to protect the city and its artisans from excessive competition in the urban economy. This was done in part to protect the guilds' privileges but also to maintain the standards, products and services that the patricians believed only the guilds could adequately supply. The patricians also acted against migrants who infringed the fraternities' monopolies, out of a genuine concern for the citizenry and was part of the paternalism of the civic elite that legitimised their authority in the city in others' and their own eyes. The bye-laws against interlopers could be seen as attempting to help existing citizens maintain their business or to allow apprentices or journeymen opportunities in the urban economy. The policy simply did not seek to exclude migrants to the city from the urban economy. Once a foreigner came to an agreement with a guild or perhaps sought to petition for the freedom of the city, he was accepted. The interpretation that the civic authorities were trying to expel outsiders with the various campaigns is too simplistic. Rather the patricians were attempting to draw them into the civic society and to aid the citizens in some way in the defence of municipal liberty. The elite demanded that any interloper recognise the authority of the guild and the city's bye-laws.<sup>209</sup> The city was also viewed as privileged space and to secure any liberty one had to pay for it, be that by bearing the duties of a freeman or by paying 'gildage' to the assorted fraternities.

The bye-laws and campaigns against outsiders contravening the city's economic privileges can be seen as demonstrating that the city was not a welcoming place for migrants. Yet, if these migrants became part of the guilds' licensing system

---

<sup>208</sup> Ibid, iii, 507; iv, 400 ; v, 40,74, 36, 540.

<sup>209</sup> Ibid, iii., 396;iv, 84.

that enabled newcomers outside of the guild to engage in activities that were the preserve of freemen, the civic leaders accepted them. The reality was that a migrant could move to the city and work there but he had to abide by the civic rules. They may have been harsh at times and could be costly. Yet it also shows that the city was a more 'open society' than previously supposed by many and the patricians' policy was more liberal than a summary examination of the rhetoric against migrants would seem to show. In general any migrant trader or artisan was tolerated and even welcomed if they recognised the city's institutions and contributed to the city or its guilds in the prescribed manner. For this meant that they were deferring to and even promoting the city's privileges and this made them more than acceptable to the patriciate. This allowed the patricians to transform those who threatened the city's privileges into upholders of the civic ancient privileges.

## Chapter 6

### The unwelcome migrants: the dangerous poor.1600-1700

This chapter seeks to assess the response of the civic authorities throughout the seventeenth century to the migrant poor who were viewed by them as a menace, 'the dangerous poor'. It will include an examination of the ideology and politics that shaped the civic elite's policies towards this group of new arrivals and their efforts to control them. The city of Dublin in this period was the destination for countless migrants from Ireland, Britain and beyond. Given that the majority of people in this era were needy to some degree it is probable that the majority of migrants were in some sense poor.<sup>1</sup> To define the nature of poverty and those who are deprived is difficult in any age. A contemporary definition is harder to state but a provisional one may be that the poor were those who lacked enough property or the means to consistently maintain themselves.<sup>2</sup>

Dublin's patriciate, in common with other elites in this period, suspected their social inferiors and often saw them as a potential threat. Their fear can be seen in some of the measures aimed at the control of the labouring poor. The patricians reserved the right to expel and physically punish the rebellious and disobedient among the city's manual workers and artisans.<sup>3</sup> Throughout the century the Dublin elite were especially vigilant of one class within the generally impoverished population, who were regarded as the most dangerous of the poor. They were known by specific labels and were perceived to have formed a distinct and identifiable group among the mass of migrants who tramped their way to the city. These destitute and desperate newcomers who were marked out by the patriciate as a menace were usually referred to as 'sturdy beggars', 'vagrants' or 'vagabonds'.<sup>4</sup> These were the three key terms which identified the unwelcome poor who moved to the city, although other terms were on occasion used such as the country or foreign poor.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Robert Jutte, *Poverty and deviance in early modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1989), pp 9-10.

<sup>2</sup> 33 Hen. VIII, c. 2 [Eng.] (1 Dec. 1537), in *Stat. at large.*, ii, 45-8; D. B. Quinn, *The Elizabethans and Ireland* (London, 1964), p. 157; Bolton, *A justice of the peace for Ireland*, pp 215-40.

<sup>3</sup> The bye-laws of the city of Dublin (R.I.A., 12 D 4, p. 235).

<sup>4</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 492; iii, 157, 245, 303; iv, 253, 381; v, 418; vi, 91.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, vi, 485, 486.

Dublin's civic heritage was ultimately dependent upon the city's elite fulfilling government policies. One of the most important of these was the need to control the poor who ended up on the city's streets. The many poor migrants who made their way to the city were not just a local concern, but were a national issue. Successive Irish administrations sought to restrain and discipline those poor wanderers for they were held to be a real threat to stability of the kingdom. There are several instances of a viceroy or a lord justice dealing with the problem of vagrancy personally. In 1606 and 1630, lord deputies oversaw the settlement and punishment of poor wandering beggars.<sup>6</sup> The government was especially keen to ensure that vagrants did not disturb the peace of Irish boroughs, such as Dublin. Urban corporations in Ireland had long been viewed as bastions of the English presence on the island. Cities were also vital in the government's economic policies. Irish urban centres were seen as crucial for the development of manufacturing and trade. Royal government saw them as centres of civility and Englishness in the kingdom of Ireland and accordingly they were important in the state's policy of anglicisation of Irish society.<sup>7</sup> The value of the urban corporations to the Irish kingdom was succinctly expressed by the earl of Orrery, when he stated that upon them depended 'the safety, the trade and the lawmakers in this kingdom'.<sup>8</sup> Dublin's patricians had to maintain stability in the city to justify the continuation of the city's traditional rights and prerogatives. This greatly influenced the civic elite's reception of the itinerant poor who travelled to the city for security, relief or employment.

The perception on the part of the civic elite of the 'dangerous' poor who came to the city can be divined to an extent by an analysis of the language used to describe these newcomers. The terminology was typical of the time and is comparable to that used to describe impoverished migrants to Limerick and York.<sup>9</sup> These terms were part of a discourse that also promoted and endorsed a certain view of and policy towards the poor. The terms such as 'sturdy beggars' and 'vagrants' were pejorative ones used by the elite, not just to describe individuals and groups but to categorize them morally and legally. This can best be seen in the phrase 'sturdy' beggar, the adjective 'sturdy' suggesting someone physically fit and able-bodied but

---

<sup>6</sup> *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, p. 487; *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1630-5*, p. 601.

<sup>7</sup> Barnard, *Cromwellian Ireland*, pp 50-89; idem, *The new anatomy of Ireland*, p. 14.

<sup>8</sup> The earl of Orrey to the earl of Essex, 4 June 1672 (*Essex papers*, p. 5).

<sup>9</sup> Tillot (ed.), *A history of the county of York: the city of York*, p 107 ; Lenihan, *Limerick: its history and antiquities*, p. 207.



yet who was a beggar. Begging was an activity that should have been the preserve of the 'impotent', that is the disabled and the aged.<sup>10</sup> To be labelled a 'strange beggar' or 'a vagabond' meant that, in the eyes of the patricians of Dublin, that a person refused to work and sought alms and relief to continue a life of idleness. Born out of this voluntary idleness, criminal and immoral activity was inevitable, it was assumed.<sup>11</sup> This 'voluntarist' view of the root of poverty and vagrancy can be seen in Chichester's observation upon the exodus of desperate poor out of the country after the Nine Years War. He admits that there was 'extreme misery in the country' but he added that 'in Ireland they might live if they gave themselves to labour'.<sup>12</sup>

To the patricians of Dublin, like other urban elites in this era, these wandering poor were the 'other' and were imbued with all the vices that they professed to hate, and none of the perceived qualities they upheld and respected in the productive classes. Their anomalous position outside the natural hierarchy of society resulted in their being imbued with sinister and dangerous attributes. Without being subordinated to a responsible figure, it was anticipated that a poor person would adopt a lifestyle that was a threat to an ordered society and this would lead to all manner of sins.<sup>13</sup> The fact that they were beggars and vagrants was evidence that they were idle and lazy and their willful indolence was a sin and was to 'the high displeasure of God'.<sup>14</sup> The itinerant lifestyle of these wanderers was associated with an 'ungodly' existence. Vagrants were often accused of abandoning spouses and especially children.<sup>15</sup> Sexual misconduct was also widely believed to be a feature of life on the road. Some of the vagrant poor may have formed irregular unions or clandestine marriages such as the camp-follower, Ellen Harrington, who was the unmarried partner of a vagrant former soldier after the Nine Years War in Ireland and England.<sup>16</sup>

Such mobility outside the control of responsible individuals could lead to their being imbued with dangerous ideas on religion or politics. The fear of

---

<sup>10</sup> Petty, *An anatomy of Ireland*, p. 32.

<sup>11</sup> Bolton, *A justice of the peace for Ireland*, pp 214, 216.

<sup>12</sup> Lord deputy and council to the Lords, 29 May, 1606, (*Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, p 487); Mary Ann Lyons, "'Vagabond'" "'mendicant'" "'guex'": French reaction to Irish immigration in the seventeenth century', in *French History*, xiii (2000), pp 4-24.

<sup>13</sup> Jutte, *Poverty and deviance*, p. 14; Toby Barnard, 'Reforming Irish manners: the religious societies in Dublin during the 1690s' in *Historical Journal*, lxx (1992), pp 805-7.

<sup>14</sup> Raymond Gillespie, *Devoted people: belief and religion in early modern Ireland* (Manchester, 1997), p.13.

<sup>15</sup> Bolton, *A Justice of the peace for Ireland*, p. 216; 10 & 11 Chas. I, c.4 [Ire.] (4 Mar, 1634), in *Stat. Ire.*, i, 145-51.

<sup>16</sup> Examination of Ellen Harrington, 5 Oct. 1603 (C.C.A., Q.S.F/51 1602-3, f. 36).

transient individuals can be gauged in the legislation aimed at regulating occupations that involved travelling actors, street entertainers, bear baiters and even peddlers, plying their wares.<sup>17</sup> This was also the case in Dublin. In 1630, Mayor James Carroll ordered that all itinerant ‘hucksters’ or traders be brought to him to be examined, indicating their mobility had made them suspect.<sup>18</sup> This fear of the mobile poor was also associated with the widespread notion that environment shaped a person and his character.<sup>19</sup> The mobility of the vagrant poor was seen as leading to an uncouth and rough existence, and they were thus regarded as wild and out of control. We can sense this in the words of Sir Richard Bolton when he refers to individuals who ‘go vagrant’, almost implying that due to their itinerant lifestyle the wandering poor were in another state, living an almost feral existence.<sup>20</sup>

The Irish political elite had no doubt that there was a wandering class of sturdy beggars and idle men and women who deliberately chose a life on the margins of society and who often inhabited an underworld of idleness, violence and amorality.<sup>21</sup> Commentators also believed them to be very numerous, and that their numbers were growing.<sup>22</sup> The existence of ‘idle men’, that is the country’s many unemployed soldiers and a class of outlaws, the ‘woodkern’, coloured the views of the elite on the roving poor and compounded their alleged danger.<sup>23</sup> There are indications that the Dublin patriciate conceived of the many vagrants and beggars that abounded in the city as being organized and acting as a group. In 1638 a former alderman of the city referred to beggars and vagrants as forming ‘routs and companies’.<sup>24</sup> In Dublin in 1694 it was claimed that the beggars had ‘leaders’ and were conspiring together to rob houses<sup>25</sup>.

The patricians upheld and endorsed the view that itinerant beggars were a threat to the community and unworthy of any support or relief. The ethnic and religious composition of the patriciate underwent many changes. However, the

---

<sup>17</sup> Bolton, *A justice of the peace for Ireland*, p. 214 ; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 317.

<sup>18</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 318.

<sup>19</sup> Fitzgerald, *Poverty and vagrancy in early modern Ireland*, p. 141.

<sup>20</sup> Bolton, *A justice of the peace for Ireland*, p. 165.

<sup>21</sup> ‘The letter book of lord Arthur Chichester, 1612-4’, ed. Dudley Edwards in *Anal. Hib.*, No. 6 (1940), p. 89; O’Brien (ed.), *Advertisements for Ireland*, pp 41, 43; *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608-10*, p. 219.

<sup>22</sup> O’Brien (ed.), *Advertisements for Ireland*, p. 43; Lord Esmond to Dorchester, May ? 1630 (*Cal. S.P. Ire., 1625-32*, p.165); Bolton, *A justice of the peace for Ireland*, p. 216.

<sup>23</sup> Lords of the council to Chichester, 30 July 1608 (*Cal. S.P.Ire., 1608-10*, p.741); The earl of Cork to Dorchester, 18 May 1630 (*Cal. S.P. Ireland, 1625-32*, p. 611).

<sup>24</sup> Bolton, *A justice of the peace for Ireland*, p. 216.

<sup>25</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, vi, 91.

attitude to homeless migrants was constant. This is illustrated by the continuous and recurring application of pejorative terms used to describe the wandering poor, such as ‘vagrant’ and ‘sturdy’ beggar. For despite the changes in the composition of the civic elite, the patricians were still drawn from the property-owning class and among the chief members of Dublin society. Government policies with regard to the vagrancy issue were aimed at the defence of the propertied class. All the patricians would have been sympathetic to the government’s policy of attempting to control the roving poor. As we have seen the Dublin patriciate and the state often held very differing views on migrants in the city and its liberties. Yet the patricians and the government appear to have been in general agreement with regard to dangers posed by these migrants.

To discover whether the dangerous poor were really migrants and transients and not members of the city’s own substantial impoverished underclass is difficult to ascertain, given the sources. The language used in relation to the dangerous poor gives us a strong impression of their origin. That the majority of these poor were outsiders can be gauged by the terms used such as ‘strange beggars’ or ‘country poor’. These phrases seem to imply that the unwelcome poor were unknown outsiders’.<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, the frequent petitions in the common council demanding that the magistrates ‘banish’, ‘expel’ or ‘return to their parish’ those labelled as the unwelcome poor is another indicator that they were migrants.<sup>27</sup>

These phrases also denote that they were not members of the ‘deserving poor’. These ‘deserving poor’ were native Dubliners who were morally and officially entitled to parish and other relief, and as ‘licenced beggars’ to monopolize the city’s official and unofficial charity.<sup>28</sup> Those branded vagrants and sturdy beggars were the undeserving poor, ineligible for any official or unofficial relief, in part because of their lifestyle, but also because they were ‘strangers’ and non-natives and were only entitled by law to be relieved by their home parish.<sup>29</sup> The equation between the undeserving poor and the migrant poor can be seen in the actions of Mayor James Carroll, who, during the early 1630s, ordered all those beggars in Dublin not supported by a parish to leave.<sup>30</sup> The fact that these mendicants were not receiving parochial aid strongly suggests that they were not locals. In 1683, Lord Mayor

---

<sup>26</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 6, 247, 302; iv, 535; v, 6, 25.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, iii, 416; iv, 459, 535.

<sup>28</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 55; Gillespie (ed.), *The vestry records of the parish of St John*, p.160; idem, *The vestry book of the parish of St Catherine*, p. 150.

<sup>29</sup> O’Brien (ed.), *Advertisements for Ireland*, p. 43; Bolton, *A justice of the peace for Ireland*, p. 215.

<sup>30</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 251, 318.

Humphrey Jervis ordered that all unbadged beggars be expelled. The badging of beggars was designed to indicate visibly the deserving poor to potential alms-givers. Those targeted for expulsion by the mayor had no such identification and were almost certainly outsiders.<sup>31</sup>

Dublin's patricians in the interest of the city tended to identify the dangerous poor with those in Ireland who were seen as a threat to stability and order in the city and in the wider kingdom. They apparently concentrated on those who could challenge or compromise the English hold on the city. The Gaelic Irish were especially vulnerable to the charge they were vagrants and 'sturdy' beggars. Their lifestyle and customs opened them to the charges of vagrancy. The general poverty of this group and the custom of 'coshering' resembled the alleged itinerant lifestyle of 'sturdy' beggars, held by the elite.<sup>32</sup> This, together with their history of rebellion and unrest, made them highly suspect to many in the Dublin elite. There is evidence that the largely Old English elite tended to view the poor Gaelic Irish as members of the vagrant poor. Traditionally, they had sought to exclude the native Irish from the city, including Irish beggars.<sup>33</sup> The patriciate in the early years of the seventeenth century was particularly watchful of unknown Irish men during crisis, as in the Nine Years War. This was probably related to the Old English elite's desire to present the city as an English stronghold with English values and ways.<sup>34</sup>

Dublin had an English Protestant majority, by 1659, at the latest.<sup>35</sup> Those now defined as a threat were not just the Gaelic Irish but all those of who adhered to Catholicism. Members of the Catholic Church were held to be a real menace to the English presence in the city. The commonwealth patriciate was under orders to be especially vigilant towards vagrants. There are indications that these were the native Irish.<sup>36</sup> Among those deemed vagrants were those who returned from Connaught after the transplantation and those returning from exile on the continent.<sup>37</sup> It seems that in the 1650s vagrants and Irish Catholics were almost synonyms. After 1660, those who gave allegiance to the pope were held to be idle and inherently

---

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, v, 253.

<sup>32</sup> 10 & 11 Chas. I, c.iv [Ire.] (4 Mar. 1634); Carte, *Life of James, first Duke of Ormonde*, i, 134; O'Brien (ed.), *Advertisement for Ireland*, p. 43.

<sup>33</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, i, 280-1, 286-7.

<sup>34</sup> Berry (ed.), 'The Friday Book', p. 492.

<sup>35</sup> Stephen Pender (ed.) *Census of Ireland, c 1659*, pp 363-73.

<sup>36</sup> Dunlop (ed.), *Ireland under the commonwealth*, i, 340, 341, 354-5, 430-2; ii, 575, 703.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, ii., 709.

hostile to the Protestant interest and were easily identifiable with the vagrants and ‘sturdy’ beggars.<sup>38</sup> Irish Catholics were gradually denied or discriminated against in the provision of relief and official charity. The culmination of this sectarian approach was a provision in the test act of 1704, which required all inmates of charitable institutions to attend Anglican services.<sup>39</sup> Increasingly the elite identified the native Irish with the undeserving poor and this made them increasingly liable to be conceived of as the dangerous poor.

Yet vagrancy was never a problem confined to one ethnic grouping. The reality was that many English and other nationalities were among the wandering poor. A bill of 1640, designed to deal with the challenge of poverty in the kingdom of Ireland, contained a provision forbidding ‘transporting strange beggars to the kingdom’.<sup>40</sup> This suggests that beggars and vagrants that came from outside Ireland were a concern. There are also instances of many impoverished English colonists who became vagrant beggars, as in the case of John Campen, who abandoned his lands in Ireland and was arrested as a vagabond in England in 1630.<sup>41</sup> The city of Dublin, too, experienced difficulties with non-Irish vagrants in this era. In 1620 there was outrage over the begging and alleged crimes of ‘foreigners’ out of ‘England and Flanders’.<sup>42</sup> Many of those examined as vagrants in Chester claimed to be travelling to or from Ireland.<sup>43</sup> Given Chester’s close links with Dublin, these vagrants were probably at least going to pass through the city, while others were seeking employment there, like Nicholas Terry, an unemployed servant.<sup>44</sup> In Dublin’s Quaker records dealing with the relief of destitute or impoverished members, many of the cases were of English migrants, such as Ann Cliff, a bankrupt widow and her two sons from Bristol.<sup>45</sup>

The general willingness of the civic elite, to accept and welcome with state encouragement English immigration into the city, was not extended to those who were unemployed and of no fixed abode. There are indications that the civic elite could be more sympathetic to the vagrant poor of English origin. Many Protestant poor thronged the city’s streets after the land transfers of the Restoration. Their fate

---

<sup>38</sup> Barnard, *A new political anatomy*, p. 19; Petty, *The political anatomy of Ireland*, p. 29.

<sup>39</sup> 2 Anne, c.6 [Eng.] (28 Mar. 1703), in *Stat. at large*, iv, pp 262-9.

<sup>40</sup> Gale, *The ancient corporate system in Ireland*, appendix xxviii.

<sup>41</sup> *The manuscripts of the marques of Salisbury, preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire* (24 vols, H.M.C. London, 1938-44), xvii, 448-9.

<sup>42</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 117.

<sup>43</sup> C.C.A. Q.S.F. 51 ff 30, 35, 36, 37, 55.

<sup>44</sup> Examination of Nicholas Terry, 31 July 1603 (C.C.A., QSF, 30).

<sup>45</sup> Greaves, *Anthony Sharp*, pp 177, 180.

moved the common council to provide them with some relief and led to some debate about what should be done about the homeless poor in the city.<sup>46</sup> However, this was an exception. The Protestant political nation was generally wary of the ‘English’ poor.<sup>47</sup> To the patricians of Dublin, a vagrant was a person on the margins, uncontrolled and poverty-stricken and whatever their nationality or religion, they were held to be an equal threat to the peace and prosperity of the city.

To understand the patricians’ reception of those it regarded as vagrants, it is necessary to examine the groups within the general flow of migrants who were liable to be apprehended as vagrants. The elite often sought to distinguish ‘vagabond and sturdy beggars’ from the many economic migrants to the city as in other urban centers. There may have been an increase in their number due to economic and commercial changes in Irish society. In the depositions for Dublin taken for 1641-2, just after the great rebellion, there were many men examined in relation to an alleged plot to surprise and take Dublin Castle. Those examined and detained by the Dublin authorities in conjunction with government officials, came from the class of migrant that aroused the civic elite’s greatest suspicion and antipathy.<sup>48</sup> These examinations in relation to the alleged plot allow us to discover some types of people that were vulnerable to being construed and charged as ‘vagrants’ and ‘vagabonds’.

Those questioned and detained were mainly young men who had come from the hinterland of the city to find employment, at least according to their statements. They gave addresses in the counties of Sligo, Kildare, Meath, Louth, Down and Fermanagh. They seem in the main to have been single. They often travelled in groups with others to the city and usually by foot.<sup>49</sup> They held no definite employment and had worked previously in a variety of casual and seasonal

---

<sup>46</sup> Anon., *A narrative and account of the hospital*, p.3; Falkiner, *The foundation of the hospital and free school*, p. 37.

<sup>47</sup> Barnard, *The new anatomy of Ireland*, p. 288.

<sup>48</sup> Fitzpatrick, *Ireland in the seventeenth century*, pp 131-2; John Gilbert (ed.), *A Contemporary history of affairs in Ireland from 1641 to 1652* (3 vols, Dublin, 1879), i, 354-5, 507-8.

<sup>49</sup> Examination of Shane Mac Manus, 24 Oct. 1641; Examination of Mul[linery] Laughlin, 25 Oct. 1641; Examination of Donnagh Mac Gillowe, 24 Oct 1641; Examination of Bryan O Hara, 26 Oct. 1641; Examination of Donnach Byrne, 25 Oct. 1641; Examination of Art Kavanagh, ? Oct. 1641; Examination of Loughlin MacCaffrey, 25 Oct. 1641; Examination of Phillip Mac Manus, 28 Oct. 1641; Examination of Eamon O Dogherty, 26 Oct. 1641; Examination of Patrick O Dorgan, 27 Oct. 1641; Examination of William O Murphie, 24 Oct. 1641(T.C.D., MS 809, ff 44, 58, 65, 89,104, 114, 102, 122,127, 186, 188).

employments.<sup>50</sup> Some were only temporary migrants, such as Daniel McGuire who intended to work in the city and then hoped in the near future to 'seek his fortune in England'. Others, if unsuccessful in their bid to find employment in the city, intended to emigrate, like the individual who came to Dublin 'to look for a master' and failing that to become a soldier abroad.<sup>51</sup> The poverty of these immigrants can be seen in the case of one former servant who was 'paid no wages but meat and drink when he followed his master'.<sup>52</sup>

That many ex-servants who came to the city seeking employment, were apprehended is unsurprising. They were a highly mobile group, often only employed for a given time. Many Irish servants or former servants, both male and female, were detained as vagrants in England.<sup>53</sup> Examples from the examinations suggest that many looking for service in Dublin could not find an employer and were similarly liable to be viewed as vagrants. Migrants often travelled to the city and found no employment, such as Gerard Rilie, who had hoped 'to find service' in the city but upon finding none was jobless.<sup>54</sup> Another example of this was Donoch Byrne of Castlemartin, County Meath, where 'he had been in service' for several years, before he journeyed to Dublin. He sought work in a household in the city, but failing to find any, he too was unemployed. Furthermore, he had apparently lodged in the Coombe, but unable to pay the rent, 'an Englishman threw him out' and he became homeless.<sup>55</sup> The problem of vagrant former servants was not confined to those of Gaelic Irish origin, as can be seen in the fate of the Englishwoman Katherine Williams, who after serving her mistress, for eighteen years in Lexlip, was apprehended as a vagrant in Chester.<sup>56</sup>

Other migrants moved to the city in the hope of finding unskilled employment. Examples of one of these unskilled and poor migrants were Brian O

---

<sup>50</sup> Some had previously worked as drovers, ploughmen or harvesters, others had been soldiers or servants, see: Examination of Eamon O Dogherty, Bryan O Hara, Phillip Mac Manus and Loughlin Mac Caffery, William O Murphie, 24-7 Oct. 1641)

<sup>51</sup> Examination of Donach Byrne, 25 Oct. 1641; Examination of Art Kavanagh, ? Oct. 1641 (T.C.D., MS 809, ff 104,114).

<sup>52</sup> Examination of Edmund O Murrough, 27 Oct. 1641 (T.C.D., MS 809, f.192).

<sup>53</sup> Fitzgerald, 'Poor Irish migrants in England, 1560-1640', pp. 20-1.

<sup>54</sup> Examination of Art Kavanagh ? Oct. 1641; Examination of Gerard Rilie, 25 Oct. 1641; Examination of Henry Duffe, 26 Oct. 1641; Examination of Edmund O Morroghe, 27 Oct. 1641 (T.C.D., MS 809, ff 102, 146, 192).

<sup>55</sup> Examination of Donnach Byrne, 25 Oct. 1641.

<sup>56</sup> Examination of Katherine Williams, 4 Apr 1607 (C.C.A., Q.S.F. 55, f. 45).

Hara who moved from Sligo to seek work packing fish at Ringsend,<sup>57</sup> and Laughlin Mac Caffrey, from Kill, County Meath, who was searching for employment in Dublin, after a butcher failed to pay his wages as a drover, and was possibly homeless.<sup>58</sup> Other migrants came to the city to find skilled employment, like the barber-surgeon who moved to the city desperately looking for work with some 'physician' or surgeon'<sup>59</sup>. Some seem to have moved to Dublin, in the words of one, to 'repair their fortune' and were on a path of downward social mobility when they arrived in Dublin, such as the self-proclaimed gentleman who was reduced to looking for 'service' with some master' in the city.<sup>60</sup> This was not unusual and Irish 'gentlemen' were also apprehended as vagrants in England.<sup>61</sup> Any stranger, if unemployed and of no fixed abode, no matter what his claims to high status, could be technically adjudged a vagrant.

We do not know what became of these men after their examination in relation to the alleged plot. It is possible that some were eventually charged as vagrants. Even though they came from a variety of backgrounds and travelled to the city, for a range of reasons, they were all indiscriminately grouped together. They were poor and unemployed, with no fixed abode, and possessed of no letter from a person of authority such as a justice of the peace, which was required by law, stating that they were on legitimate business, while travelling.<sup>62</sup> They were on the margins of society and even outside of the 'commonwealth' and therefore uncontrolled they were potential threats to society. The past history of a person did not matter or their origin, but rather it was the fact that they were poor and not under the immediate control of an authority figure, that weighed with the authorities. As a result they faced the real threat of punishment from local officials, such as the three individuals arrested near Dublin in 1634 who were detained at Newgate, for being unemployed and for 'having no master'.<sup>63</sup>

---

<sup>57</sup> Examination of Bryan O Hara, 26 Oct. 1641.

<sup>58</sup> Examination of Laughlin Mac Caffrey (T.C.D., MS 809, f. 87).

<sup>59</sup> Examination of Shane Mac Manus, 28 Oct. 1641 (T.C.D. MS 809, f. 124); Examination of Mul[linery] Laughlin, 25 Oct. 1641.

<sup>60</sup> Examination of Art Kavanagh, ? Oct. 1641; see also the examination of Shane Mac Manus, 24 Oct. 1641, who had no occupation but lived with his kinsmen in Letrim.

<sup>61</sup> Examination of Mc Donagh O Sullivan, 1624(*Cal. S.P. dom.*, p. 398); Fitzgerald, 'Poor Irish migrants in England', p. 20.

<sup>62</sup> Bolton, *A Justice of the Peace for Ireland*, pp 74, 212.

<sup>63</sup> Fitzgerald, 'Poverty and vagrancy in early modern Ireland', p. 201; McNeill (ed.), 'Reports of manuscripts in the Bodelian Library', p. 22.



Among the newcomers who could potentially be adjudged to be the dangerous poor by the elite and were made to suffer the consequence of that labelling, were the indigent that sought some charity or relief in Dublin. There seems to have been a floating population of beggars in Ireland, those who relied upon charity and comprising a surprisingly mobile group.<sup>64</sup> For example, a Margaret Clandonell, probably a Scot and described as a beggar woman was living in County Dublin in the 1650s.<sup>65</sup> In the letters of the earl of Cork, there are references to these unfortunates in the city, including an old man, one James, the pedlar from County Cork. Elsewhere the Earl spoke of ‘impotent old men and women crawling into towns’.<sup>66</sup> They came to Dublin and other urban centres to avail of the formal and informal charity available and increasingly, as the century wore on, they were excluded from the deserving poor. In 1630, the then mayor ordered the expulsion of beggars ‘of what condition so ever’ and this suggests that many genuinely needy were subject to the same rigorous sanctions as ‘sturdy beggars’. The patricians justified this by asserting that these were the responsibility of their native localities, as when the mayor in 1683 demanded that the ‘country poor’ be returned to their parishes.<sup>67</sup> More and more of this group may have been Catholic and Irish as they were less likely to benefit from the official charitable institutions, which were increasingly restricted to Protestants after 1650. And this discriminatory policy was legally enshrined in the test act of 1704 which sought to make official charity an Anglican monopoly.<sup>68</sup>

Early modern society was brittle and any chance event or conflict could lead to upheavals that uprooted a great mass of people. One of the greatest crises was war with its violence, ill-disciplined armies and its associated terrors of dearth and disease, all causing great dislocation and mass migration of people.<sup>69</sup> The patricians of Dublin during years of war witnessed their city being inundated by displaced persons, such as Anne Ogden and her children, who came to Dublin from

---

<sup>64</sup> Dunlop (ed.), *Ireland under the commonwealth*, i, 340, 354-5, 384; Flatman, ‘Some inhabitants of the baronies of Newcastle and Uppercross’, pp 346, 349; O Brien, *Advertisements for Ireland*, p. 34.

<sup>65</sup> Smith, ‘Cultural and social topographies’, p. 166; Scottish beggars were not unknown, they had been banned from Ireland, in the 1630s see: *P.R.I. rep. D.K. xxxii*, p. 18.

<sup>66</sup> *The letters of the earl of Cork*, ed. Grossart, i, 81; Earl of Cork to Dorchester, 18 May 1630 (*Cal. S.P. Ire., 1625-32*, p. 611).

<sup>67</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii. 251; iv, 156-7, 212; v, 253.

<sup>68</sup> 2 Ann, chp.6 [Eng.] (23 Mar. 1703).

<sup>69</sup> J.H. Andrews, ‘Land and people, c 1685’ in T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin, F.J. Byrne (eds), *A new history of Ireland iii: Early modern Ireland, 1534-1691* (London, 1976), 464, Dunlop (ed.), *Ireland under the commonwealth*, i, 340.

Fermanagh in 1641<sup>70</sup>. Yet often these too could be treated as simply vagrant beggars, as is evident in some of the elite's responses to those who found their way to the city during the Nine Years War despite the extraordinary times and conditions.<sup>71</sup> Many ragged refugees would have been detained and even expelled as potential enemies and the security measures adopted by the civic authorities would have made Dublin possibly even less receptive to these desperate outsiders. Later conflicts saw some sympathy for the many Protestant refugees that made their way to the city and they were singled out for some private and civic relief.<sup>72</sup> However, the normal bye-laws and ordinances against vagrants and beggars were generally enforced even against the many *bona fide* refugees. This can be seen in 1647, when the patricians sought a 'cess' to restore the workhouse, an institution that was aimed at the punishment and reform of vagrants and sturdy beggars. Even at a time when many despoiled victims of conflict were seeking relief, the categorizing of individuals as the dangerous poor was not questioned by the elite.<sup>73</sup>

Early modern Ireland was vulnerable to natural disasters. Any chance event could result in the destruction of a family's economic base in rural Ireland. For example, an outbreak of 'murrain' or anthrax among cattle could destroy even an English settler's holding and drive the family to take to the road.<sup>74</sup> The impact of such cattle diseases could be dramatic. In Kerry in 1695, it was reported that after murrain or anthrax had devastated the herds 'above a hundred families have left the seignory and gone a begging'.<sup>75</sup> The failure or partial failure of a harvest was disastrous and plunged whole sections of rural society into poverty and hunger.<sup>76</sup> The bishop of Waterford declared during a failure of the crop in 1630 that 'one third of the population lives on alms'.<sup>77</sup> These harvest crises occurred throughout the century at regular intervals and approximately ten can be identified, possibly an underestimate of their number.<sup>78</sup>

---

<sup>70</sup> Hickson (ed.), *Ireland in the seventeenth century*, i, 171.

<sup>71</sup> Fitzgerald, 'Poverty and vagrancy in early modern Ireland', p. 144.

<sup>72</sup> *Anc. rec.Dub.*, iii., 416, 501; H.M.C., *Ormond*, iii, 116; 372; *Lords' jn.*, (4 Sep. 1642), xii, 413.

<sup>73</sup> *Anc. rec.Dub.*, iii, 408.

<sup>74</sup> H.M.C., *Salisbury MS*, xvii, 448-9; *Letters of the earl of Cork*, ed. Grossart, i,258; Edward Mc Lysaght (ed.), 'Interim reports: Doneraile papers', in *Anal. Hib.*, no.15 (1944), p. 398.

<sup>75</sup> W.J. Smith (ed.), *Herbert Correspondence* (I.M.C. Cardiff, 1965), pp 335, 337.

<sup>76</sup> The lords justices and council to the English privy council, 11 Dec. 1630, (*Cal. S.P. Ire.*, 1625-32, p. 593).

<sup>77</sup> H.M.C., *Franciscan MSS*, p 20; The year previously it was claimed in Armagh that beggars outnumbered alms givers see: Petition to the lord deputy, 16 July 1629 (*Cal. S.P. Ire.*, 1625-32, p. 194).

<sup>78</sup> Wilde, 'Table of famines', pp 5-9.

Failures or disruptions to the food supply were also economic crises, as people devoted ever more of their income to foodstuffs, and they spent less on other items and services, many rural tradesmen and servants becoming unemployed. A mass of people, men, women and children, were on the move looking for relief or work and the number of vagrant poor expanded greatly. Even tenant farmers, unable to pay their rents, simply abandoned their holdings and took to the roads.<sup>79</sup> Dublin may have been seen as offering a chance of both employment and food, given its wealth and its increasingly sophisticated economy.

In 1630, during a severe period of dearth, it was claimed that ‘beggars are resorting to the city from all parts of the kingdom, emphasising the lure of the capital for the hungry and impoverished.’<sup>80</sup> The numbers involved are impossible to gauge but the scale of subsistence migrants in the city can be estimated. Fitzgerald noted that the grave problem of Irish subsistence migrants was largely confined to Scotland and the south and west of England and that the north west of England was surprisingly largely untouched.<sup>81</sup> Certainly, during the recurring crises of the 1620s and 1630s there is no indication that Chester or Lancashire generally suffered a major influx of Irish beggars. Yet Dublin’s hinterland suffered badly in these periods of shortage and economic decline, as in 1630, when it was noted that there were untold numbers of vagrants in Leinster.<sup>82</sup> This possibly indicates that the Irish capital bore the brunt of the moving mass of subsistence migrants from its hinterland and it buffered the north-west of England from any major incursion of Irish beggars. Dublin, appears to have witnessed a significant rise in begging and vagrancy during crises, at least before 1640 and most likely after this date.

That many of these victims of hunger and economic dislocation associated with these crises found their way to Dublin can be seen in the number of petitions in the corporation’s common council, complaining of the presence of sturdy and strange beggars, and the country poor. Indeed the majority of references to the vagrant poor in the common council seem to have occurred during periods of dearth caused by poor harvests, extreme weather or wars (see appendix 11). Other urban centres in Ireland

---

<sup>79</sup> Smith (ed.), *Herbert Correspondence*, pp 188, 198.

<sup>80</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub*, iii, 251.

<sup>81</sup> Fitzgerald, ‘Poor Irish migrants in England, 1560-1640’, p. 15.

<sup>82</sup> Lord Esmond to Lord Dorchester, 4 May 1630 (*Cal. S.P. Ire.*, 1625-32, p. 168).

also saw similar complaints concerning the vagrant begging poor, in times of crisis.<sup>83</sup> The civic authorities under the law, despite the severity and genuine hardship of the times, had no special duties towards these desperate migrants. Instead they adopted the same language to describe these subsistence migrants; they too were ‘strange or sturdy beggars’, and they were treated accordingly.<sup>84</sup>

It is difficult to present a picture of the conditions of homeless migrants on the streets of Dublin in the seventeenth century. But from the terms of the bye-laws and other records it is possible to get some impression of the scale and nature of the problem of the itinerant poor. The common council referred to ‘swarms’ of beggars.<sup>85</sup> This would correspond to the situation in England and France where large groups, even hundreds of Irish vagrant beggars wandered, the country.<sup>86</sup> There is evidence that whole families may have resided in the city and that children were very much in evidence. It was a characteristic feature of the Irish wandering poor that they moved in large family groups.<sup>87</sup> That many were homeless is suggested by the allusions to the ‘poor under stalls’ in 1603 and 1620, signifying that some migrants at times lived under the city’s market stalls in the open streets.<sup>88</sup>

Some vagrant beggars spent nights in the city’s many notorious ale houses or could afford a penny for their bed for the night. Some squatted in derelict buildings. Parts of Trinity College after the mid-century wars were occupied by some homeless poor.<sup>89</sup> The generally poorer suburbs were host to many of the desperate migrants in the city as was the case in other early modern cities. The many unofficial ale houses located there and the possibility that the authorities in the ‘liberties’ had fewer resources to tackle the migrant poor would have encouraged many to gather in these districts. For example, in 1684 the earl of Meath’s liberty had only two constables to police that rapidly expanding area.<sup>90</sup> The patricians were preoccupied

---

<sup>83</sup> Ainsworth (ed.), ‘Corporation book of the Irish town of Kilkenny’, p. 48; George Bennett, *The History of Bandon and the principle towns in the west riding of Cork* (Cork, 1869), pp 35, 75.

<sup>84</sup> Bolton, *A Justice of the Peace for Ireland*, p. 212; *Anc. rec. Dub.* iii, 298-9; v, 477; vi, 90.

<sup>85</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 202.

<sup>86</sup> *Cal. S. P. dom.*, 1620-5, pp 123, 134; ‘The lord justices and council to the English privy council, 11 Dec. 1630, (*Cal. S.P. Ire.*, 1625-30, p. 593); ‘Chichester to lord deputy, 3 July 1606’, (*Cal. S.P. Ire.*, 1606-8, p. 509).

<sup>87</sup> *Cal. S.P. dom.*, 1623, p. 398; *Cal. S.P. Ire.*, 1630-5, p. 202.; *Cal. S.P. Ire.*, 1600-3, pp 511-2; H.M.C., *Salisbury MSS*, xi, 13; Quinn, *The Elizabethans and the Irish*, pp 155-7; Mary Ann Lyons, ‘“Vagabond” mendicant’ ‘guex’: French reaction to Irish immigration in the early seventeenth century’ in *French History*, 14;4 (2000), pp 368, 370.

<sup>88</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 378; iii, 118.

<sup>89</sup> Percy C. Kirkpatrick, *History of the medical school in Trinity College*, Dublin (Dublin, 1912), p. 35.

<sup>90</sup> Clarke, ‘The principal inhabitants of Dublin, 1684’, p. 54;

with the intra-mural area and it appears to have been heavily policed, unlike the outer areas, at least in the early part of the century. This is based upon the distribution of wards to aldermen, in which they supervised parish constables. This relative lack of policing on the city's outskirts enabled many undesirables a qualified freedom of movement in the suburbs.

**Location of aldermen's wards in Dublin, 1638-9,**

**Table 6.1**

<i>Within the walls</i>	<i>Southern suburbs</i>	<i>Northern suburbs</i>
12	6	3

Source: Clarke (ed.), 'The principal inhabitants of Dublin, 1684', p. 54;

Many vagrant beggars hovered about the city's edges and possibly wandered into the city to beg. In 1634 a provost marshal, during a period of martial law, was ordered to clear beggars from a three mile-radius of the city, indicating that the vagrant begging poor often circled the city looking for relief. In the 1650s the common council discussed the problem of beggars in or around the city and there was a similar complaint made about the vagrant poor in the 1690s. Indeed it seems likely that many stayed just outside the city after being expelled by the authorities.<sup>91</sup> Some could have lived in the wooded areas close to the city.<sup>92</sup> The dangerous poor in Ireland were associated with afforested places.<sup>93</sup> In the neighbourhood of the city some established themselves in thatched cabins on municipal property during periods of food shortages as in the early 1630s.<sup>94</sup> There is some evidence that many beggars stayed in the city only temporarily and returned to the country during the harvest, when work and food were freely available.<sup>95</sup>

The conditions that these poor migrants experienced are hard to ascertain. To the elite, as we have seen, they were false beggars and simply idle and undeserving of any charity or sympathy. There are indications that the lives of these

<sup>91</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 314; iv, 19; vi, 90-3; Colm Lennon, 'Dives and Lazarus in sixteenth century Ireland' in idem and Jacqueline Hill (eds), *Luxury and austerity; historical studies series* (Dublin, 1999), p. 50.

<sup>92</sup> Such as Thomas Court woods see Henry Berry, 'Some notes on St Catherine's church yard, 1634' in *R.S.A.I., Jn.* vvviii (1907), p. 396.

<sup>93</sup> Fitzgerald, 'Poverty and vagrancy in Ireland', p. 98; *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608-10*, p. 296; 10 & 11 Chas. II, c. 4 [Ire.] (4 Mar. 1634).

<sup>94</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 304, 314.

<sup>95</sup> The city in 1600 paid a group of men to deter beggars from the city, They were employed until August the start of the harvest when work was plentiful, see: Berry, (ed.), 'The Friday Book', p. 501.

migrants could be ‘brutish, nasty and short’, especially during food shortages. Many of those who fled to the city at the onset of the great rebellion, died. In St John’s parish alone, 161 ‘poor English’ refugees died, in the first few months of the war.<sup>96</sup> During the dearth of 1674, a leading Quaker observed that many beggars died, and similarly ‘great numbers died, in the streets of Dublin’ during the food shortages after the war of 1689-91.<sup>97</sup> During the severe economic downturn of the 1690s there was a surge in the number of burials in the Church of Ireland parish of St Michan and many of these were apparently beggars and impoverished outsiders.<sup>98</sup> Even in those years, without dearth or war, the bodies of deceased beggars from outside Dublin were discovered on the city’s streets, such as one woman only identified as ‘Pigcoat’ who was found dead in 1635.<sup>99</sup>

The visibility of this group of outsiders was a factor in their reception in the city. They would have tended to congregate in public spaces, or would obstruct public ways such as the city’s gates as they attempted to attract charitable donations.<sup>100</sup> Dressed in rags, they would by their begging have drawn attention to themselves as a group, as would their occasional practice of going begging from door to door.<sup>101</sup> One commentator describes them ‘lamenting’ and ‘crying’ for alms. The destitute migrants, often in large numbers reduced to begging and frequently aggressively seeking alms, could appear as a nuisance, so much so that a bye-law from the sixteenth century ordered that they ‘only beg by word’.<sup>102</sup> These wretched outsiders were evident everywhere and this magnified the sense of threat that was associated with them and spurred the Dublin civic elite to treat them in a harsh and uncompromising way. Vagrant beggars were also a political embarrassment for the civic elite. The presence of so many, usually Irish beggars, living an itinerant existence was an indicator, that Dublin was failing to comply with the government’s policy, that urban corporations be redoubts of civility and Englishness.

The attitude of the patricians to the unwelcome poor was not simply heartless or selfish. Those titled ‘strange’ or ‘vagrant beggars’ were deeply associated

---

<sup>96</sup> Mills (ed.), *The parish register of... St John*, pp 56-60.

<sup>97</sup> Mc Neill (ed.), ‘Reports of manuscripts in the Bodleian Library’, p. 86; Grubb, *The Quakers in Ireland*, p. 46.

<sup>98</sup> Berry (ed.), *The parish register of... St Michan’s*, pp 412-50.

<sup>99</sup> Mills (ed.), *The parish register of... St John*, p. 54.

<sup>100</sup> In 1621 a city gate keeper was ordered to prevent begging by his gate or the city’s then sole bridge, *Anc.Recs, Dub.*, iii, 152.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, vi, 91.

<sup>102</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 157; Anon., *A narrative and account of the foundation of the hospital*, pp 2-3.

with real and not just theoretical threats to society, in the eyes of the propertied class. To a patrician in seventeenth-century Dublin, the actions undertaken against undesirable paupers were a matter of good and responsible governance and even a matter of self-defence. This can be seen from a meeting of aldermen in 1601, when they asserted that an influx of beggars from the country would result in the 'overthrow of the city'.<sup>103</sup> That is not to say that they were always viewed as a danger to the city, as for periods they may have been ignored. But their mobility, freedom from authority and their potential sinfulness all rendered them possible threats in the elite's eyes and meant that they could not long be overlooked. On account of their circumstances, they were associated with specific threats to the 'commonwealth' or society. These included the charge that they were carriers of plague and disease, politically seditious and potentially disturbers of the peace.<sup>104</sup> These potential dangers could also have had political consequences for the elite. The vagrant poor with their threats could have endangered the city's trade and security. This would have meant that the civic elite were failing to comply with government policies that the city was to be safe, civil and prosperous.

The poor that were marked and branded as members of the dangerous underworld were not just a physical threat to the aldermanic elite and the city they administered. They were also indirectly a threat to the privileges of the citizen body and the aldermen themselves. The migrant poor were a danger because they brought instability. This was unacceptable to the members of Dublin society, in particular its citizens, as disorder could adversely affect their wealth and especially their property. The possession of property enabled the privileged in early modern Ireland as elsewhere to preserve and demonstrate their position in the hierarchy. Property allowed an individual the independence to live a civil and honourable life and permitted him to follow his ambitions within the civic structure of office-holders. The freemen of Dublin were not just free because of their citizenship but also because of their property.<sup>105</sup> The patriciate saw the dangerous poor as threatening and

---

<sup>103</sup> Berry (ed.), 'The Friday Book', pp 499-500.

<sup>104</sup> J.A. Sharpe, *Crime in early modern England* (London, 1985), p. 14; Bolton, *A justice of the peace for Ireland*, p. 210.

<sup>105</sup> The oath of a freeman stated that one had to be freeborn, this was understood to mean that one was of a certain class and originated in medieval times in a distinction between the 'freeborn and serf' see: *Royal commission to inquire into municipal corporations, Ireland*, 1835, p. 19, H.C. 1836 (24), v, 87.

undermining the foundations of civic privilege, specifically private wealth and property.

The elite group of aldermen that administered the city in the name of the monarch was no doubt particularly anxious to ensure that any of the threats from the migrant poor did not materialise. They were the socio- economic elite and had most to lose. Any loss or diminution of their wealth or property could have had grave consequences for an alderman's status. The office of alderman required an individual to possess property of £500.<sup>106</sup> The patricians also held other civic positions, such as town clerk and these often required that he provide a substantial surety for his good conduct, during his term of office.<sup>107</sup> An alderman needed independent means to allow him the free time to engage in civic activities and his wealth was also typically seen as demonstrating that he was economically independent and could carry out his various duties in a disinterested manner. An alderman who failed to maintain the property qualification was liable to be dismissed from the bench. In 1665, Aldermen Robert Mills and William Clifte were dismissed for not possessing £500 in goods.<sup>108</sup> The alleged danger posed by poor migrants was of special concern to the elite and accordingly they were especially keen to monitor and control vagrants and sturdy beggars, given their alleged reputation as threats to the established order.

One of the disorders associated with vagrancy was the spread of pestilence and disease. An outbreak of plague or an epidemic would have been of great concern to the civic elite. Unlike many other citizens, their duties meant that they could not flee the city.<sup>109</sup> Furthermore it involved them in dangerous policing activities to halt the spread of the disease.<sup>110</sup> These were often carried out in person and at great risk. Indeed one mayor and several aldermen died during an outbreak of the plague in 1603-5.<sup>111</sup> They also oversaw others such as the 'searchers' who diagnosed the ill in order to quarantine them.<sup>112</sup> These efforts and others were very expensive and placed great strain on the civic treasury.<sup>113</sup> Any eruption of the plague or any such epidemic

---

<sup>106</sup> D.C.A., MS 66, ii, pp 15, 23.

<sup>107</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii. 306, 507; Fitzgerald and Clarke, *Serving the city*, pp 32-3.

<sup>108</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iv, 353.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 420; iv, 10-11.

<sup>110</sup> Berry (ed.), 'The Friday Book', p. 513; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iv, 15.

<sup>111</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 410-11, 421-3, 426.

<sup>112</sup> Berry (ed.), 'The Friday Book', p. 512; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iv, 15, 358.

<sup>113</sup> D.C.A., MS 35, ff 60, 72, 74, 77, 99, 164 ; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 538.



was undoubtedly a source of anxiety among the Dublin elite. We can detect some of this fear in a letter from the mayor of Dublin to his counterpart in Chester upon a mere rumour of a 'sickness' in 1613.<sup>114</sup>

Plague or any epidemic in a city was most disruptive. As a result, rulers were keen to prevent outbreaks of disease from occurring, especially in strategic centres, such as Dublin. Major outbreaks in England usually led the government to order urban elites to adopt measures to prevent the disease spreading to Ireland, as in 1625 and 1666.<sup>115</sup> Plague disrupted the functioning of the government in 1603-4. There were concerns that disease could disturb or curtail the proceedings of the first Irish parliament after the Restoration.<sup>116</sup> Plague was also particularly disruptive of trade, due to efforts to halt its spread<sup>117</sup>. Royal administrators were always keen to ensure that trade continued, for it generated custom receipts for the royal exchequer in Ireland. Dublin's patricians were keen to avert plague or any epidemic disease which could have hindered their attempts to develop the city into a prosperous and secure corporation, in line with the government's urban policy in Ireland.

There had been a growing link between poverty, begging and diseases in the late medieval and early modern eras in Dublin and other cities, such as York.<sup>118</sup> Throughout the seventeenth century, references that linked the poor and, in particular, beggars with disease were not uncommon. In the 1630s the common council ordered the expulsion of strange and sturdy beggars on the grounds of the 'great danger of their bringing infection'. In 1661 the Irish parliament warned the Dublin municipal authorities that they should clear the streets of beggars or else 'risk an outbreak of disease'.<sup>119</sup> One of the accepted notions associated with the spread of plague was that 'it came from outside' in this century. This can be seen in measures to protect the city from outside infection during the plague scare of 1666, such as the pest house on Clontarf Island.<sup>120</sup> This perception meant that beggars and vagrants, the ultimate

---

<sup>114</sup> Letter from the mayor of Dublin to the mayor of Chester, 19 Aug. 1615 (C.C.A., Mayor's book ZM/L/2/261).

<sup>115</sup> *P.R.I., rep. D.K. xxii*, pp 30, 35.

<sup>116</sup> *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1601-3*, p. 218; *Commons' jn. Ire.* (17 June. 1661), i, pt. 2.

<sup>117</sup> People and goods were both quarantined, see: *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iv, 345.

<sup>118</sup> Lennon, 'Dives and Lazarus', p. 48; Tillot (ed.), *A history of the county of York: the city of York*, p.144.

<sup>119</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 247; v, 402; *Commons' jn. Ire.* (5 Apr. 1662), i, pt. 2.

<sup>120</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iv, 345, 381.

outsiders, were particularly vulnerable to accusations of spreading disease into urban areas.

Pseudo-scientific ideas concerning the spread and origin of diseases also gave credence to the prejudice that the poor, especially the foreign poor, contributed to epidemics. The medical theory of miasma held that tainted air, inhaled, caused disease. During the plague of 1603-4 the patriciate ordered the inhabitants to burn a faggot for a 'better purging of the air'.<sup>121</sup> The source of this dangerous air was held to be caused by pollutants, and in, particular dirt. The vagrant poor and their lifestyle were regularly associated with these miasmas and their presence was held to 'tend to corrupt the air and endanger the health of the people'.<sup>122</sup> The identification of dirt and beggars had a long tradition in the city.<sup>123</sup> An attempt to eradicate or deal with dirt usually involved the cleansing of the streets of beggars. In 1634, Sir James Carroll issued a memorial directed towards 'keeping of the streets of Dublin clean' and 'for ordering and settling the multitude of beggars in and near the city'.<sup>124</sup> In 1686 there was a plan initiated by Lord Deputy Tyrconnell to keep the streets clean by employing more street cleaners, and 'to expel strange beggars'.<sup>125</sup> The beggars caused filth and they were often presented as a disease 'infecting' the city.<sup>126</sup>

Sin was not a private matter, as it could impact on the broader community in a variety of ways and, as the guardians of the city, the patricians of Dublin were ever wary of this threat. The sins of individuals could have brought down God's anger upon the city in the form of food shortages, and especially plagues.<sup>127</sup> The idea of vengeful God punishing whole communities by plague or disease was a view held by all denominations.<sup>128</sup> The linkage between the vagrant poor and sin can be seen from a petition in the common council when the actions of beggars were seen as 'procuring God's wrath upon the city'.<sup>129</sup> The aldermen and mayor as justices of the peace acted to punish those who transgressed society's moral code. In 1606 a Dutchman was

---

<sup>121</sup> Civic arrangements in relation to the plague and pest house, 1603-4 (*Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 538-9).

<sup>122</sup> *Ir. Commons. jn.*, (12 May. 1662), ii, pt.2.

<sup>123</sup> T.K. Moylan, 'Vagabonds and sturdy beggars: in poverty, pigs and pestilence' in Howard Clark (ed.), *Medieval Dublin: the living city* (Dublin, 1987), pp 191-2.

<sup>124</sup> Gilbert, *The history of Dublin*, i, 298.

<sup>125</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 435-6.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, iii, 247; v, 283.

<sup>127</sup> Proclamation of a fast and special prayers in Dublin, 1628 (D.C.A., Gilbert Collection, MS 169).

<sup>128</sup> Henry Ireton, *A proclamation on the plague*, (Dublin, 1650), available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>) ( 15 Nov. 2006); H.M.C., *Franciscan MSS*, p. 22; Grubb, *The Quakers in Ireland*, p. 46.

<sup>129</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 91.

arrested on a charge of adultery and the city elite ordered all ale-houses closed on a Sunday in the 1690s.<sup>130</sup> To avoid, risking God's wrath, the patricians sought to exclude vagrant beggars and wanderers with their alleged sinfulness and immorality.

To confirm a link between the unwelcome poor and epidemics is almost impossible, given the scattered remnants of sources. It is possible to give an impression at least of the likely connection between desperate and impoverished beggars and the spread of disease by analysing the death rate in the city and the incidence of harvest crises and conflicts. During failures of the harvest or war, there was typically a surge in the numbers of poor migrating to the city: these poorly fed and homeless people who would have been susceptible to any contagious infections during their wanderings and acted as carriers of sickness and disease.<sup>131</sup> These infected vagrant beggars would then have spread the disease to persons in Dublin. There is a possible link between a surge in the death rate in the city and poor harvests, when there was a probable influx of beggars. For example in 1674, there was a surge in the number of deaths in the city<sup>132</sup>. The surge in burials came at a time when many beggars from the countryside had entered the city to escape, successive poor harvests. However, it is impossible to determine if this rise in the death rate was caused by poor migrants, spreading disease or a result of poor economic conditions in the city<sup>133</sup>. However the high incidence of deaths among natives in years that saw a large number of poor immigrants in the city may have created a perception among the elite, given contemporary theories, that vagrant beggars had spread lethal infections among the native community.

The civic elite attributed crimes and other threatening activities to the many migrants who settled in the city. In 1613, Sir James Carroll condemned 'wicked and ill-disposed persons lately come out of England'.<sup>134</sup> The dangerous poor would have been especially vulnerable to accusations of criminal activity due to their status and destitution. Vagrants and beggars were technically criminals anyway, as both begging outside one's parish and movement without permission were both illegal.<sup>135</sup> The patriciate on occasion specifically linked vagrant beggars to crime.

---

<sup>130</sup> D.C.A., MS 35, p. 345; D.C.A., MS 45, p. 14.

<sup>131</sup> Houston, *The population history of Britain and Ireland*, p. 14.

<sup>132</sup> Petty, *Observations upon Dublin's bills of mortality*, pp 4-6.

<sup>133</sup> Grubb, *The Quakers in Ireland*, p. 46; *Cal. S. P. dom., 1672*, pp 90, 159, 180.

<sup>134</sup> *A proclamation set forth, by the Mayor, Sir James Carroll* (Dublin, 1614), p. 2.

<sup>135</sup> Bolton, *A Justice of the Peace for Ireland*, p. 101; *A proclamation set forth by the mayor, Sir James Carroll* (Dublin, 1614), p. 2; 33 Hen. VIII, c. 15 ( 3 Nov. 1537).

For example in 1632 there was an alleged den of vagrant thieves ensconced in what appears to have been a shanty town. In 1693, in the words of one petitioner to the common council, 'if the beggars were not stopped', in the city, 'the vagabonds would rob our houses'.<sup>136</sup> However, there is insufficient evidence to suggest a definite link between crimes and migrants, yet the perception by the patriciate of the relationship between the two can be cautiously established.

The perceived link between crime and poor migrants was influenced by rural disorders during periods of dearth in the countryside. Harvest failure brought widespread economic dislocation as we have seen, and it also seemed to have brought disorder and criminality in its wake. During periods of poor harvests or cattle disease there seems to have been a growth in complaints of crime throughout the country. In 1615, at a time of 'great cattle mortality' due to disease, the rustling of cattle became common in Derry. During the dearth of 1667, one observer noted that 'poverty is so great that many run away from their farms and turn to thievery'.<sup>137</sup> The scale of the disorder cannot be calculated but the sources give an impression that it could be on a large scale. In 1635 the lord deputy reported that a 'band of forty or fifty men' were committing burglaries and extorting food' in Counties Meath and Dublin. The lord deputy executed several of them.<sup>138</sup> The unrest could even lead to people abandoning their homes. During food shortages in the early 1670s, banditry was so endemic in County Tyrone that English settlers left their homes.<sup>139</sup>

The patricians were alert to the dangers that vagrants brought to the city during these periods of crisis. This can be seen in the efforts of mayors to expel 'strange' beggars at these times. The years of successive poor harvests such as in 1620-4, 1629-35, the mid-1680s and the early 1690s, are marked by municipal initiatives to deal with the vagrant poor. These measures included proposals to build workhouses and mass expulsions of beggars.<sup>140</sup> The civic elite had to be seen to be playing their part in the maintenance of law and order in the kingdom, by controlling wandering beggars. It also would have allowed them to demonstrate to government officials that they were safeguarding the city, a key bastion for the English and later the Protestant community, in a period of unrest among the Gaelic Irish peasantry.

---

<sup>136</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 298-9, 303-4; vi, 90-2.

<sup>137</sup> *Cal. S. P. Ire.*, 1667-9, pp xii, xxx; *Cal. S.P. Ire.*, 1610-15, p. 134; Gillespie, 'Harvest crises', pp 13-17.

<sup>138</sup> Earl of Cork to Dorchester, 18 May 1630 (*Cal. S.P. Ire.*, 1630-5, p. 601).

<sup>139</sup> *Cal. S.P. dom.*, 1672, p. 244.

<sup>140</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 124, 126, 141; v, 477, 485; vi, 90-1.

Governments were well aware of the possibility of instability and even rebellion during disruptions to the food supply. The rebellion of 1641 has been characterised as an outbreak of agrarian violence, sparked by a harvest failure that rapidly became sectarian and politicized.<sup>141</sup> After the Restoration, the government was particularly concerned by violence during periods of poor harvest, as some of it had political connotations. This can be seen in the many proclamations against Tories, from the 1660s onwards.<sup>142</sup>

Certain occupations were often associated with vagrancy and disorder, such as bear-baiters and mariners.<sup>143</sup> In particular, former and unemployed soldiers were seen as threats. They were a special concern in the kingdom of Ireland. Even when in service under the command of their officers, they had a reputation for lawlessness.<sup>144</sup> A soldier who was demobilized was effectively unemployed and often homeless and was little more than a vagrant. Indeed many ex-soldiers may have been still armed.<sup>145</sup> This concern with unattached soldiers extended to the king's own former veterans. In the 1690s a royal proclamation declared that all justices of the peace, notably the mayors, were to be vigilant in preventing crime by former soldiers.<sup>146</sup> Local authorities in Ireland such as the Dublin patriciate were vigilant with regard to former soldiers, to such an extent that Irish soldiers who had loyally served the king abroad were reluctant to return to Ireland, out of fear that they would be arrested and prosecuted upon arrival.<sup>147</sup>

This was a problem that was common throughout early modern Europe, but Ireland may have been more susceptible to the problem of vagrant soldiers. The country saw many years of conflict and, in general, the country had been much more militarised than, say, England. The country was a key recruiting ground for mercenaries for much of this period. Indeed Dublin seems to have been a centre for recruiting mercenaries for the continent, before the rebellion of 1641<sup>148</sup>. This could

---

<sup>141</sup> Canny, *Making Ireland British*, pp 340.

<sup>142</sup> Proclamations by the Lord Lieutenant, 1670-1720 (N.L.I. read on microfilm, Pos. 8315, no. 31,32,49, 82,168).

<sup>143</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 200; Bolton, *A justice of the peace for Ireland*, pp 240-2; Fitzgerald, 'Poor Irish migrants in England, 1560-1640', p. 20.

<sup>144</sup> H.M.C., *Franciscan MSS*, p. 20; D.C.A., MS 44, p.78.

<sup>145</sup> A veteran of Wentworth's army still had his musket and sword after his demobilisation; Examination of William O Murphie, 1 Nov.1641 (T.C.D. Ms 809, f. 345)

<sup>146</sup> *P.R.I. rep. D.K. xxii*, p. 341.

<sup>147</sup> Prendergast, *Ireland under the Restoration*, p. 23; *Cal.S.P. dom.*, 1660-2, p. 144.

<sup>148</sup> Examination of [Art] Kavanagh, 25 Oct. 1641; Examination of Daniel Maguire, 25 Oct. 1641 (T.C.D., MS 809, ff 55, 186).

have drawn the much feared native ‘idle men’ and woodkern into the city.<sup>149</sup> The city as the centre of government also drew unemployed military men, seeking assistance or preferment. In 1688, a commentator remarked upon the great numbers of demobilized soldiers in the streets.<sup>150</sup> Dublin with its port may have been especially open to vagrant soldiers, passing through the city. Former soldiers like Thomas Patrick, a deserter, spent some time in the city while on his way home to England, as did mercenaries returning from the continental wars like Richard Carew who was journeying to Dublin, when he was arrested in Chester.<sup>151</sup> During periods of tensions former soldiers’ activities in Ireland were discussed at the highest level. The political elite were very wary of returning soldiers who had served in Irish regiments in Flanders.<sup>152</sup> Dublin’s patricians were obliged to monitor former soldiers, among the vagrant poor, in the interest of security and as they sought to prove to government officials that they were competent governors of the Irish capital.

It was not only the real and reputed threats from the vagrant poor that alarmed the elite. Dublin, with its large floating immigrant population, large underclass and the breakdown of many of the old structures that bound society together, was an inherently unstable place.<sup>153</sup> For during crisis years of economic difficulties and conflict the native population experienced widespread deprivation and the political elite may have feared that unrest was a real threat. In 1694 there were food shortages and it was feared that ‘not only the poor would starve’.<sup>154</sup> Journeymen and serving soldiers would have been an especial concern for the civic elite. The latter were often made redundant during recessions and periods of dearth and many were reduced to near-starvation. Those that worked in the clothing industry were especially vulnerable during these years.<sup>155</sup> The journeymen from the different guilds were often associated in unofficial bodies and on occasion they proved restive.<sup>156</sup> The second group apt to be troublesome during periods of economic distress was soldiers,

---

<sup>149</sup> McNeill (ed.), ‘Reports of manuscripts in the Bodleian Library’, p. 156; *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, p. 741; *Ibid., 1608-10*, p.296

<sup>150</sup> Rycault, ‘Memorandum and letters from Ireland’, ed. Malvin, p. 56.

<sup>151</sup> Examination of Thomas Patrick, 4 Sept. 1602(C.C.A.QSF, f. 49), Examination of Henry Carew, ? 1611 (C.C.A.QSE, f. 38).

<sup>152</sup> *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1604-6*, p. 229; *ibid., 1608-10*, p.299; *ibid., 1663-5*, p.566; *ibid., 1666-9*, pp 620-1.

<sup>153</sup> In 1665 there were concerns over the level of crime in the city, John Hughes to Joseph Williamson 11 Mar. 1665; John Hughes to alderman Pennington, 7 Mar. 1665, (*Cal. S.P. Ire. 1663-5*, p. 401, 456).

<sup>154</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, vi, 124.

<sup>155</sup> Barnard, *A new political anatomy of Ireland*, p. 310; Letter to James II from Terence Mac Dermott, Lord Mayor of Dublin, 1690 (*Anc. rec. Dub.*, vi, 631).

<sup>156</sup> *Anc. rec.,Dub.*, v, 539 : Anon, *A true report of a bloody fight and unrest* (Dublin, 1700), available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>) ( 14 Apr. 2007).

who were often unpaid for lengthy periods of time. In the late 1660s the Irish government was unable to pay the city's garrison. There was an upsurge in robberies and other crimes which one commentator attributed to the unpaid soldiery and there were also 'disturbances between soldiers and civilians'. There may also have been a fear of an outright mutiny.<sup>157</sup>

The elite, at all times, but especially during periods of dearth, sought to alleviate the indigenous poor and this can be seen with regard to the assize of bread and beer, which they ensured was fairly priced in order to help poor labourers, journeymen and soldiers specifically. Their efforts against forestalling and engrossing grain supplies during harvest crises were another example of their efforts to keep food prices down.<sup>158</sup> These policies can be seen as typical of the aldermanic elite's paternalism, yet they were also part of a policy of social control. By providing relatively cheap food the elite were ensuring that the poor did not become desperate enough to become restive and threaten the citizenry and even the civic elite. Other forms of relief such as coal for the poor and the various forms of parish assistance were also directed at the resident poor.<sup>159</sup> These programmes of relief and thereby efforts at social control would have been undermined by the throng of vagrant poor seeking alms, cheap food and shelter, competing with the native poor for scarce resources and potentially exacerbating further a difficult situation. Throughout the century, civic elites dreaded instability in their jurisdiction, as it could have led to them falling into disfavour with Dublin Castle and this could have had consequences for the city's rights.

The city was not only unstable during periods of economic stress but also during periods of conflict and political tensions. These periods probably saw renewed efforts to deal with the vagrant poor to prevent them from destabilizing the city further. There is one apparent example of this policy by the civic elite during a period of political uncertainty. In 1658 and 1659 the common council ordered that 'idle boys' and others be publicly 'caged' to deter others. It also demanded that vagrants and beggars be transported to the Americas, to clear the city's streets of their menace.<sup>160</sup> These measures, which even by the standards of the century

---

<sup>157</sup> Rawdon to Arlington, 18 May 1667, (*Cal. S.P.Ire., 1666-9*, p. 108); *Cal. S.P. Ire.*, pp vii, xvii.

<sup>158</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, vi, 91, 170, 208; Blackhall, *Rules for the assizing of bread*, pp 3-5.

<sup>159</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 130; Lennon, 'Dives and Lazarus', pp 41-3; Gillespie (ed.), *The vestry records of St John*, pp 100, 167; idem (ed.), *The vestry book of St Catherine*, pp 87, 111, 151.

<sup>160</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 212.

were harsh, can be linked to rising tensions in the city. The commonwealth regime was losing support in the city. In 1659, Puritan ministers were manhandled on the street and there were public demonstrations of anger against the authorities'.<sup>161</sup> The severe measures aimed at vagrants were indicative of an anxious elite, concerned that these dangerous outsiders could, given the existing tensions, throw the city into chaos.

Politics and religion were inextricably linked in this period. In the eyes of the government and most of the political nation those who dissented from the religious settlement in Ireland were potentially also political dissidents and hence seditious. This attitude became more pronounced during times of unrest or insecurity. Frequently it was claimed that religious figures, especially Catholic clergy, were involved in fomenting political instability. For example, the rising of 1641 was blamed on Catholic friars 'inciting the peasantry'.<sup>162</sup> In Dublin too, they were seen as a problem. In 1603, there were calls for action against 'priests and Jesuits that haunt the town'.<sup>163</sup> A plot by Protestant dissenters in Dublin was partly blamed on 'one McCormick a Scottish minister'.<sup>164</sup> The 'undeserving poor' were seen as particularly culpable in the spread of dangerous and treasonable religious ideas. Vagrants were not known to the local community and to the justices of the peace and constables: they could have been anybody, even religious and political malcontents, in disguise. The association between these religious subversives and the wandering poor can be seen in the commonwealth's vagrancy act of 1657 which was directed, at least in part, towards these religious subversives.<sup>165</sup>

The suspected link between vagrancy and the religiously suspect was strong in Ireland. Such anxiety is unsurprising given that the New English elite composed a religious minority in the general population. To anxious local civic officers such as those in Dublin, any stranger may have been a Jesuit or a seminarian. These were synonymous to many in the elite with sedition and they were widely

---

<sup>161</sup> Anon, *A sober vindication of Lieutenant General Ludlow* (London, 1661), available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>) (4 June, 2007), pp 3, 11.

<sup>162</sup> Deposition of Robert Maxwell, doctor in divinity, 2 Nov. 1641 (T.C.D. MS 809. f. 3).

<sup>163</sup> It was claimed that they were encouraging recusants not to take the oath of supremacy see Sir John Davies to Cecil, 8 Dec. 1604, (*Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6*, pp 212-4).

<sup>164</sup> *C.S.P., Ire., 1665-9*, p. 550.

<sup>165</sup> Firth and Rait (eds), *Acts and ordinances of the interregnum*, iii, 1098-99; *Diary of Thomas Burton, 1652-9*, ed. John Birch (London, 1862), available at B.H.O., (<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/source>) (11Sept. 2007), i, 169; ii, 112-4.



believed to be numerous.<sup>166</sup> Operating largely underground, especially in the years 1600 to 1660, they often led an itinerant lifestyle and were closely associated with the many wanderers and vagrants who tramped the Irish roads.<sup>167</sup> In one case a priest back from Flanders was so destitute that he agreed to turn informer for the lord deputy, in exchange for a suit of clothes in County Dublin in 1641.<sup>168</sup>

Religious ideas could not only bring political problems, but also the nature of those ideas could lead to social instability. This may have been a special concern after 1649, as Christopher Hill has shown, when the execution of Charles I initiated a wave of millenarianism, seen in groups like the Muggletons.<sup>169</sup> In Ireland, the Quakers were viewed as one such threatening group with their refusal to swear oaths or pay tithes to their parishes.<sup>170</sup> Their itinerant preachers roamed the island such as John Bunneyent preaching a message that the upper class would have seen as challenging society and even possibly construed as inciting people to overturn the existing system. One Quaker, a Thomas Loe, 'declared the day of the Lord through the streets' of Dublin in the 1670s. This was viewed no doubt by the civic elite as threatening, for any religious activity outside officially sanctioned churches was considered dangerous and destabilising.<sup>171</sup> Many Quakers were arrested as they preached around the country and were charged and treated as vagrants, such as Solomon Eccles in Cork in the 1650s. He 'disrupted a service' and was 'accused a vagabond' and 'was whipped through the street'.<sup>172</sup> The association of poor migrants and vagrants with the spread of subversive religious ideas meant that the Dublin patriciate, who were mandated by the government to keep the city secure were suspicious of the wandering poor.

The dangerous poor were unwelcome in Dublin because the municipal elite saw them as greatly complicating their efforts to provide for the native and deserving poor. Since the Reformation, the patriciate had assumed more responsibilities for the provision of relief and charity in the corporation. The

---

<sup>166</sup> 'Proclamation against harbourers of Jesuits', ? 1616 (*Cal. S.P. Ireland 1615-25*, p.158); 'Principal points of a proclamation to be made by the lord deputy, 27 Dec. 1627 (*Cal. S.P. Ire, 1625-32*, p. 297).

<sup>167</sup> In 1606 it was claimed that Jesuits were among and linked to the vagrant population that migrated to Dublin, Lords of the Council to lord deputy, 14 Nov., 1606 (*Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606-8*, p. 22).

<sup>168</sup> Deposition of Henry Maxwell, doctor of divinity, 2 Nov. 1641 (T.C.D., Dublin, MS 809, f. 3).

<sup>169</sup> Christopher Hill, *'The world turned upside down': radical ideas during the English revolution* (London, 1991), pp 87-106, 200-1; *Diary of Thomas Burton*, ed. Birch, iii., pp 296-305.

<sup>170</sup> Wright, *A history of the rise and progress of the people called Quakers*, pp 100-110.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 106.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 120.

patricians oversaw the city's chief poor house, St John's. Aldermen in their wards were involved in raising money for the local poor and sick.<sup>173</sup> The concern for the indigenous poor often extended to aldermen providing for the local poor in their wills.<sup>174</sup> Migrant beggars threatened the patricians' measures to alleviate impoverished Dubliners. Strange beggars competed with indigent natives for scarce institutional and informal charity, from the affluent in the city. The 'foreign' poor even entered the city's almshouse and deprived deserving Dubliners of the opportunity of a placement in this institution.<sup>175</sup> In the early years of the century, the patricians' commitment to preserve the entitlements of the native poor against unwanted outsiders can be seen partly as a desire to restrict charity in the city to the Old English inhabitants.<sup>176</sup> This in turn was related to a traditional policy of keeping Dublin a loyal and English city by privileging those who were of Old English extraction, in order to support the poorer members of that community.<sup>177</sup>

From the 1620s the parishes of Dublin were increasingly involved in the provision of welfare for the poor, despite there being no statutory requirement for them to do so.<sup>178</sup> They raised cesses for their own poor and oversaw parish poor houses.<sup>179</sup> The civic elite seem to have encouraged this, especially during the 1630s. They ordered the parishes to draw up lists of those who were entitled to relief.<sup>180</sup> In 1635, Mayor William Smith ordered the parish of St John's to establish two overseers of the poor.<sup>181</sup> This may have been a deliberate policy of the patricians to import an English model of poor relief and social control to deal with the pressure on the city of countless poor migrants during a period of dearth. The growing involvement of the parish in providing relief did not absolve the elite from the duty of seeking to protect the native poor from the vagrant poor. Dublin's municipal leaders were obliged to act decisively against 'strange' beggars to ensure charity reached the worthy and needy. In 1630 it was decided to examine the city's beggars and, if they were not native to be

---

<sup>173</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, i, 421; iii, 28-9, 251.

<sup>174</sup> Wright (ed.), *Ball family records*, appendices xxv, xxviii.

<sup>175</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 67.

<sup>176</sup> Lennon, 'Dives and Lazarus', p. 55.

<sup>177</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, i, 272, 280-1, 286-7, 298.

<sup>178</sup> Fitzgerald, 'Poverty and vagrancy in Ireland', p. 61.

<sup>179</sup> Gillespie *The vestry records of St John*, p. 45; William Monck Mason, 'Notes towards a history of Dublin' (D.C.A. MS 67, p. 726, 728).

<sup>180</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 251, 340.

<sup>181</sup> Gillespie, *The vestry records of St John*, p. 78.

removed, so that the ‘native poor are no longer pestered with the foreign poor’.<sup>182</sup> It was repeatedly stated during the Restoration, that the ‘foreign’ poor were hampering efforts to improve the lot of the deserving poor.<sup>183</sup>

The civic elite were keen to ensure the success of the parish system of poor relief, as it offered some remedy to the problem of poverty in the city. Furthermore, it was necessary for political purposes that the parish system of relief be protected and was successful. After 1650 successive governments were sympathetic to efforts to relieve poverty centred upon the parish. During the commonwealth the English poor law with its emphasis on parochially based charity was introduced into Ireland.<sup>184</sup> After the Restoration, the Irish parliament passed an act that permitted the parish of St Andrew’s to levy a poor rate, as in England.<sup>185</sup> This gave official sanction and encouragement to the parish system of poor relief. Government officials may have sought the development of vestry-based poverty relief in the hope that it would be emulated elsewhere in the kingdom. The civic elite would have sought to tackle the issue of vagrant beggars to ensure they did not interfere with the city’s parochial distribution of charity, to ensure the goodwill of government officials.

The Protestant civic elite after 1660 sought to ensure the success and development of the parish-based relief for political and religious reasons. Firstly, parochial charity was ‘English’ and accordingly would have been considered civic and would have won the approval of government officials. Increasingly, Dublin parishes employed relief to benefit the Protestant poor and especially the Anglican poor. This was enshrined in national law in 1703.<sup>186</sup> This policy of targeting aid to Protestants can be seen as an attempt to support poorer Protestants in the city, whose presence was necessary to ensure the city was an English bastion. In 1682, Ormond was worried about the lack of a Protestant labouring class in corporations and feared it could lead to a dangerous over-reliance on Catholics. The parish officials may have also employed relief to persuade dissenters and Catholics to conform to the Church of Ireland.<sup>187</sup> The aldermanic elite, eager to aid, in any way, the ‘Protestant interest’, would have sought to deter vagrant beggars who threatened parochial relief.

---

<sup>182</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 251.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*, iv, 459; vi, 92; Anon., *A narrative and account of the foundation of the hospital*, pp 1, 3.

<sup>184</sup> Dunlop (ed.), *Ireland under the Commonwealth*, ii, 324.

<sup>185</sup> 17 & 18 Chas. II c. 7 [Ire.] ( 4 Dec. 1665), in *Stat. Ire.*, iii, p. 13. Rowena Dudley, ‘Dublin parishes and the poor, 1660-1730’ in *Arch. Hib.*, lii (1999), p. 63.

<sup>186</sup> 2 Anne, c.6 [Eng.] ( 28 Mar. 1703).

<sup>187</sup> Dudley, ‘Dublin parishes and the poor’, p. 67.

Due to internal political considerations, the civic elite had generally to generally adopt a hostile attitude to the desperate who trudged their way to the city. The municipal records show the concern of petitioners on the issue of the unwelcome poor. The fear of disorder was one that united all the inhabitants of Dublin society. Like other cities in early modern Europe, it was a popular and real concern that transcended the class divide, due to the precariousness of life in a pre-industrial society. For example the inhabitants of St James and St Francis wards petitioned the common council to end the disruptions caused in their area by ‘disordered people’.<sup>188</sup> The inhabitants of Dublin seem to have been concerned at the presence of the migrant poor, probably out of fear of instability. Petitioners urged the aldermanic bench to act against the vagrant beggars ‘that lurked near the city’ as one petition phrased it in 1623.<sup>189</sup> The degree of apprehension within the settled community at times can be estimated in one petition on vagrant beggars from 1692. It called upon the aldermen to put into effect Henry VIII’s legislation against vagrants. This involved brutal treatment of vagrants and calls for such drastic measures to be implemented are perhaps a sign of the deep anxiety and fear on the part of some of the propertied citizens of the city’s vagrant beggars<sup>190</sup>. The reception of impoverished migrants by the natives was not always hostile, from the natives and one commentator in 1690 spoke of the ‘charitably disposed’ who regularly offered the homeless poor informal aid and support.<sup>191</sup>

Complaints by petitioners in the common council concerning the presence of vagrant beggars in the city would have been hugely embarrassing for the governors of the city. The mayor and aldermen were the civic officers directly answerable for the problem of vagrants. For the issue of the vagrant poor to be raised at all suggested that the patrician class was failing in its duty and was not acting in accordance with their oaths of office. These petitions may even have been implicitly critical of the aldermanic elite.<sup>192</sup> The patricians were obliged to adopt a strict and intolerant attitude to the poor, in part to avoid complaints in the city council, but also to demonstrate the civic elite’s paternalism and their ‘fatherly care’ for the city. They were the city’s guardians. This was not merely an image but it also legitimised their authority in the

---

<sup>188</sup> Friedrichs, *The early modern city*, pp 98-9 ; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 341.

<sup>189</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 247.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*, vi, 90-3.

<sup>191</sup> Mc Neill, ‘Reports of manuscripts in the Bodleian Library’, p. 86.

<sup>192</sup> Technically an alderman was breaking his oath of office if he failed to provide stability and order, see: *Anc. rec. Dub.*, i, 24.

city among native Dubliners. The patricians were obliged to act decisively against the unwanted vagrant beggars to maintain and validate their paternalistic image that justified their political and social authority in the city.

The patricians' position as the civic governors of Dublin was reliant upon the state. Their status and power, as with other local elites in Ireland, was dependent upon their administering their area of responsibility to the satisfaction of the government. The early modern state did not have the means or resources to administer areas directly.<sup>193</sup> Of prime concern to the state was that local authorities, like Dublin's patricians, maintain stability. The patricate was officially mandated by the government, in the interest of law and order, to combat the threat from the dangerous vagrant poor. The reception of the dangerous poor by the patricians of Dublin was officially prescribed in detail by proclamation and statute. For example the lord deputy demanded in 1627, that local elites, such as Dublin's patriciate act against the vagrant poor. They had to detain vagrants and set them to work and ensure that none of the itinerant poor received accommodation.<sup>194</sup> It was essential for the patricians' privileges that they carried out these effectively, as agents of the crown.

To understand the patricians' involvement and responsibilities in this process it is necessary to assess their exact role in the judicial and policing system of the city. The mayor, the chief civic officer of the city, was also along, with the city's recorder, the city's justice of the peace and after 1660 more aldermen were admitted to that office.<sup>195</sup> As a justice of the peace the mayor held a great many legal powers. He could issue warrants of arrest and cause those who seemed suspect to be examined and interrogated. This occurred in 1630, when Mayor Sir James Carroll, ordered all vagrant beggars and peddlers in the city to be brought to him for questioning.<sup>196</sup> Furthermore a mayor had the right to order alleged suspects to be detained at the city gaol. This institution, known as Newgate, was supervised by the patricate; they chose the gaoler and inspected the condition of the building.<sup>197</sup> Similarly, as a justice of the peace, the mayor was responsible for the city's house of correction, he alone having

---

<sup>193</sup> Gillespie, *Seventeenth century Ireland*, p. 35.

<sup>194</sup> *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1625-33*, p. 297.

<sup>195</sup> Bolton, *A Justice of the peace for Ireland 1638*, pp 10, 212-7; Lennon, *The lords of Dublin*, p. 21. *Cal.S.P. Ire., 1660-1*, p. 4;

<sup>196</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 102.

<sup>197</sup> Bolton, *A justice of the peace for Ireland*, p. 216 ; *Anc recs, Dub.*, v, 321; Epitome of the charters and recorders book (R.I.A. 12 D 31, p.169).

the right to incarcerate people in that institution.<sup>198</sup> As with the city's jail, the governor of the workhouse was appointed by the patriciate.<sup>199</sup> The mayor and aldermen who were justices of the peace comprised the city's chief court, the quarter sessions. The patricians in this court could even impose a death penalty in special circumstances. In 1647, it seems that the mayor executed several unidentified individuals for unspecified crimes, although these occurred in exceptional times.<sup>200</sup>

The individual aldermen were actively involved in the administration of justice and especially its enforcement. The aldermen were each allocated a ward, an administrative area within the city. In this ward they were sworn to prevent all 'disturbances to the commonwealth'.<sup>201</sup> The aldermen held the rank of constable of the hundred, that is, they held the same authority as a constable in charge of a barony, a quite significant position that gave them real and recognized powers of arrest and punishment.<sup>202</sup> It was expected that they would search their jurisdictions to root out and apprehend vagrants. There were several constables in each ward and they were answerable to an alderman in that district.<sup>203</sup> These civic officers were men of property such as Thomas Cook, the goldsmith, who served as a constable in 1616. Some were tradesmen but others' occupations are unknown. It is likely that given that constables were unpaid and that their status in the community was high, as seen in their participation in civic ceremonies, that they came from the relatively affluent segment of Dublin society.<sup>204</sup> Constables had powers of arrest and punishment and could commit 'vagrants' to the stocks and enlist others' help in apprehending miscreants by raising 'hue and cry'.<sup>205</sup> They were 'officers of their wards' and expected to recognize and fully obey the aldermanic bench.<sup>206</sup>

This was not the end of the duties of the aldermanic elite. Apart from their direct responsibilities, they also oversaw the city's other forms of law enforcement. The mayor as justice of the peace had some involvement in the

---

<sup>198</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 390; iii, 157; iv, 230; v, 486; R.I.A. 12 D 31, p. 171 ; 10 & 11 Chas. I, c. 4 [Ire] (4 Mar. 1634).

<sup>199</sup> *Anc. rec. Dublin*, iv, 23.

<sup>200</sup> Sharpe, *Crime in early modern England*, p. 24; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, p. xxvi.

<sup>201</sup> Bolton, *A Justice of the peace for Ireland*, p. 3; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 106.

<sup>202</sup> R.I.A. 12 D 4, pp 1, 9.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11; Bolton, *A justice of the peace for Ireland*, p.216; 33 Hen. VIII, c. 15 [Eng..] ( 3. Nov. 1537).

<sup>204</sup> Tholsel Complaint Books, 1616-17 (D.C.A., 1/J/2/1, ff 2,3); R.I.A. 12 D 4, p. 191.

<sup>205</sup> Monck Mason, 'Notes towards a history of Dublin' (D.C.A., MS 66, pp 70-1); 33 Hen. VIII, c. 15 [Eng..] (3 Nov. 1537).

<sup>206</sup> D.C.A., MS 42, pp 4-5.

overseeing of the parochial system of policing, such as ordering the parish to employ parish beadles 'to prevent an increase in the number of poor'.<sup>207</sup> The beadle of the poor was a municipal employee whose task was 'to drive out the swine and beggars' from the city.<sup>208</sup> They were uniformed and armed with staves on duty and could threaten unwanted beggars and vagrants to leave the city. There were also parochial beadles who were usually parishioners appointed for a year to patrol the parish, guarding against the unwanted.<sup>209</sup> The watch was another instrument in the policing of the city and they were empowered to be 'employed in the search of disordered places and persons'. Members of the watch also had powers of arrest of those described rather sinisterly as 'nightwalkers' and could confine suspects to the stocks and in general.<sup>210</sup> The whole system of policing in the city could be characterized as the property-owners, who policed the city, securing their wealth, status and privileges against those without property and position. All of this was either under the ultimate control of either the mayor or the aldermanic bench by custom and statute or at least under their influence.<sup>211</sup> This was the system that the patricians oversaw and which they had to implement in order that the city be secure, civil and prosperous and if these conditions could be ensured in the Irish capital, its privileges would be guaranteed.

There were various punishments available to the civic governors in their mandated role to control the dangerous poor. The most frequent form of punishment used against beggars from outside Dublin was simple expulsion. There were regular petitions for the civic elite to expel beggars and such round-ups were demanded by law.<sup>212</sup> There seem to have been regular efforts to banish sturdy beggars by the authorities and they were taken outside the city limits and told not to return. It appears that there was a parcel of land owned by the city in Kilmainham that had been traditionally used as a dumping ground for the unwelcome poor.<sup>213</sup> Another punishment was that a common beggar could be seized by a constable, put into the stocks and then expelled from the borough. This was quite a common punishment and

---

<sup>207</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 251; vi, 91.

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 492; iii, 141; iv, 212; v, 532; vi, 36.

<sup>209</sup> Gillespie, *The vestry records of the parish of St. John*, pp 94, 96; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 429; iii, 292, 318; H.M.C., *Ormond MS*, i, 36.

<sup>210</sup> Stubbs, *The history of the university of Dublin*, p. 409; Bolton, *A Justice of the Peace for Ireland*, p. 25.

<sup>211</sup> 33 Hen. VII, c. 15 [Ire] (3 Nov. 1537).

<sup>212</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 429; iii, 312, 318; iv, 218; vi, 92; H.M.C., *Ormond MS*, i, 18.

<sup>213</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, vi, 106.

the parish of St Catherine's regularly needed new stocks, suggesting this form of punishment was not uncommon.<sup>214</sup>

The patriciate was intimately involved in the punishment of the unwelcome poor. All suspect people were in theory to be examined by the mayor. Vagrants or the itinerant poor who were politically or religiously suspect may have been examined by the mayor and, if found dangerous, could be handed over to the authorities at Dublin Castle<sup>215</sup>. For example, an unemployed mariner, with a copy of a 'papist' book, was turned over by the civic authorities to government officials in 1662. Such arrests would have been viewed favourably by English government officials.<sup>216</sup> Under the law if a vagrant or beggar had been punished before and returned to the city as a vagrant beggar, the offender's crime was all the greater and his punishment was to reflect the gravity of the offender's offence. Savage punishments were laid down for such repeat offenders. They included vagrants being 'stripped to the waist' and tied to a cart and publicly whipped 'until bloodied'. In extreme cases, repeat offender could be branded and even executed.<sup>217</sup> The uses of these extreme measures are undocumented in Dublin in this period.

The mayor was mandated to commit 'sturdy beggars and vagrants' to prison or the house of correction.<sup>218</sup> The patricians oversaw the institutions designed to reform the undeserving poor. If any vagrant or beggar was deemed to be a risk he could be committed to the city prison. The decision lay with the mayor and his discretion was considerable. Individuals possibly deemed dangerous by an alderman could with the mayor's permission be imprisoned in Newgate prison. This was probably very arbitrary and again left much to the discretion of the civic officers. An example of this system in operation comes from 1634, when three men were detained near Dublin. They were committed to the city's prison, where they languished for some months and were 'consumed by famine'.<sup>219</sup> They were detained apparently without being charged and one died while incarcerated. The mayor could also consign people to the care of the governor of the house of correction where they could be punished and put to work 'spinning,

---

<sup>214</sup> Gillespie (ed.), *The vestry book of the parishes St Catherine*, pp 69, 150, 187.

<sup>215</sup> 'Copy of a brief roll presented to the king of England, c.1660' (*Cal. S.P. Ire., 1667-9*, p. 376).

<sup>216</sup> 'Petition of Patrick Rooth, of the city of Dublin, seaman to the Lord Lieutenant, 1663 (Bodl., Carte MS 60 f. 612).

<sup>217</sup> 33 Hen. VIII, c. 15 [Eng.] (3 Nov. 1537).

<sup>218</sup> 10 & 11 Chas. I, c. 4 [Ire.] (4 Mar. 1634).

<sup>219</sup> Mc Neill (ed.), 'Report of the manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford', p. 108.



weaving, knitting and beating of hemp'.<sup>220</sup> Incarceration in this institution was reserved usually for repeat offenders and incorrigibles. The 'house of correction' was as much an institute designed to reform as to punish. There, 'idlers' and 'loose livers' were to be by hard work and punishment transformed into useful members of society.

Once the vagrant or beggar had been punished by public shaming, whipping or imprisonment the mayor had one last important bureaucratic duty to perform. They were to issue each punished individual with an official certificate. That was to certify that the culprit had been punished, his or her identity and his original home parish, whither he or she was to be immediately dispatched and where he or she 'would be put to labour'.<sup>221</sup> This system of certification was central to the elite in their battle with the perceived hordes of beggars, with their vicious way of life and threat to the order of society. The former vagrants were required to carry their certificate and to produce it upon request. In this way they could be identified and designated a fixed abode and employment. It meant that those certified were controlled and could eventually be transformed into hard-working and disciplined subjects and thereby restored to a suitable place within society.<sup>222</sup> The mayor and aldermen by certifying a punished vagrant had in a sense reintegrated them into society and neutralized their threat.

The policing system, aimed at the suppression and rehabilitation of vagrant beggars, was clearly difficult to implement and a real burden upon the corporation and its governors. The system itself, which was designed for conditions in England, was unsuitable for Ireland.<sup>223</sup> The parish system, central to attempts to control the wandering poor was inadequate, especially outside Dublin.<sup>224</sup> There were plans and proposals to erect a national parish based system of poor relief, but these came to nothing.<sup>225</sup> Ireland, unlike neighbouring England was divided ethnically and religiously. The mainly English patricians after 1640 may not have seen any point in seeking to reform the many Gaelic Irish among the vagrant class, especially those aldermen who were influenced by Puritan or non-conformist teachings. Many

---

<sup>220</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 420.

<sup>221</sup> Bolton, *A Justice of the Peace for Ireland*, p. 212.

<sup>222</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 215-7; Chichester to the Lord Deputy and Council, 3 July 1606 (*Cal. S.P. Ireland, 1606-8*, p.509).

<sup>223</sup> Fitzgerald, 'Poverty and vagrancy in early modern Ireland', pp 121, 234.

<sup>224</sup> O'Brien (ed.), *An advertisement for Ireland*, p. 44.

<sup>225</sup> Dunlop (ed.), *Ireland under the commonwealth*, ii, 354, 707; *Ir. Commons' jn* (12 May, 1662), ii, pt.1; *Ibid.*, (11 Oct. 1695), ii.

patricians' religious views would have convinced them that all Catholics were beyond redemption and destined for a life of viciousness, anyway. The cost of enforcement against every single vagrant or beggar in the city was prohibitive. The cost of punishing and reforming vagrants and beggars was costly. Instruments of restraint, shaming and punishment were expensive and constantly needed replacing.<sup>226</sup> The whipping of an individual involved its own costs: in Bandon in the 1680s its cost two shillings for the public punishment of every vagabond or 'sturdy' beggar.<sup>227</sup> The inability to fund adequately the policing system, laid down in law, was particularly acute during periods of harvest failure or conflict. Then the city was inundated by poor migrants, at a time when the urban economy usually experienced real difficulties and was unable to generate the extra funds required to deal with the problem.

The failure to construct a fully functioning house of correction in the city was symptomatic of the difficulties faced by the elite as they strove to meet the government's agenda for the vagrant poor. It may also show a lack of commitment to the state's program of restraining and rehabilitating the vagrant class. There were failed attempts in the early years of the century.<sup>228</sup> The first workhouse only came into being in the 1630s, in Oxmantown. Its effectiveness as a place of correction for sturdy beggars is doubtful. Successive keepers of the house of correction admitted that it was dilapidated and one stated that it was a breeding ground for disease, in 1684 and in 1692.<sup>229</sup> We can gain an impression of its relative failure if we consider that in 1698 it is recorded that only twelve people were resident in the institution at a time when the city was plagued by beggars. In 1682 and 1692 the keeper of the workhouse petitioned the council for additional funds for 'lunatic persons' incarcerated there. It appears from these that the workhouse was doubling up as a mental institution.<sup>230</sup> The city had to wait until 1703 and a government initiative to have a much needed second and effective workhouse. It proved a relative success as the state forced the municipal authorities and, for the first time, the liberties to contribute to, and help maintain a viable house of correction.<sup>231</sup>

In the early part of the century differences between the Old and New English within the city, over the nature and the control of poor relief in the city may

---

<sup>226</sup> D.C.A., MS 35, pp 22, 40, 59,70,72, 73, 89, 95, 100, 106, 110;

<sup>227</sup> Bennet, *The history of Bandon*, p. 190.

<sup>228</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, 390, 420, 521; iii, 126, 181.

<sup>229</sup> *Ibid.*, v, 283, 418.

<sup>230</sup> *Ibid.*, v, 283, 490; vi, 192, 524.

<sup>231</sup> 4 Anne, c. 14 [Ire.] (25 Mar. 1703), in *Stat. Ir.*, iv, 63-5.

have hindered the development of the city's Bridewell.<sup>232</sup> Disagreements between the corporation and the seneschals in the liberties over who should bear the expense of paying for those incarcerated were also a factor<sup>233</sup>. The ultimate failure of the city elite to erect and maintain a viable and full functioning workhouse, was due to financial concerns. It is probable that like other local elites they were undoubtedly concerned that the 'place of correction' would simply become a city poorhouse. That would be financed out of the civic treasury and by the citizens of Dublin. The sheer cost of the upkeep of such an institution, despite the government's plan to make them self-financing were substantial. In 1685, the common council admitted that the city did not have the funds to finance sufficiently the city's workhouse and that there was little hope of it building a second workhouse.<sup>234</sup>

Despite the costs of an officially prescribed system and the difficulties in its operation, the elite had no choice but to persevere with the government's policies. The civic elite needed to show government officials that they were enforcing government policies with regard to the vagrant poor, to satisfy the dispenser of privileges, the royal government, that they were creating a corporation that was civil, safe and prosperous. Furthermore, there could be real personal consequences for individual aldermen and the entire aldermanic bench if they failed to enforce diligently the government's policies towards the working poor.

An alderman or mayor who was seen to be failing in his official duties as a justice of the peace could be heavily fined.<sup>235</sup> In particular it was stipulated in several statutes that a magistrate and other law officers who failed to examine vagrants and punish sturdy beggars faced a fine, and legislation also permitted the whole corporation to be fined.<sup>236</sup> Indeed constables who were deficient in their duties could be fined and sent to the local house of correction.<sup>237</sup> On at least one occasion, these fines were imposed. In 1631, government officials issued indictments against 'most of the constables' in the city, for allegedly not performing their duties with regard to beggars, and the city treasurer had to fund their, no doubt, expensive legal

---

<sup>232</sup> Lennon, 'Dives and lazars', p. 34.

<sup>233</sup> The act of 1703 clarified this controversy and this helped to successfully establish the new city workhouse see: 4 Anne, c 14 [Ire.] (25 Mar. 1703).

<sup>234</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 424.

<sup>235</sup> Daniel Hutchinson was fined £ 500 for bailing a suspected rapist, The king to Ormond 17 March 1668 (Bodl., Carte MS 43, f. 647).

<sup>236</sup> 33 Hen. VII c.15 [Eng.], (3 Nov. 1537).

<sup>237</sup> For every unpunished sturdy beggar in a constable's jurisdiction he could be fined up to 6s, see 33 Hen. VII, c. 15 [Ire.] (3 Nov. 1537);, 10 & 11 Chas. I, c. 4 [Ire.] ( 4 Mar. 1634).

defence.<sup>238</sup> The threat of these fines ensured that in general the patricians, despite the numbers of ‘strange’ beggars and the grave difficulties in apprehending them, were obliged to persist in the policies laid down in the government’s ordinances and directives.

If the patricians failed to contain the vagrant beggars, it could even lead to major political problems and even indirect challenges to the aldermanic elite’s privileges. In 1604, because of the alleged failure of the Dublin authorities in dealing with vagrants and because the city was ‘receiving idle and suspicious persons’, it was suggested by a government official that a ‘provost marshal upon the king’s charge’ be responsible for the capital’s security.<sup>239</sup> A provost marshal was a judicial and military figure temporarily appointed, with sweeping powers to deal with the disorderly. The imposition of this official would have effectively placed the city under martial law or at the very least drastically reduced the power of the patricians in Dublin.<sup>240</sup> The powers of the marshal provost were unacceptable to many among the Old English elite as they saw the office as unconstitutional and their removal of these officials was proposed in the ‘Graces’.<sup>241</sup> The employment of a marshal provost in 1634 and again in 1641 meant in effect that the judicial and policing duties of the Dublin elite had been circumscribed.<sup>242</sup> Failure adequately to control the vagrant poor in effect saw a reduction in the prized powers of the patrician class in the city and gave a poor impression to government officials. Moreover, the city was expected to defray the cost of the provost marshal and the expense of these officials and their ‘men’ could be heavy.<sup>243</sup>

Much of the city’s policy-making in this period, as in other urban corporations, revolved around attempts by the civic elite to maintain or extend their privileges. Politics in this period was conducted very much through personal networks, involving favours, social relations and individual loyalties.<sup>244</sup> The patriciate was dependent for much of its political and economic privilege on the patronage of government officials. The goodwill of the court and the lord deputy was needed more than ever by the aldermanic elite to further the city’s interests. For example, if the

---

<sup>238</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 247.

<sup>239</sup> Lords of the Council to lord deputy and council, 14. Nov. 1606, (*Cal. S.P. 1606-8*, p. 22).

<sup>240</sup> Lyndsey Boynton ‘The Tudor Provost-Marshal’ in *English History Review*, lx (1962), pp 438, 440.

<sup>241</sup> Aidan Clarke, *The Old English in Ireland, 1625-42* (London, 1966), appendix i, p. 240.

<sup>242</sup> Fitzgerald, ‘Poverty and vagrancy in early modern Ireland’, p. 39; H.M.C., *Ormond*, ii, 234.

<sup>243</sup> Treadwell (ed.), *The Irish commission*, p. 193.

<sup>244</sup> Gillespie, *Seventeenth century Ireland*, p. 35.

patricians sought the granting of some favour or the preservation of some traditional right, it usually petitioned a leading figure in the government.<sup>245</sup> Their good opinion could result in real benefits accruing to the city. Many more patricians sought the goodwill of the state's representatives for private ambitions, such as securing a knighthood, as in the case of Sir Humphrey Jervis.<sup>246</sup> The desire of the patricians to extend or maintain their collective or individual privileges could be jeopardized or enhanced by their dealings with and treatment of the vagrant poor in their jurisdiction.

Failure to deal efficiently with indigent outsiders, or even the perception of it, could have politically embarrassed the governing elite in the eyes of the king's representative in Ireland. In 1634 Lord Deputy Wentworth demanded to know what Mayor James Carroll intended to do about the widespread problem of begging.<sup>247</sup> The common council came under pressure from Lord Arran over the great numbers of poor on the city's streets.<sup>248</sup> In 1686, the earl of Tyrconnell personally ordered that the civic authorities form a committee with the purpose of establishing a second workhouse in the city.<sup>249</sup> These instances would have led to real difficulties for the elite. The presence of large numbers of vagrants gave the impression that the patriciate were not worthy and committed governors. The intervention of Wentworth and Tyrconnell would have been especially serious. These lord deputies were both intent upon curtailing or re-shaping the city's rights and liberties, as they were deemed to be contrary to the interest of the state and the community. Wentworth had threatened several privileges of the city, including the mayors right as overseer of the market, while Tyrconnell, had issued a *quo warranto* against the city's charter.<sup>250</sup> The civic elite were diligently attempting to preserve the status quo, through petitions and court cases. If the patricians were failing in their legal duty to deter strange beggars from the city and adequately maintain a workhouse, it would have weakened their position, in the contest to preserve the city's rights and immunities.

Dealing with the vagrant beggars also offered the patriciate and individual patricians the opportunity to impress the government. Any civic officer who

---

<sup>245</sup> Ormond to Arran, 5 Dec. 1682 (Bodl., Carte MS 219, ff 406-7); Lord Deputy to Ormond, 10 Mar. 1665 (Bodl., Carte MS 34 f. 90); 'Report of the commissioners on the petition of the mayor and aldermen of Dublin, 10 Aug. 1622 (*Cal. S.P. Ire., 1620-5*, p. 182).

<sup>246</sup> Pine (ed.), *Burke's peerage*, i, 402.

<sup>247</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, p. xi.

<sup>248</sup> Anon., *A narrative and account of the hospital on Oxmantown Green*, pp 3-4.

<sup>249</sup> *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 458, 459.

<sup>250</sup> Fitzpatrick, *Ireland in the seventeenth century*, pp 34-6; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, v, 400-1.

successively prevented disorder was regularly commended. A mayor or an alderman seen to be performing his functions under the various statutes or proclamations against vagrants and sturdy beggars could win official approval. In 1682 the city's mayor was commended by the king's secretary for his role in suppressing a May Day riot by apprentices.<sup>251</sup> An alderman, who apprehended a vagrant who was a potential subversive, or acted with alacrity against beggars during periods of dearth, could receive credit from the authorities in Dublin Castle. In 1634 a serious outbreak of plague in London alarmed the authorities in Ireland, who feared its spread to Ireland. Alderman Sir Thady Duff's actions in monitoring 'loose persons' during this alert to prevent persons carrying the plague from London to Dublin won him the commendation of even the stern Wentworth.<sup>252</sup> The Dublin patricians, by policing the city effectively against 'idle and vagrant persons', were acting in accordance with the wishes of the royal officials in Dublin Castle, upon whom the city's privileges depended. This would have won the city credit in their endless battle to retain and extend the city's 'liberties'.

The patricians in their actions against those construed as the dangerous poor were also meeting several political requirements. Firstly, they were appearing to the city's property-owners and citizens as strong and worthy governors of the city. The common council was the source of several complaints regarding the migrant poor, reflecting the fact that not just the elite saw the poor as a threat. By acting against the dangerous poor particularly in times of distress, such as economic stress or political instability, the patriciate were reassuring their fellow-freemen, whose civic taxes and willingness to bear office was crucial for the city. To exclude the unwanted or 'foreign poor' was a demonstration of their solicitude towards the native or deserving poor. This enabled them to act upon their paternalistic ethos. These examples suggest that the patricians may have seen their actions towards poverty-stricken migrants as a way of showing their paternalism and decisiveness, and used these traits to legitimize and affirm their authority to govern in the city.

The state's power grew in this period and many of the policies relating to the vagrant poor were duties imposed on the Dublin elite. The various statutes and proclamations issued by parliaments and viceroys prescribed a set of actions towards poor outsiders. In all probability, the civic elite were sympathetic to

---

<sup>251</sup> Mr Secretary Jenkins to Arran, 23 May 1683 (Bodl., Carte MS, 216 f. 51).

<sup>252</sup> *The Strafforde Letters and despatches*, ed. Knowler, i, p. 183; *Anc. rec. Dub.*, iii, 82-3.

the aims of these policies. Yet they created a standard way of dealing with the issue of poverty and vagrancy that the civic elite had to adopt. The elite of Dublin may have accepted this discourse that transformed the migrant poor and wanderers into the dangerous poor. The Dublin elite needed to secure the approval of the royal authorities for a variety of reasons. The need to secure the city's charters and privileges was always a concern and failure to act with regard to the unwelcome poor could have undermined their claims. It also could have left members of the elite open to censure from higher authorities and this could have had political consequences. To deal with the problem of the dangerous poor in the manner required by the state was political in the sense that it could assure the central authorities that the governors of Dublin were competent and worthy of their civic privileges.

## Conclusion

Migration to Dublin in the seventeenth century transformed the city ethnically, religiously and politically. Migrants powered the physical and economic expansion of the Irish capital and arguably laid the foundations for Dublin to become the second city of the British Empire in the eighteenth century. It appears that the vast majority of those who immigrated to the city were only of limited concern to the elite. Immigrants in Dublin generally had freedom in the city to find employment, at least in those occupations outside guild control, and residences, at least in times of peace. They were obliged like the other inhabitants of the city to contribute towards Dublin's welfare and prosperity. They were expected if able, to pay civic and parish dues, serve in the militia and obey all of the corporations bye-laws. In general, they enjoyed the same status as those native Dubliners, who were non-citizens. However, certain groups of immigrants were of special and even intense interest to the civic elite. For the patricians had identified them as capable of enhancing or threatening one or some of the city's prized privileges and rights.

These immigrants were diverse groups, which ranged from wealthy and titled individuals through to tradesmen to even homeless beggars living on the streets. Immigrants came from a variety of ethnic backgrounds in Ireland and indeed from many different areas of the Stuart kingdoms and Europe. The responses of the civic elite were as varied as the immigrants that settled in the city. It ranged from a welcoming approach to certain migrants that resulted in their gaining the franchise of the city, to the punishment of craftsmen illegally working in the city. The reception of migrants by the patricians was diverse, so much so that it could appear to be erratic. Yet the absorption of all these migrants was depended upon one constant that persistently guided the patricians: the maintenance of the privileges of the city, or its citizens.

Firstly, migrants were judged by their possible impact upon the liberties and freedoms of the individual citizens of Dublin. The entrance of migrant traders and artisans into the ranks of the citizen body was regulated to ensure that they did not adversely affect the citizens' right to earn a living in the city and that they did not damage the prospects of apprentices of citizens. The patricians were always alert to the dangers posed by immigrants who were working and trading illegally in the city or



its liberties, as they were encroaching citizens' economic rights. The patricians wished to protect the individual citizen out of self-interest. It was they who paid the civic taxes, who served in the militia and who became unpaid civic officers, without whom the patricians' ability to run and govern the city was impossible. The patriciate had to defend the rights and liberties of the citizen class to ensure that they had the financial means and incentives to carry out the duties of a freeman that were so vital to the city's welfare and development and for the patricians' successful government of the city.

Another strand of receptivity was revealed towards those migrants who were seen as vital to the development of the guilds. The guilds were an integral part of the city's government and they were largely composed of the freemen of the city, or their journeymen. The patricians were eager to preserve these fraternities and to ensure that they prospered. Migrants were judged on the basis of their capacity to enhance or threaten these trading and craft organisations. A newcomer to Dublin, who could pay 'quarterage' to such a body, or serve as a guild officer, was often readily enfranchised by the patriciate as a citizen. The city also supervised the admission and training of apprentices, who were usually outsiders, to ensure that the guilds had a reliable and sufficiently skilled workforce. An immigrant journeyman who sought to trade in the city without permission was challenging the guild's privileges, was criminalised, and risked fines and prosecution. These migrants were usurping the privileges of a citizen without undertaking any of a freeman's varied responsibilities. The patricians had a vested personal interest in the continuation of the guilds' monopolies for they were usually brethren of these bodies.

Despite the need to preserve the citizens and guilds prerogatives the civic elite were always pragmatic in admitting immigrants into the citizen body. The citizen body was never sealed off to outsiders. This pragmatism was necessary for two main reasons. The patricians, without significant government assistance were expected to administer a large urban area. To enable them to achieve this it was necessary for the elite to enlist outsiders who could aid them in their onerous responsibility and contribute to the city's economy. Secondly, the demographic regime that existed in the Irish capital, led to a constant need for new freemen to replenish the citizen body. The patricians enfranchised many immigrants over the course of the century. Those outsiders who could benefit the city in some manner were granted the freedom of the city. The patricians were prepared to admit those who

with their skills and industry could generate wealth and tax revenue in the corporation and who could potentially hold civic offices and who were deemed to be worthy of the honour of the freedom of the city. Patricians awarded immigrants the rights of a citizen to enable them to contribute to the running of and maintenance of the corporation. Yet the patricians were always keen to maintain a balance between the rights of the long established citizen and their need to enlist suitable immigrants into the citizen body. The patricians were willing to admit only selected and limited numbers of outsiders into the franchise of the city. This policy was generally upheld by the various patricians of all religions and political allegiance, throughout the century.

In this era religion and politics were intertwined and those whose denomination differed from the local political elite often faced discrimination and outright persecution. There is some evidence of this in Dublin. The largely Old English elite were suspicious of the many English and Dutch immigrants in the city in the early decades of the century. This became more pronounced from the 1640s, when the civic elite became dominated by the English and Protestant presence. The privileges were perceived to be the monopoly of the 'English' interest in the city and were necessary for that community's prosperity and security. This could be especially keen during times of insecurity, such as war or political crisis, as the elite strove to protect and preserve the city. However overall the migration of ethnic minorities and the religiously suspect were generally accepted and this is borne out by the growth of the Irish Catholic and Protestant dissenters' communities in Restoration Dublin. They were simply counted among the 'unfree' or non-citizen population of the city who had no economic and political privileges in the city.

A migrant's religion was crucial in his or her reception by the Dublin civic elite, if they sought the franchise. For the freedom of the city entitled the holder to economic and political rights. A citizen could join a guild, vote in elections and serve as a civic officer. The citizenship if it fell into the wrong hands could have had grave consequences for the city. This was a particular concern for the civic elite after 1650. All those who refused to swear doctrinally exclusive oaths were precluded from obtaining the citizenship of Dublin, as their presence among the citizen body and in the guilds, it was feared would threaten and undermine the Protestant interest in the city. Yet even in the matter of an immigrant's religion the patricians could prove to be flexible and pragmatic. After 1670, many immigrants were barred from joining the

ranks of the freemen and the guilds. This could have resulted in the corporations losing valuable income from new members and threatening their control over aspects of the urban economy. In response to this, the system of quarter-brothers evolved, which allowed immigrant Catholics and many dissenters to be integrated into the guild system. The patricians, eventual recognition of this system, demonstrates again their pragmatic approach to immigrants, even if their religion made them suspect.

Then there were the civic elite's attempts to bar those poor migrants who were deemed a threat to law and order and the stability of the city. Like other local elite's in Ireland, the patricians were concerned with the need to control the wandering and vagrant poor. The patricians sought to deter them from the city, out of fear of their alleged threats, the wandering poor were associated with crime, sedition and the spread of disease. To prevent these was the concern of the civic elite who were responsible for law and order in the city. The Irish capital's elite were especially conscious of these subsist migrants during period of dearth. During such crises the city often experienced food shortage and economic depression and was potentially unstable. The civic elite also sought to exclude vagrants and beggars and other undesirables for if they caused instability and unrest, this could have had repercussions for the property and livelihoods of citizens. This in turn could have led to citizens being unable to carry out various civic and parochial duties and this could have undermined the civic government. Furthermore, any disorders could have had grave consequences for the aldermanic elite as they were usually among the wealthiest in the city, and they had most to lose in any period of unrest and if their financial status was compromised their privileged position in Dublin society, could have been threatened.

Another factor that determined the Dublin patricians, response to immigrants was the need of the urban elite to fashion themselves as the fathers of the city. The patricians were expected to act in a paternalistic fashion to ensure the welfare and security of Dublin. This paternalism was important to the patriciate as it legitimised their rule and gave them great social authority in the city. The patricians' paternalistic ethos influenced their policies towards several types of migrants. For example the patricians sought to protect the citizens' economic rights from immigrants, in part, out of a need to be seen as the benefactors and defenders of the citizenry. For many of the citizen class were journeymen or small shopkeepers. While the patricians regular drives against the wandering poor were partly motivated by a

desire to preserve the city's informal and formal charity for the local or deserving poor. The civic elite's paternalistic ethos was another factor in their reception of immigrants in the city.

The ultimate factor that informed the patricians' reception of outsiders to the city was the views of government officials, state policies and legislation. The patricians were dependent upon the state for the city's chief privilege, which was the right of self-government. The elite had to constantly win the approval of the royal administration and its officials. To fulfil this they acted against certain groups of migrants so that they could secure state support for their charters and other privileges. The patricians sought to expel vagrant beggars as part of a larger national policy of law and order and to conform to national legislation. The city enfranchised those worthy to become a citizen, because they could contribute to the urban economy, which the state desired to foster. The need to satisfy certain government policies and enforce national legislation meant that the civic elite were obliged to respond and treat migrants in a certain manner and way. This was necessary to ensure that the patricians continued to receive the support of government and the continuation of the corporation's charters and other privileges.

The civic elite and the government often held deep differences over who should attain the franchise of the city. Government officials frequently sought to liberalise the enfranchisement process to allow more migrants to access the urban economy, in a bid to boost trade in the kingdom of Ireland. This occurred under Wentworth and was a prime policy objective of the 'New Rules'. The civic elite resisted attempts to admit too many immigrants, for if the citizenship was distributed too freely it would have devalued the citizens' privileges and the guilds' privileges. The informal or formal support of the government did succeed in securing the freedom of Dublin, for various immigrants. Government influence was vital in securing the franchise for many migrants during 1638 to 1639, or the Huguenots who were granted unprecedented generous terms in the 1680s and in 1692. Despite the power of the state the patricians were usually able to restrict the freedom of the city to those it deemed worthy of the honour and limited their numbers sufficiently, to ensure the exclusivity of the citizenship.

After 1660, the English and Irish parliaments passed legislation in a bid to open up the franchise to increasing numbers of migrants in an effort to strengthen the English presence in Dublin and other Irish cities. These were the acts for naturalising

Protestants and the act that allowed Quakers to seek their freedom. The patricians were not opposed to measures that increased trade or the Protestant community in the corporation and they desired to appear loyal and dutiful subjects. Yet they had to uphold the rights and privileges of the freemen and the guilds. Any mass influx of immigrants could have harmed the freemen's and women's economic rights. The patricians had to balance the need to maintain existing privileges without offending the government which had the power to curtail the city's rights and immunities. This situation led to great difficulties for the patricians in their reception of immigrants. However, the patricians managed the process of enfranchisement and ensured that they generally obeyed the state's orders without the loss or curtailment of any civic privilege.

The Restoration also saw a government that was sympathetic to those the Protestant patriciate suspected and feared and whom they believed to be an imminent danger to the corporation and its freedoms. Both Charles II and James II obliged the patricians' to accept Catholic's as freemen. This illustrates the power of the state over the patriciate's reception of immigrants who sought the franchise. The royal government's attempts to obtain the freedom for Catholics were opposed by the civic elite, with various degrees of opposition, but in the end the Dublin elite always relented. For the royal administration could legally remove the city's vital privileges and immunities. The civic elite were even prepared to tolerate Catholics rather than lose their prized rights and freedoms. It was national politics and events that usually reversed royal policies of enfranchising Catholics. For example the attempts of James II to admit Catholics were ended only by his defeat in war. This illustrates that the reception of those migrants who sought the franchise was dependent upon national politics and events and that the enfranchisement of a citizen had become highly politicised.

To conclude, the Dublin patriciate's reception of migrants to Dublin was usually determined by their potential impact on the civic heritage of the city and its citizens and its governors' privileges.

## Appendices

### 1. List of aldermen of Dublin, 1600-99

<b>Elected</b>	<b>List of aldermen of Dublin, 1600-1699.</b>		
1600	Nicholas Barran Gerald Young James Bellew William Sarsfield Giles Allen Matthew Handcocke John Shelton Robert Pantinge	Nicholas Ball Richard Fagan Walter Sedgrave John Foster Phillip Conran  John Terrall Alex Palles	James Jans Francis Taylor Michael Chamberlin Nicholas Weston Patrick Browne  Walter Galtram James Barry
1600	John Browne	John Arthur	
1601	Edmund Purcell	John Brice	
1603	Thomas Pluncket	Robert Kennedy	John Cusack
1604	Robert Ball		
1606	Richard Barry		
1607	Thomas Bishop	Thomas Dromgoule	
1609	Edmund Malone		
1610	John Goodwin	John Dowde	
1612	George Devenish Sir James Carroll	Thomas Allen John Lany	John Bennes
1614	Peter Desmond	Richard Foster	Richard Browne
1616	Sir Patrick Foxe Richard Bolton	Edward Ball	
1617	Richard Wiggett	Thomas Duff	
1619	William Bishop		
1622	William Turner Robert Bennet Edward Jans	James Bee Christopher Forster	Walter Ussher Patrick Gough
1624	Thomas Evans	George Jones	
1626	Edward Gough	Edward Arthur	Robert Dixon
1627	Francis Dowde	Patrick Mapas	Nicholas Kelly

	James Walsh	John Gibbons	
1628	Robert Arthur		
1633	Christopher White	James Watson	
1635	John Gibson	David Begg	Thomas Wakefield
1636	Thomas Clarke Walter Kennedy	Charles Foster	Edward Branagan
1637	John Carbery		
1638	William Smith		
1639	Phillip Watson	Andrew Clearke	
1640	Edward Lake		
1641	Richard Barnwell		
1642	William Bladden		
1643	John Pue	Thomas Pemberton	
1645	Sankey Sullyard		
1646	Maurice Pue	Ralph Hunt	
1648	Daniel Wybrants Daniel Hutchinson	Peter Wybrants Thomas Hill	
1649	Peter Deey	Peter Vandehoven	
1650	Thomas Waterhouse Robert Wilcocks John Preston	Richard Tighe Thomas Hooke	Huibert Adryan Robert Mills
1652	Mark Quin		
1654	William Clifte John Cranwell		Ridgely Hatfield
1655	Richard Cooke		
1656	Daniel Bellingham	John Desminieres	
1658	George Gilbert	Nathaniel Drinkwater	
1659	Samuel Weston	John Forest	Ralph Vizard
1663	Lewis Desminiers	Enoch Reader	

1664	John Totty			
1665	Thomas Jones		John Forest	
1666	Joshua Allen Francis Brewster		Nathaniel Fowkes Daniel Wybrants	
1667	Christopher Bennet George Gilbert		William Turner	
1670	Nicholas Stephens			
1672	John Eastwood Richard Hanaway Peter Ward		William Brookes John Smith Matthew French	
1674	John Eastwood Luke Lowther		Robert Arrundell Henry Reynolds	
1675	Humphrey Jervis			
1676	Christopher Lovett Abel Ram		Ellias Best Phillip Castleton	
1677	John Knox			
1678	Giles Mee John Ottrington		George Braddock William Motty	
1682	William Sands			
1683	John Castleton William Watt		George Blackhall John Rogerson	
1684	John Fletcher			
1685	Charles Thompson			
1686	William Billington		Michael Mitchell	
<b>Jacobite Patriciate</b>				
1687	William Hackett William Ellis James Clarke Terence Dermot Anthony Sharpe  Michael Creagh Daniel Mac Naughton	Earl of Limerick Enoch Reader Bartholomew Vanhomrigh James Malone William Kennedy  Matthew Barnwell	Sir Joshua Allen William Gardiner  Samuel Claridge Edmond Reily  John Rogerson	Sir Abel Ram John Ottrington Nicholas Lincoln Robert Warner Richard Dalton Terence Dermott Mac
1690	Thomas Quine		Anthony Percy	
1691	Mar k Randsford		Edward Lloyd	Thomas Bell



	Daniel Hayes		
1692	Charles Thompson		
1693	John Coyne		
1694	John Page	Robert Twigg	Francis Stoite
1696	William Wall	William Gibbons	
1698	John Pierson		
1699	William Fownes	William Stowell	

Source: *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, iii, iv, v, vi, passim.

## 2. Freedom rolls of Dublin, 1600-99

	Birth	Fine	Fine/G.E	Marriage	Service
99-1600	6	1	3		42
1600-1	22	5	4	1	50
1601-2	19	4	1	2	32
1602-3	18	10	4		54
1603-4	15	8	1	2	18
1604-5	7	3	4	3	19
1605-6	19	2	7	1	45
1606-7	13	9	1	2	35
1607-8	26	3	6		41
1608-9	15	3	6		39

1609-10	19	6	1	1	26
1610-11	26	4	3	1	26
1611-2	12	5	2		28
1612-3	13		8		39
1613-4	19	4	2		43
1614-5	16		5	2	32
1615-6	11	1	3		37
1616-7	31	1	2	2	67
1617-8	14		4		28
1618-9	24	1	3		58

1619-20	16		1		45
1620-1	14		1		40
1621-2	15			2	59
1622-3	5		6	1	29
1623-4	9	4	2		38
1624-5	13		8	3	32
1625-6	27		3	2	36
1626-7	13	1	1	2	43
1627-8	23		5		49
1628-9	31		2		37

1629-30	21		4	2	45
1630-1	35		2	3	48
1631-2	25		12	1	31
1632-3	22		7	2	42
1633-4	26		7	1	45
1634-5	32		16		56
1635-6	24		10	6	64
1636-7	9		14	3	45
1637-8	16		12	3	22
1638-9	24		146	3	51

**Freedom rolls of Dublin, 1600-99, continued.**

	Birth	Fine	Fine/G.E	Marriage	Service
1639-40	19		56	3	19
1640-1	5		29	2	5
1641-2	12		13	2	12
1642-3	6		7		6
1643-4	4		6		4
1644-5	6		13	1	6
1645-6	4		4		4
1646-7	3		13		3
1647-8	8		24		8
1648-9	14		64	2	14

1649-50	4		88	2	13
1650-1	8		40	1	15
1651-2	6		114	1	20
1652-3	3		54		7
1653-4	2		85		2
1654-5	3		129	1	3
1655-6	7		76	1	11
1656-7	8		73	2	15
1657-8	10		43	1	18
1658-9	8		50	4	40

Act of Parl.(from 1662).

1659-60	7	13	17	2	31	
1660-1	17	14	22	1	44	
1661-2	9	8	19	4	18	15
1662-3	2	39	74	4	41	10
1663-4	28	41	58		60	9
1664-5	10	21	40	1	63	14
1665-6	10	22	16	4	34	8
1666-7	21	15	36	3	35	4
1667-8	16	23	36	2	32	7
1668-9	20	23	54	3	47	14

1669-70	15	25	48	3	40	47
1670-1	5	25	42	2	29	27
1671-2	10	12	29	2	66	6
1672-3	7	9	12	2	46	
1673-4	6	10	38	2	67	
1674-5	7	15	37	2	60	
1675-6	9	23	38		70	
1676-7	10	25	35		69	
1677-8	7	34	22		67	
1678-9	5	14	24	2	37	16

Freedom rolls of Dublin 1600-99, continued

	Birth	Fine	Fine/G.E.	Marriage	Service	Act of Parl.	French Protestant
1679-80	7	14	19	5	54	44	
1680-1	19	10	22	2	60	40	
1681-2	8	17	18	1	56	24	88
1682-3	4	11	21		34	64	9
1683-4		4	16	1	51	55	
1684-5	3	1	8		28	58	
1685-6	3	5	6	3	50	34	
1686-7	1	215	11		2	8	
1687-8	133	484	2	14	3		
1688-9							
1689-90	6	2	12	2	45	34	
1690-1	2	10	6	1	82	69	
1691-2	4	6	28	1	65	65	1
1692-3	3	11	20	2	50	50	9
1693-4	10	14	24	1	38	6	23
1694-5	8	8	27	1	35	21	1
1695-6	2	7	29		45	46	
1696-7	8	9	42		39	39	
1697-8	6	8	37		60	36	
1698-9	5	3	33		46	21	

Source: *Anc. rec. Dub.*, ii, iii, iv, passim; Abstracts of freemen of Dublin, compiled by Thrift, i, ii, iii, iv, passim.

### 3. Dublin guilds 1600-1700

<b>Guild</b>	<b>Patron Saint</b>	<b>Date of charters</b>	<b>Swearing in day</b>
<b><u>Bakers</u></b>		1478	5 Dec.
<b><u>Brewers and Malsters</u></b>	St. Andrew	1696	1 Dec.
<b><u>Barber surgeons, Apothecaries &amp; wigmakers</u></b>	Mary Magdalene	1446; 1577 1687	22 July
<b><u>Bricklayers and Plasterers</u></b>		1670	24 Aug.
<b><u>Butchers</u></b>		1684	Fri. after, 8 Sept.
<b><u>Carpenters, millers &amp; masons</u></b>	The Virgin Mary	1508	16 Aug.
<b><u>Coopers</u></b>	St Patrick	1666	8 Aug.
<b><u>Cutlers, stationers &amp; painter-stainers</u></b>	St Luke the Evangelist	1670	18 Oct.
<b><u>Curriers</u></b>		1696	1 Nov.
<b><u>Cooks &amp; Vintners</u></b>		1444	25 July
<b><u>Feltmakers</u></b>		1667	2 Jan.
<b><u>Glovers and skimmers</u></b>		1476	25 Mar.
<b><u>Goldsmiths, watch &amp; clockmakers</u></b>	All Saints	Prior to 1557 &1637	1 Nov.
<b><u>Hosiers and Knitters</u></b>		1688	23 Apr.
<b><u>Joiners, ceylers &amp; wainscoaters</u></b>		1700	1 Nov.
<b><u>Merchant</u></b>	Holy Trinity	1451,1577	Mon. after 29th of Sept.
<b><u>Tailors</u></b>	St John the Baptist	1437, 1464, 1696	1 Aug.

<b><u>Smith &amp; pewterers &amp; trunckmakers</u></b>	St Loy	1471, 1651	1stThurs. in Aug.
<b><u>Shoemakers</u></b>	Virgin Mary	1426	Mon. after 25 June
<b><u>Saddlers, upholsterers &amp; coachmakers</u></b>	Virgin Mary	1677	24 Mar
<b><u>Sherman &amp; Dyers</u></b>		No charter	5 Dec.
<b><u>Tanners and Curriers</u></b>		13 century & 1688	Thurs. after 1 Nov.
<b><u>Tallow Chandlers, soap boilers &amp; Wax-light makers</u></b>		1674	23 Apr.
<b><u>Weavers</u></b>	Saints Phillip & James	1446, 1668 1687	1 May

**Source:** Gertrude Thrift, Transcripts of Dublin guild records (N.A.I., TA. 1430-50).

#### 4.1. Baptisms, burials and marriages in the parish of St John, 1620-99

Year	Burials	Baptisms	Marriages
1620	20	20	5
1621	9	27	7
1622	25	22	9
1623	27	14	10
1624	42	19	11
1625	27	17	6
1626	24	29	10
1627	11	18	6
1628	1	26	7
1629	14	29	8
1630	15	27	7
1631	10	30	12
1632	2	28	11
1633	2	27	9
1634	4	42	6
1635	5	34	7
1636	8	36	10
1637	10	37	15
1638	60	44	11
1639	75	40	7
1640	84	59	14
1641	81	55	5
1642	218	60	5
1643	100	51	4
1644	32	27	1
1645	24	24	4
1646	33	24	1
1647	104	32	2
1648	61	44	2
1649	149	38	7
1650	240	20	16
1651	188	63	27
1652	63	65	32
1653	69	86	42
1654	69	97	47
1655	93	111	29
1656	66	116	43
1657	72	97	24
1658	51	59	21
1659	n/a	n/a	n/a

**Baptisms, burials and marriages in the parish of St John, 1620-99**  
**Continued**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Burials</b>	<b>Baptisms</b>	<b>Marriages</b>
1660	n/a	n/a	1
1661	51	56	4
1662	58	40	6
1663	90	70	6
1664	83	53	6
1665	67	59	8
1666	106	59	16
1667	106	49	7
1668	88	55	3
1669	95	37	7
1670	98	44	6
1671	36	45	2
1672	42	n/a	n/a
1673	88	55	9
1674	122	74	10
1675	97	65	n/a
1676	85	41	n/a
1677	52	57	n/a
1678	54	41	n/a
1679	41	73	n/a
1680	94	40	1
1681	55	80	9
1682	44	40	15
1683	121	83	12
1684	97	81	11
1685	139	84	13
1686	106	84	7
1687	96	69	6
1688	88	87	8
1689	97	79	8
1690	69	31	3
1691	99	77	10
1692	100	79	12
1693	89	78	9
1694	58	90	4
1695	61	83	14
1696	155	75	8
1697	98	100	4
1698	113	76	1
1699	141	67	6

**Source:** Mills (ed.), *The register ...of St John*, p 1-122



**4.2. Burials, baptisms and marriages in the parish of St Michan  
1636-99**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Burials</b>	<b>Baptisms</b>	<b>Marriages</b>
1636	41	10	2
1637	86	37	16
1638	71	39	8
1639	132	54	23
1640	136	60	23
1641	137	59	5
1642	148	23	27
1643	110	50	4

Records are fragmentary for 1644-53.

1654	42	45	
1655	23	18	
1656	18	11	
1657	21	5	3
1658	9	1	1
1659	23		

1660	20	33	9
1661	50	58	9
1662	26	54	21
1663	59	82	15
1664	78	95	8
1665	59	31	25
1666	54	41	21
1667	51	48	13
1668	82	143	14
1669	107	193	11

1670	122	198	21
1671	158	170	9
1672	148	187	9
1673	116	148	8
1674	104	157	10
1675	94	127	4
1676	140	170	18
1677	110	187	11
1678	120	224	16
1679	108	147	8

**Burials, baptisms and marriages in the parish of St Michan  
1636-99, continued**

Year	Baptisms	Burials	Marriages
1680	102	273	7
1681	110	209	9
1682	109	263	10
1683	144	316	15
1684	170	317	11
1685	152	364	10
1686	154	245	10
1687	186	345	14
1688	142	234	6
1689	84	106	3

1690	71	218	1
1691	172	254	6
1692	132	245	10
1693	159	134	8
1694	160	217	5
1695	170	204	22
1696	150	417	14
1697	167	248	21
1698	140	420	13
1699	130	1141	23

Source: Berry (ed.), *The registers of....St Michan's*, pp 1-122

**5. Epidemics in Dublin and Ireland, 1600-1700**

	<u>Dublin</u>	<u>Ireland</u>
1601		famine fever'
1603-5	Plague	Plague
1612		Pestilence at Kilkenny
1616		Dysentery in Cork
1629		'spotted fever'
1636	smallpox outbreak.	
1642-3	pestilence	Dysentery
1648		smallpox
1649-52	Plague	Plague
1670-2		famine fever'
1682	petechial fever and smallpox	
1683	spotted fever'	
1688	short fever'	short fever'
1690	fever'	
1691	anomalous fever & influenza	
1693	Influenza	
1697		catarrh and dysentery'

Source: 'Table of famine and pestilences' pp.102-40; H.M.C., *Franciscan MSS*, p. 301; *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1630-5*, p. 401; H.M.C., *Ormond*, iv, 123, 145, 156; Carte, *Life of James 1<sup>st</sup> Duke of Ormonde*, i, 234; Lennihan, *Limerick, its history and antiquities*, p. 701.

## 6. Continental migrants enfranchised by fine, 1600-90

Year	Name	Occupation	Origin
<u>1639</u>	James Vandenberghe	Goldsmith	Dutch
	Theodore Schout	Merchant	Dutch
	John Vanhunt	Merchant	Dutch
	Frederick Pankarte	Merchant	Dutch
	Adrian Huybarts	Apothecary	Dutch
<u>1640</u>	Claude Tashoon	Merchant	French
<u>1641</u>	Daniel Wybrants	Merchant	Dutch
<u>1647</u>	Nathaniel Philpot	Haberdasher	French
<u>1650</u>	Gerald Vanhoven	Merchant	Dutch
	Meinhardt Christian	Merchant	German
<u>1655</u>	Warner Westerna	Merchant	Dutch
	Isaac Ablyn	Merchant	Dutch
	Daniel John	Goldsmith	Dutch
<u>1660</u>	Robert Leneve	surgeon	France
	William Le Mon	Baker	France
<u>1671</u>	Henry Blague	Merchant	France
<u>1676</u>	Nichus Duchemin	Merchant	France
	Edrus Perran	Baker	France
<u>1686</u>	Maria Musset	Spinster	France
<u>1687</u>	Peter Brevet	Merchant	France
	Alexander Le Plant	Tailor	France

Source: Shaw (ed.), Letters of naturalisation and acts of denization, pp 304-21; Coffey, 'Huguenot freemen of Dublin' , pp 2-13; Abstracts of freemen of Dublin, compiled by Thrift, i, iii, iii, iv, passim.

**7.1. Probable origin of new citizens based upon analysis of names, 1599-1660.**

1599-1600	21	11	13	6
1600-1	26	24	23	10
1601-2	20	17	17	5
1602-3	27	22	30	7
1603-4	13	7	20	4
1604-5	12	8	11	2
1605-6	21	23	21	9
1606-7	15	24	20	1
1607-8	28	18	21	9
1608-9	21	22	14	6
1609-10	8	19	23	3
1610-11	9	17	26	7
1611-12	6	21	17	3
1612-13	11	21	23	4
1613-14	16	21	27	4
1614-15	19	20	12	5
1615-16	17	17	15	3
1616-17	31	40	24	8
1617-18	13	12	16	5
1618-19	28	25	25	8
1619-20	22	14	19	7
1620-1	13	20	20	2
1621-2	22	28	16	10
1622-3	5	17	15	4
1623-4	13	18	15	8
1624-5	11	21	23	1
1625-6	21	26	19	2
1626-7	16	21	20	3
1627-8	22	26	23	7
1628-9	17	23	23	7
1629-30	17	22	26	8
1630-1	23	24	34	7
1631-2	18	16	29	7
1632-3	14	22	31	6
1633-4	20	21	32	6
1634-5	36	29	34	10
1635-6	20	38	39	7
1636-7	10	20	35	4
1637-8	10	14	25	4
1638-9	26	26	240	14

1639-40	30	21	63	9
1640-1	17	21	38	4
1641-2	7	7	26	2
1642-3	1	7	10	
1643-4	2	10	10	1
1644-5	10	5	16	2
1645-6	4	1	6	2
1646-7	3	2	22	3
1647-8	13	4	34	7
1648-9	15	7	74	6
1649-50	4	2	100	1
1650-1	8	7	49	
1651-2	10	7	117	7
1652-3	6	6	61	1
1653-4	4	6	78	1
1654-5	10	9	115	2
1655-6	6	6	80	1
1656-7	3	7	82	27
1657-8	4	4	86	
1658-9	4	9	50	2

Source: Anc. rec. Dub., ii., 280-502; Ibid., iii. passim; iv., 3-178; McLysaght, *Surnames of Ireland*.

**7.2. Probable origin of new citizens by service  
Based upon analysis of surnames, 1599-1660**

	<b>Irish</b>	<b>Old.Eng.</b>	<b>New.Eng.</b>	<b>Unknown</b>
99-1600	20	10	8	4
1600-1	20	10	14	6
1601-2	72	11	4	5
1602-3	20	6	21	7
1603-4	6	2	7	2
1604-5	10	6	2	1
1605-6	17	17	5	6
1606-7	12	15	7	1
1607-8	17	10	9	5
1608-9	18	11	5	5
1609-10	4	12	7	3
1610-11	6	10	5	6
1611-12	3	12	10	3
1612-13	8	15	13	3
1613-14	11	12	17	3
1614-15	8	12	8	4
1615-16	11	13	11	2
1616-17	20	30	12	5
1617-18	10	8	8	2
1618-19	20	17	17	4
1619-20	14	12	14	5
1620-1	12	12	13	3
1621-2	18	21	12	
1622-3	5	11	10	6
1623-4	11	11	10	3
1624-5	8	14	10	
1625-6	12	13	9	2
1626-7	12	15	13	3
1627-8	17	13	12	7
1628-9	10	13	8	6
1629-30	12	13	14	6
1630-1	14	13	17	4
1631-2	11	4	10	6
1632-3	6	16	18	2
1633-4	10	17	15	3
1634-5	25	15	15	1
1635-6	11	26	21	6
1636-7	8	15	19	3
1637-8	7	5	9	1
1638-9	11	13	22	5
1639-40	16	11	14	4

1640-1	15	16	10	1
1641-2	2	5	10	
1642-3		4	1	
1643-4	2	8	2	1
1644-5	1	3	7	2
1645-6	3	1		1
1646-7	2	1	8	3
1647-8	6	2	15	3
1648-9	8	3	8	4
1649-50	1	1	11	
1650-1	5	4	6	
1651-2	7	3	9	1
1652-3		2	4	1
1653-4	2	3	2	
1654-5			2	1
1655-6	2	3	5	1
1656-7		2	12	1
1657-8		2	16	
1658-9	2	4	33	1

Source: Anc. rec. Dub., ii., 280-502; Ibid., iii. passim; iv., 3-178; McLysaght, *Surnames of Ireland*



**7.3. Probable origin of citizens enfranchised by fine,  
1600-60**

	Irish	Old.Eng.	New.Eng.	Unknown
1600	1		1	2
1600-1		5	3	1
1601-2	2	2	1	
1602-3	3	4	2	
1603-4	1		7	1
1604-5	1	1	5	
1605-6	1		8	1
1606-7	1	2	7	
1607-8		1	7	
1608-9	1	1	7	
1609-10	1	2	4	
1610-11	1	1	6	
1611-12	1			
1612-13	1	3	3	
1613-14	2	2	5	
1614-15	1	2	2	
1615-16	1	2	1	1
1616-17	1	1	2	
1617-18	1		2	
1618-19	2		3	1
1619-20			1	
1620-1	1			
1621-2				
1622-3		3	3	
1623-4		2	4	
1624-5	2	1	5	
1625-6		1	2	
1626-7		1	1	
1627-8		2	3	
1628-9	1		1	
1629-30		1	4	
1630-1		1	1	
1631-2	1	4	7	
1632-3	1		5	1
1633-4		2	5	
1634-5	2	3	14	2
1635-6	1	1	8	
1636-7	1	2	11	
1637-8		2	10	
1638-9	9	7	126	

1639-40	4	4	40	4
1640-1	1	3	22	3
1641-2	2	1	10	
1642-3		2	4	
1643-4			6	
1644-5	1	3	7	2
1645-6			4	
1646-7		1	12	
1647-8	6	2	15	3
1648-9	5	2	57	
1649-50	2		85	1
1650-1	2	1	37	
1651-2	2	4	101	7
1652-3	5	2	47	
1653-4	4	6	74	1
1654-5	10	9	109	1
1655-6	3	3	70	
1656-7	2	5	66	
1657-8	2	1	40	
1658-9	2	2	47	1

Sources: Anc. rec. Dub., ii., 280-502; *Ibid.*, iii. passim; iv., 3-178; McLysaght, *Surnames of Ireland*

**8. New citizens enfranchised by apprenticeship  
with surnames of leading landowning families, 1600-40.**

Aylmer	1	Eustace	5
Archbold	13	Hussey	1
Ash	1	Hore	3
Ball	4	Purcell	3
Bath	1	Jordan	4
Barnwell	7	Luttrell	8
Begg	11	Wolverston	2
Bellew	5	Wogan	1
Bermingham	3	Veldon	3
Betagh	4	Nangle	2
Brice	2	Everard	1
Burnell	2	Jacob	5
Cusack	4	Wolverston	2
Dalton	8		
Dillon	11		
Duffe	2		
Peppard	2		
Plunckett	11		
Preston	1		
Seagrave	2		
Sarsfield	2		
Talbot	1		
Taffe	3		
St. Lawrence	1		

Source: Abstracts of freemen of Dublin, compiled by Thrift, I, ii, iii, iv, passim; 'Forfeiting proprietors, 1652' (O Hart (ed.), *Irish and Anglo Irish landed gentry*, pp 123-45.

### 9. Occupations of new citizens by 'birth', 1610-90

Apothecaries	1	Masons	1
Bakers	43	Maidens/spinsters	414
Surgeons	22	Merchants	109
Brick-makers	2	Musician	2
Bricklayers	2	Millers	3
Button makers	1	Plasterers	1
Butchers	28	Plumbers	1
Clothiers	8	Painter- stainers	1
Cutlers	4	Saddlers	12
Coopers	6	Shoemakers	30
Chandlers	3	Smiths	11
Curriers	6	Shermen	4
Dyers	1	Stationers	1
Doctor	1	Skinners	1
Distillers	1	Tailors	28
Embroider	1	Tanners	18
Fishmongers	10	Tallow chandlers	4
Felt-makers	4	Turners	3
Farrier	1	Vintners	3
Glovers	5	Weavers	7
Girdlers	3	Yeoman	2
Goldsmiths	11	Not specified	76
Glaziers	2		
Gunsmith	1		
Gentleman	33		
Heliers	2		
Bridle makers	1	Total	935

Source: *Anc. rec. Dub.*, i, ii, iii,iv, passim; Abstract of freemen of Dublin, compiled by Thrift, I, ii, iii, iv, passim.

**10. Contexts of complaints against intruders  
in Dublin, 1600-90**

<u>Year</u>	<u>No.of complaints</u>	<u>Context</u>
<u>1602</u>	1	war
<u>1603</u>	2	war/plague
<u>1604</u>	1	plague
<u>1610</u>	1	
<u>1611</u>	1	
<u>1612</u>	3	
<u>1613</u>	1	
<u>1614</u>	1	
<u>1615</u>	1	
<u>1616</u>	1	
<u>1617</u>	1	
<u>1618</u>	1	
<u>1619</u>	1	
<u>1620</u>	1	
<u>1623</u>	2	Dearth
<u>1624</u>	1	Dearth
<u>1631</u>	1	Dearth
<u>1652</u>	1	War and plague
<u>1656</u>	2	
<u>1669</u>	1	Dearth
<u>1673</u>	2	Dearth
<u>1674</u>	1	
<u>1693</u>	1	

Source: *Anc. rec. Dub.* ii, iii, iv, v, vi, passim; Wilde 'Table of famines', pp 3-8.

## 11. Complaints of the dangerous poor in the common council 1600-1699

<u>Year</u>	<u>Beggars</u>	<u>Vagrants</u>	<u>Context</u>
<u>1600</u>	1		war
<u>1601</u>			war
<u>1613</u>		1	
<u>1620</u>	1		
<u>1621</u>	1		Dearth
<u>1624</u>	1	1	
<u>1629</u>	1		Dearth
<u>1630</u>	1		Dearth
<u>1631</u>	1		Dearth
<u>1632</u>	1	1	
<u>1634</u>	1	2	
<u>1648</u>		1	Famine/war
<u>1652</u>		1	Famine/ plague
<u>1659</u>		1	
<u>1661</u>		1	
<u>1668</u>	1		Dearth
<u>1683</u>	1		Extreme weather
<u>1686</u>	1		
<u>1687</u>	2		
<u>1688</u>	1		
<u>1691</u>	2		War
<u>1696</u>	1		High food prices
<u>1699</u>	1		

Source: Anc.rec. Dub., passim ; Wilde 'Table of famines and pestilences', pp 3-8; Creighton, *Epidemics in Britain and Ireland*, i, 214, 244, 260-70.

## **Bibliography**

### **Primary Sources**

#### **Manuscripts in Ireland**

##### **Dublin City Archives**

‘A transcript from the Granard manuscript of a narrative of events in Ireland, 1680-6’, by William Stewart (D.C.A., Gilbert Collection, MS 109)

‘Abstracts of the acts of the assembly of the city of Dublin, from 1539 to 1752’ (D.C.A., Gilbert Collection, MSS 57-60)

Abstracts of freemen of Dublin, 1574-1754, compiled by Gertrude Thrift (D.C.A., MSS 71-4)

Account book of Dublin city treasury, 1540-1613 (D.C.A., MS 35).

Book of oaths taken by civic officials, early eighteenth century (D.C.A., MS 31)

Assembly Rolls of the city of Dublin, 1539-1752 (D.C.A., Gilbert Collection, MSS 56-53)

Calendar of all the unpublished documents in the Public Records Office London, relating to the city of Dublin, 1537-1627, transcribed by Robert Lemmon (D.C.A., MS 84)

Charters and documents of the Dublin Corporation of cutlers, painter-stainers and stationers, also of the Dublin guild of bricklayers (D.C.A., Gilbert Collection, MS 81)

Charters and documents of the guild of Holy Trinity or merchants guild of Dublin, 1438-1824, transcribed by John Gilbert (D.C.A., Gilbert Collection, MSS 78)

Charters and documents of the guild of tailors, Dublin, 1296-1753, transcribed by John Gilbert (D.C.A., Gilbert Collection, MS 82)

Documents of the seventeenth century relating to Dublin, transcribed by H. R. Hamilton (D.C.A., MS 83)

Extracts of Justice Robinsons’ papers (D.C.A., Gilbert Collection, MS 39-40)

Freedom Beseeches of Dublin citizens (D.C.A., Fr/B/1660-1765)

Freedom Bonds of Dublin citizens (D.C.A., Fr/Bond/1674-1759)

Freedom Juries, 1694-1839 (D.C.A., Fr/J/1694-1820)

Gilbert, John, ‘Notes towards a history of Dublin, sixteenth to eighteenth centuries’ (D.C.A., Gilbert Collection, MS 134)

‘Mr Haines manuscript of 1683’ (D.C.A., Gilbert Collection., MS 237)

Monck Mason, William, 'Notes towards a history of Dublin' (D.C.A., MSS 64-9)  
'Proclamation of a fast and special prayers in Dublin' (D.C.A., Gilbert Collection, MS169)  
'Notes and annals of Robert Ware towards a history of Dublin' (D.C.A., MSS 74-7)  
Tholsel Complaints book.1616-17 (D.C.A., 1/J/2/1)  
Tholsel court records, 1636-8 (D.C.A., 1/J/2/3)  
Transcripts of the bye-laws of Dublin, transcribed by John Gilbert (D.C.A., Gilbert Collection, MS 42)  
Transcripts of the Friday and Monday books, transcribed by John Gilbert (D.C.A., Gilbert Collection, MSS 44-5)

### **National Archives of Ireland**

Abstract of guild records transcribed by Gertrude Thrift (N.A.I., TA., 1235-50)  
Copy of entries from the register book of the Dublin felt makers guild, 1668-1771 (N.A.I., M. 6118 a)  
Petition, answer, and order in the case of the Journeymen tailors of Dublin versus the fraternity of St John the Baptist, 18 Sept. 1674 (N.A.I., M 3038)  
Indenture of Patrick Meagher, 22 Nov. 1684 (N.A.I., Private accessions, 999/612)  
The register of the mayors of Dublin with other memorable observations (N.A.I., M 4791)  
Transactions of the guild of weavers, copy of the charter of the same, 6 Nov. 1606 (N.A.I., M 3037)

### **Trinity College, Dublin**

Dublin depositions concerning the Irish insurrection of 1641 (T.C.D., MSS 809-10)

### **National Library of Ireland**

Transcripts of ten articles on the guilds of Dublin published in the Evening Telegraph, Dec-Jan 1894-5, by Edward Evans (N.L.I., MS 134 )  
Seymour Guinness, Henry, 'Dublin trade guilds a collection of his own and other works' (N.L.I., MS 680)  
Proclamations of 1647-1799 (N.L.I., Pos 8315)  
Members of the guild of St Luke, 1676-1724 (N.L.I., MS 121222).  
John Wiloughby, 'Observations on the bills of mortality' (N.L.I., MS 911)



### **Royal Irish Academy**

Abstracts of the deeds of the guild of St Anne (R.I.A., 12 G 10)

An act of the Lord Mayor, sheriffs, commons and citizens of the city of Dublin, 5 May 1681 (R.I.A., Sr B 53-6)

An epitome of the charters and of the recorders book of the city of Dublin, 1172-1740 (R.I.A., 12 D 31)

Bye-laws of Dublin in the sixteenth and seventeenth century (R.I.A., MS 12 D 4)

City of Dublin record 1320-1685, copies extracts and translations (R.I.A., MS 12 D 21)

Copies in English of the Charters of Dublin (R.I.A., MS 12 B (2) 28)

Miscellaneous, letters and documents collected by Charles Halliday (R.I.A., Halliday Collection, MS 12 F 52)

The guild of St Luke the Evangelist, transcribed by M.H. Daly (R.I.A., RRG/34/E)

### **Manuscripts in Britain**

#### **Cheshire and Chester Archives and Local studies service**

Apprenticeship registers 1616-34 ( C.C.A., ZM/AB)

Chester city Quarter sessions, 1585-1608 (C.C A., QSE/ QSF)

Diocese of the city of Chester, court papers (C.C.A., EDC. 5)

City of Chester Assembly rolls ( C.C.A., ZA.)

Mayors' Book, 1599-1607 (C.C.A., ZM/A)

#### **York City Archives Department.**

Minutes of the Quarter sessions of the peace, city of York and Ainsty, 1616-19, 1638-1662 (Y.C.A., QSF.7)

### **Bodlian Library, Oxford University**

Papers relating to the 1<sup>st</sup> Duke of Ormond (Bodl., Carte MS 49)

Papers of the Duke of Ormond relating to the public affairs of Ireland, 1662-90 (Bodl., Carte MSS 33-40, 60-66, 144, 199)

Correspondence and papers of the 1<sup>st</sup> Duke of Ormond, chiefly on Irish and English public affairs, 1679-84 (Bodl., Carte MS 216)

### **English National Archives (Kew Gardens).**

Exchequer, Kings Remembrancer: Chester Port Books, 1630-79 ( N.A., Kew, E 190/1331-40)

Prerogative court of Canterbury and related probate jurisdictions; will registers, 1383-1853 (N.A., Kew, Prob. 11)

State papers of Ireland 1361-1656 (N.A., Kew, S.P. 46/130)

### **Primary sources in published works**

Ainsworth, John (ed.), 'The corporation book of Irish town, Kilkenny 1537-1628' in *Anal. Hib.*, no. 28 (1979), pp 32-66

Ainsworth , John and Mc Lysaght, Edward (eds), 'The Arthur Manuscripts' in *Nth. Mun. Antiq. Jn.*, vi (1949-52), pp 29-49; *ibid.*, vii (1953), pp 168-82

Bickley, Francis (ed.), *Report on the manuscripts of the late Reginald Rawdon Hastings* ( 10 vols, London, 1930-47)

Berry, Henry(ed.), 'Some notes on St Catherine's church yard, 1634' in *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, xxxvii (1907), pp 120-6

Idem, *Registers of the church of St Michan's parish, Dublin, 1636-1700* (Dublin, 1904)

Brewer, J.S. and Bullen, William (eds), *Calendar of Carew State Papers preserved in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, 1515-1624* ( 6 vols, London, 1867-73)

*Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland, 1600-1670* (24 vols, London, 1860-1912)

*Calendar of State Papers preserved in the Public Records Office, domestic series 1600-1695* (H.M.C., 84 vols, London, 1856-1972)

*Calendar of the manuscripts of the marquess of Ormonde held at Kilkenny Castle* ( H.M.C., 11 vols, London, 1895-1920)

Clark, Mary (ed.), 'List of principal inhabitants of Dublin, 1684' in *Ir. Geneal.*, viii (1992), pp 49-57

Idem, 'Roll of members of the Dublin guild of carpenters, 1656' in *Ir. Geneal.*, x (1992), pp 333-5

- Idem, 'The Dublin city 'roll of Quakers' reconstructed' *Ir. Geneal.*, vii (1987), pp 543-51
- 'The letter book of Sir Arthur Chichester, 1612-4' ed. R.D. Edwards, in *Anal. Hib.*, viii (1938), pp 3-177
- Christmas, Brian W (ed.), 'Some Protestant settlers in Ireland 1665-1710' *Ir. Geneal.*, viii (1988), pp 34-50
- Collins, Francis (ed.), *Register of the freemen of the city of York, 1559-1759* (York, 1900)
- Creighton, John (ed.), *A history of epidemics in Britain and Ireland* (2 vols, London, 1894)
- Reports of the deputy keeper of the public records and keeper of the state papers in Ireland* (12 vols, Dublin, 1850-1922)
- Dix, E.R., 'A Dublin almanac of 1617' in *R.I.A., Proc.*, section c, lx (1912), pp 326-40.
- Dudley, Rowena (ed.), 'The Cheney Letters, 1682-4', in *Irish Economic and Social Review*, xx (1996), pp 34-54
- Dunlop, Robert (ed.), *Ireland under the Commonwealth: being a selection of documents relating to the government of Ireland, 1651-9* ( 2 vols, Manchester, 1913)
- Report on the manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont* (2 vols, London, 1905-9)
- Eustace, Beryl and Goodbody, Olive (eds), *Quaker records Dublin: abstracts of wills* (I.M.C., Dublin, 1957)
- Firth, C.H. and Rait R.S. (eds), *The acts and ordinances of the interregnum, 1642-1660* ( 3 vols, London, 1911)
- Flatman, Richard, 'Some inhabitants of the Baronies of Newcastle and Uppercross, County Dublin, 1658' in *Ir. Geneal.*, viii (1989), pp 234-74; *ibid.*, x (1992), pp 345-78
- Franciscan Manuscripts held at Merchant quay Dublin* ( H.M.C., London, 1906)
- Gale, John, *An inquiry into the ancient corporate system of Ireland: with an appendix, containing numerous original documents* (London, 1834)
- Gilbert, John (ed.), *A contemporary history of affairs in Ireland from A.D. 1641-1652.* (3 vols, Dublin, 1879)
- Idem, *A Jacobite narrative of the war in Ireland, 1688-91* (Dublin, 1892)
- idem, *Calendar of the ancient records of Dublin in the possession of the municipal authorities* (19 vols, Dublin, 1889-96)

idem, *Historic and municipal documents of Ireland, A.D. 1172-1320* (London, 1870)

idem., *The History of the Irish Confederation and the war in Ireland* (7 vols, Dublin, 1882-91)

Gillespie, Raymond, (ed.) *First Chapter, Act book of Christ Church Cathedral* (Dublin, 2000)

Idem, *The Vestry records of the parishes of St Catherine and St James, Dublin 1660-1700* (Dublin, 2004).

Idem, *The Vestry record of the parish of St John's the Evangelist, Dublin 1598-1658* (Dublin, 2002).

Gimlett, Rev. John, *The history of the Huguenot settlers in Ireland and other literary remains* (Dunmore East, 1886)

Grey, Anchitel (ed.), *Greys debates of the House of Commons* ( 7 vols, London, 1769), available at B.H.O., ([http://www.british-history.ac.uk/source.](http://www.british-history.ac.uk/source))

Gwynn, Aubrey (ed.), 'Reports on the Rawlinson Collection of manuscripts' in *Anal Hib.*, no.4 (1932), pp 139-286

Harris, William, *The History and antiquities of the City of Dublin* (Dublin, 1776)

Herbert, John (ed.), 'Charter granted to the Limerick brogue makers on, 3 July 1688' in *Nth. Mun. Antiq. Jn.*, ii (1941-2), pp 130-4.

Hickson, Mary (ed.), *Ireland in the seventeenth century; or the Irish massacres of 1641-2, their causes and results* ( 2 vols, London, 1884)

Jackson, Charles William (ed.), *English goldsmiths and their marks: a history of the goldsmiths and plate workers in England, Scotland and Ireland* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., London, 1921)

*Journal of the House of Commons* (11 vols, London, 1802), available at B.H.O., ([http://www.british-history.ac.uk/source.](http://www.british-history.ac.uk/source)) (5 Apr. 2007)

*Journal of the House of Commons of the kingdom of Ireland, 1613-66* (Dublin, 1796)

*Journals of the House of Lords* (17 vols, London, 1802), available at B.H.O., ([http://www.british-history.ac.uk/source.](http://www.british-history.ac.uk/source)) (7 Apr. 2007)

La Touche, J.D. (ed.), *Registers of French conformed churches of St Patrick and St Mary, Dublin* (Dublin, 1893)

Lennon, Colm and Murray, James (eds), *The Dublin city franchise roll, 1468-1512* (Dublin, 1998)

Leslie, J.B. (ed.), 'Calendar of leases and deeds of St. Patrick Cathedral Dublin, 1660-89' in *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, xxxv (1935), pp 32-54

Mac Neill, Charles (ed.), 'King's Hospital manuscripts' in *Anal. Hib.*, no.15 (1944), pp 325-330.

Idem, *The Tanner Letters: original documents and notices of Irish affairs in the sixteenth century* ( I.M.C., Dublin,1943)

Idem, 'Rawlinson manuscripts, class c and d' in *Anal. Hib.*, no. 2 (1934), pp 1-92.

Landsdown, Marques of (ed.), *The Petty Papers, some unpublished writings* (2 vols, London, 1835)

Mac Lysaght, Edward (ed.), 'Interim reports: Doneraile papers' in *Anal. Hib.*, no.15 (1944), pp 45-54.

Mills, James (ed.), *Register of the parish of St John's the Evangelist, Dublin, 1619-99* (Dublin, 1906)

Monck Mason, William, *The history and antiquities of the collegiate church of St. Patrick* (Dublin, 1776)

O Hart, John (ed.), *The Irish and Anglo-Irish landed gentry* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Shannon, 1968)

Ohlmeyer, Jane and O Ciardhe, Eamon (eds), *The Irish statute staple books, 1596-1687* (Dublin, 1999)

Pender, Seamus (ed.), *A census of Ireland circa 1659 with supplementary material from the poll money ordinances* (I.M.C., Dublin, 2005)

Ronan, M.V. (ed.), 'Archbishop Bulkeley's visitation of Dublin in 1630' in *Archiv. Hib.*, viii (1941), pp 1-55

*Royal commission to inquire into municipal corporations, Ireland, 1835*, H.C. 1836 (252)

Robinson, Rev. John (ed.), 'Christ Church cathedral, Dublin, proctors accounts, 1689-90' in *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, xxxxi (1911), pp 254-267

Rycauts, Sir Paul, 'Memoranda and letters from Ireland, 1686-7' ed. Paul Melus, in *Anal. Hib.*, no. 27 (1972), pp 120-68

*Calendar of the manuscripts of the marquis of Salisbury preserved at Hatfield House* ( H.M.C., 23 vols, London, 1883)

Simms, J.J., 'Irish Jacobites, lists from T.C.D', MS N.1.3' in *Anal. Hib.*, no. 22 (1960), pp 11-230

Smith, 'Captain, A list of all the seamen, fishermen, watermen, lightermen and seafaring-men in the kingdom of Ireland, 1697' in *Philosophical Transactions*, xii (1700), p. 508.

Idem, 'An account of the houses and hearths, for the following years in Dublin, 1695-7' in *Philosophical Transactions*, xxvi (1699), p. 501.

Smith, W.J. (ed.), *Herbert correspondence: the sixteenth and seventeenth century letters of the Herberts of Chisbury, Powys Castle and Dalgua* (I.M.C., Dublin, 1961)

'Letter-book of Richard Talbot' ed. Lillian Tate, in *Anal. Hib.*, no. 4 (1932), pp 99-133

*A collection of state papers of John Thurloe, Secretary of State, 1652-8*, ed. John Birch (London, 1756), available at B.H.O., (<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/source>) (3 Apr. 2007)

Treadwell, Victor (ed.), *The Irish Commission of 1622* (I.M.C., Dublin, 2005)

Shaw, William A (ed.), *Letters of denization and acts of naturalisation for aliens in England and Ireland, 1603-1700* (London, 1911)

Simington, R.C., and Mac Lellan, John (eds), 'List of outlaws, 1641-7' in *Anal. Hib.*, no.23 (1966), pp 317-66

Stubbs, J.W., *The history of the University of Dublin* (Dublin, 1889)

*The statutes at large of England and Great Britain* (3 vols, London, 1811)

Wilde, William, 'Table of cosmical phenomenon, epizootics, famine and pestilences in Ireland' in *The census of Ireland 1851*, v, ii [c-2016], H.C. 1856

*The statutes at large passed in the parliaments held in Ireland* (12 vols, Dublin, 1786)

Wood, Herbert (ed.), *The registers of Saint Catherine, Dublin, 1636-1715* (London, 1908)

Wright-Ball, Rev., William (ed.), *The Ball Family records* (York, 1908)

Wright, Thomas, *A History of the rise and progress of the people called Quakers, in Ireland from the year 1655 to 1745* (Dublin, 1811)

## **Contemporary or near contemporary works, containing primary sources**

Anon., *A bloody fight at Balruderry in Ireland* (London, 1647), available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>) (4 Jan, 2008)

Anon., *A letter from Dublin containing a remarkable design to destroy that city by fire* (Dublin, 1690), available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>) (4 June, 2006)

Anon., *A narrative and account concerning the hospital on Oxmantown Green, Dublin* (Dublin, 1673), available at E.E.B.O.,(<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>) (6 Jan. 2008)

Anon., *A proclamation for free passage out of Ireland into England* (London, 1640), available at a E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>) (6 Jan. 2007)

Anon., *A sober vindication of Lieutenant General Ludlow* (London, 1660), available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>) (5 Apr. 2007)

Anon., *A true report of a bloody fight and unrest* (Dublin, 1699), available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>) (15 Apr. 2008)

Anon., *An abstract of the claims of all persons claiming as innocents in the city, county of Dublin* (Dublin, 1664)

Anon., *An account of public affairs in Ireland since the discovery of the late plot* (Dublin, 1679), E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>) ( 24 Apr. 2008)

Anon., *The case of several thousand Quakers with regard to oaths and swearing, humbly presented to his majesty the King* (London, 1673)

Anon., *The distressed state of the city of Dublin in Ireland* (London, 1642), available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>) (1 May. 2008)

Anon., *The execution of John Stanthrope* (London, 1635) available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>) (6 Feb. 2006)

Anon., *To the respective members of the house of commons; the humble application of the people commonly called Quakers* (York,1695), available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>) (3 Mar. 2008)

Anon., *The present state of Ireland together with some remarks upon its ancient state* (Dublin, 1673), available at E.E.B.O.,(<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>) (14 July, 2007)

Barrow, Humphrey, *The relief of the poor and advancement of learning* (London, 1656), available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>) (12 Nov. 2007)

Blackhall, George, *The Rules for assizing bread* (Dublin, 1698) available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>) (11 Jan. 2008)

Bolton, Sir Richard, *A Justice of the Peace for Ireland, consisting of two books* (Dublin, 1638), available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>) (12 Aug. 2006)

Boyse, John, *The case of the dissenting protestants of Ireland in reference to a bill of indulgence* (Dublin, 1695)

*Parliamentary diary of Thomas Burton, 1652-9*, ed. John Birch (London,1882), available at B.H.O., (<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/source>) (8 Apr. 2007)

Carte, Thomas., *An history of the life of James Duke of Ormonde* (3 vols, London, 1735-6)

*A proclamation set forth by Sir James Carroll knight, mayor of Dublin* (1613-4), available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>.) (12 May, 2008)

Charles II, *His majesties gracious declaration for the settlement of his kingdom of Ireland* (Dublin,1660), available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>.) (4 Nov. 2007)

*The state letters of Henry, earl of Clarendon, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and his lordships diary for the years 1687-90*, ed. Henry Singer (2 vols, Dublin, 1765)

Dopping, Anthony, *The case of the Dissenters of Ireland in reference to the sacramental test* (Dublin, 1695).

Drelincourt, Peter, *A speech made to his grace the lord lieutenant of Ireland to the lords of his majesties most honourable privy council* (Dublin, 1682)

Dunton, John, *Teague land or a merry ramble to the wild Irish* ( 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Dublin, 2002)

*Letters of the Earl of Cork , Lismore Collection*, ed. Rev. John Grossart (10 vols, London, 1885)

*The earl of Straffords' letters and despatches*, ed. William Knowler (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 2 vols, London, 1779)

Essex, lord lieutenant, *Rules, orders and directions by the lord lieutenant and council for the better regulation of the city of Dublin* (Dublin, 1672), available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>.) (10 June, 20

Harris, Sir Walter, *Remarks on the affairs and trade of England and Ireland* (Dublin, 1691) (6 May, 2008)

Graunt, John, *Natural and political observations mentioned in a following index and made upon the London bills of mortality* (London, 1667), available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>) (11 Nov. 2007)

Ireton, Henry Sir, *A declaration and proclamation of the Deputy General of Ireland, concerning the present hand of God in the visitation of the plague* (Dublin, 1650), available at E.E.B.O.,(<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>.) (3 Mar. 2007)



King, William, *The state of the Protestants of Ireland under the late king James government* (London, 1691)

Lawrence, Richard, *The interest of Ireland in its trade and wealth* (Dublin, 1684)

Idem, *The interest of England in the Irish transplations stated* (Dublin,1655),available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>.)

Lord Justices, *A proclamation* (Dublin, 1690) available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>.) ( 12 Jan. 2008)

*The recollections and diary of Narcisus Marsh, 1638-1696*, ed. by Raymond Gillespie (Cork, 2003)

O'Brien, George (ed.), *Advertisements for Ireland* (Dublin,1923)

Petty, William, *A Political Anatomy of Ireland* (Shannon, 1969)

Idem., *Further observations upon the Dublin bills of mortality* (Dublin, 1683), available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>.) ( 9 Oct. 2006)

Idem, *Observations upon the Dublin bills of mortality* (Dublin, 1682), available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>.) ( 9 Oct. 2006)

*The economic writings of Sir William Petty*, ed. by C.H. Hull ( 2 vols, Cambridge, 1899)

Rich, Barnaby, *A new description of Ireland*, ed. by Edmund Hogan ( 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London, 1878), pp 70-2.

Rich, Barnaby, *An Irish hub bub* (Dublin, 1612), available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>.) ( 12 Aug. 2006)

*The journal of John Stevens, 1689-91*, ed. William Murray (Oxford, 1912)

Stockdale, William, *A cry of oppression* (Dublin,1683), available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>.) ( 2 Mar. 2008)

*Proclamation by the Lords Justices and Council* (Dublin,1642), available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>.) (12 Apr. 2007)

William III., *An act for exempting his majesty's protestant subjects from the church of England from penalties of the certain laws* (London, 1690), available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>.) ( 13 Feb. 2008)

Woodhouse, John, *A guide for strangers in the kingdom of Ireland* (Dublin, 1647), available at E.E.B.O., (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>.) (30 Jan, 2008)

### Secondary Sources

#### **Books and articles in journals and collections of essays**

Andrews, J.H. 'Notes on the historical geography of the Irish iron industry' in *Irish Geography*, iii (1956), pp 133-49

Idem, 'The oldest map of Dublin' in *R.I.A. Proc.*, section c, clx (1983), pp 205-37.

Arnold, L.J., 'The Irish court of claims of 1663' in *I.H.S.*, xxxiv (1984), pp 417-31

Idem, *The Restoration land settlement in County Dublin, 1660-88: a history of the administration of the acts of Settlement and explanation* (Dublin, 1993)

Bagwell, Richard, *Ireland under the Stuarts and during the interregnum* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 3 vols, London, 1963)

Bailey, Mark, 'Demographic decline in late medieval England: some thoughts on recent research' in *Economic History Review*, xlix (1996), pp 1-19

Barnard, Toby, *A new anatomy of Ireland: the Irish Protestants 1649-1770* (Bury St. Edmundsbury, 2003)

Idem., *Cromwellian Ireland: English government and reform 1649-60* (Oxford, 1975)

Idem, 'Crisis of identity' among Irish Protestants, 1641-80' in *Past and Present*, no.127 (1990)

Idem, 'Planters and policies in Cromwellian Ireland' in *Past and Present*, no. 93 (1973), pp 31-66

Idem, 'Reforming Irish manners: the religious societies in Dublin during the 1690s' in *Historical Journal*, xxxv (1992), pp 805-38.

- Barnwell, S.P, 'A seventeenth century Dublin leather merchant family' in *Ir. Geneal.*, iii (1975), pp 181-6
- Barnwell, John, 'The Barnwell family during the sixteenth and seventeenth' in *Ir. Geneal.*, iii (1962-3), pp 445-454
- Barrow, Lennox, 'Riding the franchises' in *D.H.R.*, xxxiii (1980), pp 135-8.
- Becket, J.C., 'The Irish viceroyalty in the Restoration period' in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, lx (1970), pp 53-72
- Bennet, George, *The history of Bandon and the principle towns in the west of riding of Cork* (Cork, 1869)
- Berry, Henry, 'History of the religious guild of St Anne', in *R.I.A. Proc.*, section c, lx (1904-5), pp 21-106
- Idem, 'The ancient corporation of barber surgeons or guild of St Magdaline, Dublin' in *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, xxxiii (1903), pp 217-38
- Idem, 'The Dublin guild of carpenters, millers, masons and heliers in the sixteenth century' in *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, xxxv (1905), pp 321-38
- Idem, 'The records of the Dublin guild of feltmakers' in *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, xxx (1911), pp 65-79
- Idem, 'The guild of cutlers, painter stainers and stationers better known as the Guild of St Luke's' in *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, xxxii (1903), pp 134-147.
- Idem, 'The Goldsmith company of Dublin', in *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, xxxi (1901), pp 119-34.
- Idem, 'The records of the Dublin Guild of Merchants known as Holy Trinity 1243-1671', in *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, xxx (1900), pp 44-68
- Idem, 'The records of the Merchant tailors guild, known as the fraternity of St John the Baptist' in *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, xxxvii (1918), pp 60-76
- Idem, 'The water supply of ancient Dublin' in *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, xxx (1912), pp 557-73
- Boynton, Lyndsey, 'The Tudor Provost-Marshal' in *E.H.R.*, lx (1962), pp 432-442
- Burke, Nuala, 'An early modern Dublin suburb: the estate of Francis Aungier, Earl of Longford' in *Irish Geography*, vi (1970-3), pp 364-70
- Butlin, R.A., 'The population of Dublin in the late seventeenth century' in *Irish Geography*, v (1965), pp 51-66
- Byrne, F.J., Moody, T.W. and Martin, F.X., (eds), *A new history of Ireland iii: early modern Ireland, 1534-1691* (Oxford, 1976)
- Caldicott, C.E.J., and Pitton, J.P (eds.), *The Huguenots and Ireland: anatomy of an emigration* (Dun Laoghaire 1987)

- Canny, Nicholas, 'Migration and opportunity' in *I.E.S.H.*, no.12 (1975), pp 7-32
- Idem, *Making Ireland British* (New York, 2001)
- Clark , Mary and Fitzpatrick, Hugh, *Serving the city: the Dublin city managers and town clerks 1230-2006* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Dublin, 2006)
- Clark, Mary and Raymond Refause, *Directory of historic Dublin guilds* (Dublin, 1993)
- Clark, Peter, 'Migration in England during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century' in *Past and Present* no. 83 (1979), pp 81-90
- Clark, Peter, and Slack Paul (eds), *Crisis and Order in English towns 1500-1700* (London,1984)
- Clark, Howard, *Medieval Dublin: the living city* (Dublin,1990)
- Coffey, Petra, 'Huguenot freemen of Dublin', in *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, no.28 (1996), pp 635-49
- Craig, Maurice,*Dublin 1660-1860 : A social and architectural history* (Dublin,1969)
- Cullen, L.M., 'Population trends in seventeenth century Ireland' in *Irish economic and social review*, no. 6(1975), pp 149-165
- Idem, 'Wages and comparative development in Ireland, 1550-1750' in idem and T.C. Snout (eds), *Comparative aspects of Irish and Scottish economic and social history, 1600-1900* (Edinburgh, 1977), pp 102-115
- Idem , *The Emergence of Modern Ireland 1600-1900* (London,1981)
- Daly, M.H., 'A few notes on the guild system' in *D.H.R.*, vii (1950), pp 65-80.
- Darcy, Frederick, 'Wages of labourers in the Dublin building industry 1667-1918' in *Saothar*, xiv (1989), pp 17-32.
- Dickson, David, O Grada, Cormac and Daultrey, Sean., 'Hearth Tax, Household Size and Irish Population 1672-1840' in *R.I.A. Proc.* , section c, lxxxii (1982), pp 125-81
- Doyle, Mel, 'The journeymen clubs in Dublin' in *Saothar*, xi (1986), pp 13-30
- De Vries, Jan, *European Urbanisation 1550-1800* (London, 1982)
- Dudley, Rowena, 'The Dublin parishes and the poor, 1660-1740' in *Arch. Hib.*,lii (1999), pp 60-74
- Dungan, William, *John Dongan of Dublin, an Elizabethan gentleman and his family* (Stanford, 1994)
- Dunlop, Joceyln, 'Some aspects of the early English apprenticeship system' in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, xv (1911), pp 202-11

Du Plessis, Robert and Howell, Martha, 'Reconsidering the early modern economy: the case of Lille and Leiden' in *Past and Present*, no. 94 (1992), pp 49-53

Falkiner, Fredrick, *Illustrations of Irish history and topography mainly from the seventeenth century* (London, 1904)

Idem, *The foundation of the hospital and free school of King Charles II, Oxmantown, Dublin* (Dublin, 1906)

Finlay, Roger, 'Natural decrease in early modern cities' in *Past and Present*, no. 92 (Feb. 1981), pp 3-18

Fitzpatrick, Brendan, *Seventeenth century Ireland: the wars of religions* (Dublin, 1988)

Fitzgerald, Patrick, "'Like crickets to the crevice of a Brew house'", poor Irish migrants in England 1560-1640', in Patrick O Sullivan (ed.), *Patterns of migration, vol. 1* (London,1998), pp 13-35.

Friederichs, Christopher, *The Early Modern City, 1450-1750* (London, 1990)

Gilbert, John, *A history of Dublin* ( 3 vols, Dublin,1862)

Gillespie, Raymond, *Devoted people: belief and religion in early modern Ireland* (Manchester, 1997)

Idem, *Reading Ireland: print, reading and social change in early modern Ireland* (Manchester, 2000)

Idem, 'Urban parishes in early seventeenth century, the case of Dublin' in idem and Elizabeth Fitzgerald (eds), *The parish in early modern Ireland: community, territory and buildings* (Dublin,2004), pp 228-42

Idem, *Seventeenth century Ireland* (Dublin, 2006)

Gillespie, Raymond, 'The harvest crises in early seventeenth century' in *Irish Economic and Social History*, xi, (1984) pp. 1-15.

Idem,(ed.),*The Irish Protestant dissenting tradition 1650-1750* (Dublin, 1992)

Idem, *The transformation of the Irish economy, 1550-1700* (Dundalk, 1990)

Greaves, Richard , *Anthony Sharp and the community of Friends: Dublin's merchant-Quaker 1643-1707* (Stanford, 1998).

Idem, *God's other children: Protestant nonconformists and the emergence of denominational churches in Ireland* (Stanford, 1997)

Grubb, Isabella, *The Quakers in Ireland* (London, 1928)

Guinness, Henry Seymour, ' Dublin trade Guilds' in *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, lii (1922), pp 200-34

- Henry, Grainne, *The Irish military community in Spanish Flanders 1586-1621* (Dublin, 1992)
- Hill, Christopher, *'The world turned upside down': radical religious ideas during the English revolution* (London, 1984)
- Hill, Jacqueline, 'Corporatist ideology and practice in Ireland, 1660-1800' in S.J. Connolly (ed.), *Political ideology and practice in eighteenth century Ireland* (Dublin, 1998), pp 68-83
- Idem, *From patriots to Unionists: Dublin and Irish Protestant patriotism 1660-1840* (Oxford, 1997)
- Houston, R.A., *The Population History of Britain and Ireland 1500-1750* (Hong Kong, 1972)
- Howe, G. Melvyn, *People, environment, disease: a medical geography of Britain and Ireland* (Cardiff, 1997)
- Irwin, Charles H., *A history of Presbyterianism in Dublin and the south west of Ireland* (London, 1834)
- Jackson, James, *Migration* (London, 1980)
- Jutte, Robert, *Poverty and Deviance in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1989)
- Keating, Charles, 'The guild of cutlers, stationers and painter-stainers, better known as the guild of St Luke the Evangelist' in *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, x (1900), pp 136-47
- Kellet, J.R., 'The breakdown of guild and corporation control over the handicraft and retail trade in London' in *E.H.R.*, lx (1958), pp 381-94
- Kelly, Maria, *The great dying: the Black Death in Dublin* (Dublin, 2004)
- Kearney, Hugh, *Strafford in Ireland* (Cambridge, 1989)
- Kilroy, Phillip, *Protestant dissent and controversy in Ireland, 1660-1740* (Dublin, 1994)
- Kirkpatrick, C. Percy, *History of the medical school in Trinity College, Dublin* (Dublin, 1912)
- Kishlansky, Mark, *A monarchy transformed; Britain, 1603-1714* (London, 1996)
- Landret, Peter, 'English population, wages and prices, 1541-1913', in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, xvi (1985), pp 600-12
- Le Fanu, T.P., 'A Note on two charters of Smiths Guild in Dublin' in *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, lx, (1930), pp 150-64
- Leask, A.K., 'History of tapestry making in Ireland' in *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, lviii (1930), pp 12-19

- Le Fanu, John, 'A note on two charters of the smith guild in Dublin' in *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, lvii (1930), pp 156-62
- Lee, G.L., *The Huguenot settlement in Ireland* (Dublin, 1936)
- Lennihan, Maurice, *Limerick: its history and antiquities, ecclesiastical, civil and military* (Dublin, 1866)
- Lennon, Colm., 'Civic life and religion in early seventeenth century Dublin' in *Arch. Hib.*, liii (1983), pp 14-25
- Idem, 'Dives and Lazarus in sixteenth century Ireland' in idem and Jacqueline Hill (ed.), *Luxury and Austerity: Historical Studies XXII* (Dublin, 1999), pp 6-34
- Idem, 'The beauty and eye of Ireland'; Dublin in the sixteenth century' in Art Cosgrave (ed.), *Dublin through the ages* (Dublin, 1988), pp 46-63
- Idem, 'The great explosion in Dublin, 1597' in *D. H.R.*, xxxv (1989), pp 7-20
- Idem, *The Lords of Dublin in the Age of Reformation* (Dublin, 1989)
- Idem, 'The shaping of a lay community in the Church of Ireland, 1558-1640', in Raymond Gillespie and W.G. Neely (eds), *The laity and the Church of Ireland, 1000-2000* (Dublin, 2002), pp 50-62
- Idem, *The urban patriciates of early modern Ireland, example of Limerick* (Dublin, 1998)
- Loeber, Rolf, 'The reception of foreigners: Dutch Merchants in Dublin and its Liberties in the early seventeenth century' in *Dutch Crossings: a journal of Low Countries Studies*, 26 (2002) pp 155-168
- Idem, *A biographical dictionary of Irish architects, 1600-1720* (Dublin, 1982)
- Logan, Patrick, 'Pestilence in the Irish Wars' in *Irish Sword*, xxx (1966) , pp 280-90
- Lyons, Mary Ann, 'Vagabond' 'mendicant' 'guex': French reaction to Irish immigration in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, in *French History*, 14:4 (2000), pp 364-73.
- McCarthy-Morrogh, Michael, *The Munster Plantation: English migration to southern Ireland, 1580-1640* (Oxford, 1986)
- Mac Geehan, Maureen, 'The Catholics in the towns and the quarterage dispute in eighteenth century Ireland, *I.H.S.*, viii (1952), pp 92-110
- Mac Grath, Charles Ivar, 'Securing the protestant interest: the origins and purpose of the penal laws of 1695' in *I.H.S.* xxx (1996-7), pp 25-46
- Mac Lysaght, Edward, *The surnames of Ireland* (Dublin, 1985)

- Mac Niocaill, Gearoid, 'Socio-economic problems of the late Medieval town' in Mary O Dowd and David Harkness (eds), *The development of the Irish town* (Belfast, 1984), pp 22-35
- Milne, Kenneth (ed.), *Christ Church Cathedral: a history* (Dublin, 2001)
- O Conbhur, Colmcille, 'The lands of St Mary's Abbey, Dublin' in *R.I.A. Proc.*, section c, lxcii (1962), pp21-84
- Miller, John, 'The earl of Tyrconnell and James II's Irish policy, 1685-88' in *Historical Journal*, xx (1982), pp 803-23
- Ohlmeyer, Jane, *Civil war and restoration in the three Stuart kingdoms* (Cambridge, 1999)
- Patterson, Catherine, 'Conflict, resolution and patronage in early modern provincial towns' in *Journal of British Studies*, xxxvii (Jan. 1998), pp 4-39
- Pine, L.G., (ed.), *Burke's genealogical and heraldic history of the peerage, baronetage and knighthood of Ireland* (101<sup>st</sup> ed., 2 vols, London, 1956)
- Pollard, Mary, *A dictionary of members of the Dublin book trade, 1500-1800* (Dublin 2000)
- Prendergast, J.B., *Ireland, from restoration to the revolution* (Dublin, 1922)
- Idem, *The Cromwellian Settlement in Ireland* (Dublin, 1886)
- Phillip Pullman, 'Some aspects of the early English apprentice system' in *Journal of Economic History*, lxx (1967), pp 30-40
- Quinn, D.B., *The Elizabethans and the Irish* (New York, 1966)
- Rappaport, Steven,
- Reid, J.S., *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland* (3 vols, Belfast, 1867)
- Royal commission to inquire into municipal corporations, Ireland, 1835*, H.C. 1836 (252)
- Ryan, Michelle, 'Divisions of poverty in early modern Dublin' in *Irish History: A Research Yearbook*, 1 (2002), pp 131-6
- Sacret, J.H., 'The restoration government and the municipal corporations' in *E.H.R.*, xxx (1930), pp 219-55
- Simms, J.C. 'Dublin in 1685' in *I.H.S.*, xiv, no.55 (1966) pp.123-145
- Idem, *The Williamite Confiscations in Ireland, 1690-1703* (London, 1964)
- Sharpe, J.A., *Crime in early modern England* (London, 1985)



- Sheehan, Anthony, 'Irish towns in a period of change 1558-1625' in Ciaran Brady and Raymond Gillespie (eds), *Natives and Newcomers: the making of Irish colonial society 1534-1641* (Suffolk, 1985), pp 102-134.
- Slack, Paul, 'Vagrants and Vagrancy in England 1598-1664' in *E.H.R.*, xxxvi (1974), pp 123-135
- Snoddy, Luke, 'Charter of the Guild of St Luke' 1670' in *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, iic (1968), pp 79-87
- Strickland, W.G., 'The civic insignia of Dublin' in *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, li (1922), pp 155-62
- Stubbs, William, 'The weavers' guild, or the guild of the Virgin Mary, 1446-1840' in *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, xxx (1919), pp 78-94
- Swift, John, *The history of the Dublin bakers and others* (Dublin, 1944)
- Taylor, Karen (ed.), *Early Modern Europe: issues and interpretations* (Bombay, 2004), pp 222-41
- Tillot, P.M. (ed.), *A history of the county of York: the city of York*, (York, 1963), available at B.H.O., (<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/>source) (5 Nov. 2006)
- Tittler, Robert, *Architecture and power: the town in the English urban community, c 1500-1640* (London, 1991)
- Townsend, Dorothy, *The life and letters of the earl of Cork* (London, 1908)
- Webb, John, *Industrial Dublin since 1698 and the history of the silk trade* (Dublin, 1914)
- Idem, *Municipal government in Ireland* (Dublin, 1918)
- Idem, *The guilds of Dublin* (Dublin, 1928)
- Urwick, William, *Independency in Dublin in the olden days* (Dublin, 1856)
- Warburton, John, Whitelaw, John and Walsh, Robert, *The history of the city of Dublin* (2 vols, London, 1818)
- Woodward, D.M., 'The determination of wage rates in the early modern north of England' in *E.H.R.*, xlvii (1994), pp 20-32
- Wright, Thomas, *A History of the rise and progress of the people called Quakers, in Ireland from the year 1655 to 1745* (Dublin, 1811)
- Wrigley, W.A., 'A simple model of London's importance in changing English society and economy, 1650-1750' in *Past and Present*, no. 34 (1967), pp 28-40

**Unpublished PhD THESIS.**

Ni Mhurchadha, Maighread, 'Fingal, 1603-60: contending neighbours in north Dublin' (unpublished PhD thesis, N.U.I Maynooth, 2002).

Fitzgerald, Patrick, 'Poverty and Vagrancy in Early Modern Ireland' (unpublished PhD thesis, Queens University, 1994).