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Dublin's Parishes 1660-1729;

The Church of Ireland Parishes and their Role in the Civic
Administration of the City

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**Dublin's Parishes 1660-1729:
The Church of Ireland Parishes and their Role in the Civic
Administration of the City**

In Two Volumes

Volume I

Rowena V. Dudley

Ph.D.

Trinity College, Dublin

Modern History

May, 1995

Dublin's History 1600-1750
The Church of Ireland Parish and their Role in the City
Administration of the City

In Two Volumes

Volume I



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Summary

The mid-seventeenth century saw the emergence of the parish as an important unit in the area of local government. This thesis traces the development of the parochial role in local government in Dublin between 1660 and 1720. The parishes, and their role in the administration of the city, have been examined under a series of topics. Firstly, the process by which those charged with administering the parish were selected is examined. Their duties and responsibilities to the parish, to the civil and to the ecclesiastical authorities are studied as are the sanctions imposed upon those who contravened the parochial authority. Secondly, the means by which the parishes funded their domestic needs as well as meeting their financial obligations to the city are charted. Thirdly, the attempts made to provide a more comprehensive system of poor relief are examined. Fourthly, the evolution of policing and the parish Watch is traced. Fifthly, the provision of public utilities and the improvement those utilities brought to the urban environment is studied. These themes have been placed in context by beginning the thesis with an examination of the city in 1660 and concluding the thesis with an examination of the city in 1729.

Although extensive use has been made of the Church of Ireland records which survived the fire in the Public Record Office in 1922, other contemporary sources have also been examined. The correspondence of William King, Archbishop of Dublin from 1703-1729, the papers of the Earl of Meath and contemporary letters and newspapers provide valuable insights into seventeenth and eighteenth century life. Parish responsibility was constrained by parochial boundaries but each parish formed a link in the civil administrative chain; therefore, it was necessary to refer to the appropriate governmental and municipal records. In order to gain a more complete understanding of the duties placed upon Dublin's parishes, two parishes outside Dublin, as well as parishes in England and Scotland, were studied so that some comparative analysis might be made.

A number of interesting facts emerge from the study. No Protestant parishioner was excluded from parochial management, however, only a small percentage of the

population chose to become involved in parish affairs. Another important finding is the growing importance of legislation. In 1660, parochial duties were limited and were assumed as a matter of tradition. By 1729, these duties had been greatly increased and, more significantly, had become legal obligations. Tradition was not, however, totally eradicated. The solution to local issues allowed the parishes to assert some independence, nevertheless, the trend was towards conformity in all aspects of parochial management.

The principal finding to emerge from the study is the importance of the parish within the administrative process. Parochial co-operation was essential if the urban environment was to be managed effectively and efficiently. Between 1660 and 1729 Dublin grew at an unprecedented rate. Without the parish acting as a multi-functional administrative unit, the urban environment would have improved more slowly and the expectations of an increasingly sophisticated population would have had to be ignored.

Abbreviations and Conventions

<i>Ana Hib</i>	<i>Analecta Hibernica</i>
<i>Arch Hib</i>	<i>Archivium Hibernicum</i>
<i>CARD</i>	<i>Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin</i>
<i>Cal. SPD</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Domestic</i>
<i>DHR</i>	<i>Dublin Historical Record</i>
<i>DPRS</i>	<i>Dublin Parish Register Society</i>
<i>JHC Ire.</i>	<i>Journals of the House of Commons, Ireland</i>
<i>JHL Ire.</i>	<i>Journals of the House of Lords, Ireland</i>
<i>HMC</i>	<i>Historical Manuscripts Commission</i>
<i>HS</i>	<i>Historical Studies</i>
<i>IHS</i>	<i>Irish Historical Studies</i>
<i>OPW</i>	Office of Public Works
<i>NA</i>	National Archives
<i>NLI</i>	National Library of Ireland
<i>RCB</i>	Representative Church Body Library
<i>RSIJ</i>	<i>Royal Society of Antiquarians Ireland Journal</i>
<i>TCD</i>	Trinity College, Dublin
<i>THJ</i>	<i>The Historical Journal</i>
<i>VM</i>	Vestry Minutes Book

The parishes recorded dates in the old style, therefore all the dates between January and the Easter Vestry, when the date of the year changed, have been written as follows 1678[/79].

Contemporary orthography and punctuation has been observed throughout.

Introduction

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Dublin's Church of Ireland parishes were directly involved in the civil administration of the city. They were the final link in the city's administrative chain. Each parish was a separate unit enjoying considerable autonomy within its boundaries. In 1660, tradition dictated that many of the responsibilities which today fall under the auspices of local government, such as care of the poor, fire fighting and policing, should be fulfilled by the parish. By 1729 the situation had changed and the functions which had previously been undertaken on a voluntary basis had become legal obligations. These executive duties were devolved upon the parish by parliamentary legislation and by municipal ordinance. The purpose of this thesis is to examine the process of administrative change which began with the return of the monarchy in 1660 and ended in 1729 with the death of one of Dublin's most influential archbishops, William King.

The Restoration in 1660 marked another turning point in a century which had already seen considerable political and social upheaval. Dublin's position as the country's principal city was one of long standing but her political importance had been significantly increased at the beginning of the seventeenth century with the establishment of a centralized government whose power was no longer restricted to the Pale but effective throughout the country. In character and appearance, as many contemporary observers remarked, Dublin was the most English city in Ireland. Her economic and political welfare depended upon her English connections and her institutions of civic and parochial administration were derived from England.

Municipal government in Dublin was based upon the English tradition of borough development. During the early thirteenth century civic administration within the city came under the control of the representatives of trade and craft guilds. Thereafter municipal government was to remain in the hands of the guild representatives with their influence in

the political, economic and social life of the city gradually increasing.¹ The early 1600s brought a period of instability to civic politics and by 1613 religion had become a serious bone of contention between the government and Dublin's civic leaders.² It was Catholic merchants who were to emerge as the guardians of municipal and commercial rights for the Church of Ireland had only a very small following among Dublin's ruling elite.³

Throughout the 1620s and 1630s Catholics continued to participate in corporate life. It was during the 1620s that the process of involving the parishes in civic administration began. Using the parish meant that there was less opportunity for non-citizens to evade their civic obligations and dues. Many of the city's population were, however, Catholics. Archbishop Bulkeley's visitation in 1630 showed that only two parishes within the city, St John's and St Werburgh's, had Protestant majorities. The 1640s brought considerable change. Cromwellian policy ensured that Catholic participation in civic affairs ceased. It also changed the city's religious profile. Strafford claimed at his trial in 1641 that there were three Protestants to every Catholic in Dublin when he became Viceroy.⁴ By August 1644, when a census of Dublin's citizens was conducted, 68% of the population were Protestant.⁵ Henceforth Catholics were to be excluded from participating in municipal affairs. Civic government was to remain the preserve of the Protestant controlled guilds.

The seventeenth century also saw a gradual change in people's perceptions of urban life. Although town-life was still hazardous there was a concerted move to improve urban living conditions. Regulations were introduced to improve building standards and to safe-guard the city against fire and disease. Attempts were made to police the streets more effectively and to light them properly at night. Some effort was also made to address the needs of the growing numbers of urban poor. This new approach, coupled with the increasing opportunities for employment which the cities offered, persuaded many to move away from the countryside. In turn this expanding population and the demands it placed upon the urban environment were the catalysts which drove and sustained progress.

In c.1600 Dublin, with a population in excess of 10,000⁶ people, was twice the size of Cork⁷ and considerably larger than Galway.⁸ Speed's map of c.1610 provides the earliest representation of the city. It shows a well developed city within the walls although suburbs had been established to the south and south-west, and on the northern bank of the river around St Michan's church. Luke Gernon, visiting the city in 1620, noted 'the buildings are of timber, and of English form, and it [Dublin] is resembled to Bristol, but falleth short'.⁹ The appearance of the city was, however, changing with timber houses gradually being replaced by buildings built of brick and stone. Its topography was also to change as its population grew. The population increase which took place during the next sixty years was sustained by migration from the rural hinterland and by immigration. The religious demography of the city during the early part of the seventeenth century when a large percentage of Dublin's inhabitants were Catholic suggests that, at that time, many migrants came from the rural hinterland. The countryside was, however, too sparsely populated to sustain the long term growth which occurred. Once again the events of the 1640s can be seen as marking a turning point. Those who now established themselves in the city, as the freedom admissions show, had no previous connection with Dublin. In the 1630s most admissions were granted on apprenticeship. In the 1640s Gillespie found that admission to the freedom of the city granted on 'grace especial' rose from an average of 22% *per annum* between 1642 and 1646 to an average of 89% *per annum* between 1647 and 1650.¹⁰ This policy of attracting strangers to settle in the city was to be exploited even more successfully during the latter decades of the seventeenth century.

The economic prosperity of the city had always depended upon the amount of influence exerted by the English administration. The establishment of an effective centralized power was instrumental in Dublin's rise to prominence, but an increase in court business and the founding of a university were also influential factors. Another important factor was Dublin's growing share of Irish trade. This rose from 20% in 1616 to 30% in the 1630s.¹¹ During the 1640s, however, the city's fortunes were reversed. Customs,

which at the beginning of the 1630s had yielded approximately £5,000 *per annum*, yielded only £600 in 1647.¹² Despite this temporary reversal of fortune, induced by the political uncertainties of the 1640s, by the 1660s Dublin's share of trade accounted for 40% of the customs revenue.¹³ Prosperity returned to Dublin during the late seventeenth century. Its share of customs continued to rise and by the end of the seventeenth century the port accounted for 50% of the customs revenue.¹⁴

This brief synopsis of early seventeenth-century Dublin provides some evidence of the scale of change experienced by the city. How the city, and in particular her administrative structures, coped with such changes provides an interesting and challenging subject for study. It is, however, a subject which has generally been neglected by historians. Some interesting and valuable studies have been undertaken. Fitzpatrick's unpublished dissertation *The Municipal Corporation of Dublin 1603-1640* and more recently Lennon's book *The Lords of Dublin in the Age of Reformation* both make significant contributions towards a more complete understanding of Dublin's administrative processes. Gillespie's work on seventeenth century Dublin is another pertinent source of information. The general dearth in administrative historiography, however, means there is very little to set against these studies especially for comparative purposes. Importantly too, these studies concentrate on the role of the Assembly. The role of the parishes in municipal administration is referred to in passing but not examined in detail although their role in civic affairs was of considerable importance.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries parochially appointed officers fulfilled a number of roles, acting as tax collectors, guardians of the peace and welfare officers. Their many responsibilities, undertaken without financial reward, were crucial to the civic life of the city. Yet the role of the parishes in civic administration has received scant attention. Ferguson undertook a limited examination of St Bride's parish in *A Comparative Study of Urban Society in Edinburgh, Dublin and London in the Late Seventeenth Century*. Kennedy's thesis, *The Administration of the Diocese of Dublin and*

Glendalough in the Eighteenth Century was concerned with the administration of the diocese rather than the parishes' contribution to the administration of the city. No comprehensive study of the contribution made by the parishes to civic life has been made. In some ways this is understandable. The sources are very fragmented, partly due to the destruction of the Public Record Office in 1922 when some parish records were destroyed in their entirety. For example, all of St Audeon's records were lost in 1922. Other parish records were partly destroyed. Even in parishes where a number of records survive, no parish has a complete set of records. St John's, which has perhaps the most comprehensive set of parish records, certainly for the seventeenth century, is, nevertheless, incomplete. The task of this thesis has been to draw together these fragments and to analyse more fully the parishes' role within the civic life of the city. Many of the duties undertaken were strictly parochial, determined and confined by parish boundaries, but others were not so restricted. Some, such as the maintenance of law and order, the provision of a fire-fighting service, street lighting and scavenging, were in fact duplications of municipal powers. This duplication occurred because the needs of the city and the parishes were synonymous. It is, however, important to note that although the authority and power of the civic administration was always far superior to that given to the parishes the Corporation never succeeded in subjugating them. The guilds too failed to exert any influence over parish affairs. Parochial independence was real and, more significantly, it was maintained and used. The Society of Church Wardens, formed in the mid 1720s, underlines this fact. The parishes were prepared to defend their rights.

Although the early years of the seventeenth century had brought considerable change, the city was to experience even greater change between 1660 and 1729. Its topography underwent a radical change. An influx of immigrants altered its demographic profile. The resulting urban sprawl created many problems for the city's administrators. It is, however, impossible to say where the motivation for the changes in bureaucratic procedures which were introduced to deal with these problems originated. Dublin's

problems were not unique and, since many of her administrative procedures had been borrowed from England it is possible that many changes were inspired by similar changes undertaken in England. Certainly the Religious Societies founded in the late 1690s to improve morals and manners drew their inspiration directly from England. It is also possible that the many foreigners who settled in Dublin brought some influence to bear on the process of change. Identifying the instigators of reform is impossible. The more vociferous voices of the day such as Jonathan Swift and Archbishop William King must have been influential, and over a sustained period of time, unlike the Religious Societies whose influence was very shortlived. Although there is no evidence to suggest that parochial pressure was instrumental in effecting change this possibility can not be ruled out. Parish officials encountered most of the city's problems at first hand. They may have used discreet lobbying to effect reform.

The task of fulfilling the increased responsibilities which accompanied these reforms fell to the Protestant community. Parochial administration was their exclusive preserve. All Protestants, Anglican and Dissenter, were eligible to administer the parish; however, the majority of those appointed to office were Anglicans. This was because the basis upon which administrative responsibility was founded, the parish, was Anglican. This probably discouraged many Dissenters from accepting parochial office. In the eighteenth century adverse legislation which imposed a sacramental test on Dissenters thereby excluding them from local government and public office may also have dissuaded many from serving their local community.¹⁵ A sacramental test also banned Catholics from public office but additional legislation also ensured they were excluded from actively participating in parish affairs.¹⁶

To follow the sequence of urban life from 1660 to 1729 brings one point sharply into focus: Dublin was a city in the process of radical change. An appreciation of how the city, and in particular the parishes, changed and developed can be surmised from the maps included in the thesis. Every effort has been made to ensure the accuracy of the parish

boundaries. For this reason the maps are based on Faden's 1797 *A Plan of the City of Dublin* ... rather than Brooking's 1728 map where some inaccuracies occur, however, some adjustments have been made to the 1797 map for presentational purposes. The River Liffey has been altered and a more graphic river created in an attempt to show how land reclamation, and the building of the quays, changed the mouth of the river. The maps were created to complement the text and have been kept as simple as possible to allow for easy reading.

Chapter 1

Seventeenth Century Dublin 1660-1699

Dublin celebrated the fourteenth of May and Charles' accession to the throne with pomp and circumstance, and later with revelry. The preceding years, riven with political and religious upheaval had, however, left a legacy of deep discontent. Cromwell had used land as the currency of political reward and the means of religious subjugation. This had created: 'a dispossessed elite, shrinking in size, but still potentially a threat to the established order, and a population most of whom continued to reject the religion of the state'.¹ In 1641, in County Dublin, Catholic land interests had amounted to 56%.² This distribution was, however, transformed in 1653. Under the Act of Satisfaction the majority of good estates in Dublin, one of the counties specifically reserved for governmental use, were set out in long leases to various prominent Protestants. Although Cromwellians were the main beneficiaries, some estates were also ceded to 'Old Protestants'.³ In 1660, ownership of land within the county was revised yet again when Charles declared his intention to reward loyalty and repay army arrears with land.⁴ As Ormond remarked, if all Charles' promises with regard to land were to be implemented, 'there must be discoveries made of a new Ireland, for the old will not serve to satisfy these engagements'.⁵

An impossible task faced the new administration as the land question could not be settled without causing rancour. A court of claims was established in January 1663 under the Act of Settlement, but was suspended in August of that year although only a small proportion of claims - one-seventh - had been heard.⁶ Its suspension left a number of problems unresolved: land had to be found for Cromwellian proprietors dispossessed by reinstated Catholics, and the claims of royalist officers had to be met. These difficulties were overcome by the Act of Explanation, passed reluctantly in December 1665, when adventurers and soldiers were required to surrender one-third of the land granted to them. The effects of the two Acts in County Dublin was that Catholics were restored to almost two-thirds of their former holdings.⁷ This success

Arnold ascribes to the quality of their political influence; the fact that the county was the most Anglicized region of Ireland; and that the Old Irish had never 'represented an important element in the proprietorship of the county'.⁸ It should be stressed, however, that Dublin was atypical of the country as a whole where Catholic ownership of land was reduced to one-third of what it had been in 1641.⁹ Court politics had determined the land settlement in County Dublin and would remain the key to power within the county. In the city, the influence of court politics, certainly in relation to the growth of trade and the expansion of the city, was less dominant. There court politics jostled for influence with mercantile interests and speculative developers.

The Restoration land policy proved divisive and the resulting bitterness and resentment did not diminish with time. Each side felt cheated - the Catholics of land rightfully theirs; the Protestants that Catholics, guilty of sedition and murder, had been once more placed in a dangerously influential position. As Connolly observes, however, 'the ruling class that emerged from the crisis of the mid-seventeenth century had deeper roots in Ireland than its enemies cared to admit'. Of the two hundred and fifty-four members elected to Parliament in 1661, only sixteen were adventurers, while less than fifty were soldiers who had come to Ireland with the Parliamentary armies.¹⁰ Parliament, however, was to have little influence during the Stuart era. In Charles' reign it met only between 1661 and 1666. It did not meet again until James' reign in 1689. For the remainder of the time government fell under the auspices of the Castle - the Lord Lieutenant or Lord Deputy, or, in his absence, the Lords Justices. All too frequently the appointment of a Lord Lieutenant was made in response to the English domestic situation.

The upheavals of the country filtered down to effect municipal life. In Dublin the civil administration of the city, controlled by the Assembly, underwent radical change during the course of the century. During the early 1600s, as Lennon has shown, the instability in civic politics created hostility between the municipality and government and religion became a contentious issue. By 1613, however, Catholic merchants had emerged as the guardians of municipal and commercial rights.¹¹ This

power was lost after 1641 when, under Cromwellian rule, Catholics were deprived of their rights as freemen.

During the Restoration attempts were made to bring municipal government more firmly under royal control. Initially the provisions of the Act of Explanation, passed in 1665, were not strictly enforced but in 1669, upon his appointment as Lord Lieutenant, Lord Berkeley attempted to rectify this omission. He proposed stringent rules which greatly increased the power of the upper house. Although these rules were at first adhered to they aroused considerable discontent and Berkeley was forced to withdraw them.¹² Unrest, while not dispelled, was further dissipated by Berkeley's removal as Lord Lieutenant. Trouble, however, re-emerged in September 1672 when Essex, the new Lord Lieutenant, despite opposition from within the Irish Privy Council, drew up what became known as the 'New Rules'. Under the 'New Rules' the election of the capital's Lord Mayor, sheriffs and treasurer was the prerogative of the Lord Mayor and aldermen. Importantly, those appointed to serve as Lord Mayor, sheriff, recorder and town clerk had to gain the approval of the Lord Lieutenant and the Privy Council. Appointees, including those elected to the Common Council, were obliged to swear the oaths of Supremacy, Allegiance and non-resistance to royal authority.¹³ A brief period of defiance followed the introduction of the 'New Rules'. The city's guilds drew up petitions which were circulated throughout the city and discussed openly,¹⁴ but, in July 1673, the king ordered that the 'New Rules' were to be enforced.

The early unpopularity of the 'New Rules' had not been confined to the guilds alone. Petitions sent to London by Essex revealed dissatisfaction from all shades of religious opinion.¹⁵ A small number of Catholics were, however, admitted into the guilds both as freemen and as quarter-brothers during the 1670s and 1680s. As quarter-brothers, and in return for a small fine, they could gain access to the privileges and benefits associated with freemen, but, significantly, they were not required to be sworn.¹⁶ Many Protestants uninterested in guild functions and politics also chose to become quarter-brothers. In 1680, however, the Dublin Assembly decided to

reintroduce an order made in 1675 which prohibited guild masters from admitting quarter-brothers who had not first become freemen.¹⁷

Under James II, Catholics gained the right to participate more fully in civic government. In 1686, Clarendon obliged the Assembly to admit Catholics to the freedom of the city by dispensing with the Oath of Supremacy. The following year, 1687, Dublin's charters were declared forfeit and new ones were drawn up.¹⁸ In October 1687, the city was reincorporated.¹⁹ A visitor to the city in 1687 noted the demise of Protestant control, commenting that only six Protestant aldermen remained in the Assembly: 'two Churchmen, two Dissenters, and two Quakers; the rest [were] Papist'; furthermore it seems that 31% of the Common Council were Catholics.²⁰ Tyrconnell's assertions concerning Catholic influence within the Assembly are underlined by another observer, who on 2 November 1687 noted:

[I] arrived here last Monday ... [and] found Mr Hacket, now Sir [Thomas] Hacket newly sworn lord mayor, all the Romish Clergy in their habits, a room in the Town Hall consecrated and Mass said there twice a day, Mr Kerran and Mr McKelly sheriffs, Mr Sargeant Barnwell recorder and Mr Crofts removed from the office of Crown Clerk and a set of almost new aldermen ... Claridge and Sharp the Quakers are of the order but will wear no gowns.²¹

Catholic control of the Assembly was to be short lived. Protestant dominance returned in 1690 with William's victory. In October 1690, Catholics were disenfranchised on the grounds that they had combined to take away the city's charters and to remove Protestant officers and freemen. In 1692 new oaths were imposed upon all Dublin's freemen which were designed to exclude both Catholics and Dissenters from the freedom of the city.²²

It is important to stress that, prior to 1692, the part played by Catholics in municipal government remains very unclear. Their right to participate in the exercise of municipal power was controlled by statute and by guild bye-law. Sometimes the purpose of these regulations was to prevent participation for fear of eventual Catholic control. At other times the intention was specifically to disenfranchise. The Castle's approach varied, primarily because its attitude was heavily influenced by exigencies of

English domestic politics, but also because, as Dickson has observed, it had to accommodate the Protestant merchants' dread of a Catholic fifth column.²³

Charles, through expediency, succeeded in maintaining an uneasy calm throughout his reign. James' more positive attitude raised Protestant fears to fever pitch. As Sir Paul Rycout wrote from Dublin Castle on 7 July 1686:

here have been some scuffles in this town between the new Irish soldiers and the rabble of this city, but by the care of my lord lieutenant and the diligance [sic] of the magistrates all matters were quieted without much harm. In the meantime the fears and rumours in these matters cause great disturbances in the minds of the people.²⁴

William King, Dean of St Patrick's in 1689, later argued that the 'fears and rumours' noted by Rycout, were at the heart of Protestant Ireland's reaction to James. As his reign progressed James' policies in Ireland had succeeded in separating English interests from royal interests. Resistance to the changes which resulted from this divisive policy would have been construed as rebellion by the crown. Therefore, despite their unease, the Protestant population had remained quiescent because of their respect for 'Authority' and their sense of 'Loyalty'. Although fearful of '... being served as in 1641 ... [the] Protestants [were determined] that they would not be the Agressors'.²⁵ King maintained that, although the Irish were in part to blame for what had happened, the principal culprits were the Earl of Tyrconnell and his 'wicked Councillors and Ministers'.²⁶ It should, however, be remembered that King's arguments had been formulated to assuage Williamite supporters and remove any trace of Protestant culpability.

At the start of the seventeenth century, contemporary opinion compared Dublin unfavourably with English provincial towns such as Bristol. By mid-century, as Butlin²⁷ and Cullen²⁸ have shown, the city's metamorphosis had begun although it was not yet overcrowded; that would occur much later in the seventeenth century. Dublin was, however, no longer a provincial backwater, and its importance as an administrative, commercial and social centre was firmly established. By the 1680s urban development was such that Sir William Petty was able to draw favourable comparisons between Dublin and her continental counterparts: Amsterdam, Paris, and

Rome. Within the British Isles she ranked second only to London, and significantly 'men live[d] alike in these two cities'.²⁹

The city's strong population increase was in fact sustained for over one hundred and fifty years. Only one other Irish city, Cork, experienced a similarly spectacular rate of growth. For both cities growth was particularly strong between 1650 and 1750.³⁰ Inevitably such a lengthy period of persistent growth could only be maintained by a combination of factors all working together to Dublin's advantage. Within the confines of Ireland the city enjoyed a unique position. Besides the viceregal court and Parliament, it held the country's principal courts of law and its only university. It was also the country's main port and foremost business centre. Although the commercial advantages associated with its status as Ireland's premier port were to be gradually eroded by the emergence of provincial centres such as Cork and Belfast, Dublin's prosperity continued to serve as the country's economic barometer.

In 1660, despite her domination in all spheres of life, Dublin faced severe financial problems which had occurred as a result of the city's continued support for the king during the 1640s. In 1663, in a positive attempt to rectify this shortage of funds, the city adopted:

a course whereby the revenue of the said city may be increased; ... first, that the outskirts of Sainte Stephens Greene and other wast lands ... may be set for ninetic nine years, or to fee farme, and a considerable rent; secondly ... incroachments in and about this cittie may be removed, other than ... will yield ... a rent.³¹

This crucial civic decision, had implications for the entire city, but was to prove of particular importance for the parishes of St Peter's and St Michan's in which Saint Stephen's Green and Oxmantown, the other major city land release, were situated. In these parishes, the ensuing urban development brought about major topographical changes.

Left in isolation the Assembly's decision to open up the land market could not have sustained a prolonged period of urban development. Additional impetus was essential. This was provided, and maintained, by migration from the Irish hinterland and, importantly, by immigration. A combination of factors encouraged this influx of

new residents. With the return of a viceregal court came the return of the Irish nobility and their entourages of servants and hangers-on. The services they demanded - better quality housing and luxury goods - helped to establish a stable mercantile community.³² Furthermore a legislative policy was enacted which actively encouraged Protestants fleeing persecution in their own country to settle in Irish cities. This legislation attracted English, French and Dutch settlers thereby swelling the country's population.³³ Although these are by no means the only factors influencing the continuing growth of seventeenth-century Dublin, they do provide some clue as to the variety of forces which contributed to the city's expansion. The effect of these forces upon the physical contours of the city can be seen in the maps of Speed, Gomme and Phillips.

The principal sources for the analysis of seventeenth century population expansion are the 1659 'Census', the Hearth Tax returns and Sir William Petty's compilations - *The Political Anatomy of Ireland*, and *Several Essays in Political Arithmetic* - and all must be approached with caution. The accuracy of these sources is the subject of considerable debate. Historians agree that the figures are deficient, but their degree of deficiency remains a matter of individual interpretation.³⁴ Additional evidence based upon parochial records, excluding the parish registers for baptisms and burials, does exist. It is provided by the Minister's Money Valuation Lists (MMVLs) and the parish Applotment Books (ABs).³⁵ The evidence is, however, incomplete and must therefore be treated with extreme caution.³⁶

The lack of reliable evidence, whether parochial or otherwise, makes comparison between the various sources shown in the Table 1:1 difficult. In all cases the figures, whether those supplied by Petty or those drawn from parochial sources, can only be regarded, at very best, as working estimates. Nevertheless it is important to examine the evidence for indications as to Dublin's possible size and rate of expansion as well as the city's religious mix.

Dublin in c.1610, as Andrews³⁷ and Cullen³⁸ have shown, had a population of in excess 10,000 inhabitants and, as Speed's map of 1610 shows, the majority of its

citizens lived to the south of the river. By 1654, when the Down Survey was undertaken, the physical contours of the city appear to have changed little. Urban development was still concentrated south of the river and the earthen ramparts encircling the city's suburbs indicate little expansion had occurred since 1610.³⁹ By 1673, when Gomme surveyed the city, urban expansion was beginning to change radically the physical contours of Dublin. Between 1671 and 1682 urban development boomed and Petty estimated that the number of houses within Dublin and its environs increased by 50% (see Table 1:1). This rate of expansion was not maintained and the evidence suggests that the latter part of the seventeenth century was a period of stagnation with little or no growth. In 1690, Archbishop King commented favourably upon the accuracy of Petty's figures. In May of that year he ordered Dublin ministers to make a return on the number of Protestant men 'in the city & libertys from 16 to 80 [years of age] ... & they amounted to 8300, & some odd persons, considerations that will agree with Sr Wm Pettys proportions'.⁴⁰ It would seem, therefore, that between 1610 and 1682 the city more than doubled in size, with expansion at its peak between 1671 and 1682. Perhaps more significant was the rise in the number of inhabitants. By 1682 there were more than three times as many inhabitants living in Dublin as there had been in 1610.⁴¹

When the parochial evidence shown in Table 1:1 is examined in conjunction with Petty's figures, the evidence suggests that Dublin may have been larger than Petty estimated. For example, Petty's figure for St John's is deficient by 11.9%, and for St Bride's by a startling 40%. When St Andrew's and St Kevin's figures are examined, Petty's figures exceed those based on parish sources. The difference between the two figures for St Andrew's is substantial (50%), but far less marked for St Kevin's (5%). Therefore when compared with parochial evidence, Petty's 1682 estimate of 5772 houses for Dublin, excluding Donnybrook, seems conservative.⁴²

Table 1:1: Estimates of Houses in Dublin 1660-1682

	1662	1670s	1671	1682	1682
St Andrew's		[429]	(483)		(864)
St Audeon's			(216)		(276)
St Bride's	278	436	(416)	554	(395)
St Catherine's & James'			(661)		(812)+
Christ Church Liberties			(26)*		(153)**
St John's	201	244	(244)	338	(302)
St Michael's			(140)		(174)
St Michan's			(656)		(938)
St Patrick's Liberties			(52)		(1064)***
St Peter's & Kevin's	169	396	(106)	525	(554)
St Nicholas Within			(93)		(153)**
St Nicholas Without			(490)		(1064)***
St Werburgh's			(267)		(240)
Total			(3850)		(5772)

Sources: For figures given in () see Sir Wm Petty. For 1671 see *Several Essays in Political Arithmetick: Further observations upon the Dublin bills or accompts of houses, hearths, baptisms and burials in that city*. For 1682 see *Observations upon the Dublin-bills of Mortality 1681, and the state of that city* printed in *CARD*, v, p601. For figures given in [] see VMs in TCD Ms 2062. For figures given in **bold** type see MMVLs in TCD Ms 2062 and NLI Ms 5230.

Notes to Table 1:1

- * The figure includes houses in Trinity College, Dublin.
- ** The figure includes houses in St Nicholas Within and Christ Church Liberties.
- *** The figure includes houses in St Nicholas Without and St Patrick's Liberties.
- + The figures show the number of houses in St Catherine's was 540 and in St James' 272.

The rate at which the city expanded had a number of implications for the parishes. Parochial prosperity required solvent parishioners able to assume the responsibilities of parish administration. From a parochial perception, urban development was allied with commercial prosperity and, therefore, jealously guarded. Any threat, whether perceived or actual, to that prosperity caused deeply-felt resentment. Sir Humphrey Jervis claimed in c.1695, that:

the inhabitants on the south side of the river were so invidious against the fine improvements on the north side, that three grand juries in the King's Bench and Tholsel presented that bridge [i.e. the Wooden bridge] as a nuisance, and would have pulled it down if the judges had not vacated those presentments ... [and] to the building [of] more houses in the suburbs (lest the rents of their lodgings for country gentlemen when they come to town should fall).⁴³

Table 1:2: Increase in Houses in Dublin 1671-1682

	1671	1682	Increase in nos of houses
Inner City Parishes	986	1145	159
Southern Parishes	1203	1876	673
Western Parishes	1005	1813	808
Northern Parish	656	938	282

Source: Compiled from Petty figures featured in Table 1:1 above .

Note to Table 1:2

Parishes are categorised in the above Table as described in the text below.

The extensive development which took place in Dublin between 1671 and 1682 was, as Table 1:2 shows, centred on the southern bank of the river. Expansion was particularly dramatic to the south and west of the city where land was freely available. Development on a similar scale was impossible for the intra-mural parishes because, as Speed's map shows, most available land had been utilized by 1610. To the north, where land was also readily available, development was less dynamic. There are several possible reasons for the sluggish start to urban development in this part of the city. Firstly, the lack of bridges across the river would have restricted cross-river communications. In 1673, only two bridges spanned the river. The oldest of these, known simply as 'The Bridge', had first been built in 1210. Bloody Bridge, as the second bridge was known, had been built in 1670.⁴⁴ It is difficult to understand what deterred the construction of bridges. The city's financial problems and the riots which accompanied the building of Bloody Bridge may have been one factor. Civic self-interest, such as the need to develop Oxmantown and St Stephen's Green successfully, may also have been influential. Another powerful persuader may have been personal gain. This criterion applied to Alderman Nathaniel Fowkes who had first purchased the ferry rights in 1652 for an annual rent of £8/10/0d.⁴⁵ In 1668 he renewed the lease which now granted him ferry rights for ninety-six years at £14 *per annum*. Secondly the failure of Ormond to make his main residence north of the river may also have been influential. Finally, prior to Humphrey Jervis there were no entrepreneurs engaged in large-scale development north of the river. The development of his well integrated

estate was an important factor in persuading many wealthy and influential citizens to relocate in the northern suburbs.

Urban expansion also brought about a change in the religious composition of the city. Between 1660 and 1680, the number of Protestants in the city rose steadily. Many were encouraged to settle in Dublin by the favourable legislation enacted in 1662.⁴⁶ In St Peter's, for example, the baptism and burial figures provide emphatic evidence of the huge influx of people into the parish. Interestingly the averages do not correspond to those proposed by Petty of five births to eight deaths. The fact that deaths were outstripping births suggests the parish should have been in decline, but with the exception of the late 1680s, it was a period of known expansion. It is also interesting to note the absence of a substantial deficit between baptisms and burials. This reinforces the argument of a predominately Protestant parish since only Protestant baptisms were registered in the Anglican church, whereas all burials were supposed to be registered there.

Table1:3: St Peter's Baptism and Burial Figures 1670-1689

	Average number of baptisms per year	Average number of burials per year
1670-79	71.9	96.9
1680-89	75.8	92.1
Overall Average	73.85	94.5

Source: *Dublin Parish Register Society, ix, St Kevin's & St Peter's*

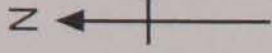
Protestant numbers, however, declined between 1685 and 1690. This was partly due to the large numbers who fled the city, particularly in the late 1680s. Thousands fled; 1,500 accompanied the Earl of Clarendon's departure in 1687.⁴⁷ A further 3,000 quit the city in December 1688.⁴⁸ Clarendon, commenting from London upon the exodus, in April 1688, observed: 'I am sorry to hear so many people still continued to leave that kingdom, which I cannot but wonder at, for in truth they are more afraid than hurt'.⁴⁹ The following year, 1689, Tyrconnell claimed that half the

city was Catholic. The result of the exodus can be seen in St Werburgh's where by May, 1690, only 460 Protestant inhabitants remained.

Tyrconnell's claim that half the city was Catholic in 1689 seems exaggerated and should be regarded with caution. While their numbers did increase, some of that growth may have been accounted for by opportunists who chose to swim with the prevailing religious current, such as an Englishman called Smith 'sometime a Papist and sometime a Protestant' who had informed against a Catholic priest living in St Audeon's, in Cook Street, in 1681.⁵⁰ Despite this brief reversal of fortune during the latter half of the seventeenth century, the aggregate size of the Protestant population grew significantly and it is possible that they formed approximately 60% to 68% of the city's inhabitants.⁵¹

Seventeenth-century Dublin had inherited thirteen parishes of considerably varying sizes. They were, from the point of view of civic administration, thirteen separate entities. Petty considered this number inadequate for the four thousand families then resident in the city,⁵² especially when compared with London whose 'middling' parishes held only one hundred and twenty families.⁵³ Petty proposed increasing the number of Dublin parishes to thirty-three. This would have reduced the number of families per parish and brought about greater uniformity of size. These smaller units, however, would have proven unsustainable for a number of important reasons. Firstly, parochial finances, even in the better-off parishes such as St Mary's, were always precarious. Smaller parishes would have introduced even greater financial uncertainty. Secondly, legislation allowed only *Protestants* to assume responsibility for parochial duties. While Dublin remained 'Protestant', these obligations could be met, but any change in the city's religious profile posed problems for administrative continuity. For example, the exodus of Protestants during James II's reign, especially during the latter years, must have made it increasingly difficult to manage parish affairs. Another important stumbling block was the difficulty of creating new parishes which could provide adequate financial support for a sufficient number of resident clergy. As William King observed c.1697:

Dublin Parishes
prior to 1686



River Liffey

St. Michan's

St. Andrew's

St. Audeon's

St. John's

St. Werburgh's

St. Bride's

St. Nicholas
Without

St.
Patrick's

St. Kevin's & St. Peter's

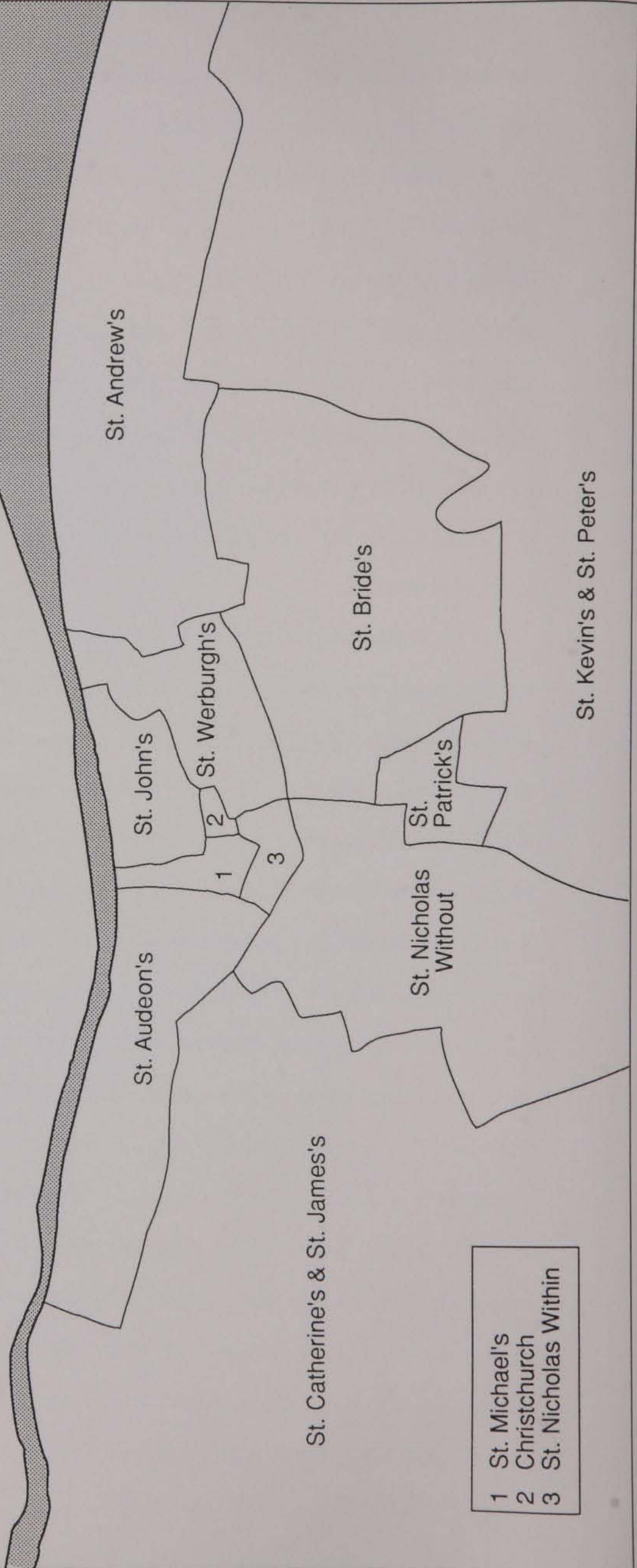
St. Catherine's & St. James's

1

2

3

- 1 St. Michael's
- 2 Christchurch
- 3 St. Nicholas Within



[clerical] provision ... is by valuation mony on houses yt is one shill in the pound ... & this makes in some of ym but a very small competency for to supply the least parish in Dublin well ... 3 men are necessary ... a minister an assistant & reader.⁵⁴

The precise rate at which Dublin expanded, the size of her population and religious mix therefore remains a matter for conjecture. Her growth was, however, spasmodic. Periods of persistent growth were interspersed with periods of stagnation. The economic uncertainties which accompanied this intermittent development merely added to the tensions induced by religious inequality and placed strains upon the urban infrastructure. Burgeoning legislation designed to deal with the problems of an expanding city simply added to the parishes' administrative responsibilities. The obligations of those elected to parochial office grew as the century progressed.

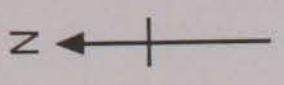
Parochial Overview 1660-1699

As already observed, Dublin did not grow in a uniform manner. How did urban expansion affect the parishes? To what extent did the newly-created suburbs really pose a threat to the welfare of the old city? In an attempt to understand how the city perceived the development which occurred during the seventeenth century it must be examined from a parochial perspective. Dublin's growth was complicated, affecting different parts of the city in different ways, but by dividing the city into quadrants - the city within the walls; the south-eastern corner; the south-western corner; and north of the river - it becomes possible to gain some understanding of that growth and its effects.

Parishes Within the City Walls

Within the medieval city walls lay the parishes of St Werburgh's, St John's, St Michael's, St Audeon's and St Nicholas Within. In 1660 many Dubliners lived within the boundaries of these parishes. As the seventeenth century progressed, however, the expanding suburbs were perceived as posing a serious threat to their economic welfare and prestige.

Inner City
Parishes 1660



† ●
St. Michan's

River Liffey

† ●
St. Audeon's

† ●
St. John's

† ●
St. Michael's

Christ
Church

† ●
St. Nicholas
Within

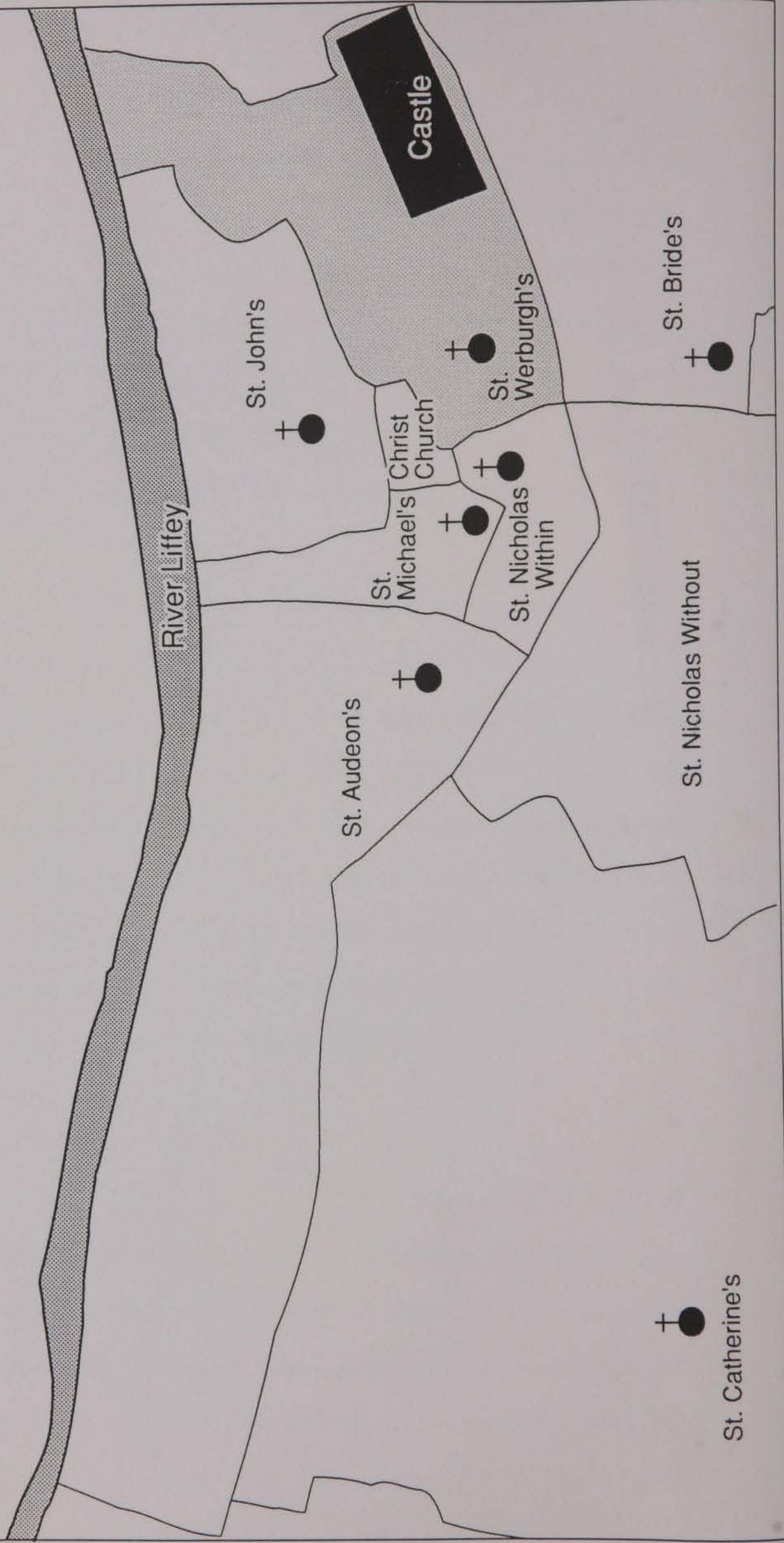
† ●
St. Werburgh's

Castle

† ●
St. Catherine's

St. Nicholas Without

† ●
St. Bride's



St. Werburgh's

St Werburgh's, as the parish church for Dublin Castle, was perhaps the most prestigious of the city's parishes. The church stood on the east side of St Werburgh's Street within the sight of Christ Church Cathedral and the Castle. Little is known about the first church of St Werburgh's although in Celtic and Danish times it had been known as St Martin's. During the sixteenth century Archbishop Browne had united the parishes of St Mary La Dame and St Andrew's to St Werburgh's.⁵⁵ In 1665 an Act of Parliament once more separated St Andrew's from St Werburgh's. This caused a boundary dispute between the two parishes resolved only by Archbishop Francis Marsh in 1683; who found in favour of St Werburgh's.⁵⁶ The boundary dividing the two parishes was deemed to be the water course which ran from the Castle Yard via the mill in Dame Street down to the River Liffey. To the west of the watercourse lay St Werburgh's to the east St Andrew's'.⁵⁷ Within the walls the parish's boundaries were formed by Castle Street, part of Skinner's Row and St Werburgh's Street. In 1630 the parish had two hundred and thirty-nine Protestant householders and a small Catholic population of twenty-eight householders.⁵⁸

St John's

To the north of St Werburgh's lay the parish of St John the Evangelist. The church, situated on the west side of Fishamble Street at the corner of St John's Lane, was first built in 1168.⁵⁹ St John's had been united with the medieval parish of St Olaf's by Sir Anthony St Leger in c.1550.⁶⁰ The parish stretched from its westerly boundary of Winetavern Street eastwards along Wood Quay and the river to Blind Quay. Its northern boundary is hard to define, but it probably lay along Copper Alley and St John's Lane.⁶¹ All of Fishamble Street was, however, within the parish. Throughout its history the parish church seems to have been structurally unsound. Arland Ussher rebuilt it in the sixteenth century and it became the family's burial place.⁶² The 'great decay' of the church, forced the parish to rebuild again in the seventeenth century.⁶³ This caused a bitter dispute between the parish and local residents which was only resolved by the intervention of the Lord Mayor in 1680.⁶⁴

Inner City
Parishes 1660



† ●
St. Michan's

River Liffey

St. John's



St. Audeon's



St. Michael's



Christ Church



St. Nicholas Within

Castle

St. Werburgh's



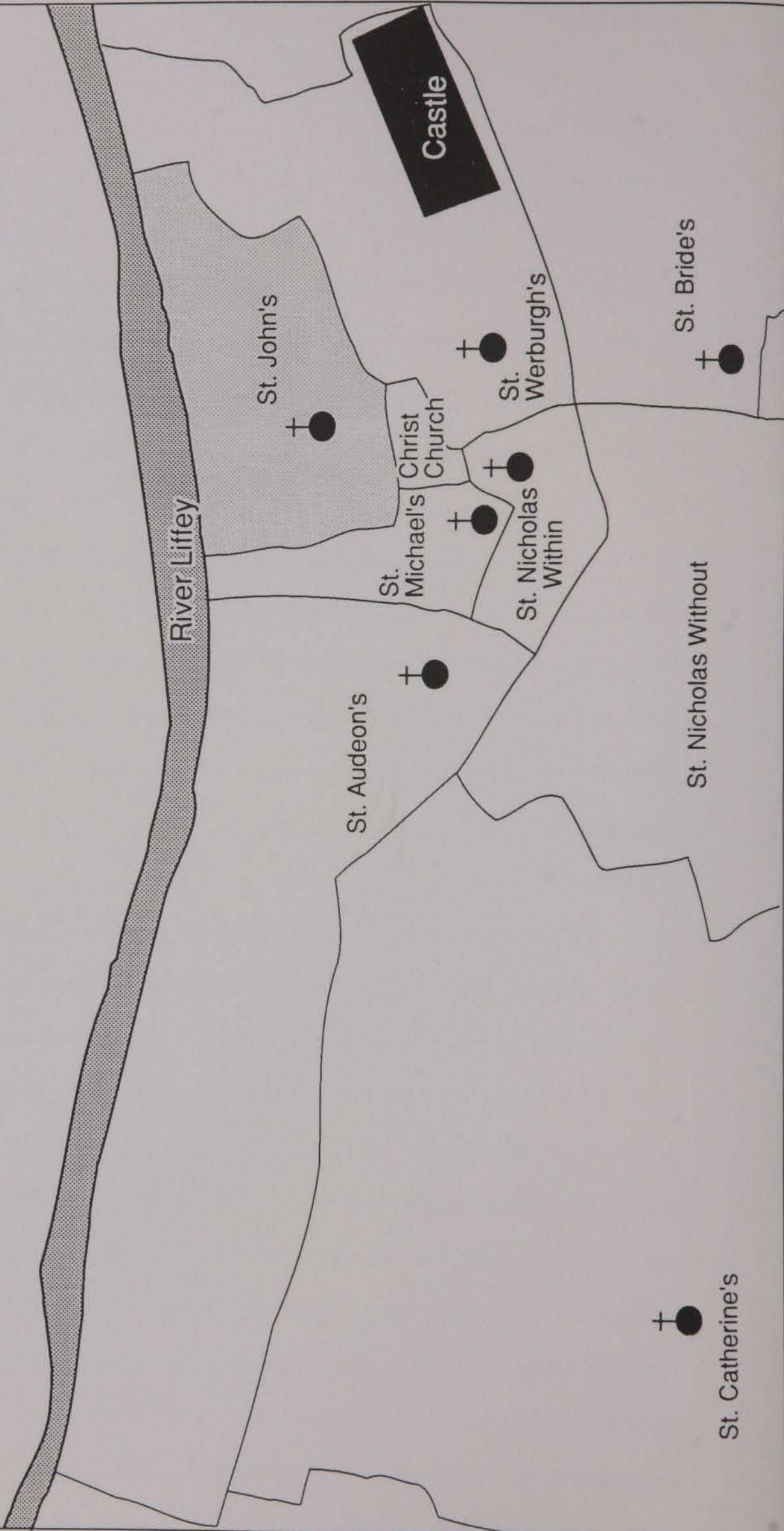
St. Bride's



St. Nicholas Without



St. Catherine's



Furthermore William Rothery and Michael Cook, the church's builders, were forced to revise their plans when the parish decided the original design was inadequate.⁶⁵ In 1630, although the majority of parishioners were Protestant, there was 'a great store of papists there' who attended Mass in St Michael's.⁶⁶ A small number of Huguenots settled in the parish in the early 1670s. By the 1680s there were eight families and forty-four individuals worshipping in St John's.⁶⁷ The parish also had a small number of Nonconformists who met at a meeting house in Winetavern Street until 1673 when it was moved to Cook Street.⁶⁸

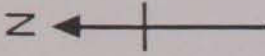
St Michael's

St Michael's was situated on the corner of High Street and St Michael's Lane and had originally served as the chapel for the Archbishop's Palace.⁶⁹ It was built at much the same time as the Priory of the Holy Trinity. In Richard Talbot's time a church was annexed to the priory, and thereafter served as the parish church. The parish was situated at the heart of the city. On the east it stretched down the hill from High Street, along Christ Church Lane and Rosemary Lane to the river. To the west the boundary ran along School House Lane and Shipley's Lane. In 1630 Archbishop Bulkeley noted that the church was in good repair and well furnished, but that the majority of the parishioners were 'recusants'. The parish's one 'masshouse' lay partly in St Michael's and partly in St Nicholas Within and was served by a priest named Patrick Brangan.⁷⁰ In keeping with other parishes, St Michael's spent considerable sums of money refurbishing and rebuilding the church. The cost of such enterprises, especially rebuilding, could seldom be borne by the parish alone. In 1674, when the parish embarked upon such a plan, an appeal for financial assistance was made to the 'Royal Regiment' who worshipped in the church every Friday. The appeal appears to have been unsuccessful, and the lack of external financial help hindered progress.⁷¹ A number of debts were still outstanding in 1679.⁷²

St Audeon's

St Audeon's was founded by the Anglo-Normans and served the convent of Grace Dieu. The church, described as 'out of repairacon' in 1630, was rebuilt in 1671;

Inner City
Parishes 1660



† St. Michan's

River Liffey

St. Audeon's

St. John's

St. Michael's

Christ Church

St. Nicholas Within

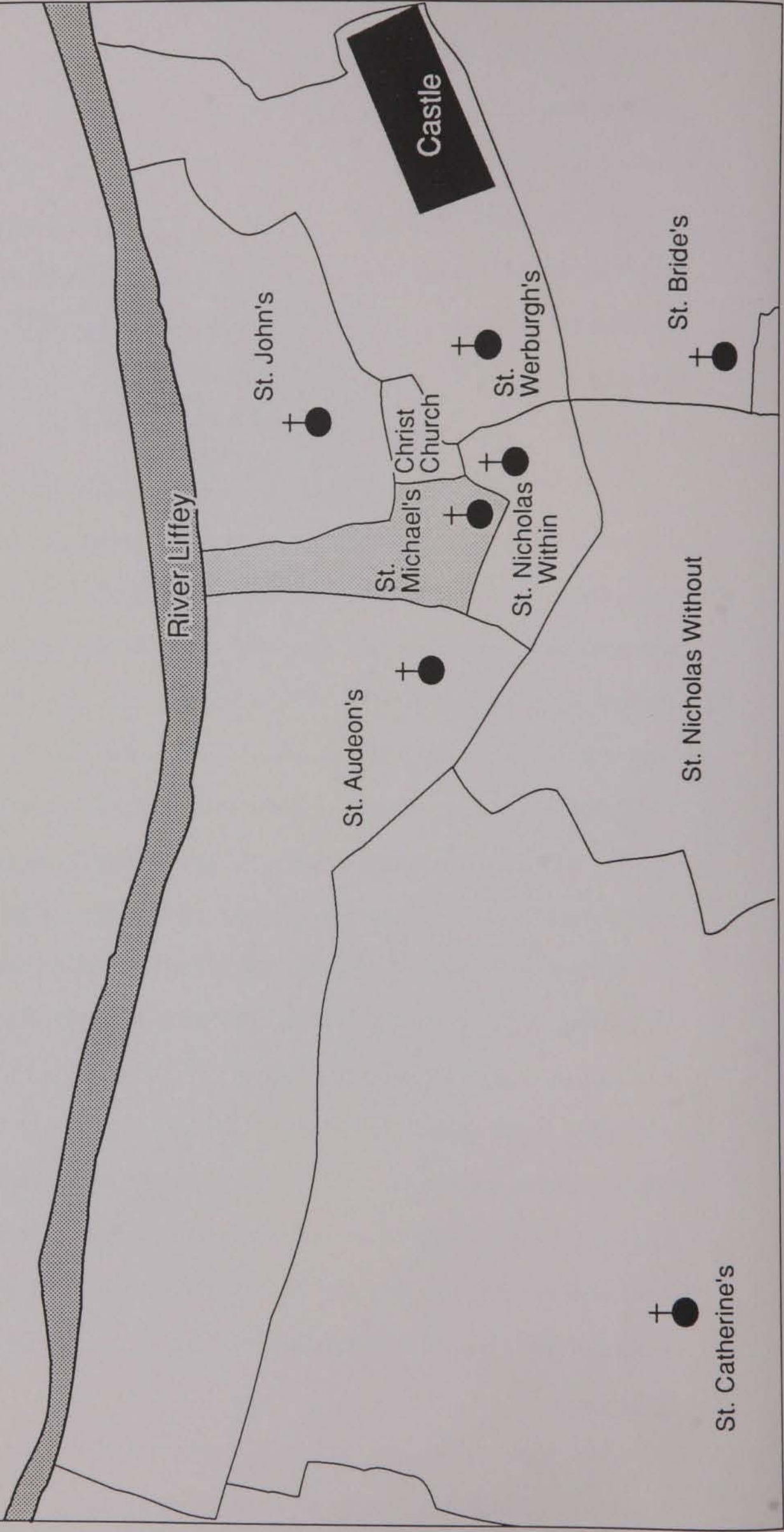
St. Werburgh's

St. Bride's

† St. Catherine's

St. Nicholas Without

Castle



the regiment of Guards contributed £150 towards the rebuilding.⁷³ Finglass, the Anglican minister in 1718, claimed that during the seventeenth century, his predecessors had lived in the 'college' in St Audeon's Arch. He himself had lived there between 1678 and 1688, only to be ousted under Tryconnell's instruction by a group of Capuchin friars.⁷⁴ Finglass' claim that the Arch had housed his predecessors for some eighty years seems doubtful for the Roman Catholic clergy had held a conclave there in 1666.⁷⁵ The minister regained the right to live in the Arch at the beginning of William's reign but the residence was converted first into a store house and then an infirmary. Traditionally the parish had always had strong Catholic connections. They had been noted by Bulkeley in 1630 when he suggested that 'above three parts ... [in four were] recusants'.⁷⁶ After the Restoration Franciscan and Dominican friars had established themselves in Cook Street.⁷⁷ The parish also attracted other religious persuasions. Cook Street held a Dissenter meeting house which was established there in 1673 by the Reverend Edward Baynes.⁷⁸ In the first wave of Huguenots that arrived in Dublin between 1671 and 1678 some families were encouraged to settle in the parish. The most notable family was the Desminieres. Jean and Louis Desminieres, merchants, were brothers, and at the time they settled in Dublin, c.1672, it was said there were only twelve French families in the city.⁷⁹

St Nicholas Within

The first parish church of St Nicholas had been founded by Donogh the founder of the convent of the Holy Trinity which later became Christ Church Cathedral. Situated on St Nicholas Street, the church stood close to the old Tholsel.⁸⁰ The parish had, in fact, lost a portion of its cemetery when the Tholsel was rebuilt in 1683.⁸¹ St Nicholas Street was an important thoroughfare leading to St Nicholas gate, providing access to the southern part of the city outside the walls. Skinner's Row was another of the parish's principal streets. It was popular with the city's booksellers and publishers by the end of the seventeenth century. Among the most influential was Joseph Ray who lived opposite the Tholsel.⁸² The parish had strong associations with the city's Catholic community. In 1630, although the Church of Ireland church was in

Inner City
Parishes 1660



† ●
St. Michan's

River Liffey

St. Audeon's



St. John's



St. Michael's



Christ
Church



St. Nicholas
Within

Castle

St. Werburgh's



St. Nicholas Without



St. Catherine's

St. Bride's

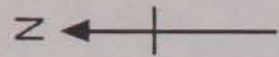


good repair, the majority of the parish's inhabitants were Catholic.⁸³ During the seventeenth century, several influential Catholic priests lived in Kennedy's Court, just off St Nicholas Street. They included James O'Finachty, known as 'the wonder-working priest', and Father Peter Walsh, initiator of the Roman Catholic Conclave of 1666.⁸⁴

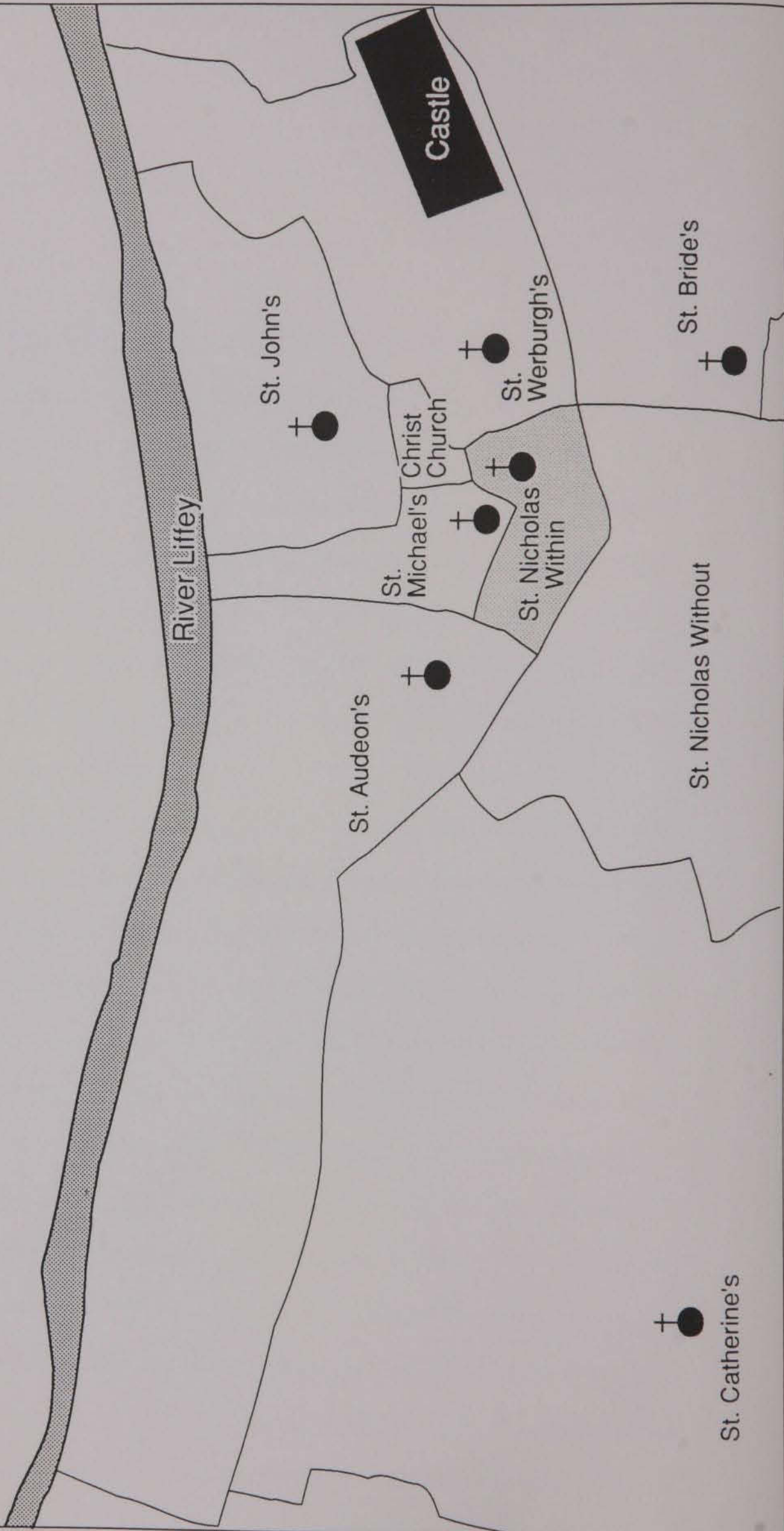
In 1699 John Dunton, an English visitor to Dublin described the city as a 'spacious Town'.⁸⁵ He viewed the city from the top of the Tholsel and declared 'that of all the Cities in the Kings Dominions, *Dublin* (next to *London*) does justly claim Precedence'.⁸⁶ Comparisons between a 1662 Applotment return for St John's parish and the 1659 'Census' suggest a relatively uncrowded city 4.49 residents per property.⁸⁷ Space still remained at a premium, especially in such confined areas as the Christ Church Liberties.⁸⁸ This lack of space was to become an important factor in determining what type of urban development took place within the city walls.

In the 1660s the Corporation began to introduce a series of measures designed to promote trade and improve the environment. In 1660[/61] the construction of 'thatch buildeings' was banned in the city and suburbs in an effort to minimise the risk of fire.⁸⁹ Of much greater importance, because it threatened the overall prosperity of the inner city, was the decision made in 1682, to remove the 'flesh, fish and other marketts in ... Dublin [which] are kept in the streets, [and] which very much disturbs and annoyes the common passages, ... and may endanger (by their stench) the health of ... [the] citizens' to the Ormond Market in Oxmantown.⁹⁰ It was a deeply unpopular decision, the butchers who traded in Fishamble Street, were particularly opposed to the move.⁹¹ In 1687 it was proposed that the streets should be lit for 'conveniency ... and for the prevention of mischief'.⁹² In 1694 the Lord Mayor was given discretionary powers to remove the 'bulkes, stalls, cellars and staires' which encroached onto the busiest streets in order to make them less 'incommodious'.⁹³ Improvements were, however, expensive and the city's reserves small. Therefore the Assembly established a

Inner City
Parishes 1660



† ●
St. Michan's



Castle

St. John's

Christ
Church

St.
Werburgh's

St. Bride's

River Liffey

St.
Michael's

St. Nicholas
Within

St. Audeon's

St. Nicholas Without

St. Catherine's

policy in the 1660s where private citizens frequently undertook the financial responsibilities for urban improvement.

The Assembly's decisions were motivated by the need to improve the overall financial position of the city. The intra-mural parishes had a more personal perspective. They viewed the removal of the city's commercial activities as a distinct threat to their livelihoods and prosperity. Just how keenly this loss was felt is illustrated by the very hostile reaction which greeted the proposed re-siting of the law courts. The project to remove the courts from the vicinity of Christ Church to a site north of the river was first mooted in 1683. Local opposition was sufficient for a petition to be drawn up in November 1683, to be presented to the Duke of Ormond, significantly by the Lord Mayor. The petition was presented on 21 February 1683[/84] it stated that:

the courts of justice have been constantly kept within the walls of this cittie ... [and] the houses and grounds and adjacent streets and places have always been of considerable value ... [They] are now the propertie of widdowes and orphants ... many ... have ... laid out most of their substance in building and improving on the same ... many ... are sett to lawyers, attorneys and sollicitors ... the ... houses in the heart of the cittie are sett as either lodgings to preachers, sollicitors or suitors, or keepe taverns, victualling or ale houses for supply of them ... If the courts are removed the heart of the cittie will be left destitute and many hundreds of famillies will be undone.⁹⁴

The success of the petition was short-lived. The matter was raised again in 1694, when it was proposed to move the courts to a waste site in Oxmantown. Again the proposal was fiercely resisted. It was argued that the commercial prosperity of the old city had suffered considerably through the re-siting of the market. If the courts were re-located the city and its inhabitants would face financial ruin.⁹⁵

The parishes suspicion was based on the fear that the general well-being of the intra-mural city was being gradually eroded by the 'ever expanding suburbs. How justified was their apprehension? In 1659, 42% of the city's population lived within the city walls.⁹⁶ By 1695 only one house in four was situated within their confines.⁹⁷ Superficially it would seem that their fears were right but what was the reality? By tracing the fortunes of one particular parish, St John's, it is possible to gain some impression of how the shifting patterns of demographic impinged upon the inner city.

Table 1:4: Number of Houses Cessed in St John's Parish 1662-1690

	Category of Tax	Nos of Wards	Nos of Houses	Empty	New	Poor
1662	Poor Cess	4	201			
1663	Poor Cess	3	210			
1664	Poor Cess	3	206			
1665[/6]	Scavenger	3	262			4
1675	Poor Cess	6*	291	3		
1678	Poor Cess	4	280			
1681[/2]	Fire & Candlelight	5**	293		1	
1681	Stone Bridge	5**	300			
1682[/3]	Poor Cess	5	338		2	
1684	Newgate Poor	5	322			
1686	Poor Cess	5	319			
1687	Poor Cess	5	295			
1688	Essex Bridge	5	294			
1690	Maintenance of the Bridewell	4	240			

Source: St John's Applotment Book, 1659-1696

Notes to Table 1:4

NB: The assumption is that each cess represents one house. In the case of more than one name being recorded for a cess this has been calculated as a single house.

* The number of wards is exaggerated by the inclusion of Rose Alley & 'Sheepleys' Alley. If these are excluded the number of wards is 4.

** The number of wards is exaggerated by the inclusion of Cooke Street and Rosemary Alley as a parish ward.

In 1662 St John's was divided into four parochial wards for administrative purposes - Fishamble Street, Wood Quay, Smock Alley and Winetavern Street.⁹⁸ It became necessary to create another ward, Blind Quay, in 1675. Ten years later, in 1685, a further parochial ward was created in Essex Street. Some degree of urban development must have occurred to warrant these revisions in the parish's internal administrative divisions. Table 1:4 shows that the number of inhabitants liable for taxation rose steadily from 1662 to 1683. Even during James II's reign the loss of parishioners appears not to have been as dramatic as might have been expected. Empty or newly-built houses were recorded infrequently which suggests a stable community. In the eighteenth century parish records become more specific and indicate the decline in parochial fortunes by regularly specifying the number of vacant houses within the parish.

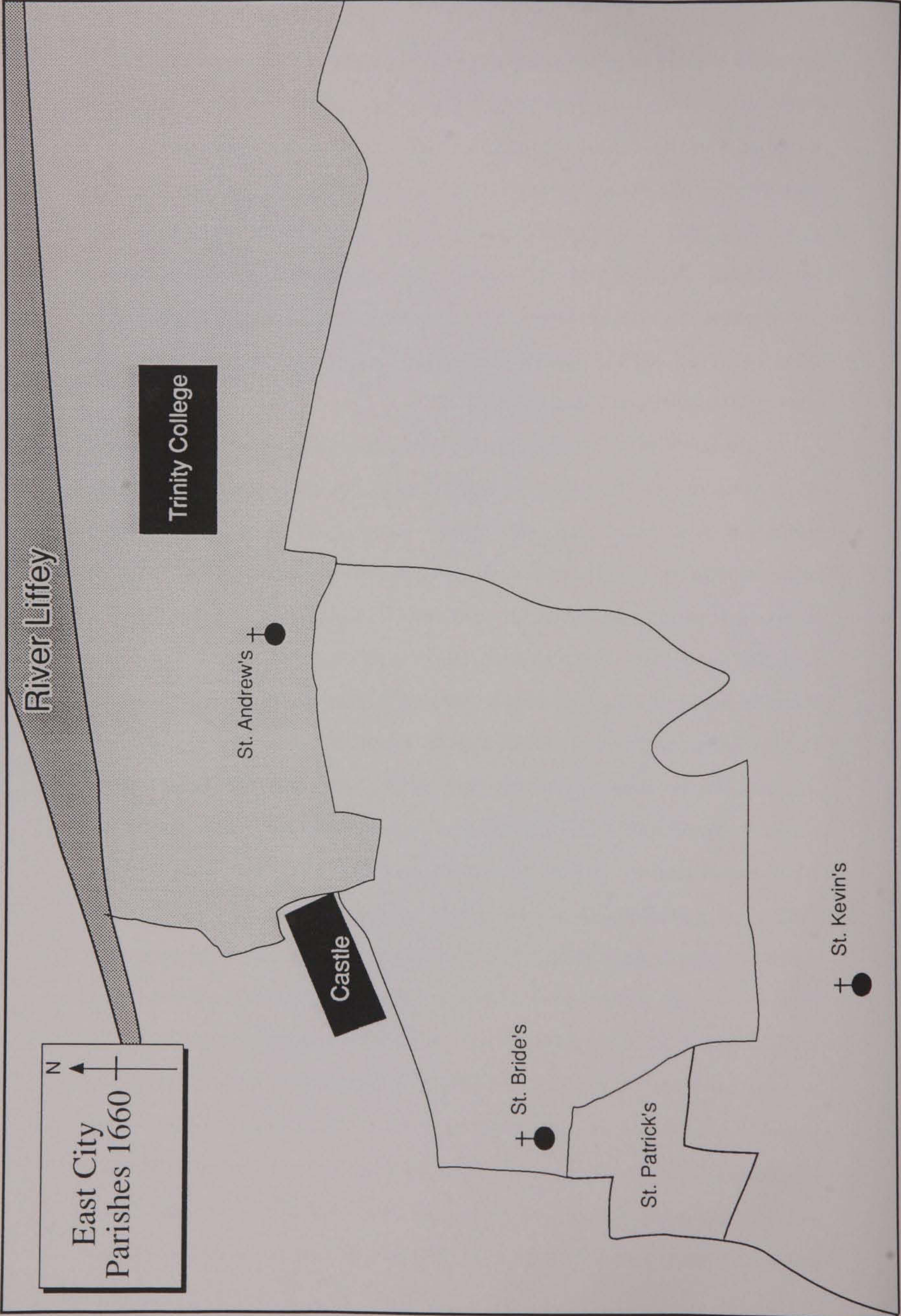
Every mid-seventeenth century parish shows an interesting degree of social integration. Wealth rubbed shoulders with poverty, and gentleman with tradesman. In 1662 St John's cessed two hundred and one parishioners for Minister's Money and the Poor. These men were engaged in forty-eight different occupations. Fifty-six parishioners (28%) were freemen of the city. In addition there were sixty-three parishioners, some men of standing within the community, whose occupations were not recorded. Among these were gentlemen (Sir Richard Lane, Dr Dudley Loftus and John Ghest from Bentley, Yorkshire who did not swear his oath until 9 March 1665) and Aldermen (William Smith, Daniel Hutchinson, a chandler and Christopher Lovet, a merchant). All were residents of Wood Quay.⁹⁹ The Quay also had less affluent residents - six seamen, a ferryman and a gabbardman; a soldier and a shoemaker; a 'brickler' and a carpenter.

No such comprehensive data is available for the other city parishes but a limited impression of their social profile can be gained through the pew registers. This perspective while much narrower is nevertheless interesting and informative. In 1660, St Werburgh's opted to sell a substantial number of pews as a means of paying the minister. Recorded in two separate transactions, the first sale disposed of twenty-nine seats to a variety of purchasers, among them Sir Thomas Herbert, ex-Clerk of the Council and 'Stephens the sadler'.¹⁰⁰ Between 2 May and 2 August a further fifty-one seats were sold. The purchasers then included Sir John Temple, MP for County Carlow; the historian Sir James Ware, MP for Trinity; Alderman Blaydon who had served as Mayor in 1647, and the Lord Chief Baron, John Bysse.¹⁰¹ St Michael's social profile was perhaps closer to St John's. In 1666 a register of pew holders in St Michael's shows among those holding seats were the Shoemakers Guild; four city aldermen; also Jonathan Butterson, a pewterer, William Gressingham, a merchant,¹⁰² and George Surdevile, a tailor.¹⁰³

St John's retained an interesting social profile up to the middle of the 1680s, although as a proportion of the overall population the numbers of prominent citizens decreased as the parish grew. Those who continued to maintain some interest within

the parish included Lord Lanesborough, last recorded in 1679; Dr Loftus; and Sir Francis Brewster who remained connected with the parish until 1687. Three years earlier, in 1684, the city had compiled a list of its principal inhabitants. Among the city's aldermen and deputy-aldermen with parish connections were Brewster, primarily a merchant; Paul Palmer, cooper; Jonathan Paley, chandler; Isaac Ambrose, glover, Samuel Blunt, 'upholder'; and Robert Hill, baker. St John's also had five constables, two of whom were Thomas Yeates, a tailor sworn in 1668, and George Hawthorne, a joiner sworn in 1680. The parish's guardians - church wardens - were also named as were eight inhabitants of Fishamble Street.¹⁰⁴

The unsettled years of 1685 to 1690 brought change. The sense of insecurity which prevailed throughout the latter years of James' reign had encouraged significant numbers to flee Dublin. Many who chose to return opted for a change of urban residence rather than re-establishing themselves in their old parish. It remains difficult to assess to what extent the parishes had suffered in earlier years from a transient mentality among their inhabitants. St John's many inns and taverns would have attracted numerous temporary visitors. Timothy Sullivan, a Kerry man, who ran the London Tavern on Fishamble Street from the early 1670s until the late 1680s, was renowned for his hospitality to the many fellow Kerry men who flocked to his tavern.¹⁰⁵ Nevertheless some family connections were established in all the parishes. St John's had at least ten families who remained within the parish between 1660 and 1680.¹⁰⁶ In St Michael's, for the same period, six family connections can be traced.¹⁰⁷ An improvement in financial circumstances persuaded some to move. The prospect of better housing was another incentive. In 1684 Alderman John Desminieres wrote to his landlord John Percival, requesting a rent review on a house in Bridge Street. The property which had so far cost Desminieres £900 in rent was very old, having been purchased in 1636, and although he claimed that he wished to renew the lease, he was bargaining for more favourable terms; he remarked that he had been offered 'houses in several places in the new city, as also ground to build on'.¹⁰⁸ It was vital for the parishes to retain better-off parishioners such as these. Financial viability required



River Liffey

Trinity College

St. Andrew's

Castle

St. Bride's

St. Patrick's

St. Kevin's

East City
Parishes 1660

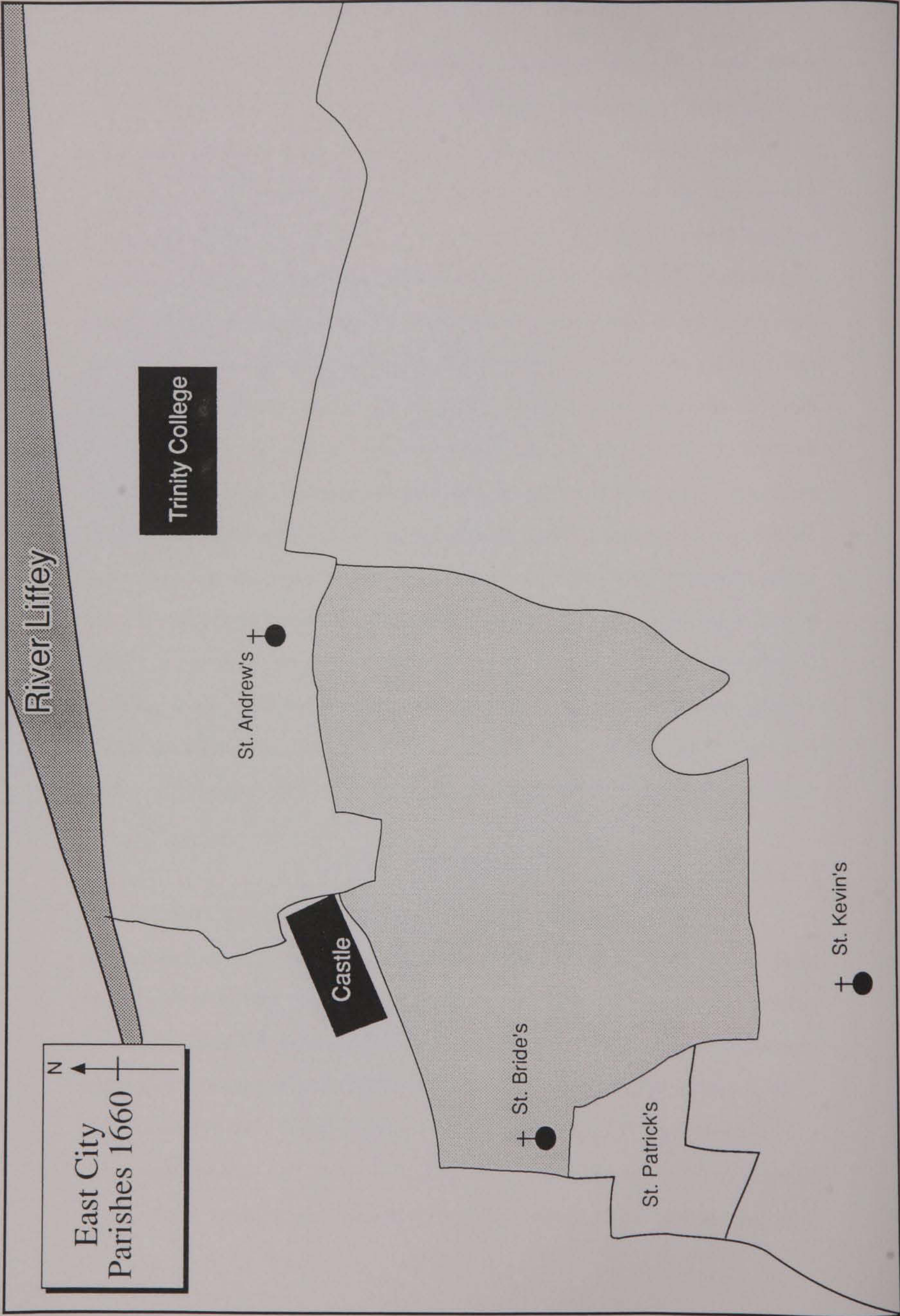
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solvent inhabitants. Efficient parochial management depended upon there being enough suitable residents to assume parochial office.

It is important to stress that despite their fears the seventeenth-century expansion of the city was not an obvious harbinger of disaster for the inner city parishes. The real impact of the newly burgeoning suburbs would not fully realised until the eighteenth century. Building or re-building could never take place on the scale experienced by the extra-mural parishes for the city parishes occupied, in all, approximately ninety-five acres. Already well developed and bound by the city's walls there was little room for expansion, but improvements could be achieved through re-development. In 1684, Sir William Sands approached the Assembly for permission to widen and 'regularise' Wood Quay.¹⁰⁹ The Assembly approved of the scheme but not the financial compensation being offered, £40 *per annum* or a lump sum of £400 sterling. Sands' proposal was therefore rejected. Instead leases, at small rents, were granted to the existing tenants. They were also granted the use of the cellars and vaults beneath the quay, but in return they were to pave the quay to a width of thirty feet. The city retained the exclusive rights to the use of the surface of the quay, and all its revenues.¹¹⁰ The sanctioning of private re-development was encouraged but always conditioned by the proviso that the city's rights could not to be infringed or lost.

Parishes to the South and South-east

In 1660 there were only two parishes in this part of the city, St Bride's and the combined parishes of St Kevin's and St Peter's; however earlier in the century the area had also held the parishes of St Andrew's, St Stephen's and St Michael le Pole.¹¹¹ The church of St Stephen's, which had once served as a poor house for lepers, was raised to the ground in 1650 by Edward Roberts.¹¹² The parish of St Stephen's was united with St Kevin's and St Peter's by Order of Council in 1680.¹¹³ In 1682, part of St Stephen's and St Michael le Pole were united to St Bride's.¹¹⁴ St Andrew's, for a while united with St Werburgh's, regained its status as an independent parish.



River Liffey

Trinity College

St. Andrew's

Castle

St. Bride's

St. Patrick's

St. Kevin's

East City
Parishes 1660

N

St Andrew's

In the mid-sixteenth century, St Andrew's with only a few poor inhabitants had been allowed to fall into decay and the parish was annexed to St Werburgh's in Henry VIII's reign. It regained its independence in 1665.¹¹⁵ The old church of St Andrew's had stood on the south side of 'Dammas Street', but was moved by Act of Parliament in 1670. A more easterly site, called 'the ould Boulling greene', was donated by the Bishop of Meath for the new church.¹¹⁶ The Vestry approved an oval model, drawn by William Dodson, on 18 April 1670¹¹⁷ and Abraham Hawksworth was contracted to build the church for £1,500, although the final cost was £1,887.¹¹⁸ The interior of the church was 'very splendidly decorated, but its exterior ... its unfinished steeple ... [were] a strange heterogeneous collection of architectural blunders; ... [and] the church open[ed] upon the street, so that divine service ... [was] perpetually interrupted by the noise of carriages'.¹¹⁹ John Dunton gave a more disparaging description, likening it to a very large bread oven.¹²⁰ The parish stretched along the river and included the 'lewd neighbourhood of Lazy Hill' which, Sir Francis Brewster remarked in 1682, exercised a bad influence on the students at Trinity.¹²¹ Its western boundary lay along the then fashionable St George's Lane.¹²² Among its residents were Sir William Petty and Ralph Cooke, who had a 'mansion' on the Lane.¹²³ Although relatively undeveloped in 1660 by 1685 considerable urbanisation had taken place.

St Bridget's/ Bride's

St Bride's documented history goes back to 1180.¹²⁴ The parish stretched southwards away from the city walls. Its church stood on the west side of St Bride's Street, near Bride's Alley. In 1660, although the most densely urbanised of the parishes in this part of the city, it was still partly rural. Among the parish's wealthier inhabitants was the Attorney-General, Sir William Domville who lived on St Bride's Street in a substantial house with twenty hearths.¹²⁵ St Bride's Street was, in fact, a fashionable street at the time for, in addition to Domville's house, the street held a further sixteen highly valued houses.¹²⁶ Another fashionable street was Stephen's Street. Its residents included Lords Kingston and Donegall, Sir Henry Ingoldsby, and Ladies Parson, Hoy,

East City
Parishes 1660



River Liffey

Trinity College

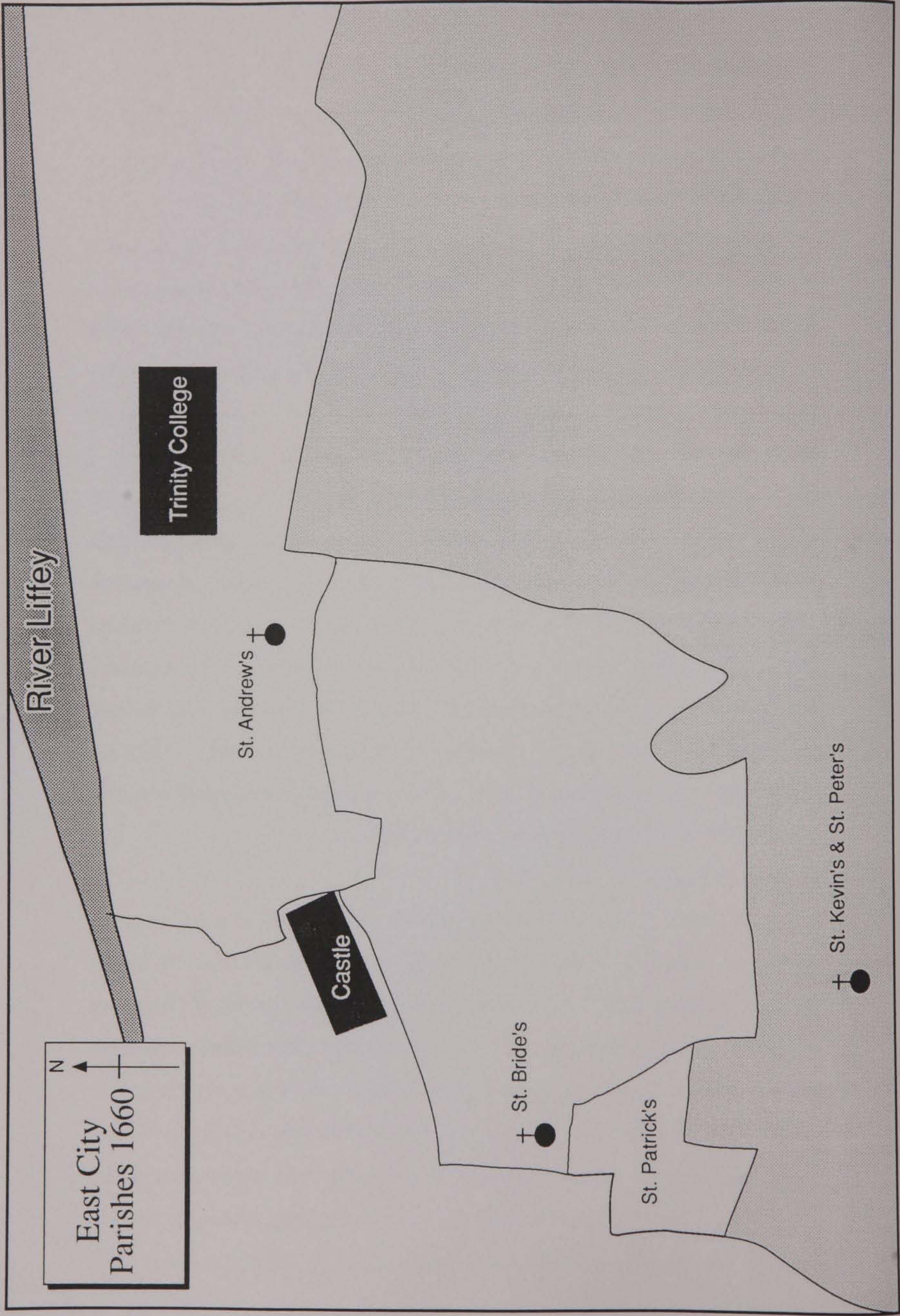
St. Andrew's

Castle

St. Bride's

St. Patrick's

St. Kevin's & St. Peter's



and Loftus.¹²⁷ The obvious prosperity of some residents failed to provide financial security for the parish. In 1678, although the church was in poor repair, the Vestry experienced great difficulties in raising sufficient funds to pay for its repairs.¹²⁸ The fabric of the church continued to cause concern. In 1683 it was described as 'ruinous', and it was estimated that repairs would cost £930.¹²⁹ The parish housed a substantial Quaker population. It is possible that up to 5% of the city's Quakers families lived in St Bride's.¹³⁰ Occasional efforts to persuade them to accept the burdens of parochial office met with little success. In 1679, John Gay, a Quaker, was nominated to serve as a church warden, but he declined to serve.¹³¹ The parish would also have had some Catholic inhabitants, certainly more than the sixty recorded by Bulkeley in 1630.¹³² A small number of Huguenots are also recorded as worshipping at St Bride's.¹³³

St Kevin's and St Peter's

In 1660 the united parishes of St Kevin's and St Peter's, originally known as St Peter de Monte, fell under the control of St Kevin's. In 1660 the combined parishes encompassed a vast area and included the Archbishop's manor of Cullen (today housing the suburbs of Ranelagh, Cullenswood, Milltown, Rathmines and Harold's Cross). The majority of the inhabitants lived around Kevin's Street, New Street and Butter Street, although much of the parish still consisted of green fields. The Restoration, however, marked the beginning of a prolonged period of urban development in St Peter's which reshaped the physical contours of the parish. Until 1680 the parish worshipped in St Kevin's but, in response to the changes wrought by unrelenting urban development, the status of parishes had to be redefined. St Kevin's, too small to accommodate the growing number of inhabitants, was deemed to be too inaccessible for many parishioners. On 4 May 1680 an Order of Council declared St Peter's head of the united parishes of St Peter's, St Kevin's and St Stephen's. A new church was to be built at the upper end of Aungier Street, on a site donated by the local developer Francis Aungier, so that the parishioners could with 'greater ease and conveniency repair [there] for the service and worship of Almighty God'.¹³⁴ The new church of St Peter's was consecrated on 20 February 1686.¹³⁵ Many of the Huguenot

who settled in Dublin between 1671 and 1681 chose to establish themselves in St Peter's.¹³⁶ Their numbers grew steadily and by 1686 there were approximately six hundred and fifty families spread throughout the city. The disruptions of James II's reign were to undermine their sense of security and between 1687 and 1690 two hundred and eighty Huguenot families left Dublin never to return. This unease was shared by many. On 7 January 1687 many houses were reportedly empty. By December the following year between thirty-two and thirty-three ships had left Dublin laden with refugees. Those who remained did so only to defend their property.¹³⁷

Although the urbanisation which took place in St Peter's, especially around St Stephen's Green, is an obvious instance of the development in this part of the city, urban growth did occur elsewhere. Petty's figures show that although development in St Bride's remained fairly static during the late seventeenth century, St Andrew's experienced considerable growth (see Table 1:1). Comparisons between property values in St Peter's and its neighbour St Bride's in the 1660s suggest that the type and quality of housing was very similar. In 1667, in St Bride's, 278 houses were valued at £2,581 (an average value of £9 per house), while St Peter's had 166 houses valued at £1,439 (£8 per house).¹³⁸ The urban development which was initiated in St Peter's, however, was to prove important for a number of reasons. Firstly, the approach adopted by speculators to development in this part of the city influenced later developers throughout Dublin. Secondly, because the evidence is so good, it is possible to examine the progress of development in a more detailed way. This in turn allows certain conclusions to be drawn about the wider development within the city as a whole.

Two factors were of primary importance in the parish's expansion: firstly, the city's crucial decision to open up the land market for development; and secondly the proximity of Dublin Castle. Another influential factor was the considerable development which had already been undertaken in the parish by Francis Aungier prior to the Assembly's decision. He had opted to build high quality housing, an innovative

and far-sighted approach and one which probably did much to influence subsequent building within the parish. Aungier's development was made in anticipation that the re-established vice-regal court would generate the demand for good quality housing. His ambition was the creation of a fashionable estate close to Dublin Castle and its administrative institutions. His connections with the court, both professionally and personally, meant that he was in an ideal position to realise his ambition. The development centred around the construction of wide, regularly aligned streets which must have been a persuasive factor in encouraging high quality building. It is a testimony to the quality of construction which Aungier was able to ensure that, what is now number 21 Aungier Street, built c.1680, has survived to the present day.¹³⁹ Burke has provided a detailed analysis of the Aungier estate, its initial acquisition, and the various stages of its development.¹⁴⁰ Without doubt Aungier's development set the tone for all further development within the parish. The attraction of the wealthy into the parish brought financial benefits but their active participation in parish life was never more than minimal.

The development which was to prove so important to this area was initiated by the Assembly in 1664 when as many as ninety plots around St Stephen's Green were granted in fee farm. An expiry date for completion of the contract was fixed for 2 September 1664, after which all outstanding leases were to be re-allocated.¹⁴¹ Certain restrictions were imposed upon the lessees. Each plot holder was expected to pay 10/- sterling for every 12d of rent. The money raised by this levy was to be used to wall the Green and pave the surrounding roads. Each plot holder was also expected to plant six sycamore trees. In addition certain building regulations were introduced and all constructions '[were to be built] of brick, stone, timber, to be covered with tiles or slates, with at least two floores of loftes and a cellar, if they please to dig it'.¹⁴² Clearly the aim was to encourage development of a quality similar to that found on the Aungier estate.

Table 1:5: Number of NEW Buildings Constructed on St Stephen's Green 1667-1684

	Northside	Southside	Eastside	Westside	Unknown
1667		1			14
1672	4				5
1677	8	2	2	3	
1680	4	3	3	3	
1684	3		2	4	
Total	19	6	7	10	19

Source: NLI Ms 5230

Development began immediately, but proceeded cautiously, clustering close to existing areas of habitation. In 1667 fifteen properties were valued, with Francis Brewster involved in the development of eight of these. Brewster had acquired a significant number of plots in 1664; numbers 9-12 on the eastern side, and number 2 on the western side. It is probably that his most expensive development, valued at £38, was made on the western side of the Green. The proximity of the Aungier estate to this part of the Green would have lessened the financial risks involved in speculative building. Brewster's other houses were of a much lower standard, being valued at £4 each.¹⁴³ He was one of the earliest plot holders to exercise his option, but his interest was short-lived for he surrendered all his east side plots in 1667. These plots were re-assigned by the Assembly to Daniel Bellingham.¹⁴⁴ Others surrendered east side plots at the same time as Brewster: John Everton (plot 1), John Burniston (plot 2), John Hukes/Hicks (plot 4), John Desminieres (plot 7), and Elias Best (plot 8). Even by 1673, little progress had been made on this side of the Green.¹⁴⁵ After 1677, however, the MMVLs specifically mention 'St Stephen's Green East', and the entrepreneur largely responsible for this was Colonel Dillon. This is probably Colonel Car[e]y Dillon, later the 5th Earl of Roscommon: between 1677 and 1684 he was responsible for all but one of the properties valued on this side of the Green.¹⁴⁶ Dillon's first valuation was recorded in 1677, when he was assessed for £12 for 'additional building'; in the following valuation, made in 1680, his residence is described as a 'great house' with a newly added storey valued at £16; in addition he had constructed two houses

valued at £12 each. A further valuation is recorded for 1684, when a 'new house' with coach house and stables was valued at £25.¹⁴⁷

Another notable early developer was Robert Ware. Perhaps Aungier's success persuaded him into the realms of speculative development; for in 1667 he was one of a number of wealthy residents on Aungier Street, but he acquired numbers 17-21 on the north side of the Green and embarked upon an ambitious development scheme. Here he constructed eight sizeable houses between 1672 and 1677. One, which became his personal residence, was valued at £60 *per annum*, and in 1678 Ormond's son, the Earl of Arran, asked to lease it for a year.¹⁴⁸

Early development on the southern side of the Green was undertaken by Hugh Leeson. He had drawn plot 5 in 1664, and three years later his property was one of only three developments to receive a sizeable valuation.¹⁴⁹ In 1676 Leeson was assigned plots 6 and 7, south, which had been held by Sir Daniel Bellingham in 1666[/67] (Bellingham himself was heavily involved in plot speculation. In addition to the plots he had acquired in 1664, he went on to acquire a further seven plots, all on the south side. Interest in some was brief; for example by 1678 the rents on plot 8, south, were being paid to St Werburgh's to whom he had bequeathed the interest.¹⁵⁰) By 1680 the Leeson family involvement with the Green had been firmly established by Hugh Leeson who was assessed for £20 for 'additional building'.¹⁵¹

Large scale development such as that undertaken by Ware and Leeson was unusual. Generally it was made on a more modest scale. Among the earliest houses built were the 'Bull' constructed before 1670; the 'Dove'; the 'Blew Posts' next door to the 'Wheel of Fortune'; and the 'Butchers Arms'.¹⁵² Entrepreneurial enterprise, however, was not confined to the development of residential property. 'Mr Nangle' was assessed for a brewhouse, on the south side, valued at £20 in 1680; in the same year five 'sheds', on the north and west sides of the Green, were also assessed for £1-£2.¹⁵³ In 1684 'Mr Merifild' was assessed for a limekiln on the east side, while on the west side there was a 'Bouleing house and Bare' and shops. As Table 1:6 shows the value of

property around the Green was not uniform. Development was of a mixed character with the western and northern sides the first to be developed extensively.

Table 1:6: Value of NEW Properties Recorded for St Stephen's Green 1667-1684

	Total number of properties	Valued at £20 or over	Valued at £19-£10	Valued at under £10
1667	15	3		12
1672	9	6	3	
1677	15	4	8	3
1680	13	1	5	7
1684	9	4	2	3
Total	61	18	18	25

Source: NLI Ms 5230.

Although the control of property development had been ceded by the Assembly, it initially retained an underlying interest in the land as landlord. This was surrendered in September 1670 when it was decided to grant the rents earned by property around the Green to the new King's Hospital school.¹⁵⁴ The Green itself remained in public ownership and served as an important gathering point for civic functions such as the city's May Day celebrations.¹⁵⁵ In 1666 it was walled and levelled to allow the city militia to exercise there.¹⁵⁶ It was, however, costly to maintain, and in need of constant repair. Despite various ploys adopted by the Corporation to alleviate the debts incurred in its maintenance, its condition caused persistent concern.¹⁵⁷

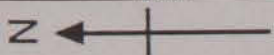
Importantly urban development was not restricted to the immediate vicinity of the Green. Between 1670 and 1676 sixteen streets, other than St Stephen's Green, are given as addresses within the parish.¹⁵⁸ This had the effect of moving the majority of the population northwards, away from the old core of the parish centred around St Kevin's. The Privy Council's decision, made in 1680, to designate St Peter's as head of the united parishes was made in response to this trend. A decision Aungier must have welcomed. His gift, in 1680, of a new site for St Peter's at the upper end of Aungier Street would certainly have been more convenient for the majority of parishioners.¹⁵⁹ As Burke has observed, St Peter's parish and the Aungier estate were not coterminous;

but his development exerted considerable influence upon all development within the parish. He succeeded in creating an upper-class residential suburb, and this benefited the parish. Importantly too, commercial interests were developed in conjunction with residential ones, thereby helping to guarantee long term prosperity.¹⁶⁰

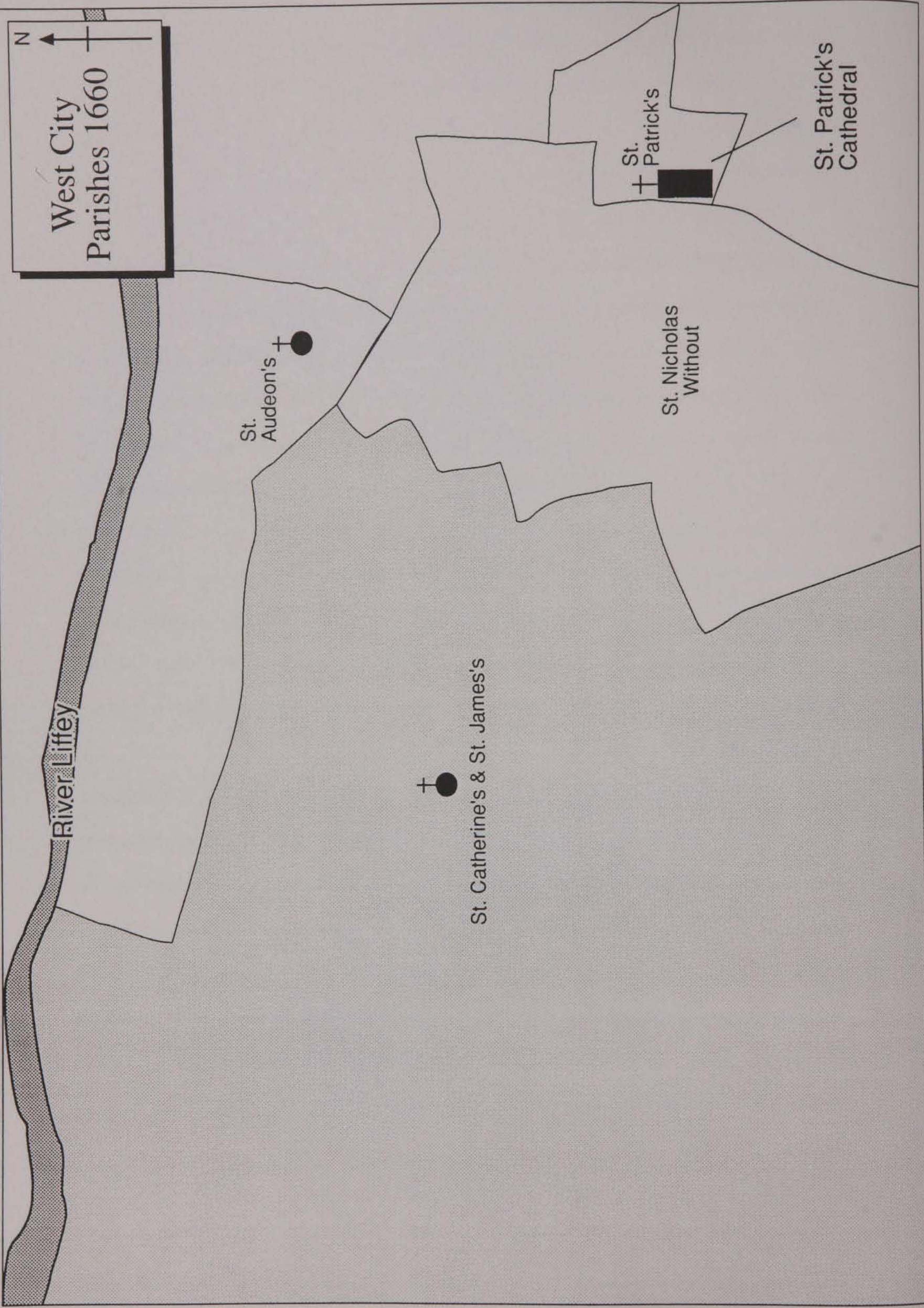
Between 1671 and 1682 St Peter's experienced a five-fold increase in the number of houses within the parish (Table 1:1), truly an incredible growth rate. This growth rate could only have been achieved through considerable immigration. Between 1669 and 1674 St Kevin's Vestry minutes are signed by forty-three parishioners. Eleven of the nineteen identified as freemen took the oath after 1660. Interestingly of these eleven only one, Robert Evans, was apparently admitted as a freeman for service.¹⁶¹ Two, James Hartly and Thomas Comerford, were admitted on payment of a fine; four gained their freeman's rights by Act of Parliament - a Frenchman John Comtesse; two Englishmen Solomon Sampie and Lawrence Stokes; and a Welshman Robert Jones.¹⁶² Clearly only those granted their freedom by Act of Parliament can be positively identified as 'new' parishioners but the surnames indicate that none were of Irish extraction.¹⁶³ Indeed there are only three Irish surnames among the forty-three Vestry signatures.¹⁶⁴

In St Bride's, although Table 1:1 indicates there was no new development between 1671 and 1682, the parish's MMVLs show some redevelopment did occur (see Chapter 3). There were 'new' parishioners too, who had been encouraged by the 1662 Act to settle in Ireland. They included six English artisans; an English gentleman, William Swift, and John Mayson whose status was not defined. Another new parishioner was Robert Mallenax, a plasterer from Flushing, Zealand, who served as church warden in 1682-3.¹⁶⁵ In addition five 'French' surnames can also be found among the Vestry minutes signatures although Irish surnames are conspicuous by their absence.¹⁶⁶

A comprehensive social profile can not be achieved through the Vestry signatures. The majority of inhabitants took little active part in parish affairs; those who did were, in the main, of the 'middling' sort. The more aristocratic parishioners



West City
Parishes 1660



River Liffey

St. Audeon's

St. Catherine's & St. James's

St. Nicholas
Without

St. Patrick's

St. Patrick's
Cathedral

rarely, if ever, signed the minutes. St Bride's MMVL for 1667 shows among those resident in the parish that year were Sir Jerome Alexander, Lord Kingston and Sir Thomas Harmon; none signed the minutes. Sir William Domville, who signed once in 1679 and once in 1681, was a notable exception. Even St Bride's wealthier tradesmen and merchants, such as John Burniston a goldsmith, Robert Newcomen, and Edward Chamberlaine, signed infrequently, if at all.

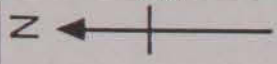
In 1660 the inhabitants in this part of the city had clustered close to the city walls or along its main arterial routes. Urbanisation brought radical transformation. By 1690 its greedy tentacles had begun to take a tenacious grasp on the surrounding countryside.

Parishes to the West and South-west

'The urbanisation of the ancient Liberties in the early Classical era was unique in Dublin ... [What] grew up [was] not an aristocratic suburb, but an industrial quarter'.¹⁶⁷ This section of the city held the parishes of St John's of Kilmainham, St Catherine's, St James' and St Nicholas Without and the Earl of Meath's Liberty which straddled part of St Catherine's and part of St Nicholas Without.

St Catherine's, St James' and St John's of Kilmainham

St Catherine's, believed to be founded in the late twelfth century, together with St James' came under the control of the Abbey of St Thomas the Martyr. The parishes were united in 1545. St Catherine's church stood on St Thomas Street, and St James' church stood on St James' Street. The priory of St John's had been established in 1174 for the Knights Hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem. In the monastic dissolution St Thomas' was suppressed in 1539, St John's in 1540. The lands of the former were ceded to the Brabazon family, later Earls of Meath.¹⁶⁸ The family also held the right to appoint ministers to St Catherine's and St James'. The union of the three parishes led to the collapse of St John's church. As early as 1588 it had become a roofless ruin.¹⁶⁹ Within the parish's boundaries were the rural areas of Dolphin's Barn and Kilmainham, as well as more urbanized areas close to the city. In 1630 Archbishop Bulkeley had



West City
Parishes 1660

St. Audeon's + ●



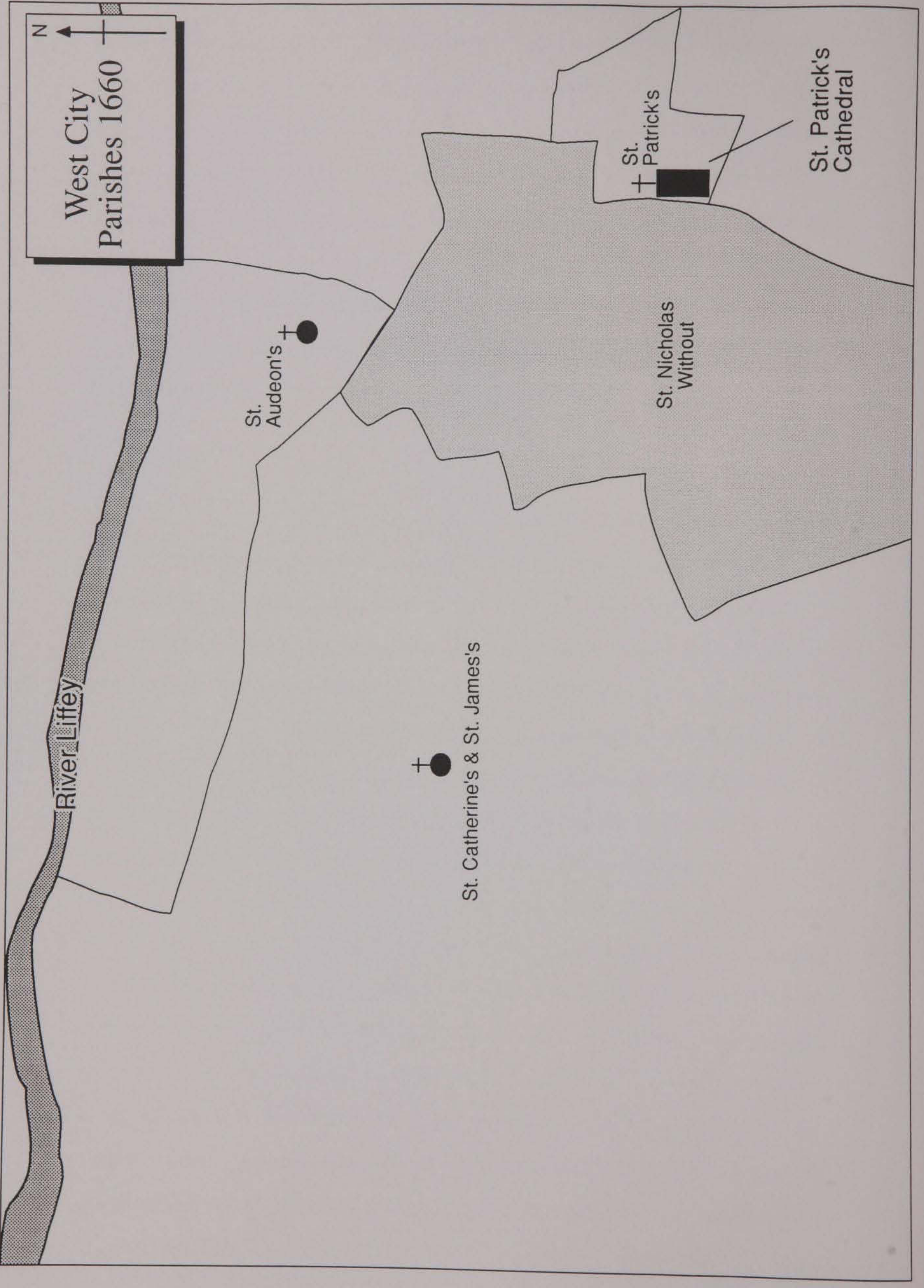
St. Catherine's & St. James's

St. Patrick's +

St. Nicholas
Without

St. Patrick's
Cathedral

River Liffey



described St Catherine's as in good repair and with a congregation of some six hundred communicants.¹⁷⁰ St James' seems to have been in the process of being rebuilt then. Bulkeley observed that it was without a chancel and unglazed but was almost covered.¹⁷¹ There was still an active Catholic congregation who celebrated mass in a recently constructed 'Priest's Chamber', and a school run by 'papist James Dunne'.¹⁷² The Huguenot community which settled in Dublin during the early seventeenth century worshipped in St Catherine's to a limited degree.¹⁷³

St Nicholas Without.

The parish of St Nicholas Without was part of the ancient parish of St Patrick's. As there was no parish church the inhabitants of St Nicholas Without had traditionally worshipped in St Patrick's Cathedral where they occupied the north transept.¹⁷⁴ The parish had, however, functioned as a separate entity since 1546.¹⁷⁵ It extended from the east side of Kevin's Street to the west side of the Coombe, less than a third of a mile and from the city walls in the north to its southern most point at Cherry Orchard near Harold's Cross. The urban area of the parish would have been formed by the western part of the early Irish town.¹⁷⁶ In 1630 the parish had a large Protestant congregation although the majority of the inhabitants were Catholic.¹⁷⁷

Although this part of Dublin was to grow into the industrial heart of the city, in 1660 the area was largely rural for the Meath estate had still to be developed. Even the more built-up areas of the parishes, such as Thomas Street, still had houses with gardens attached. St Catherine's vicar, who lived on Thomas Street, had a 'fair timber house, slated 2 and a half storeys high ... with backside, stables and garden'.¹⁷⁸ As late as 1700[1] John Exham was able to lease a house with a garden on Thomas Street.¹⁷⁹

The most influential landowner in this part of the city was the head of the Brabazons, the Earl of Meath, and here expansion was to be motivated by commercial enterprise. Edward, Earl of Meath had acquired a patent from Charles II in 1674 which licensed the holding of four yearly fairs and two weekly markets in Thomascourt and Donore.¹⁸⁰ The right to hold markets was of considerable commercial importance as

the reaction of the intra-mural parishes to the removal the markets in the 1680s underlined. The transfer of the city's markets to the northern suburbs had prompted Oliver Cheney, Meath's Dublin agent, to write to his patron in February 1682[/83] urging him to take advantage of the dissatisfaction expressed by the butchers and fishmongers at their enforced removal. Realising the possibilities for commercial gain he advocated building 'a shed with deal boards in ye new market' south-west of the corporate city in an effort to persuade the fishmongers to trade there. As an alternative he proposed that since the majority of fishmongers had not gone north of the river, but to 'Caven [i.e. Kevin] Street where they have great incouragement from the bishop', Meath, with the bishop's agreement, should acquire a patent for a market in a garden to bring the 'fish and flesh trad hether'. As for the butchers, although they wished to retain their shops in Fishamble Street, he felt they should be given every encouragement to set up in the Thomascourt Liberty.¹⁸¹

The commercial rivalries which existed between the city and Meath's Liberty were long-standing. Throughout the seventeenth century periods of open conflict were interspersed with uneasy truces yet, despite numerous attempts, the city consistently failed to extend its mandate into the Liberties.

The regulations concerning butchers' trading rights arose again in April 1683. Butchers were to be banned from selling meat, in either the city or the Liberties, except upon market day without a licence from the Assembly. Cheney regarded this as prejudicial to Meath's interests and suggested that the Lord Chancellor should be persuaded not to seal the charter until certain clauses had been amended.¹⁸² Cheney presented Meath's objections before the Chancellor in May 1683, but the appeal may not have succeeded since the lawyer representing Meath left before the proceedings had been completed.¹⁸³ Further trouble arose between the two parties in 1684. In June that year Meath was granted permission to establish a market. Writing the following month Cheney shrewdly advised him to gain the friendship of the newly re-appointed Lord Lieutenant, Ormond, even though he does not anticipate any bias on Ormond's part toward the city. In October, however, he is still experiencing difficulty obtaining a

patent for the market because of the city's objections. Now he advises Meath to gain the city's 'good interest'; and, failing that, he suggests that Meath establish a market in Donore by virtue of his own patent.¹⁸⁴

Despite these commercial uncertainties serious urbanisation began in the late 1670s initiated by William, the third Earl of Meath, who succeeded to the title in 1675 after his father was drowned at sea.¹⁸⁵ The extent to which the estate was opened up in the 1670s is graphically demonstrated in the estate records. A rent roll, 1679-c.1720, shows that some property had been leased as early as 1649, but the vast proportion of leases date from the 1670s. Between 1670 and 1679 one hundred and two individuals acquired leases on the estate.¹⁸⁶

It was estate policy to grant leases for fixed terms of either thirty-one or forty-one years. For the duration of the lease all rights to a particular plot of land were ceded for a fixed annual rent, an apparently conventional lease. The estate, however, included provisions in anticipation of further, profitable development. If the ground leased was subsequently developed then a charge was imposed for each house constructed thereon. In 1676 a lease was granted to the Hon. Edward Brabazon for a house and garden in Thomas Court Bawn with a rent of £8/7/0d for each house built.¹⁸⁷ By contrast in the less affluent district of Newmarket in Donore, Samuel Keys' lease stipulated a rent of £2/13/0d or '2 Labourers or 2/- for every house built'.¹⁸⁸

Development continued into the 1680s and its progress can be reconstructed from Cheney's diligent reports. In January 1682[/83] he reported that he had obliged 'Newit' to 'build his hous equal to others hous[es]'. When Newit proved unable to meet Cheney's demands the property was leased to a new tenant.¹⁸⁹ In February he reported that 'one Wheeler a bricklayer who had made ye greatest part of ye buildings over ye water & is a very ingenious man' had undertaken a survey of 'Meath's garden' and requested the rate per foot at which the land might be leased. Cheney thought 'a cob would be ye least', Wheeler suggested that 3/- per foot might prove more attractive and persuade the 'undertakers to take it all'.¹⁹⁰ Protecting Meath's interests, Cheney periodical surveyed the Liberty for newly constructed houses, and informed him in

September 1684 that there were five new houses to be entered into 'ye book'. The following month he reported that 'Percy's' buildings in Dolphin's Barn were proceeding 'Briskly', and that Chamberlaine the brewer had taken a lot there and intended to build a malthouse and brewhouse; however he could not afford to relax his vigilance. Percy, who had leased four acres from Meath in September 1683 at a rent of £15, or 2/6d per house, had in the meantime entered into bond with 'Mr Parsons' to construct a mill.¹⁹¹ The scheme impinged Meath's right to licence the grinding of corn within the Liberty, although this was not the only consideration. A mill in Dolphin's Barn which was outside Meath's direct control might be able to attract the business of the Liberty's brewers. Cheney therefore proposed suing Percy if he proceeded with the scheme. Meanwhile those already tied should continue to use Meath's mill until the present occupant's lease expired on 29 September 1691. Thereafter the rent should be increased to compensate for allowing the Liberty freedom of choice.¹⁹²

The rents Meath was able to command varied, the location of the property having at least some bearing on the rent charged. Those leases in the Thomascourt Liberty yielded a higher return than those in the Liberty of Donore. The rent on a house in Thomas Street leased to Thomas Creed on 15 February 1687 was £16, whereas George Spence had been charged £8 on 29 January 1685 for premises in the Coombe.¹⁹³ The size of the properties is not known but the rents must have related to the size of the property. Speculative building costs could be high. In May 1683, George Edkins requested permission to build a 'little' house to the side of the gate leading into 'Henthorns land' and promised to spend £300 on its construction.¹⁹⁴

There was, however, less differential in the rents commanded by commercial property. In 1688 a malthouse in New Row was rented to Anthony Poulter for £20 while the Bull Inn on the Glebe was leased to Thomas Bennett in 1694 for £15.¹⁹⁵ One notable exception was the rent charged on property described as the 'Double Mills and the Thomas Court Mill' which, accompanied by a house, was leased in 1691 to Thomas Senior for £101 for the first year and £156 *per annum* thereafter.¹⁹⁶ Through the medium of leases and rents, and Cheney's vigilance, the Meath estate could effectively

control the type of development which took place. There was another influential factor. Development within the Liberty of St Thomas was centred around, and controlled by, the existing network of streets. These had developed gradually out of the site of the old Abbey.¹⁹⁷ The Coombe, Marrowbone Lane, Crooked Staff and St Catherine's Lane were pre-existent and seventeenth-century and eighteenth-century development there was an extension of an established pattern. Simultaneously a new network of streets, notably Meath and Earl Streets and Coles Alley, were being developed, with premises set on Meath Street as early as 1683. Meath Street was a forty foot wide thoroughfare and may to some extent have been modelled on Aungier Street. Both served as the arterial highway for their respective estates, Meath Street linking the interests centred around Thomas Street with those based in the Coombe.

As the area's principal landowner the influence of the Meath estate was considerable, but, importantly development did take place beyond the confines the Liberties. In general growth seems to have been spasmodic. St Catherine's constructed a new gallery in 1679 obliging the parish to re-allocate all the pews. The political upheavals of the 1680s brought a temporary halt to development. In 1686, so many of St Catherine's parishioners had fled that it became necessary to re-dispose the church pews.¹⁹⁸ On 14 February 1686[/87] the minutes stated that only those resident in the parish were entitled to hold pew rights. If a parishioner quit the parish, he forfeited those rights and the Vestry was ordered to 'dispose' [i.e. sell] the pew rights.

Aside from the unrest induced by political upheaval, late seventeenth-century St Catherine's was not a poor parish, certainly not when compared to its neighbour St Nicholas Without. It held a number of substantial houses. The biggest of these was the Meath mansion boasting twenty-seven chimneys, but another eight houses had more than ten hearths: Samuel Mulinex, Captain John Eastwood and William Brookes each had fourteen hearths; Alderman Luke Lowther, Richard Ledgwith and Richard Ward, twelve hearths each; James Jordan and Mr Chambers had eleven each. Another important figure, Sir Joshua Allen, had ten hearths.¹⁹⁹ Despite the Liberties many of St Catherine's parishioners became involved in civic affairs (see Appendix 9). More

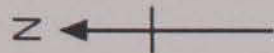
importantly many prominent merchants and tradesmen were prepared to become involved in parochial administration.

By 1686 the commercial character of St Catherine's was well established. For those wishing to carve out a career in commerce the parish had many advantages. Its principal street, Thomas Street, was the city's main arterial route westward. The parish enjoyed access to the city's supply of piped water; thus a necessary commodity for many trades, clean water, was easily available. The Liberties too were an added incentive since their residents were exempt from certain city taxes and guild restrictions. Certainly the parish prospered in the mid-seventeenth century as Petty's figures show; and in keeping with other parishes the vast majority of St Catherine's parishioners were 'new' Dubliners. Eight influential parishioners - four merchants, a collarmaker, a mason, a glover and a weaver - received their freeman's rights through legislation. William Billington, franchised in 1662, rose to become Lord Mayor. The parish also attracted those outside the Anglican communion. The early Huguenot community largely shunned parochial involvement, although there were exceptions. One important conforming family were the Desminieres who had originally settled in St Audeon's. Alderman John Desminieres' son Samuel, a brewer, served as a church warden for St Catherine's in 1688-9.

The importance of continuity of service and the willingness of families to serve the parish over a sustained period of time has already been noted in other parishes. St Catherine's was particularly fortunate in the number of wealthy parishioners willing to undertake parochial duties. Richard Tighe, (Sheriff 1649, Mayor 1651-2 and 1655-6), Joshua Allen (Lord Mayor 1673-4), William Billington (Lord Mayor 1696-7), Mark Ransford (Lord Mayor 1700-1), Sir Thomas Worsopp, Aldermen Luke Lowther, Arthur Emerson, and Giles Mee were among those who served the parish for many years. There were less influential but equally willing parochial servants too: Daniel and John Gayton, Robert Conduit, William Litchfield and Richard Lock all gave service.

The seventeenth century saw the gradual industrialisation of this part of the city. With the exception of the Meath estate, no other single developer emerged to

Dublin Parishes
prior to 1686



River Liffey

St. Michan's

St. Andrew's

St. John's

St. Werburgh's

St. Bride's

St. Kevin's & St. Peter's

St. Audeon's

St. Nicholas
Without

St. Patrick's

St. Catherine's & St. James's

1

2

3

- 1 St. Michael's
- 2 Christchurch
- 3 St. Nicholas Within

influence or control urbanization and as Cheney's correspondence shows, development was on a small scale - very much the province of the successful artisan or merchant. The poverty and overcrowding with which the parishes became synonymous in the late-eighteenth century had not yet begun. Nevertheless this was still not a truly affluent part of the city. St Catherine's and St James' had influential and wealthy merchants, but the area was not fashionable. Nor was it ever to be so.

Northern Parish

St Michan's

For almost all of the seventeenth century only one parish administered civic and ecclesiastical control over this part of the city - St Michan's. It was a parish of great antiquity, the first Archbishop of Dublin had ruled the diocese from St Michan's until the Cathedral of the Blessed Trinity had been completed.²⁰⁰ In 1668, for a visitor staying in Oxmantown, 'the great meadows by the side of the river' offered a pleasant place to stroll, admire the surrounding countryside and gaze across the river at the nearby city. The recently restored King's Inns and some of the 'finest palaces in Dublin' were also situated on this side of the river.²⁰¹ It was here too that Ormond set about creating a truly vice-regal park: Phoenix Park had held the viceroy's residence since 1618, but under Ormond's aegis it was transformed - at a cost. Between 1662 and Ormond's departure as Lord Lieutenant in 1669 more than £31,000 was spent creating a royal deer park.²⁰² In 1664, as the Hearth Tax returns show, St Michan's was not an especially wealthy parish. Only 2% of the houses contained ten or more hearths.²⁰³ At 'the Inns' for example, where twenty-three valuations were made only the Beckett family and Judge Booth had houses of ten hearths each.²⁰⁴ The fact that the parish had a large, probably poor, Catholic population, may partly explain the low hearth returns. In 1630 Archbishop Bulkeley had noted that although the Protestant church was in good repair, the majority of the inhabitants were Catholic. They were catered for by a priest named Browne and Mass was said in one of two houses, Patrick White's or Widow Geydon or Geaton's.²⁰⁵ A small Huguenot community established itself in the

parish which by the 1680s had grown to some twenty-two families.²⁰⁶ By the end of the century urban development had brought considerable change.

Development on the northside of the city was centred around Oxmantown Green in the west and the lands of St Mary's Abbey to the east. In 1664[/65] the city set ninety-seven regularly sized plots for lease on Oxmantown Green. The scheme, however, differed from the similarly inspired St Stephen's Green in several ways. Firstly Oxmantown Green was only partially enclosed, its western part remained an open space. Secondly provision was to be made for the development of a large market place and a convenient highway - Smithfield and Queen Street. The Assembly also allowed the members of the surveying committee to draw their lots before any blanks were added.²⁰⁷ Alderman Richard Tighe, one of eleven successful aldermen, drew plot 18. Another successful applicant was the merchant Warner Westenra. He drew plots 96 and 97. Both families exercised their options and became active members of the daughter parish which was formed out of this part of St Michan's in 1697, St Paul's. In 1682, the municipality made a further substantial grant of land in this part of St Michan's to William Ellis.²⁰⁸ Under the terms of the grant he was obliged to fulfil a number of regulations designed for 'the advantage, ornament and beauty of the city'.²⁰⁹ One of these, the creation of open quays along the river bank, resulted in the construction of Ellis Quay and Arran Quay.²¹⁰

In the east development, centred around St Mary's Abbey, began in 1674. The land which was to be transformed into the Jervis estate was acquired by its namesake by two means. In 1674, the Lord Mayor, Sir Francis Brewster, the city's sheriffs Humphrey Jervis and William Sands, and the Commons granted Jonathan Amory, merchant, the lease of a plot of land on the north side of the river.²¹¹ The lease was granted for a term of two hundred and ninety-nine years with 'the Cleer yearely rent/or sume of fiftie shillings ster'.²¹² The following year, 1675, Jervis acquired Amory's grant. Any collusion between Amory and Jervis to acquire the land is impossible to prove, but Amory's involvement with the land was suspiciously short-lived. In 1674 prior to his acquisition of the Amory grant, Jervis and a group of associates, one of

whom was Sir Richard Reynalls, had bought part of St Mary's Abbey.²¹³ A schedule of the estate's lands and properties was drawn up. Apart from surviving buildings belonging to the old abbey such as the abbot's lodge and stables, the dormitory, outhouses, cellars and base-court, the estate had a number of cottages, houses, coach houses and gardens. It also yielded an annual rent of £209. It was estimated, however, that a higher rent return might be achieved if all the houses, cottages and land were leased.²¹⁴ Jervis' intentions for his newly acquired estate were far more ambitious and his success in realising those ambitions of immense significance. If Jervis' enterprise had failed the quality of the subsequent development which took place in this part of the city would have been less prestigious. The ultimate success of his venture owed much to careful planning for if the estate were to succeed, good communications with the rest of the city were absolutely essential. Therefore development on the estate did not begin until the construction of Ormond Quay and Essex Bridge had been completed.²¹⁵ The siting of Essex Bridge was significant. It opened up the old city to the growing suburbs close to an important centre of trade, the Customs House. It also confirmed the importance of the new Capel Street, forming as it did, a northern extension of the bridge.

Early investors in the estate included Dr Christopher Dominick. In 1679 he erected three brick houses on Strand Street North. These were held by Daniel Withers carpenter, Nathan Ligget, tailor, and Maurice Pue, soldier.²¹⁶ Dominick was also responsible for constructing eleven tenements in White Lion Court which then passed into the tenure of John Wheeler, a bricklayer, and his under-tenants.²¹⁷ Wheeler appears to have been another important developer. In February 1682[/83], he claimed to own twenty-one houses in this part of the city and was credited by Meath's agent, Cheney, as having 'made ye greatest part of ye buildings' on this side of the river.²¹⁸ Interestingly Dominick and Wheeler later became involved in development on the south side of the river on the Meath estate. Their first involvement was in their capacity as trustees to William, Earl of Meath but they then became directly involved

in the leasing of land when they acquired several parcels of land in Thomascourt in 1683.²¹⁹

Another early investor under Jervis was Dr William Smith. In May 1681 he paid £100 for two corner plots on the eastside of Capel Street, plots ten and two; and three half plots on Strand Street, plots twenty-six, twenty-seven and twenty-eight.²²⁰ The frontage of the Capel Street plots, forty feet and thirty-seven and a half feet make them similar in size to the plots leased by Aungier in the 1660s. The half plots on Strand Street, with a frontage of twenty-seven and a half feet, were closer in size to the early eighteenth-century leases made on St Stephen's Green.²²¹ Yet another early investor was Thomas Tilson, clerk of the House of Commons, and a resident of Winetavern Street until 1688.²²² He paid £788 for a two hundred and eighty-two foot plot on the western side of Capel Street.²²³

The paucity of extant seventeenth-century records for St Michan's makes it difficult to chart the parish's growth. There is, however, sufficient evidence to confirm that expansion took place; that it was substantial, and that it brought considerable change to the social profile of the parish. The opening up of land in Oxmantown and St Mary's Abbey and creation of new markets north of the river were all important in the area's expansion but a more subtle influence was also at work in the shape of the Jervis estate. Without its creation the demeanour of subsequent expansion, particularly in the eastern part of the parish, may well have been very different. The presence of the Inns meant that St Michan's had always had a small number of prestigious residents. In 1668, for example, its residents included Sir Robert Both, Justice in the Court of Common Bench, and John Poucy, Baron in the Court of Exchequer. The Jervis estate, however, created of a fashionable suburb which drew the affluent, the nobility and the gentry north of the river in large numbers for the first time.²²⁴ Although seventeenth-century St Michan's was still a very mixed parish the seeds of change had been sown; the eighteenth century would see them flower.

* * *

City growth was not homogeneous. In St Peter's the two major forces of development, the Aungier estate and St Stephen's Green, began in the early 1660s and worked in conjunction with one another. They provided both an example and encouragement for others. Growth was persistent and evenly spread throughout the parish with other speculators such as William Williams making telling contributions towards growth. The astuteness with which Aungier planned his estate, particularly in the laying out of his roads, however, proved beneficial to the entire area and resulted in a well integrated parish. In St Catherine's on the other hand, substantial urbanization did not begin until the 1680s. Meath went some way to creating an integrated estate, but only within the confines of his boundaries. Meanwhile north of the river the pattern was yet again different. Here, however, the Assembly's project to develop Oxmantown Green was less successful than its southern counterpart; and whereas the two dominant developers to the south of the city had been equally successful, to the north only the Jervis estate really prospered. Within the walls of the city the pattern changed again. Despite some new building, circumstances dictated that most development took the form of urban renewal. The intra-mural parishes fear that the inevitable consequence of suburban expansion would be their commercial ruin was not to be fully realised. As long as such institutions as the Tholsel, Custom House and law courts remained within or adjacent to the city walls, commercial prosperity was not seriously threatened. Nevertheless by 1681 contemporary observers noted that the city was 'larger without the walls than within'²²⁵ and the pattern of urban growth which had been initiated by seventeenth-century developers was to become firmly established by the eighteenth century entrepreneurs.

Chapter 2

'A Person of Figure' - The Church Officer

For Dublin's parishes the focal point of each year, heralding the beginning of a new administrative year, was the Easter Vestry meeting. This Vestry was important. If it failed in its prime purpose, the nomination and election of church officers, managerial continuity within the parish would be disrupted, for the parish's day-to-day affairs were controlled by the officers who were elected, annually, at Easter. A smooth transfer of administrative responsibility was, therefore, essential for the maintenance of effective parochial management. Parish affairs were administered by a hierarchy. The principal administrators were the minister and the church wardens. They were assisted by the sidesmen, overseers of the poor and overseers of the highways. These were known as officers of burden because they were unpaid. Assisting these officers were several paid officers, officers of profit, such as the sexton and the beadle. Finally, casting an overall controlling and, if necessary, restraining hand over parochial affairs were the Vestries.

Authority, Ideology and Administration

'The religion of the Protestants in Ireland is the same with the Church of England in doctrine...'

So wrote Sir William Petty in *Political Anatomy of Ireland, 1672*, being careful to distinguish the 'legal', Anglican, Protestants from the Dissenting Protestants. The Anglican belief in hierarchical authority placed the Church of Ireland in an influential position. Its authority was considerable and it gave, by association, extensive privileges to the ordinary members of its congregation. The power, vested in the king, and delegated down through the Church's hierarchy found its most immediate expression in the hands of the individual members of the Church of Ireland. To them fell the legal responsibility of ensuring that that power was not abused but exercised in a restrained and efficient manner. The Restoration settlement did not, however, enforce conformity.¹ Although its property and

privileges were restored, the Church of Ireland remained a minority church. Necessity dictated that some responsibility was divested upon other Protestants when exercising that power. For many, however, Anglican control was most apparent at local government level. The parish was the unit upon which much administration was based and the Church of Ireland controlled the parish.

The Church of Ireland had not been formally disestablished under the Commonwealth. A proscription of Episcopal jurisdiction had, however, led to an eclipse of its influence. Vestry records prior to 1660 show the parishes adopting a more nonconformist approach in matters of doctrine and parochial discipline.² The political uncertainties which followed Cromwell's death in 1658 - the collapse of the protectorate, the restoration of the 'rump' Parliament, followed by its dissolution in 1659 - had particularly serious implications for Ireland.³ They had placed the legality of the recently completed land settlement in doubt and prompted the Protestant gentry into supporting the army coup of December 1659.⁴ Initially the objectives of the coup were to legalize the achievements of the protectorate. Draft instructions, divided into seventeen articles, were drawn up to be presented in London. Only three were concerned with ecclesiastical matters: two mentioned church lands; the third dealt with an ecclesiastical settlement.⁵ Although not advocating a return to the pre-Commonwealth system based upon the parish as the ecclesiastical unit, it did seek an 'orthodox' settlement.⁶

To further pave the way for a general settlement of church and state, a convention met in Dublin in March 1660.⁷ Initial indications hinted at the establishment of a Presbyterian settlement. Increasing rivalry between Episcopalian and Presbyterian factions, however, resulted in growing opposition to such a settlement.⁸ Charles II's proclamation as king in Dublin on 14 May 1660, marked the return of law and order. The question of a church settlement could be resolved. A delegation with clearly defined objectives was dispatched to London to meet the king.⁹ Its instructions concerning religious matters were specific, but only on church land and finances. Church government was not

mentioned. This 'latitude' proved advantageous. The original proposals were redrafted and a clause concerning church government inserted.¹⁰ An attempt at compromise, its wording allowed the government to follow which ever course it wished.¹¹ That course proved to be Episcopalian as the clerical appointments to the vacant sees in June showed.¹²

The bishops were quick to assert their authority. Several visitations were held early in 1661.¹³ The Church's position was further strengthened by parliamentary endorsement. In May, 1661, a declaration, passed by both houses, required all persons to conform to the established church.¹⁴ In reality the Restoration did not achieve conformity, merely an uneasy calm. There remained a deep rooted distrust among government leaders of the Presbyterians and their political activities. Religious freedom for Presbyterians was to be governed by expediency and was to be influenced by the political tensions of lowland Scotland.¹⁵

For Roman Catholics, the Restoration brought a temporary respite from the fear of persecution. Their hope was that royal favour might also lead to benign tolerance or perhaps supremacy.¹⁶ This occurred briefly between 1685 and 1690 when James II's policy of religious toleration lead to the partial establishment of the Catholic church. The whittling away of Protestant privilege caused alarm and anger, but loyalty to the crown was upheld.¹⁷ By the latter part of James' reign the Church of Ireland was in a delicate position. The ruling administration's actions had threatened to destroy it. On the other hand, by the of spring 1689, with the prospect of a Williamite victory, came the possibility of summary disestablishment.¹⁸ Although many had fled to England, and could therefore be regarded as loyal to William, some had remained. The fear was that this remnant would be regarded as disloyal to the crown. Alert to the seriousness of the situation, the leaders of the remnant, Anthony Dopping, Bishop of Meath, and William King, Dean of St Patrick's, set about placating both sides.¹⁹ They asserted they had collaborated with James II's government to ensure the survival of the Church of Ireland. Meanwhile they assured

London of their support for the new regime.²⁰ Two explanatory documents were prepared. The first, written by King, and entitled *Principles of church government* defined the bonds between church and state. Temporal power belonged to the king, spiritual power to the church and both were derived from God. Any misbehaviour, by either party, which threatened the alliance could dissolve the partnership. King stressed how important it was for the church to prevent disestablishment since this would lead to its collapse.²¹ Despite this the bonds between church and state were always governed by political expediency rather than divine law.

The second document prepared by King considered the possibility of a union between the Church of Ireland and the Presbyterians. Such an idea had already been proposed by James Ussher of Armagh before the Civil War. In reality the idea was untenable. Irish churchmen of all creeds viewed one another with suspicion. It is unlikely that the document would have received much support. Certainly the radical changes to Anglican practices proposed in the document would not have been popular.²² What the two documents do highlight is the fear which gripped the Church of Ireland in late 1689 and early 1690.

After William's victory the need to justify the Church's allegiance was even more pressing. It fell to William King to explain the Church's actions. This he did in *The State of the Protestants of Ireland under the Late King James's Government* published in 1691. King's pamphlet has already been discussed, but the essence of his argument was that for the Church, faced with the prospect of extinction, there was only one course to follow if it were to survive - allegiance to the crown.²³ This opinion was shared by most Irish Protestants, therefore the church survived the revolution without schism.²⁴

In November, 1690, a committee was appointed to examine the state of religion in Ireland.²⁵ Although the need for religious reform was self-evident progress was blocked because the Church itself was divided over the question of reform and because the Commons had a vested interest in maintaining lay appropriations. The need to uphold the

position of the established church in Ireland was, however, undisputed. The war had shown the landlords that the maintenance of their privileged position depended upon English support. Minority rule could only be sustained if political power remained the exclusive right of the members of the established church.²⁶ The realisation of this aim gave the Anglican church a virtual monopoly on power. It allowed the church to have the question of legal toleration for Dissenters shelved in 1692 and 1695.²⁷

The church was not, however, united on reform. Consequently the letter presented to the king by the Lords Justices dealing with pluralities and non-residence failed to effect change in 1692-3.²⁸ These abuses were not adequately addressed, even by the church convocation which met at intervals between 1704 and 1711. The church's unwillingness to address its problems led to a gradual erosion of its autonomy. This was compounded by the fact that its appointments came to be governed more by political rather than by religious considerations.²⁹ By the eighteenth century the Church of Ireland possessed wealth and power. The political involvement of its bishops ensured its privileged position. Toleration was resisted. Its members dominated urban life. Despite the political upheavals of 1685-90, the period between 1660 and 1729 was one of unprecedented growth and Anglican supremacy throughout the country, but particularly in Dublin, was at its relative peak.

Although the Anglicans of England and Ireland shared doctrinal similarities, there were important differences between the two churches. The Church of Ireland in the early seventeenth century was more firmly Calvinistic than its English counterpart. Its peculiar position, that of the established church in a Catholic country, ensured it remained a tightly knit community with its own confession and ideological approach.³⁰ The Irish convocation was a national, not a provincial synod. It had drawn up articles of faith for the Church of Ireland in 1615.³¹ In 1634, a convocation adopted the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. It also enacted the English canons of 1604.³² These measures met

with some opposition, especially in the lower house of convocation. Strafford, however, refused to countenance dissent and the clergy conceded defeat.³³

In 1660 the Church of Ireland was an elitist organisation. The anglicized nature of its authority and administrative procedures were reinforced by the English clergy which it had been obliged to recruit. Its teaching, which appealed to a literate, urban society, offered little to a predominately rural society. Its ministers made few serious attempts to rectify its shortcomings. This apathy on the part of the church was matched by a lack of firm action on the part of the government to enforce conformity. To compound matters it was also beset by financial problems.³⁴

The archbishop of Dublin held jurisdiction over five dioceses, of which Dublin was one. For ease of pastoral care, Dublin was divided into deaneries. There were fourteen deaneries in 1688; the Dublin city parishes formed one, Finglas another.³⁵ Not all the city's parishes were in the gift of the archbishop. Only three fell under his patronage: St Audeon's, St Peter's and St Werburgh's.³⁶ Some parishes were in the gift of either the crown or the laity. St Catherine's and St James' were in the gift of the Earl of Meath. Other parishes were in the gift of one of the city's two cathedrals. The curacy of St Nicholas Without was the gift of the dean and chapter of St Patrick's, while St Paul's was the gift of the dean and chapter of Christ Church.³⁷ Furthermore the benefices of some of the city's parishes were held by a cathedral prebend. The benefice of St Werburgh's was attached to the chancellorship of St Patrick's. St Andrew's benefice fell to the precentor of St Patrick's. Christ Church held three prebendaries, St Michael's, St Michan's and St John's.³⁸ A cathedral prebend held the cathedral office and the benefice simultaneously. Country livings were also annexed to a prebend. Plurality and non-residency were rife. The fact that the canons explicitly forbade plurality and required a minimum of two months residency a year was ignored.

For the lower clergy, most of whom were Trinity graduates, a living near Dublin was a much sought-after prize.³⁹ Many incumbencies within the diocese were small and

incomes varied widely.⁴⁰ City parishes yielded an income commensurate with their size and wealth. In 1662, St John's minister's stipend was £60 *per annum*.⁴¹ St Catherine's minister received £50 per annum in 1666.⁴² In 1727 King valued St Peter's at £100 *per annum*.⁴³ In Dublin additional income could be earned through a chaplaincy. The cure of St Catherine's held the chaplaincy of the Marshalsea. St Michan's held the chaplaincy of Newgate prison. Clerics appointed to city cures were more fortunate than their rural counterparts, there were usually sufficient funds to keep the churches in reasonable repair. When forced to rebuild, however, as Chapter 3 shows, the task of providing adequate funds required ingenuity.

The role of the ordinary clergy within the community meant that their conduct, individually and collectively, was important. A lethargic episcopacy affected lay attitudes. There were exceptions. Narcissus Marsh was a sincere and devout prelate.⁴⁴ He emphasized the need for good pastoral care in troubled times on his first triennial visitation in 1694.⁴⁵ He was, however, more of a scholar than a reformer.⁴⁶ King, who succeeded to the archbishopric in 1703, was very much involved with the management of the church as his correspondence shows.⁴⁷ King recognized, and strove to achieve, a disciplined and educated clergy. He realised a respected leadership was essential if the Church were to be able to exercise its civil and moral obligations.

The most obvious place for the archbishop, or his representative, to exert his influence over his clergy was at the visitation. No parochial officer could assume the responsibilities of his office until he had been sworn at the visitation. This was accomplished at the annual visitation, conducted by the archbishop's representative. When a triennial visitation took place it was conducted by the archbishop. The visitation was a manifestation of the Church's authority. Under its auspice power was legally transferred and conferred, its primary function being to administer the oath of office to the incoming officials. It could also serve as a court of arbitration, solving interparochial disputes. It offered an early and less costly chance of resolution. During the eighteenth century

Dublin's urban expansion forced the redrawing of parochial boundaries. It was possible to solve some of the accompanying problems at the visitation. In 1707, St Catherine's and St James' were separated by parliamentary legislation. The visitation ensured church property and possessions were fairly distributed between the two parishes.⁴⁸

The visitation fulfilled an important function in parochial administration. King noted in 1724 that his triennial visitation of the Dublin diocese had taken thirty-one days to complete, and that it had occasionally taken four or five hours to bring some parish business to a successful conclusion.⁴⁹ The minister was obliged to attend the visitation and could be suspended from office should he neglect to fulfil this duty. In 1707, Theophilus Harrison, minister of St John's, was suspended because he failed to attend the visitation. A protracted legal battle followed which was still unresolved when Harrison wrote to King on 5 April, 1715 appealing to be reinstated.⁵⁰ The curate and assistant curates were also obliged to attend the visitation, as well as all the serving church officers, the officers-elect and the parish clerk.

The oath administered at the visitation, and for which the parish was obliged to pay a fee, required the church warden to 'truly and faithfully ... execute the Office of a Church Warden ...; and ... diligently Enquire and make Presentments of such Things and persons as you know Presentable by the Ecclesiastical law of this Realm'.⁵¹ The sidesmen were also sworn into office, promising to assist the church wardens in the 'execution of their office'.⁵²

The newly appointed church wardens were obliged to answer a number of questions. The intention was to gain an impression of the parish's welfare and its material wealth. The questions ranged from the fabric of the church, the minister's house and glebe to the parish's liturgical possessions.⁵³ A Bible and Book of Common Prayer were mandatory and were held for safe keeping by one of the church wardens. A Book of Common prayer cost St Catherine's 8/- in 1702. In 1707 the parish purchased two prayer books for £1/15/0d.⁵⁴ The care of these, and other church possessions such as the

communion silver, was formally passed from one church warden to another. From time to time the transaction was recorded in the Vestry minutes. In 1678, Nathaniel Neale the outgoing church warden of St Bride's and holder of the parish chest's key presented his successor with five books belonging to the church, a box containing old leases, two pewter flagons, two silver cups with covers, one damask tablecloth and two napkins.⁵⁵

The church wardens were also expected to affirm that the minister was properly licensed, had not obtained his living by simony and that he performed his duties conscientiously with due reference to ecclesiastical and civil law.⁵⁶ The importance of this question is revealed in St Andrew's Vestry minutes. On 25 February 1694[/95], a complaint was entered into the minutes concerning the minister, Mr Travers. The complaint, 'maliciously forged', concerned the observance of ritual. According to the plaintiff, Travers had failed to administer the sacraments with 'reverence and diligence'.⁵⁷ The accusation was serious. Those found guilty of 'depraving' the Book of Common Prayer or administering the sacraments incorrectly faced imprisonment.⁵⁸ Fortunately for Travers, the parish as a whole did not share the plaintiff's view. A certificate vindicating Travers was dispatched to the archbishop. It stated the allegations were 'for the most part absolutely false, and in whatever instance 'tis true, we are much better pleased with the alleged omissions than we were with the unnecessary overdoings in the Late Vicar's time'.⁵⁹

The visitation also examined the general behaviour and moral standards of the parishioners. Successive monarchs had endeavoured to 'improve' the demeanour of the citizenry. The legislation, in the main, applied equally to both England and Ireland. This was the case with 7 Will. III, c.7 and 7 Will. III, c.9 passed in 1695. There were, however, parish-related statutes peculiar to Ireland. In 1542, Henrician legislation had introduced the licensing of beggars and had made it a punishable offence for anyone to beg without a licence. Elizabethan legislation was particularly interested in the conformity of both the laity and the clergy and therefore significant for the whole population. In 1560,

transgressions were punishable by imprisonment. Persistent disregard for the law was punishable with imprisonment for life.⁶⁰

The questions asked at the visitation showed that Church assumed, indeed required, a comprehensive knowledge of both civil and ecclesiastical law. Such knowledge could be acquired through the clergy's access to private libraries. The parishes did, however, purchase reference books. In 1725, Richard Gunne, stationer, received £15/6/8d from St Michan's for paper and books. The parish purchased two sheets listing *The prohibited degrees of marriage* (6d); *Merriton's Abridgement of the Statutes* (4/6d); *The Old Irish Statutes* (£1/8/0d); *The Statutes of King William* (146 sheets, £1/6/0d); *The Statutes of Queen Anne* (156 sheets £1/8/0d) and *The Statutes of King George* (279 sheets £2/8/0d).⁶¹ In 1731, St Paul's listed among its possessions two volumes of Hunt's *Abridgement of the Statutes and the Acts of the last session of Parliament*.⁶²

The visitation dealt with ecclesiastical and, in a limited way, civil matters. Its purpose was to ensure that the parish was well administered. Through the questions posed officers were given some sense of their responsibilities. The obligations also sanctioned the continuance of minority rule. Those who fulfilled their obligations to the parish faced an onerous task, but parochial office could avoided be and some chose not to serve.

Offices of Burden

The obligation to serve the parish fell to every Protestant, Anglican or Dissenter. The posts were unremunerated and held for a minimum of one year. The parishes were, however, able to control the selection and election of their various church officials. Some flexibility was tolerated, but only in the minor offices. The strictures of the visitation ensure the principal offices were correctly filled.

Although the visitation marked the beginning of the term of service the duties of office were not assumed until the outgoing church wardens' accounts had been audited and passed.⁶³ The church warden faced a daunting task. Ecclesiastical law, expressed

through the visitation questions, required the maintenance of the church and care of its liturgical goods. The civil law also imposed obligations. The poor and the sick had to be cared for and law and order had to be maintained. There were other, less obvious, responsibilities. Church wardens were permitted to purchase, on behalf of the church, goods but not land. They could accept legacies, goods and gifts.⁶⁴ To allow for the continuity which such responsibilities required church wardens could be constituted into a corporation. A corporation meant, by definition, a separate corporate identity with perpetual succession as opposed to a group of trustees which is no more than a collection of individuals. More precisely, the corporation formed in this case is legally termed 'a corporate aggregate' and is composed of more than one person. In 1665, the Act which re-established the parish of St Andrew's, declared the church wardens and their successors to be 'a body corporate' with powers to sue and be sued under the title 'the church wardens of St Andrew's'.⁶⁵

One of the church wardens' most important tasks was the management of church finances. Money was raised from many sources and for numerous reasons (see Chapter 3). The most popular method of raising money was the parish cess or applotment. It was used to meet the needs of the parish and to raise parochial contributions for the civil coffers. The rate at which each cess was levied was fixed at a specially convened Vestry meeting. It was attended by the church wardens and a panel of assessors. Their duty was to ensure the cess was levied fairly with 'all indifference and moderation imaginable'.⁶⁶ The fixing of cess rates became standardized in the eighteenth century. In 1723, cesses were applotted by the church wardens assisted by a minimum of thirteen parishioners according to Minister's Money, or the rent paid by the tenant on a property.⁶⁷

Revenue was also derived from the sale of pews. In the seventeenth century the fee paid was fixed by valuers. In 1686[/87], St Catherine's valued and numbered the pews in St Catherine's and St James' churches. The church wardens were to be assisted by two parishioners and a book was bought to register the value of each pew and its occupant.⁶⁸

St Bride's held a pew valuation in 1695.⁶⁹ The privilege of allocating pews was a joint responsibility shared by the church wardens and minister. In 1686, however, St Catherine's church wardens acted independently. The minister appealed to the archbishop and the transactions were declared void because of his absence.⁷⁰ In 1686[/87] the parish tried to impose further conditions. All pew sales must have the approval of the parish and be registered by the Vestry.⁷¹ Transactions completed in an 'ale house' were not considered legitimate.⁷² In the eighteenth century some parishes adopted the policy of selling pews at public auction to the highest bidder. The erection of a new organ in St Michan's in 1724 led the parish to hold a pew auction in 1725.⁷³ Occasionally, the parish was prepared to sacrifice this reliable, if small, source of income. In 1705 St Bride's church wardens were granted permission to construct a gallery. They were to bear all the costs, but allowed to recoup the outlay through the sale of the gallery pews.⁷⁴

Church wardens were also expected to keep the peace. They had to discourage irreverence; chastise those absent from divine service; suppress blasphemy, swearing, drunkenness and unlicensed beggars.⁷⁵ The vigour with which the letter of the law was enforced is not always clear. A brief, but vociferous, campaign to reform Irish manners was conducted in the 1690s and early 1700s⁷⁶ to which the parishes responded as Table 4:9 shows. Theoretically an offender could expect little leniency. George Gore advised St Paul's in c.1714, that 'Quarrelling, Chiding or Brawling' in the church or churchyard were punishable by suspension. Violent behaviour warranted excommunication. Those found guilty of using a weapon with malice faced the possible loss of an ear.⁷⁷ In practice the effectiveness with which the law was implemented depended on the diligence of the individual church warden.

The church wardens were assisted by the sidesmen who acted as deputy church wardens. Parish records give little indication of the precise duties a sidesman was expected to undertake. It would appear, however, that much of the sidesman's time was spent in the collection of parish cesses. In 1681 a memorandum in St Catherine's Vestry minutes

declared the sidesmen were to assist the church wardens in collecting Minister's Money and other applotments. The sidesmen were not to be involved in the collection of money for the poor. This was the responsibility of the church wardens and the overseers for the poor.⁷⁸ On one occasion, in 1687, St Catherine's sidesmen were appointed as assessors for an applotment of £100 for poor relief. The sidesmen's involvement was brief. The parish revised the applotment early in 1687[/88] to £85 and excluded the sidesmen as assessors.⁷⁹ In St Mary's, in 1703, the parish required £20 to pay the parish clerk, sexton, beadle and maintain bastard children. The sidesmen were appointed assessors and collectors. In addition they were to receive the sidesmen's accounts for the previous year, review them and then give a report to the Vestry.⁸⁰

In England each parish was legally obliged to appoint between two and four householders to the post of overseer for the poor.⁸¹ In Ireland there was no such statutory obligation. Overseers for the poor were appointed, but the parishes often combined the post with another parochial office (see Table 2:1). In practice an overseer for the poor had little power. Much of the management of the poor fell to the church warden. The overseer assisted in the collection of cesses raised for the poor, and probably helped in the policing of beggars and vagrants. During the eighteenth century certain statutory obligations were placed upon the overseers for the poor. In 1727, each parish had to elect two overseers for the poor to maintain children under the age of six. The overseers were to receive the money raised by cess which was to pay for this care.⁸²

The appointment of an overseer for the highways was made infrequently despite the fact that under the law the parishes were required to appoint, annually, two overseers for the highways. If a parish failed to make the appointments it was liable to a fine or its church wardens and constables could be imprisoned. Those appointed to office but refusing to serve could be fined £10.⁸³ St Peter's was the only Dublin parish which consistently appointed overseers for the highways. The post was also filled by the two parishes outside Dublin which have been studied, Finglas and Carlow. Finglas was chosen

for examination because the parish was part of the Dublin diocese, its boundaries were contiguous with St Michan's, but it was outside the Dublin metropolitan area. Its records, too, are compatible with many city parishes, beginning in the mid-seventeenth century. Carlow, where the parochial records also date from the mid-seventeenth century was chosen to provide evidence of parochial administration outside the Dublin diocese. Why did these parishes fill the post? The size and landscape of the parishes may have been a factor. St Peter's, Finglas, and Carlow were large parishes. Despite Dublin's growing urban sprawl, large areas of St Peter's were still rural. Overseers for the highways may have been appointed to ensure ease of travel within the parish. In the rural parishes of Finglas and Carlow this would also have been an important priority. Again the advent of the eighteenth century meant greater statutory control. In 1731 the Lord Mayor, assisted by a sheriff and two aldermen, assumed overall control for the maintenance of the city's roads.⁸⁴ The new legislation also placed certain obligations upon the parish. The church wardens accompanied by two directors of the Watch were to 'perambulate' the parish's roads at least four times a year to identify, and rectify, damaged roads. The parish was also to ensure the pavements in front of the church and in the churchyard were properly maintained.

In St Catherine's, a 1681 memorandum shows how the responsibility of each officer was carefully defined. Every Protestant parishioner was eligible for election. In the seventeenth century, as St Kevin's Vestry minutes indicate, appointment to the post of church warden was made by 'lawful succession'.⁸⁵ Nicholas Roberts, 'by reason of a distemper', resigned as church warden for St Kevin's in 1671. William Harrison was persuaded to serve and the parish promised he would not be obliged to serve when it became his turn to stand for election at a later date.⁸⁶ The power of nominating the church wardens was divided between the minister and the parish. Each had the privilege of nominating one officer. By 1727 the obligations had become such that St Catherine's ordered that no parishioner should be elected to the office of church warden unless he had

served first as an overseer for the poor and then as a sidesman.⁸⁷ Archbishop William King had noted these 'many' burdens a year earlier when writing to the Lord Mayor. The responsibilities increased with each new Act of Parliament, making it increasingly difficult to persuade 'a person of figure' to serve.⁸⁸

The filling of the minor offices of burden was approached with pragmatism. The practicalities of parochial management dictated that the preferred separation of offices could not always be maintained. The parish elected the number of officials it required to ensure an effectively managed parish. Table 2:1 shows that no parish filled all the available posts. The number of officials appointed could vary from year to year, the needs of the parish dictating the numbers elected. Each year, however, every parish required a minimum of four parishioners who were willing to serve as church officers.

The majority of parishioners served their term of office, but some refused to fulfil their obligations to the parish. If a parishioner refused to serve the parish imposed a fine. The size of the fine depended upon the office refused (see Table 3:5). In Finglas and Carlow, those refusing to serve as church warden could be fined £2; for those refusing to serve as sidesmen the fine was 10/-.⁸⁹ To pay a 'fine' was the recognized way to avoid serving a term of office, consequently the Vestry never refused a parishioner's right to avail of the option. If, however, a parishioner refused to serve, or to pay a fine, then the parish was prepared to take legal action to enforce its rights. On 25 March 1695, Theodore Russell and Henry Cadogan were elected to serve as church wardens for St Bride's. Initially both men refused to serve but the Vestry persuaded Cadogan to fulfil his obligations to the parish.⁹⁰ Russell, however, remained obdurate. He refused to serve or to 'fine', consequently the parish decided to prosecute.⁹¹

A genuine reason for nonservice was accepted by the parish. In 1685 St Michael's excused Alderman Samuel Carde from serving as a church warden 'for divers good reasons', but he was still fined £5 for not accepting the post.⁹² St Catherine's excused William Lemmon from serving as a church warden in 1702 because his occupation as a

merchant meant that he could not attend services regularly.⁹³ Certain occupations were, however, legally exempted from service. Peers of the realm, clergymen, members of parliament, and attorneys could claim 'privilege' thereby avoiding service.⁹⁴ The Vestry minutes show some parishioners did avail of this legal loophole. In 1687[/88] St Peter's nominated Henry Monck and Joseph Bodin to serve as church wardens; both men were excused on the grounds of 'privilege'.⁹⁵ There were notable exceptions. Lord Charlemont served as church warden for St Paul's in 1701-2.⁹⁶ Robert Rochford and Alan Broderick, both members of parliament, served as church wardens for St Mary's from 1700-4.⁹⁷

Although the majority of parishioners fulfilled their term of office, resistance did occur. In an attempt to stem the disruption which such resistance could cause the Vestries introduced orders designed to discourage protest. In 1673, St Bride's attempted to solve the difficult problem of finding a sufficient number of parishioners willing to serve the parish by nominating more candidates than was required to fill the posts. Four parishioners were nominated for the office of church warden and four for the office of sidesman. Two were to be selected from each panel. A fine of £5 was imposed on those elected, but refusing to serve as church wardens; similarly sidesmen were to be fined £3.⁹⁸ In 1689 the parish decided that, once elected, a church warden must serve for two consecutive years.⁹⁹ The church wardens lists show this was not always achieved but the parish did enjoy a measure of success. In St Michael's it was an established tradition that a church warden should serve two consecutive years. In 1678, when the parish were forced to elect two, rather than one, new church warden the Vestry minutes stated 'this Election of Two new Churchwardens for the aforesaid yeare not to be drawne into psident hereafter'.¹⁰⁰ The system allowed the church warden time to become accustomed to his duties.

The parishes did, however, experience periods of persistent defiance. What lay behind such outbursts is not clear. There are no obvious reasons why St Catherine's experienced so much discord between 1679 and 1683. The minutes which record the

dissent are, however, signed by the curate, Lightburne, rather than the minister, Chambers.¹⁰¹ Oliver Cheney, the Earl of Meath's agent, however, wrote in 1684:

mony was never soe scarce in this towne as now there is none in the thresory nor in any banquers hands in town. Alderman Ramm profers to take up mony at interest. Ald Braddock paied his rent in great anger ... Anthony Sharp has not yet paied nor can he ... James Fade has not paied yet nor his wife.¹⁰²

The office of church warden was burdensome, and in such uncertain times many would have preferred to run their business rather than the parish. The parishioners may have resented the Vestry's order, introduced on 22 April, 1679, which compelled service.¹⁰³

In St John's, in 1681, the parish found it difficult to persuade parishioners to serve and appealed to the archbishop to nominate church wardens.¹⁰⁴ In this case, however, the parish's decision to rebuild the church may have made many reluctant to undertake office. The burdens imposed by the rebuilding persuaded the archbishop to nominate four church wardens rather than the usual two.¹⁰⁵

The parishes continued to experience periodic dissent during the eighteenth century. Fines, however, remained the only deterrent. In 1696, St Catherine's fixed the fine for those who refused to serve as a church warden at 'ten pounds ster and no lesse'. Those who refused to serve as a sidesman or overseer for the poor could expect to be fined £5.¹⁰⁶ In 1701, St Bride's stipulated that a fine for nonservice must be paid within ten days. The Vestry did not increase the fines which remained at £5 for a church warden and £3 for a sidesman.¹⁰⁷ Throughout the city fines were fixed at a similar rate. The Vestry, however, retained the right to fine as appropriate. Some parishioners might be treated leniently but aldermen John Eccles and Ralph Gore were made to pay a heavy penalty for their refusal to serve St Mary's as church wardens. In 1709 the Vestry demanded a £10 fine from each man for nonservice.¹⁰⁸

Occasionally parish business demanded the Vestry appoint additional officers. The building of St Mary's church led to the election of four church wardens in 1704.¹⁰⁹ In October 1721 St Mary's faced serious financial problems and it was decided to appoint

extra sidesmen to assist in cess collecting.¹¹⁰ The parish had elected three sidesmen at Easter but added two new sidesmen in October. By 1723 it had become customary to appoint four sidesmen.¹¹¹

The parish was able to exercise a certain degree of independence when electing church officers. From time to time the parish might experience a period of sustained dissent as occurred in St Catherine's in the early 1680s. Between 1660 and 1729 one hundred and seventy-nine parishioners were elected to serve St Catherine's as church warden, only thirty-seven (21%), refused to accept office. In St Bride's, 17% of the parishioners resisted office. Between 1699 and 1729, only 9% of St Paul's parishioners refused to serve, but in St Mary's between 1700 and 1729, 17% refused to serve. By comparison, dissent in Finglas was negligible, four parishioners refused to serve. In 1659 the parish had adopted the policy of electing one new church warden each year.¹¹² More striking is the willingness of Finglas' parishioners to serve as church warden for several consecutive years. Many parishioners, having advanced through parochial office were then willing to accept a minor office.

The Vestry minutes do not indicate why some parishioners were so reluctant to serve. A partial explanation may be found in Dublin's urban growth. The boundary changes forced upon the parishes may have influenced some parishioners to fine rather than serve. Others may have chosen not to serve for personal reasons. The Vestries endeavoured to discourage nonservice through ordinances and fines. The hierarchical system which appears to have operated in the seventeenth century may have continued in the eighteenth century. The parishes were able persuade a number of parishioners to serve for more than one term of office as church warden and some had had previous experience of parochial office. It was, however, accepted that those who were prepared to accept office for more than one year were the exception rather than the rule.

Table 2:1: Offices of Burden 1660-1729

	St Bride 1666	St Catherine 1660	St John 1660	St Mark 1720	St Mary 1700	St Michael 1667
Max nos offices to be filled	5	5	5	5	5	5
Churchwarden	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Sidesman	✓}+	✓	✓	✓}+	✓	✓}+
O. Poor	✓}+	✓		✓}+	✓*	✓}+
O. Highway		✓#				
O. Foundling	✓**					
Average nos offices filled	4	4	2	3	3	3
Max nos officers	6	10	8	4	4	4
Min nos officers	4	5	8	4	4	4
Average nos of officers serving	4	8	8	4	5	4
% C/Ws not serving	17.8%	21%	8.2%		17%	8.6%
% C/Ws serving more than once.	13%	4%	3.5%		4%	27%
% C/Ws holding previous office***	26%	28.9%	21%			38%

Sources: St Bride's VM 1662-1742; St Catherine's VM 1657-1692; 1693-1730; St John's VM 1660-1710; 1711-1766; St Mark's VM 1720-1829; St Mary's VM 1699-1739; St Michael's VM 1667-1754

Notes to Table 2:1

NB Dates placed beneath parish's name indicate the start of the records.

CW Church Warden O Overseer

{✓}+ Offices combined, one parishioner elected to serve.

Office filled in 1679

* Office introduced in 1729

** Office introduced in 1729 in response to 3 Geo II, c.17

*** Calculated when nominated for office.

Table 2:1: Offices of Burden 1660-1729(contd.)

	St Michan 1724	St Paul 1699	St Peter 1685	St Werburgh 1720	Finglas 1657	Carlow 1669
Max nos offices to be filled	5	5	5	5	5	5
Churchwarden	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Sidesman	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓}+	✓}+
O. Poor	✓*				✓}+	✓}+
O. Highway			✓		✓	✓
O. Foundling						
Average nos of offices filled	3	2	3	2	3	3
Max nos officers	8	4	6	6	14	6
Min nos officers	6	4	6	6	4	6
Average nos of officers serving	6	4	6	6		6
% C/Ws not serving	0.1%	9.8%	14.6%			
%C/Ws serving more than once		19.7%	11%			
% C/Ws holding previous office***		1.4%	18%			

Sources: St Michan's VM 1724-1760; St Paul's VM 1698-1750; St Peter's VM 1686-1736; St Werburgh's VM 1720-1780; Finglas VM 1657-1758; Carlow VM 1669-1762.

Notes to Table 2:1

- NB Dates beneath the parish's name indicate the start of the record.
- CW Church Warden O Overseer.
- {✓}+ Offices combined.
- * Introduced in 1729.
- *** Calculated when nominated for office.

Minor Offices of Burden

During the year, in order to meet the demands of parochial administration, parishioners were co-opted into service. These appointments were made by the Vestry. They appointed committees to supervise the cess applotments; to audit the church wardens' accounts; and to supervise major building projects such as the rebuilding of the church or the construction of a watch house. Those appointed to serve were unremunerated and most had some experience of parochial office although this was by no means a prerequisite. The task the parishioners were being asked to undertake governed

the format of the committee. It was parochial policy to nominate more parishioners than were required to complete the task. The proviso 'any three' or 'any five' was added to the end of the list of nominees.

Influential parishioners were nominated to advise and administer parish business. In 1713 St Mary's nominated a committee to examine the accounts connected with the building and decorating of the church.¹¹³ The committee included some of the parish's foremost inhabitants, but an even more impressive committee was nominated on 5 March 1713/[14]. It included the Earls of Drogheda and Mountalexander, Lord Chief Baron of the Court of the Exchequer, Robert Rochford and the Attorney General, George Gore. The parish also nominated William King, the Archbishop of Dublin who, assisted by Welbore Ellis, the Bishop of Kildare, and Sir Constantine Phipps, the Lord Chancellor, two further nominees, were to examine the accounts.¹¹⁴

Few parishes could have named such an illustrious committee but of more importance to the parish was the fact that no nominee could be coerced into participating in parish business. Therefore the parish nominated committee members who could be relied upon to serve. This reliance produced cliques which may have benefited parish business. It also fostered a sense of trust as occurred between the Tighe family and St Catherine's. The first Richard Tighe was an English merchant who had settled in St Catherine's in 1640. The family had moved to St Michan's where Richard was buried in the family vault in 1673.¹¹⁵ The economic depression of the early 1720s which affected the city was reflected in many parishes. St Catherine's was one of the parishes which experienced serious financial problems. The parish enlisted the help of Richard's grandson, Richard Tighe in resolving the financial problems. Tighe, a member of St Paul's, audited St Catherine's church wardens' accounts and signed the Vestry minutes. The Tighes may have retained property within the parish, this would have entitled them to participate in the parish's affairs. Richard Tighe's suitability was enhanced by his involvement with several parliamentary committees concerned with church affairs.¹¹⁶

The tasks undertaken by the committees were well defined and finite. Business was to be completed by a specified date. When a task proved impossible to complete within the given time additional parishioners were appointed to provide assistance. There was, however, one exception. After the introduction of the Watch Bill in 1721, if a parishioner was appointed a Director of the Watch he was expected to serve for one year.¹¹⁷

Offices of Profit

Those appointed to an 'office of profit' could serve the parish in either a secular or an ecclesiastical capacity and all were paid for their services. Many parishes appointed extra clerics, known as lecturers and readers, to undertake particular religious duties. Under the canons of the church, each parish was required to employ a parish clerk and a sexton. Civil law demanded the parish employ a beadle and after 1721, a fire engine keeper.¹¹⁸ Other employees, such as the organist, became necessary with time.

Clerical Offices of Profit

Two offices, the lecturer and reader, fell within this category, and the right of appointment was held by the Vestry. A lecturer was appointed as an assistant to the rector. The Irish canons and the Irish Statutes would only permit him to take up his post after he had been licensed by a bishop or archbishop.¹¹⁹ St Michael's Vestry appointed a lecturer on 13 January, 1681. He was required to preach once 'every Lord's Day' and was to be paid £30 *per annum*. This was to be raised by public subscription.¹²⁰ Two candidates were proposed for the post, Thomas Benson and William Lightburne, curate of St Catherine's. The successful candidate was Thomas Benson who was chosen by 'the far greater part of the Vestry'.¹²¹ In 1684, however, the Vestry ordered the minister, the Reverend John Glendie, and Alderman John Smith to enquire if the parish was entitled, under law, to raise the lecturer's salary by cess.¹²² The result of that advice appears in 1694 when a new lecturer was appointed. John Kearne was elected to the post and was to

receive the same salary as his predecessor, £30 *per annum*. The minister, Benjamin Scroggs was to pay £10 towards the salary. The remaining £20 was to be found from parish funds.¹²³

Readers, the second clerical office of profit were, like lecturers, appointed at regular intervals. A reader's duty was to read prayers. In 1699 St Peter's employed Mr Jennings at £5 *per annum* to read Sunday evening prayers.¹²⁴ St Michael's reader, Josias Chollet was paid £8 *per annum* to read Sunday morning and evening prayers in 1704.¹²⁵

In the eighteenth century few parishes employed both lecturer and reader. St Mary's appointed Philip Chamberlaine as lecturer in 1705.¹²⁶ By 1729, however, the post had been allowed to lapse although the parish continued to employ a reader who received £10 *per annum*.¹²⁷

Secular Offices of Profit

Most employees of the parish were appointed by the Vestry. An office was held on a surety of 'good behaviour'. The Vestry reserved the right to punish those guilty of misdemeanours and to dismiss those found guilty of serious misconduct.

Under the rules of the visitation a parish clerk had to be at least twenty years old. He had also to be honest, diligent and competent in reading, writing and singing. His duties included assisting the minister in the 'Performance of all Divine offices at the times, Places, and for the Occasions prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer', informing the minister of the children who required baptisms; the women who were to be churched; the sick who were to be visited and the dead who should be buried. He was to keep a list of the baptisms, marriages and burials which had taken place in the previous week; see the communion linen and the minister's vestments were clean; that there was sufficient bread and wine for the communion and to assist in the collection of Minister's Money.¹²⁸ Traditionally the parish clerk was appointed by the minister. At one time the post had been held by an ordained man and he had been paid by the profits earned from holy water.¹²⁹ In

1668, however, the salary was fixed by the Convocation for Ireland. Every married couple and every single person within the parish who were householders were to pay 4d every year, at Easter, to the clerk.¹³⁰ At the beginning of the eighteenth century the parish clerk's salary was £5 *per annum*.¹³¹ He was, however, entitled to fees for performing certain duties within the parish (see Appendix 2). A parish clerk was also expected to render the parish any extra service that might be required. In 1695[/96], St John's clerk was granted permission to teach the poor children of the parish. He was permitted to seek donations from the parish once every three months to pay for this charitable work.¹³² In 1712 St Peter's ordered the clerk to draw up a list, now lost, of all the parish's inhabitants.¹³³

At each visitation the parish was asked if it employed a sexton. The sexton could be appointed either by the minister or the Vestry, depending on the custom of the parish. A sexton might expect to hold the post for life but he could be dismissed for insubordination and impropriety. The 'scandalous wordes' spoken by St Catherine's sexton, John Phillips, against the minister and church wardens allied to his other misdemeanours were 'ill resented' by the parish and may well have brought about his dismissal.¹³⁴ In 1694[/95] St John's appointed Thomas Howell as parish sexton. His duties were to attend 'constantly' when parish dues were collected; to attend the Vestry on all occasions; to keep an account of the burials and other parish concerns; to look after parish property and to enter the church wardens' and other accounts.¹³⁵ In 1725, when St Michan's entered the duties of all parish officers into the Memorial Book, they included among the sexton's duties the requirement to attend church for the 'whole time' during divine service and the churchyard during funerals; to remove dogs, noisy children and unruly persons from the church; to ensure that people were seated in church according to their rank; to place the proper people into empty pews and to see the pew doors were kept shut. The sexton was to light the branches, candlesticks and sconces; ensure the inner church doors were kept

shut except in hot weather; to bring out the font for baptisms; to place the cushions before the altar rail and to execute all the church wardens' and minister's directives.¹³⁶

The job of sexton could be held by one family for some time. Howell was appointed upon the death of his mother, the previous sexton. St Mary's appointed William Warren's wife as his successor in 1721 'in pity and compassion to the deplorable condition of Hannah Warren'.¹³⁷ She was to hold the post of sexton in conjunction with her son, Francis, who was ordered to give all the 'issues & profits ... for the maintenance of herself [Hannah] and her children'.¹³⁸

All the parishes paid the sexton an annual salary. It was possible for the sexton to earn additional income. Between 1699 and 1703, St Michael's paid the sexton an extra 40/- *per annum* for his 'extraordinary paines & attendance at morning & evening prayers on Sunday'.¹³⁹ The sexton's wife was often employed to launder the parish linen and polish the church's brass.

The practice of employing a vestry clerk was a seventeenth-century innovation. The increasing amount of parish business had persuaded the Vestries to appoint subordinates to assist in parish administration. The vestry clerk was appointed by the Vestry and held his post at their pleasure. The clerk's duties were not regulated by any statutes and he was subject to no external authority. The Vestry fixed his salary and he was obliged to comply with any conditions it imposed. In England, St Martin-in-the-Fields employed a vestry clerk as early as 1620.¹⁴⁰ In Dublin the vestry clerk was expected to attend every Vestry meeting, but was not permitted to vote. He was required to enter every Vestry 'act' into the Vestry minutes, although the evidence provided by the minutes suggests this rule was not complied with fully. The clerk held all papers and books pertaining to Vestry business. In St Michan's the vestry clerk was also required to gain copies of all presentments made to the King's Bench and the Tholsel concerned with the raising of money so that they could be examined and 'traversed' if the Vestry thought fit.¹⁴¹ The duties imposed upon Thomas Howell as sexton of St John's in 1694[/95] suggests the

parish did not employ a vestry clerk. St Bride's appear to have no vestry clerk until 1702. The parish appointed Stephen Conduit to the job on 6 April, 1702, considering him 'well qualified'.¹⁴² Conduit was to receive a salary of £10 *per annum*. He served the parish for twenty-five years, and in recognition of his service to the parish, upon his death, his widow received £2/10/0d towards his funeral expenses.¹⁴³

St Mary's first vestry clerk, Henry Green, was appointed in 1707[/08] with a salary of £4 *per annum*.¹⁴⁴ In 1709[/10] his diligence was rewarded and his salary was raised to £10 *per annum*.¹⁴⁵ By 1714 he was receiving an annual salary of £15.¹⁴⁶ In 1713 the parish had appointed him collector for the £1,200 cess which was to be raised to pay for the building of the church, but on his death in 1722 the account was in arrears.¹⁴⁷ Initially the parish believed it was indebted to Green's executors and promises were made to repay the debt. A closer examination of the accounts revealed that Green owed the parish a considerable amount of money. Green's widow was unable to meet the debt, and the parish finances were left in considerable disarray. This persuaded the Vestry to order that all future vestry clerks must, upon appointment, give a bond of £100 as surety.¹⁴⁸

The parishes first began to employ organists in the late seventeenth century. What prompted the parishes into building organs is unknown, but their purchase represented a large capital investment. St Audeon's organ, built by Lancelott Pease in 1681, cost £110.¹⁴⁹ St Catherine's decision to build an organ was taken in 1678 but the parish did not appoint an organist until April, 1680.¹⁵⁰ John Gayton, St Catherine's first organist, was paid £13 *per annum*.¹⁵¹ By the beginning of the eighteenth century most parishes had acquired an organ. In 1727 St Michan's had a 'great organ' and a 'chair organ'.¹⁵²

The post of organist was well rewarded. St Mary's organist, Robert Woffington, appointed in 1713, was paid £30 *per annum*. He was required to play at morning and evening services throughout the year, and at Sunday evening prayers. George Cavannagh was employed to work the organ's bellows.¹⁵³ Samuel Butteridge's salary from St Bride's, £12 *per annum* in 1716, seems less generous.¹⁵⁴ He may, however, also have been

retained by St Werburgh. In 1716 St Werburgh's were in the process of rebuilding the church and parishioners attended services in St Bride's. A year earlier, St Werburgh's had appointed Samuel Betteridge as organist.¹⁵⁵

St Peter's first organist, Roger Quilter, had been appointed in 1687.¹⁵⁶ In 1695 the parish appointed a new organist, Nathan Ellison, who had until then served St Kevin's. He was expected to play on Sundays and holy days for which he was paid £16 *per annum*.¹⁵⁷ Ellison left for England in 1712 but returned to Dublin in 1713 and donated his salary arrears, £26/10/0d, towards the new organ the parish were then buying at a cost of £150.¹⁵⁸ Although the parish found it could no longer rely upon his services a replacement, Edward Gray, was not appointed until 1721. Gray's appointment was, however, conditional. If Ellison returned and within three months gave 'ample satisfaction to the Vestry of his good and honest behaviour in relation to the Misfortunes he now lyes under... the sd Ellison shall be restored'.¹⁵⁹ The parish did dismiss Ellison, but not until 1723.¹⁶⁰

The beadle was a long established officer of the parish. The only uniformed officer, he acted as a messenger, summoning and attending Vestry meetings and distributing notices in the parish. He was also an assistant to the parish constable and expected to help maintain law and order throughout the parish. In 1725, St Michan's laid down that the beadle must, at the first tolling of the bell for morning and evening services and funerals, go to the church to ensure the church avenues were 'perfectly clean and sweet' and free of beggars; that all noisy children and other 'Idle & disorderly persons who play or sport ' or create a disturbance were removed from the churchyard; that dogs were removed from the church and that 'Swine, Goats & other Cattle' were kept out of the churchyard; and that the lamps at the church door were lit. He was to ensure an infant 'exposed' on the parish was cared for; that diligent enquiries were made to find its parents; and that the nurses appointed to look after such children cared for them properly.¹⁶¹

The parish supplied the beadle with a hat and blue serge coat, stockings and shoes. He was appointed by the Vestry on a surety of 'good behaviour' and could be dismissed for misconduct. St Bride's suspended beadle John Berry in 1674 when a parish orphan in his care gave birth to a bastard which disappeared.¹⁶² No beadle was permitted to sell ale or live in a house that sold ale. When St Michael's appointed Samuel Hunter as parish beadle in 1718 he was warned that if he transgressed this rule his salary would cease and he would be dismissed from his post.¹⁶³ St Mary's prosecuted two former church wardens because they had accepted a bribe from John Watson in return for the post of beadle.¹⁶⁴ Despite such efforts the parish beadle was never held in high respect.

The parishes had been required to keep a school and teach English since Henry VIII's reign.¹⁶⁵ Most parishes, however, did not have a permanent parish school until the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century (see Table 4:11). Nor were all schools within the parishes charity schools. In 1706 St Bride's granted Dr John Jones permission to rebuild the church of St Michael de la Pole and establish it as a school. When he retired in 1712, Jones was able to reclaim two-thirds of his initial outlay from the parish.¹⁶⁶

The increasing legislation of the eighteenth century brought other offices of profit. From 1719, every parish was required by law to maintain a fire engine.¹⁶⁷ After 1721 watchmen had to be appointed to police the parish at night.¹⁶⁸ On a more casual basis the parish employed scavengers to clean the parish, clock keepers, and men to work the organ bellows. These were not required by law, but were necessary for the maintenance of parish property. The wages were similar, but it is difficult to establish if this came about through an agreed policy or had evolved over time and although each post had certain responsibilities parochial officers were expected to render whatever service could reasonably be required of them. They in turn could expect to receive payment, in addition to their salaries, for any extra help they might give the parish.

Table 2:2: Offices of Profit 1660-1729

	St Bride	St Catherine	St John	St Luke	St Mark	St Mary	St Michael	St Paul	St Peter
Lecturer		£25	£10			£10	£30		
Reader		£25	£10 £12			£10	£8 £12		£5
Vestry Clerk	£10	£8	£6		£3	£4 £10		£2*	£3 £8
Parish Clerk	£6		£5			£5 £9	£5 £6**	£5*	
Sexton	£4 £10	£4 £5	£6		£5	£4	£5 £7	£3 £5	£3 £4
Beadle	£4 £5	£6	£6	£4 £6	£3	£4 £6	£4 £9	£3 £4	£2
Organist	£12	£13 £17	£25			£30			£16 £20
Organ bellower	£2		£25			£4			
Organ keeper		£5	£8						
Clock keeper		£2							
Engine keeper		£2	£4 £5			£6			
School master		£14	£6				£10		

Sources: St Bride's VM 1662-1742; St Catherine's VM 1657-1692, 1693-1730; St John's VM 1660-1710, 1711-1766; St Luke's Church Wardens' Accounts 1716-1777; St Mark's VM 1720-1829; St Mary's VM 1699-1739; St Michael's VM 1667-1754; St Paul's VM 1698-1750; St Peter's VM 1668-1736

Notes to Table 2:2

NB Although not included, St Anne's, St Andrew's, St Audeon's, St James', St Michan's, St Nicholas Within, St Nicholas Without, and St Werburgh's would have appointed such officers.

* The post was combined. In 1720 the salary was raised to £10.

** The post was combined with that of Vestry clerk.

The Vestry

'A vestry, properly speaking, is the assembly of the whole parish met together in some convenient place for the dispatch of the affairs and business of the parish'.¹⁶⁹

The Vestry was the base upon which parish authority was founded. It was a parish assembly attended by the minister or his curate, the church officers and parishioners. Its

function was to oversee and approve the management of all parish business. Although its powers did not extend beyond the parish boundaries, within those boundaries its decisions were binding on the parish's inhabitants. No decision, however, could be passed unless it had been endorsed by the majority, in the presence of the minister or curate. Decisions taken without the presence of the minister or curate were invalid. This occurred in St Catherine's in the 1680s when decisions made concerning the allocation of pews were made in the absence of the minister.¹⁷⁰ A minister's power was not, however, absolute. In 1674 St Bride's minister, John Yarner, and his parishioners disagreed over the election of the church wardens. The matter was referred to the archbishop for arbitration. He proposed two new candidates, a compromise which was accepted by both parties.¹⁷¹ Neither the minister, nor the church wardens, could adjourn a meeting without the consent of the majority. The Vestry was, therefore, government by consensus.

In London the Vestry was an assembly open to the ratepayers. If business affected the precinct it was called a 'general Vestry' or 'public meeting'. If, however, the Vestry was called for other purposes then attendance was confined to a group of ten to twenty inhabitants and it was called a 'select Vestry'.¹⁷² In 1638, fifty-nine of the one hundred and nine parishes listed in London had select Vestries. Many of these Vestries were opened in or after 1641 but were then closed again after 1660. A select Vestry, however, did not exclude the general body of parishioners from attending precinct meetings or from electing lecturers. In fact many parishes had general and select Vestries.¹⁷³ Between 1685 and 1835 just over a quarter of London's metropolitan parishes had select Vestries.¹⁷⁴

In Dublin a similar tradition existed. Every parishioner paying church rates, or scot and lot, was permitted to attend the Vestry and to vote. Attendance was not, however, obligatory. Those resident outside the parish, but holding land within the parish, were also entitled to vote at Vestry meetings. Every Vestry 'act' or order was to be entered into a parish book and signed by all those who had consented to the implementation of the order.¹⁷⁵ It is not clear, however, if the parishes had adopted the tradition of general and

select Vestries. All important Vestries, such as the one held at Easter to elect the church officers for the forthcoming year, were 'legally calld & assembl'd'.¹⁷⁶ This meant that the parish had been notified, publicly, of the Vestry, where it was to be held and the purpose of the meeting. Other meetings were convened which were not prefaced with this remark which may indicate that they were not open to the parish at large. Occasionally meetings were held which could not have been announced publicly. In 1688 St Catherine's refused to allow the transfer of a pew because the transaction had been agreed in an 'ale house'.¹⁷⁷

One indication that the parishes may have followed the London tradition can be surmised from the signatures which endorsed all Vestry resolutions. The small number of signatures attached to the entries in the Vestry minutes have always been interpreted as a sign of apathy on the part of the parishioners. It was assumed that all parishioners attending the Vestry signed the minutes. A small number of signatures indicated a small attendance. It may be, however, that the small number of signatures indicates the holding of a select Vestry. Some meetings were relatively well attended, perhaps indicating a general Vestry. In 1683 St Bride's held a Vestry to discuss church repairs which was attended by 'near three score of the chief inhabitants'.¹⁷⁸ The minutes are signed by only fourteen inhabitants because, as a memorandum explains, the majority could not wait for the decisions to be 'fairly transcribed'.¹⁷⁹

The Vestry was responsible for dispatching parish business but meetings were called at the discretion of the parish. One Vestry had to be held during Easter week to elect new church officers to serve during the forthcoming year. After 1721, and the introduction of the parish Watch, it became a statutory requirement to hold a Vestry in February to elect the directors of the Watch.¹⁸⁰ For the remainder of the year the holding of Vestry meetings was dictated by parish business. The evidence suggests that parish business was carried out in a desultory fashion. Although every 'act' was supposed to be entered into the Vestry minutes the evidence indicates that this rule was not fulfilled. Parochial administration was complex, embracing many aspects of local government and

yet, if the minutes are taken at face value, meetings were convened infrequently - too infrequently to cope with the complexities of administration. In reality the parishes seem to have been selective, entering 'acts' considered important or which might be challenged. In 1678, after several unsuccessful attempts to convene a Vestry, St Bride's church wardens decided to proceed with repairs to the church without the parishioners' consent. The minutes make it clear that it was parochial apathy which had forced the church wardens to act in such an arbitrary manner.¹⁸¹

The parochial approach to record keeping was similar throughout the city and the introduction of the vestry clerk effected little change. In the rural parishes, such as Finglas and Carlow, the records suggest that Vestries were not called regularly. This impression, based on the number of entries recorded in the Vestry minutes, may not reflect the real situation. It would, however, have been difficult to organize regular Vestries in a large parish such as Finglas where the population would have been spread over a wide area. A lack of interest on the part of the parishioners may have affected the frequency with which Vestry meetings were held. St Bride's experiences of parochial apathy in the seventeenth century may have influenced the number of Vestries called, especially if there was a tradition within the parish of 'select' and 'general' Vestries. The Vestry met with difficulties again in the eighteenth century. In 1723, the parish adjourned Vestry meetings on two occasions without any business being conducted. No explanation is given for the adjournments but the most likely reason is non-attendance by St Bride's parishioners.¹⁸²

Some Vestry meetings were protracted affairs requiring a number of entries. Such Vestries were concerned with the sale of pews. Each transaction was entered into the minutes and signed by a small number of parishioners. The signatures indicate a steady flow of parishioners, for the entries are signed by different parishioners many of whom sign only once. Such entries occur in the Finglas Vestry minutes in April 1682 and in St Catherine's Vestry minutes in 1686-87.¹⁸³

The Vestry could be affected by outside influences. Although the parishes continued to call Vestry meetings during the troubled years of 1685-90 the country's turmoils did make an impact upon parochial management. Between 1685 and 1688 St Michael's Vestry minutes record the annual auditing of the church wardens accounts and one Vestry meeting per year. No further entries concerning the church wardens' accounts are made until 1691. Then the church wardens' accounts, dealing with spending between 1689 and 1691, are audited as one account.¹⁸⁴ Some sense of Protestant unease can be gleaned from the occasional terse Vestry entry. St Michael's records that the parish had spent 4/6d repairing damage done to the church in a search for arms in c.1689.¹⁸⁵ St Catherine's noted that the 'Calimity of ye times' had forced Thomas Russell, a brewer, to flee to England therefore the parish was prepared to reduce his fine for non-service from £9 to £5.¹⁸⁶

The Vestry minutes brief references to Protestant misfortunes are misleading for they imply a certain disregard for the sufferings of fellow Protestants. In fact the parishes sympathized and gave practical help whenever possible. Money was raised to help suffering Protestants in many parts of the country.¹⁸⁷ The Vestry's main purpose was, however, to supervise the management of the parish and this is reflected in the minutes. The parish, as the lowest rung on the ladder of government, had to ensure that legislation was complied with, mayoral edicts were fulfilled, taxes were raised, the poor were cared for, the church repaired and the parish policed. These were the day-to-day preoccupations of parochial management.

For the annually elected officials the responsibilities of parochial management were onerous. It is difficult to tell to what extent the majority of parishioners chose to involve themselves in the parish's day-to-day affairs. If the number of signatures attached to each Vestry entry is the criterion by which involvement is judged then few bothered with the business of the parish. Some became involved in parish business for a particular reason. John Whinnery attended a number of Vestries in St Mary's while he was in dispute with

the parish over non-payment of building costs. On each occasion that Whinnery signed the minutes, in 1721 and in 1725, the Vestry meeting had been called to discuss the debts which had arisen from the building of the church.¹⁸⁸

Such involvement was limited and designed to achieve a purpose. In the general run of business, control of parish affairs seems to have been overseen by a small group of prominent parishioners. The less educated were not excluded from parish business. From time to time, especially during the seventeenth century, parishioners' signatures were given the qualification 'his marke'. The majority who served the parish were, like their London counterparts, drawn from the 'middling sort'. They accepted office to gain the respect of their neighbours and this may have been a factor in persuading some Dissenters to serve. It is difficult, however, to calculate the size of Dublin's Vestries. Protestant numbers fluctuated. In May 1690 it was calculated that Dublin's male Protestant population was '8300 & some odd persons'.¹⁸⁹ By c.1693 their numbers had improved dramatically:

for we may reckon fourty thousand protestants in Dublin, of which $\frac{1}{4}$ may be dissenters there are at present 13 churchs at present yt are served & we may account about 700 in each church on a Ldsdy, one with another; so yt 9100 appear at church on a Ldsdy, which is not a third part of the conformable inhabitants, therefore it is necessary to provide more room for ym & oblige ym to attend more constantly.¹⁹⁰

Until 1719 and the Irish Statute 6 Geo. I, c.5, which stated that Dissenters appointed to parochial office must engage a deputy, all Protestants were eligible for service. The size of the Vestries may have been influenced such legislation. The numbers of disaffected must have reduced the size of the Vestries with the inevitable adverse effect on the parishes as a whole.

Despite these constraints the Vestries were vital to the management of parochial affairs. They were the single cohesive unit within the parish. Their effectiveness as a unit, and as agents of local government, must have depended on the men elected to office. To what extent an official thought of himself as belonging to 'St Catherine's', 'St Michan's' or 'St Peter's' parish is unclear, but parochial loyalty did exist. The most overt expressions of

collective loyalty were the boundary disputes. Parochial boundaries defined the limits and extent of responsibility and were jealously guarded. Infringements led to contentious and lengthy litigation between neighbouring parishes. The underlying motivation behind such quarrels was the preservation of parochial income, but pride may also have been a factor. Protracted lawsuits were costly and required the parish's financial backing. St Catherine's and St Audeon's wrangled for eleven years, 1709-1719[20], over Usher's Island. Finally St Catherine's abandoned its claim because it had proved 'very chargeable to the Parish to wage law against the Parish of St Audeon's for Usher's Island'.¹⁹¹

Table 2:3: Examples of Vestry Signatures 1660-1729

		Average nos entries a year	Average nos of signatures a year	Average nos of signatures a entry	Illiterate signatures
1660	Finglas*	3	18	5	51
-	St Catherine's	4	33	8	4
1669	St Michael's**	2	22	10	1
1680	Finglas***	4	26	13	16
-	St Catherine's	13	68	6	1
1689	St Michael's	4	58	15	13
1700	Finglas	4	28	6	7
-	St Catherine's	13	128	13	4
1709	St Michael's	4	43	10	
1720	Finglas	2	13	8	3
-	St Catherine's	5	81	15	2
1729	St Michael's	7	76	11	1

Sources: St Catherine's VM 1657-1692; 1693-1730; Finglas VM 1657-1758; St Michael's VM 1667-1754

Notes to Table 2:3

NB The average number of entries per year is calculated on ALL entries. Multiple entries with a single date, such as the five entries made for 15 November are counted as separate entries. All unsigned entries are included.

* Records for 9 years. No entries for 1660

** Records for 3 years. No entries for 1665, 1667, 1669

*** Records for 9 years. No entries for 1700.

* * *

The prosperity of the parish rested in the hands of the annually elected officials and in their ability to perform the many duties which accompanied parochial office. The parish was, however, a corporate body and, while the role of the officers was pivotal, other

factors influenced effective parochial management. The parish looked to the clergy to provide leadership and a moral example. It demanded that its elected officers serve conscientiously. It relied upon the Vestry, as the representative assembly of the parish, to oversee parish business. The lack of signatures attached to Vestry minutes and the reluctance on the part of some to attend Vestry meetings suggests the Vestry was not well regarded. Despite this apparent disregard the Vestry performed an important role, for it allowed the ordinary citizen to participate in government. The Vestries' right to control and manage parochial affairs was limited. Its decisions could be countermanded. Nevertheless it was the basis of parish authority. It was the combination of all these separate entities which produced effective parochial management. Although the majority of parishioners were apathetic, significant numbers did participate. Had they not, the system, which relied so exclusively on voluntary participation, would have failed completely.

Chapter 3

'Receipts and Disbursements' - The Parochial Budget

Overseeing the management of parochial funds was a difficult and laborious task. The job was made more complex by the variety of sources from which parochial funds were derived and by the number of obligations those funds were required to meet. There was a further complication for the parish was obliged to act as a civil tax collector. As an autonomous, self-financing unit, the parish had full control over its own internal finances and its officials were servants of the Vestry. As a unit of government, however, it had no control over the disposal of funds raised to meet external obligations and its officials were agents of the city. Despite the apparent distinction between the two functions in the day-to-day management of parish affairs this important fact is less discernible. It must, however, be borne in mind especially when examining parochial involvement in civic expenditure and minister's money.

Every year, in their capacity as servants of the Vestry, the church wardens had to raise money to meet the domestic needs of the parish. For example, the church had to be maintained and although the cost of individual items and specific repairs was seldom large, as the carefully itemised church wardens accounts show, they were a constant drain on resources. There were other regular demands too such as the provision of bread and wine for the celebration of the Eucharist; candles to light the church; and the salaries of church employees such as the beadle, sexton and organist. In difficult times part of these costs might be deferred, but such a ploy could only ever provide a temporary respite from a parish's obligations.

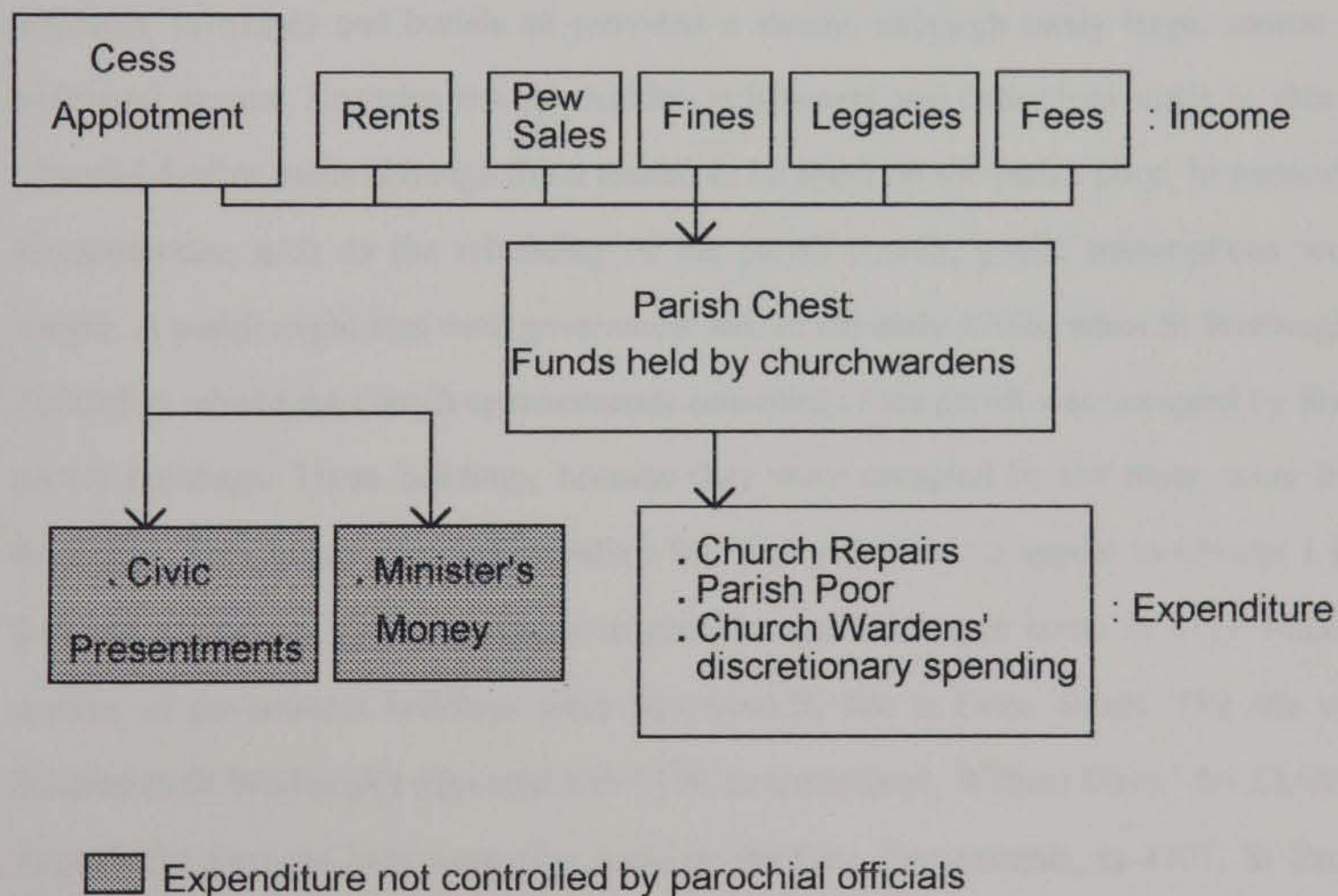
In addition, as agents of the city, the church wardens had to ensure that the parish's obligations to the state and the municipality were met. Although seldom referred to explicitly in the records the parishes were involved in raising taxes for Parliament. It was parochial officials who implemented such taxes as Hearth Money and the Poll Tax. After

1665, and the introduction of the St Andrew's Act, the parishes were also required to collect Minister's Money.¹ The City, through the imposition of levies, used the parishes to pay for such things as the upkeep of the urban infrastructure and the city militia. These levies, known as presentments, were submitted to the court of the Tholsel for authorization. In the eighteenth century, however, authorization could also be sought in a higher court, the court of the King's Bench. The Lord Mayor, on behalf of the city, submitted the presentments to the court which acted as a Grand Jury. When the court had approved the presentments, warrants were issued which granted the Lord Mayor permission to levy the city. The required sum was then apportioned, proportionately, upon all Dublin's parishes who were deemed to have fulfilled their financial obligations once each particular levy had been met. The unprecedented growth which occurred during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, however, placed increasing strain on the urban environment. As a consequence municipal taxation increased and the parishes found they were expected to contribute more, and more frequently, to the city's coffers.

With so many competing demands it was imperative that the church wardens managed financial affairs with circumspection. Although as an autonomous unit the parish controlled its own budget outside influences could effect its financial viability. The inability to collect municipal and parochial levies in full meant arrears were allowed to accrue. Dublin's growing numbers of poor, a persistent drain on funds, stretched resources still further. Economic uncertainty could impose additional problems. In fact, with so many disparate influences achieving parochial solvency was frequently a struggle for although resources were reasonably reliable, they were by no means guaranteed. As the seventeenth century gave way to the eighteenth parochial costs spiralled. For example, in the 1660s, St Bride's average earnings were £24 *per annum*, and the parish had been able to control expenditure sufficiently to ensure it did not exceed those earnings significantly. Between 1670 and 1689, however, expenditure outstripped earnings. Parochial solvency was restored in the 1690s, but by 1700 the parish was once more spending more than it earned.

Between 1700 and 1703 income averaged £99/17/7d *per annum* but expenditure had risen to an average of £103/11/2d *per annum*.²

The overall impression for St John's over a similar period, 1660 to 1699, is one of financial security. The parish's average annual income generally exceeded the average annual expenditure. A closer scrutiny of the figures, however, shows a slightly different picture. In the 1660s and 1670s it was exceptional for annual expenditure to exceed annual income. During the 1680s and 1690s, however, the parish's annual expenditure frequently outstripped its income. The arrears, between £1 and £3, remained small and were therefore easily met.³ Of more significance was the increasing cost of maintaining the parish. Between the 1660s and 1690s costs increased by almost 75%.⁴ Meanwhile, income during the same period increased by only 60%.⁵ The figures illustrate the fine line that determined parochial solvency. Consequently by the beginning of the eighteenth century few parishes remained free from some sort of debt.



Parochial Income

The management of parochial finances was the church wardens' responsibility. They oversaw the apportioning of all taxation, supervised its collection and ensured that the sum raised went to the appropriate body. The task of collection was usually undertaken by the sidesmen and constables who were appointed by the Vestry to act as collectors when needed. Occasionally the Vestry would appoint named individuals to act as special collectors for a particular purpose. For example, in 1720 St Mary's appointed Henry Green to act as collector for the fifth and sixth portions of money which the parish was to raise to pay for the building of the church.⁶

Parish funds were raised from a variety of sources - see diagram above. The most popular method of raising revenue was by direct taxation through the parish cess or applotment. Parochial funds were also supplemented in a variety of other ways. The sale of pews, rents on property owned by the parish, fines for non-service, and fees for baptisms, marriages and burials all provided a steady, although rarely large, source of additional income. Legacies left by wealthy parishioners and collections made in church provided further funds although these tended to be spent on the parish poor. In particular circumstances, such as the rebuilding of the parish church, public subscriptions were sought. A parish might also seek government aid. In the early 1700s, when St Werburgh's decided to rebuild the church approximately one-third of the parish was occupied by State owned buildings. These buildings, because they were occupied by the State, were free from rates for Church purposes therefore the Vestry decided to appeal to George I for financial assistance. The opportunity to provide such assistance arose in 1711 when a number of government buildings were destroyed by fire in Essex Street. The site was donated to St Werburgh's who sold it in 1714, to a merchant, William Davy,⁷ for £2,000.⁸ Appeals for financial help were also made to the City. For example, in 1701, St Paul's reminded the Assembly of their promise to provide financial relief in the building of

churches.⁹ St Nicholas Within was granted £100 towards its rebuilding by the City in 1707.¹⁰

The Cess or Applotment

The cess or applotment was the parish's principal method of securing funds. It was a form of direct taxation and was popular because it allowed for administrative flexibility. Therefore applotments were levied for many reasons and for varying amounts. They could be levied annually, or occasionally; on the parish as a whole, or on a particular section of it. Every parish, however, regardless of the purpose of the cess, followed an identical set of administrative procedures. To assist the administrative process each parish, as in the city as a whole, was divided into a number of districts or parochial wards, and it is possible that early parish wards and municipal wards were coterminous. The city's expansion, however, forced the parishes to revise ward boundaries. Where once an entire street had formed a ward, it sometimes became necessary to divide the street and create two separate wards. Each parish ward was supervised by a constable, or constables, depending on its size, and it was his duty to help the sidesmen in collecting the cess.¹¹ In 1707, for example, the parish of St Nicholas Without was divided into four parochial wards; each ward was supervised by two sidesmen and two or three constables.¹² With the division of St Nicholas Without in 1707 to form St Nicholas and St Luke's, the number of parish wards in St Nicholas Without was reduced to three. The parish maintained the number of sidesmen per parish ward (two), but the number of constables per parish ward now varied from year to year according to requirements. In 1718, Patrick Street and New Street had two constables each while Francis Street had three. In 1722, Patrick Street was still supervised by two constables, but Francis Street now required four constables and in New Street there were three constables to help collect a parochial cess of £50.¹³

The determination of an applotment was controlled by the minister, church wardens and a panel of specifically named parishioners. The panel had no authority to

determine an applotment without the participation of the minister and at least one of the church wardens. To qualify for selection a nominee was expected to have had previous experience of parochial office. In the case of prominent parishioners this criterion for nomination and selection was often waived. The practice was for each parish to nominate a large panel, although only a stated number of parishioners were expected to participate actively in the applotment. The number nominated, and the number expected to assist, depended on the purpose of the applotment and the sum it was required to raise.

In 1681-2 St Catherine's had to make several applotments. The first, made on 7 July 1681, required the collection of £200 to meet a decree of chancery for a parish debt. The panel named fifteen prominent parishioners, but only nine, including the church wardens, were to form a quorum. In January 1681[/82], the Lord Mayor made two applotments on the city; the parish had to raise £84 for the building of a new bridge, and £15 for fire and candlelight for the city's militia. This time St Catherine's nominated twenty-six parishioners, six assisting the church wardens to apportion the applotments. The parishes retained this flexibility until 1723. Under 10 Geo. I, c.3, each parish had to elect a panel of thirteen parishioners, including the church wardens, to apportion the cesses.¹⁴ A panel's final composition was governed by the parishioner's willingness to volunteer, rather than by compulsory service. Most parishioners could expect to be nominated for a number of consecutive years, sometimes before they served as church warden, but more often after their term in office. The majority were then excused further parochial responsibility.

The apportionment panel determined the rate at which the applotment should be levied, and who should be levied. There was no uniform parish rate. It varied from cess to cess. Consequently the amount each parishioner might expect to pay also varied. An individual's contribution depended upon the overall amount the parish was required to raise coupled with his ability to pay. In St Michan's, in June 1725, a cess of £19/11/10d was levied on all the inhabitants of Church Street, King's Street and Stirrip Lane who had

any 'dependence' on the new sewer recently made in Church Street. A total of seventy-one cesses were levied, each cess applotted at 9¼d in the £1. Another cess of £4/9/3d, also applotted in 1725, was required for cleaning and repairing a sewer leading from 'Hamon Lane to the River Anna Liffy'. In this cess only fifteen inhabitants were applotted at 6d in the £1.¹⁵ When, however, the cess was levied to pay for church repairs, then the applotment was made on the whole parish.

Although the rate at which an applotment was levied was adjusted to meet the individual requirements of each particular cess, one applotment was governed by very strict rules. This was the applotment for Minister's Money. Early applotments in St John's Applotment Accounts show that there the inhabitants had paid Minister's Money annually between 1662 and 1664, however, after 1665 and the enactment of 17&18 Chas. II, c.7 the applotment had to be carried out according to specific rules. The primary purpose of the Act had been to establish a reliable source of income for Protestant ministers. Under the Act each parish was to appoint commissioners who were required to value all property within the parish, since property values were henceforth to determine the basis upon which the minister's salary was calculated. The Act also established the rate at which money should be levied after valuation, 12d in the £1. In addition it stated that no property could be valued at over £60 and that the minimum time to be allowed between valuations was three years. The commissioners were obligated to ensure that each house within the parish received a valuation, which could be amended at a future date should, for example, the property be redeveloped or expanded. St Peter's undertook a valuation in 1680 in which 'ffarrell's shed' on King Street was valued at £2. In the following valuation, made in 1684, John Burrows' house described as 'formerly called ffarrell's shed' on King Street North was valued at £4.¹⁶ Once a valuation had been made the appropriate levy was to be paid to the church wardens four times a year - the Nativity; Annunciation; Feast of John the Baptist; and the Feast of St Michael.

The right to take out a commission of valuation rested with the incumbent of a parish, although it may have been necessary to gain parochial consent. On 15 October 1683, St John's Vestry granted its minister permission to take out a commission. Before instituting a commission the minister had to observe certain rules. He had to obtain a certificate from the clerk of Council or his deputy stating that no commission of valuation had been issued for three years. The certificate was then referred to the government accompanied by a request for permission to hold a commission of valuation. Once governmental permission had been granted, the Lord Chancellor was ordered to grant a commission. The Lord Chancellor's warrant was passed to the Clerk of the Hanaper for the attachment of the Great Seal. Once a commission had been issued, but before any valuations could be undertaken, public notice had to be given during Divine Service that a commission had been approved. On completion of a commission, public notice had to be given to state that a valuation had been made. A 'true' copy of every valuation made was to be transcribed and displayed on the inner door of the parish church for a minimum of eight days to allow for perusal. Finally a certificate of valuation had to be given to the inhabitant of each house valued. If no inhabitant could be found, the valuation was to be posted on the front door where it was to remain for six days before a valuation could be approved by the Privy Council.¹⁷

Applotments were an important part of parochial budgeting, and the introduction of Minister's Money was particularly significant for all parochial applotments. It came to be used increasingly as a bench-mark for apportioning cesses. In 1679, St Bride's ordered that double the sum normally paid by the parish in Minister's Money was to be applotted on the parish to pay for church repairs.¹⁸

In the eighteenth century it became the established practice, in all the parishes, to calculate a parishioner's portion of all cesses according to the value of his property as it was rated for the payment of Minister's Money.¹⁹ St Mary's employed it in 1705.²⁰ In St Peter's in 1714, for example, the annual applotment of £70 was to be levied at 4d in every

1/- paid in Minister's Money. The parish did, however, make some concessions for those paying high Minister's Money charges. If an affidavit of their rent were produced, the parish would levy the cess at 4d in every 1/- of rent.²¹ Later the parish added a further qualification to ensure that all those liable for taxation should pay their dues. If a house had still to be valued for Minister's Money, the cess would be levied according to rent paid.²² St Michan's used Minister's Money valuations in 1724 when applotting its proportion of warrants issued by the city. The parish required £52/11/4³/₄d and had set the rate at 3¹/₂d in the £1 of yearly value as valued for Minister's Money. This rate had been determined for the total value of property within the parish. Houses within the parish were valued for Minister's Money at £7344/10/0d, and the value of yearly rent was £1676/10/0d. These two estimates - property values and rent values - were then added together to give an overall estimate of the value of property within the parish, £9,021. The applotment was then apportioned according to this total and when levied at the above rate it was expected the £9,021 would yield £56/7/7¹/₂d.²³ The introduction of applotment according to Minister's Money values was probably first employed as a convenient way of dispelling dissent. It would have been regarded as fair, reflecting an individual's ability to pay. In 1723, legislation was introduced which used Minister's Money valuations as the basis of an applotment for the first time.²⁴

The increasing use of the Minister's Money as a bench-mark for the apportioning of applotments ensured that the levy imposed upon a parishioner was liable to be a more accurate reflection of his means. Prior to its use the apportioning panel had been under a strict obligation to applot with fairness and because only solvent parishioners could be included in an applotment a parishioner's financial circumstances had to be borne in mind. Objections to parochial applotments are seldom recorded but St John's Vestry minutes provide a rare example of dissent. In 1688, several parishioners complained of irregularities in the levying of a Poor Cess, and refused to pay the cess. The sidesmen were reluctant to act and take distresses until the cess had been approved by the Vestry. This

was done on 8 December and the collection of the cess was ordered. A sense of distrust still lingered for on 8 January 1688[/89] the Vestry reported that two sidesmen had neglected to collect their portion of the cess. Their accounts had not been submitted to the church wardens for examination, and they had refused to attend the Vestry and explain their actions. The Vestry ordered them to collect the cess and pay it to the church wardens within four days. If they had not fulfilled their obligations by then the church wardens were to take the two sidesmen to the Consistory court for contempt.²⁵

When a parishioner did refuse to pay his levy he became liable to distraint. This allowed the church wardens the right to confiscate and sell goods owned by the individual up to the value of the default. The church officers, both church wardens and sidesmen, were indemnified by the parish whenever they were obliged to distraint. This was a necessary protection. In 1695, Daniel Nichols and John Powel, church wardens in St Peter's, were arrested for distraining goods of a Mr Gee who owed Poor money. The parish promised to indemnify them against claims made by Gee.²⁶

The items taken in distraint were generally small household articles. In 1716, in St Werburgh's, ten parishioners were distrained for failing to meet their obligations to a public cess. Among the various items seized by the church wardens were a tankard valued at 4/4d; a teapot and two earthenware plates, valued at 9d; a powder 'Tryer' valued at 10/2d; and a pair of silk stockings and a diaper nightcap valued at 6/9d and 1/1d respectively.²⁷ Although the distresses were made in September, 1716, the parish did not receive their value in money until 21 October, 1717. The parish may have refrained from realising the distraint money in order to allow the defaulters time to make good their arrears. In the seventeenth century, parishioners in St John's had complained that distresses had been taken for Poor money before they had had time to raise the necessary funds.²⁸ When the money had been collected, it was given to the church wardens with the request that the distresses should be returned. The distresses could not be found and it was

decided to make a sturdy chest, with good locks, in which to hold future distresses taken by the sidesmen.²⁹

A far greater problem for the parishes was 'insolvencies'. No explanations are given but the implication is that some parishioners may have either refused to pay on the grounds of an unfair applotment, or have been unable to pay. Parishioners would have had many reasons for not paying their proportion of a parish cess. Catholics were cessed in exactly the same manner as Protestants and it must have been galling to be expected to pay for the maintenance of the Anglican minister and his church. Despite the injunction to applot with fairness, some parishioners would simply have been too poor to pay their contribution. Where arrears did occur, the parish's greatest difficulty was always to recoup the lost revenue. In St Catherine's, in 1671, Richard Warren, the church warden for the previous year, returned a deficit of £60/0/3d. The parish decided to demand payment from all the defaulters. If they refused to meet the demand the matter was to be pursued by Warren through the 'Bishops Court'.³⁰ Meanwhile the serving church wardens were to audit Warren's accounts and then present them to the Lord Chancellor. Once the accounts had been passed by the Lord Chancellor, any outstanding debts on Warren's account was to be paid immediately from church funds.

Warren's family encountered further problems connected with the collection of arrears several years later. By 1 May 1683, although Warren was dead, there was a debt of £61/6/5d still outstanding. This, the Vestry reported, had arisen because a number of parishioners had defaulted on a previous cess.³¹ The Vestry decided to levy a cess to meet the debt. This was to be collected by Warren's widow, Elizabeth, at her expense. In 1685, however, the debt had still not been met and Warren's widow sought a warrant from the Lord Mayor to collect the arrears.³² The arrears were still outstanding on 7 June 1692 when James Young complained to the Vestry on his wife, Elizabeth's, behalf.³³ He claimed the Vestry had assessed and apportioned the cess on 8 November, 1680, but the 'Leate Trobles & Callommous of the Tymes' had prevented its collection.³⁴ The parish

agreed to institute collection immediately. Young was to supervise the collection and was granted permission to nominate the cess collectors.

The parish also made poor applotments. This is something of a misnomer as although a proportion went to meet the needs of the parish poor, the money raised by this applotment also provided for the church wardens' day-to-day expenses. The applotted sum was always an estimate of anticipated needs. For example, levies in St John's between 1662 and 1666, ranged from £78 to £71/1/6d.³⁵ Actual needs, however, frequently outstripped anticipated requirements. Importantly too, although in the above mentioned period St John's levied the parish annually, it is very unclear as to whether this was general practice. Evidence for the seventeenth century suggests that the Poor Cess was not levied on a consistent basis only when necessary. In the eighteenth century, however, it is used with increasing regularity and it became the parishes' principal source of income.

The applotment records of St John's indicate that each year, the setting, supervising, collecting and paying out of the various parochial applotments must have consumed a great deal of the church wardens' time. These burdens were, however, only acknowledged with reluctance. In 1726, St Michan's minister accepting the onerous nature of the duties granted his church wardens £10 *per annum* to pay for an assistant to help in the collection of Minister's Money, Poorhouse Money, Watch Money and Parish Cesses.³⁶ Cesses raised for civic purposes were not mentioned and it must be assumed that the church wardens were expected to meet the obligations imposed by those taxes on their own.³⁷

Table 3:1: St John's Applotments 1675

Type of Tax	Authority	Month Levied	Amount required	Number cessed
Corporation Tax	Lord Mayor	unknown	£141/15/0d	244
Poor Cess	Parochial	June	£36/3/6d	289
Bridge Cess	Lord Mayor	June	£36	252
Fire/Candlelight	Lord Mayor	June	£18/6/5d	251

Source: St John's Applotment Book, 1659-1696.

The number of cesses which the church wardens were required to set in a given year was governed by two factors: firstly, the demands made upon the parish by its own parishioners; secondly, the demands made by the city. In 1675, for example, St John's drew up four applotments, and as Table 3:1 shows, only one was directly related to the parish's own particular needs. The system employed by the parish for the apportioning of all applotments was, however, the same. St John's was divided five wards, Wood Quay, Blind Quay, Fishamble Street, Winetavern Street and Smock Alley. The somewhat arbitrary nature of parochial government is highlighted in Table 3:2A where Smock Alley has been replaced by Rose Alley and 'Sheepleys Ally' (Shipley's Alley). Although described as a Poor Cess its actual purpose was to meet the parish's general needs and so all solvent parishioners would have been cessed. Each parochial ward was assessed for a specified sum, reflecting population density, as well as personal wealth. Only a minority of those cessed, 3%, were taxed in the highest bracket and the wealthier citizens were dispersed throughout the parish. Fishamble Street, St John's largest ward, had the greatest number of affluent inhabitants.³⁸ St John's smallest ward, Smock Alley, was also its poorest.

Table 3:2A: St John's Applotment 1675 - Poor Cess £36/3/6d

	Wood Quay	Rose Alley & Sheepleys Ally	Blind Quay	Fishamble St	Winetavern St
Portion of Applotment	£5/14/6d	£2/15/6d	£9/6/6d	£11/1/9d	£7/4/9d
Nos Assessed	47	23	71	92	56
Max Payment	5/6d	6/-	15/-	8/-	8/-
A Nos paying 8/- or more			5 (7%)	2 (2%)	1 (2%)
B Nos paying 7/- to 4/-	10 (21%)	6 (26%)	9 (13%)	20 (22%)	12 (21%)
C Nos paying 3/9d to 1/-	26 (55%)	10 (44%)	50 (70%)	59 (64%)	31 (55%)
D Nos paying 6d or less.	11 (24%)	6 (26%)	7 (10%)	11 (12%)	10 (18%)
E Paid no cess		1 (4%)			2 'empty' (4%)

Source: St John's Applotment Book, 1659-1696.

Notes to Table 3:2A : All percentages are rounded up to the nearest % point.

The beginning of the eighteenth century saw the patterns established by St John's in the mid-seventeenth century repeated. The number of parishioners included in an applotment continued to vary, as did their individual contributions. It was unusual for the now annual Church Repairs/Poor Cess to exceed £45.³⁹ In 1710, however, the applotment was assessed at £80. Comparisons between Tables 3:2A and 3:2B show that the burden of taxation had, on this occasion, been spread more evenly through the parish. Those paying the highest levy, in band **A**, represent 17% of the population. Parishioners taxed in bands **B**, **C** and **D** comprised 28%, 25% and 28% of the inhabitants respectively. The poorest, taxed in band **E**, was made up by just 2% of the parish's population.

Table 3:2B: St John's Applotment 1710 - Poor/Church Repairs Cess £80

	Fishamble St	Blind Quay	Smock Alley	Wood Quay	Winetavern St
Portion of Applotment	£26/10/10d	£16/10/8d	£5/7/0d	£13/15/2d	£15/2/2d
Total nos Assessed	75 [79]	44[47+]	20	47[46*]	48
Maximum Payment	18/6d	13/6d	18/-	12/6d	16/-
A Nos paying 10/- or more	19 (25%)	5 (11%)	3 (15%)	7 (15%)	6 (12.5%)
B Nos paying 9/11d to 7/-	23 (31%)	18 (41%)	2 (10%)	10 (21%)	13 (27%)
C Nos paying 6/11d to 4/-	10 (13%)	14 (32%)	3 (15%)	13 (28%)	18 (37.5%)
D Nos paying 3/11d to 1/-	22 (30%)	6 (14%)	11 (55%)	17 (36%)	10 (21%)
E Nos paying 11d or less	1 (1%)	1 (2%)	1 (5%)		1 (2%)
Waste houses. No cess paid	4**	1**			5**

Source: St John's Applotment Book, 1696-1735

Notes to Table3:2: The percentage for each category is calculated on the first figure in row 2.

[] This figure indicates the actual number of houses in the ward.

[47+] On Blind Quay two men were each cessed for 2 houses, therefore, although only 45 cesses were levied, the ward held 47 buildings.

[46*] On Wood Quay one cess is listed 'Crane'. The entry immediately beneath this is listed 'over ye Crane'. This would indicate only 1 building, but 2 cesses.

** A 'waste' house was not cessed for taxation, therefore, they are excluded from the calculations.

Rents

The parishes derived some income from the ownership of property, sometimes held outside the parish. St Werburgh's, for example, received rents from St Stephen's Green, bequeathed to the parish by Sir Daniel Bellingham. St Michael's and St John's both owned land in Oxmantown. Most parish property was, however, located within the parish. The rents provided a small, but important, source of revenue, yielding a fixed amount of annual income. In St Catherine's, rents fell due at Michaelmas (29 September) and Easter. Between 1660 and 1667 the rents were entered into the Vestry minutes on these dates. After 1667, however, the payment of rents was recorded once a year, at Easter. It was common practice to pay all rents directly to the church wardens. They were not allocated for any particular purpose but used by the church wardens to help meet day-to-day expenses.

The income which each parish received from rents varied enormously. In 1667, St Catherine's received £15/10/6d from rents, but in 1668 rent revenue was only £14/10/6d. By contrast, St Michael's 'Antient revinues' for 1668 were £25/6/0d. By 1678 they had risen to £31/8/6d.⁴⁰ St Bride's income from rents was particularly meagre. In 1672-3 the parish received £1/10/0d. This rose to £2/5/0d in 1678.⁴¹ By 1697-8 three rents gave St Bride's an income of £8/17/6d, but this was still very modest when compared with St Michael's where the annual income from rents amounted to £43/16/9d in 1701.⁴² St Michael's were fortunate, one rent yielded £20 *per annum*. The remainder were more modest. Two were very modest. Mr Gressingham paid 2/- *per annum* for the use of the churchyard wall and the annual rent for Conran's Tomb was 1/-.⁴³ In St Catherine's, seventeenth-century rental income never rose above £17/16/4d. By 1702, however, income had improved realising £24/6/4d.⁴⁴ This income remained constant.⁴⁵

The parishes were aware that rental income was vulnerable. Successive church wardens had to know what property the parish owned. In 1674, St Catherine's decided to enrol all church leases in a specially purchased book. This was to remain in the Vestry for

the use of all the inhabitants, or others who might give information on any 'concealed lands belonging to this parish'.⁴⁶ St Catherine's continued to examine parish holdings at intervals during the eighteenth century⁴⁷ as did other parishes. For example, St Michael's Vestry minutes record that the parish's holdings were surveyed and mapped on 14 March 1708[/09].⁴⁸

Despite such measures, tenants managed to avoid paying rents, judging by the fluctuating amounts recorded each year. In the late seventeenth century rent arrears forced St John's to make a detailed review of all its property. In 1673, the first year of rent review, James Bath owed £80 having paid nothing for thirty-two years; Maurice Smith, another substantial defaulter, owed £48/6/8d. In neither case was the actual annual rent large. Bath's rent was £2/10/0d *per annum*. Smith's was £1/13/4d.⁴⁹ George Kennedy, the parishioner appointed to review the rents annually until 1681, managed to recoup some of the deficit. When Smith's wife assumed responsibility for her late husband's rents in 1678 the arrears had been reduced to £21, the following year they were reduced to £19/6/8d.⁵⁰ Kennedy was less successful in his dealings with James Bath: by 1679 the arrears had risen to £95.

Table 3:3: St John's Parochial Rents

	Overall Rent Value	Rents received	Arrears
1666[/7]	£26/11/7½d	£14/0/0d (53%)	£12/11/7½d (47%)
1673*	£247/19/2d	£49/5/2d (20%)	£198/14/0d (80%)
1676**	£285/1/3½d	£70/3/10d (25%)	£208/17/5½d (73%)
1677	£308/4/4d	£85/7/0d (28%)	£222/17/4d (72%)
1679	£341/13/1d	£163/6/8d (48%)	£178/6/5d (52%)
1681***	£431/18/4d	£255/4/4d (59%)	£176/14/0d (41%)

Source: St John's VM 1659-1711.

Notes to Table 3:3

NB All percentage points rounded up.

* The first rent review undertaken by George Kennedy.

** The figures are those recorded in the Vestry minutes, there is no explanation as to why the figure do not add up correctly.

*** The final year of rent review undertaken by George Kennedy. The figures for this review represent the combined rents & arrears for 1680 & 1681.

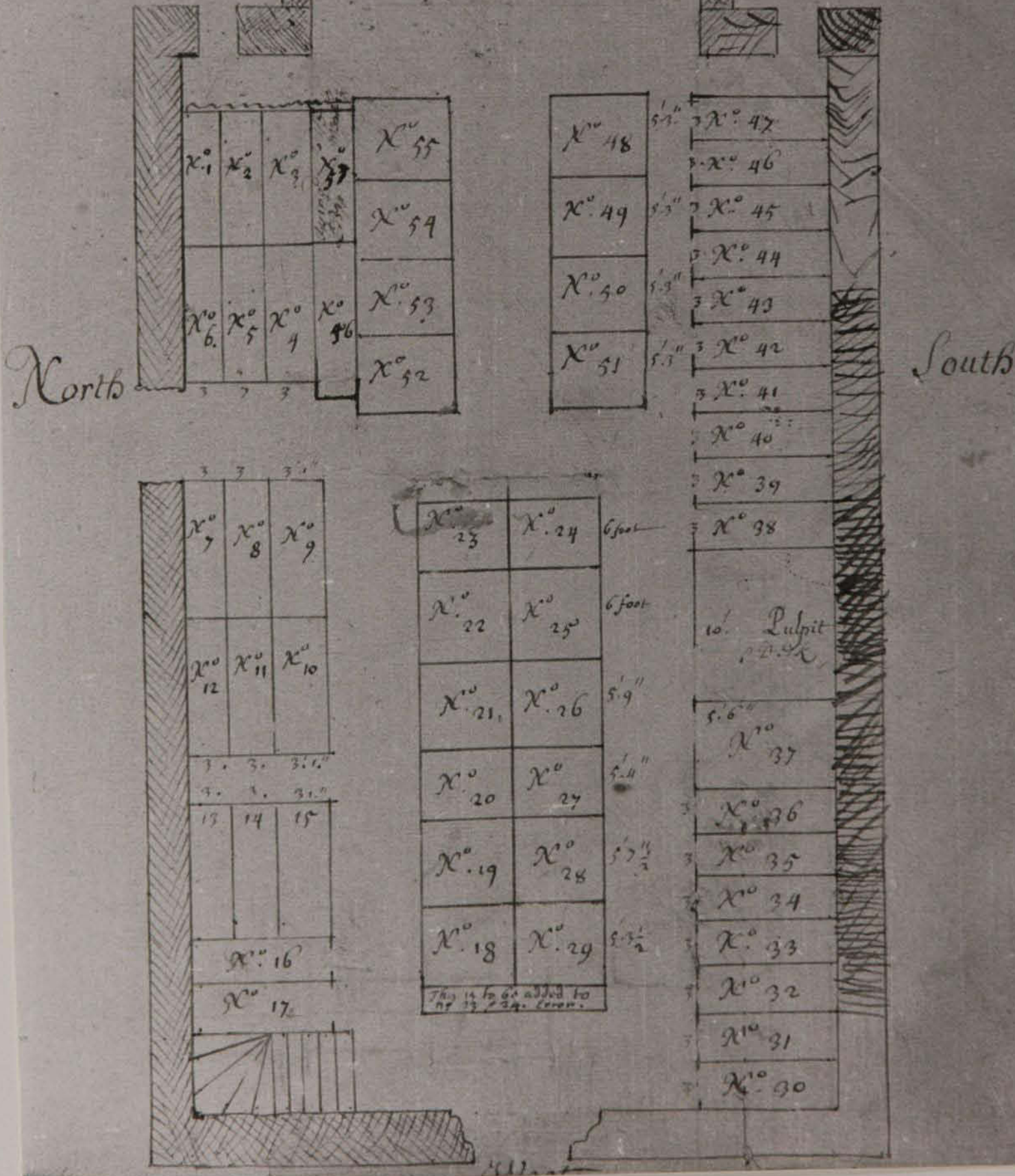
St John's continued to be plagued by rent arrears. In 1682, the parish re-let the property previously rented to Maurice Smith to the Right Honourable John Keating.⁵¹ Keating was absolved of all arrears and rents due on the property when he acquired the lease, but he was not a reliable tenant. On 6 November 1694, the parish appointed Simon Anyon, an attorney, to pursue rents owed to the parish by, the then, late Lord Chief Justice Keating.⁵² This determined approach proved successful. Later that month, on 27 November, the Vestry ordered the church wardens to 'abatt one whole year's rent' from the holdings held by the late Lord Chief Justice as all other arrears had been met.⁵³

St John's losses were substantial, but losses in general were not untypical. St Michael's collected £11/5/0d for rents arrears on a house in St Michael's Lane in 1665.⁵⁴ Nor was delayed payment peculiar to St John's. In 1666, a controversy arose between St Catherine's and Michael Chamberlaine concerning some tenements in Bridge Street which he leased from the parish. St Catherine's claimed Chamberlaine owed the parish eleven and a half years rent, a total of £43/2/6d. By mutual consent the matter was referred to a committee of prominent parishioners for adjudication.⁵⁵ The committee found in favour of the parish. Chamberlaine was ordered to pay the parish £10 immediately. A further £10 was to be paid by bond on 25 March, with the remainder of the arrears paid in twelve months. Thereafter Chamberlaine was to pay an annual rent of £3/15/0d. In addition he was to surrender 'a pretended fee farme' to the tenements, and the lease, held by the committee was to be entered into the church lease book.⁵⁶

Although rents provided a useful source of income there were some disadvantages associated with this form of invest. Firstly, income was fixed for the duration of the lease and could only be reviewed when the lease expired. Secondly, it was difficult to realise the capital because the entitlement to the rent was not readily marketable. Finally, enforcing collection was difficult and could lead unpopularity as the tenant would have to be evicted or sued in court and ultimately made bankrupt none of which necessarily achieved the payment of outstanding arrears.

East

J.D.O.
 The Stone under the altar with those 3: Letters was the first Stone laid by his grace James Duke of Ormond Lord Lieutenant General of Ireland



Pew Sales

Another reliable, but rarely very large, source of parochial income was the sale of pews. The same custom of allocating church pews was followed by every parish. Each pew was numbered and valued according to its position in the church. The more prominent the pew, the higher its value. The right to purchase a pew, or, as was more often the case, a part share or moiety, was granted only to resident parishioners.⁵⁷ Each purchase had to be approved by the Vestry in the presence of the minister. As Table 3:4 shows, pew values varied greatly but the right to purchase was governed by a parishioner's ability to pay. With only one or two exceptions, all pews were saleable. One pew remained permanently reserved for the church wardens, sidesmen and overseers; another was usually reserved for the charity school boys and their school master. In some parishes, St Nicholas Within for example, a pew was reserved for the Lord Mayor in recognition of the financial assistance given to the parish by the city.⁵⁸

Table 3:4: Parish Pews

	Nos of Pews	Total Value	Highest Value	Lowest Value
St Andrew's	97(1674)	£860	£50	7/6d
St Bride's	74(1693)	£340	£12	£1
St Luke's	78(1717)+	£135/8/3½d	£7	£1/7/6d
St Mary's	77(1705)	£653/11/0d	£25	£1/10/0d
St Michael's*	48(1699)	£74/18/0d	£3	£1
St Paul's	24(1702)	£178	£15	£2
	33(1702[/3])	£184/6/0d	£10	£1
	53(1716)	£388/14/8d	£10	£2
St Peter's	78(1693)	£741/14/6d**	£30	£1/3/0d
St Werburgh's	71(1716)	£276/9/0d	£10	15/-

Sources: St Andrew's, TCD Ms 2062 and 2063; St Bride's VM 1662-1742; St Luke's Church Wardens' Accounts, 1716-1777; St Mary's VM 1699-1739; St Michael's VM 1667-1754; St Michan's Common Place Book; St Paul's VM 1698-1750; St Peter's VM 1686-1736; St Werburgh's Miscellaneous Papers.

Notes to Table 3:4

- + The church wardens' account of pew sales is incomplete.
- * Value of pews is incomplete, The value of pews 5,6,7,32,33,47,48 is not registered
- ** The value of pews registered for St Peter's represents the total derived from voluntary contributions made when the church was being built in 1693.
- () Figure in bracket indicates the year the parish reviewed pew ownership.

Gallery.
in the Clove

This book given
to Mr G. Nichols
Præs. of the
Acad. of the 2^d point

64				
63	7			
62				
	Lord Longford			
61				
x 60	Mr. James Nichols Præs. of the Acad.	is found to page 40		
x	Mr. J. Hooker Præs. of the Acad. of the 2 ^d point	58	76	66
	77	75	74	68
		73		69
		70	72	71

The sale of pews continued at a steady trickle and were prompted by death; by removal to another parish; or by improved financial circumstances. Occasionally, however, a significant exchange of pews occurred. The redrawing of parochial boundaries, and the creation of new parishes, was the most obvious reason for a large scale re-allocation. Improvements within an existing church could also prompt a large number of sales. In June 1678, St Catherine's built a new pulpit. This led to a resale of seats in 1679 which raised £35/1/0d. In the new gallery twelve pews were sold raising £23/19/6d.⁵⁹ Another large scale pew sale took place in 1695[/96]. The church wardens' accounts show St Catherine's gross income was £117/6/9d, with pew sales amounting to £63/18/4d, representing 54% of the parish's annual income.⁶⁰

Although it was the normal practice for a parish to sell an interest in its pews, moieties were sometimes granted in recognition of a service made to the parish. The creation of St Peter's parish by Order of Council in 1680 had meant the construction of a new parish church. Substantial sums had been raised towards the cost of building the church through public subscription. In recognition of their various contributions a number of parishioners were assigned pews.⁶¹

St Mary's could not afford such a gesture. The construction of the church had placed parochial finances under severe strain and it was decided that all pews should be purchased. In December 1704, when the pews were allotted, the Vestry ordered that no allowance would be given when purchasing a pew for subscriptions made to the building fund. Furthermore, no possession was to be granted until the full amount of purchase money had been paid to the church wardens.⁶² Thereafter, if the original purchaser of a pew decided to leave the parish, he was obliged to tender his seat to the church wardens. The church wardens were to repay the occupant the full amount he had paid for the seat within thirty days. If, however, the church wardens delayed or refused to make the repayment, the parishioner was at liberty to sell the seat to whomsoever he wished.⁶³

St Paul's enacted similar rules concerning the sale of pews, but repealed them in 1716 because they were of no advantage to the parish as seats had been given to people living outside the parish.⁶⁴ The parish decided to reclaim all seats sold to non-parishioners which were then resold to parishioners. The Bishop of Clonfert and Sir Thomas Taylor each bought moieties in seat 5. Between them they paid £10, the 'prime cost', plus £2 for 'improvements' to the original owner, Alderman Stevens, and a further £2 to the minister and church wardens. Colonel Kilner Brazier purchased seat 51 from the Countess of Drogheda for £15. He too paid the minister and church wardens £2.⁶⁵

In the mid-1720s, the parishes began selling seats by means of 'publick cant'. Vacant seat numbers were posted on the church door for a fortnight before an auction was to take place. This allowed any person with a right or title to a listed seat a chance to register their claim. If no claim was registered, the seat was sold to the highest bidder.⁶⁶ The erection of an organ in 1724 obliged St Michan's to re-assign, or auction, a total of forty-six seats. This was not a complete revision of pew rights, as in a few cases only half a pew was for sale.⁶⁷ The first auction was held the following year, 1725, when nineteen seats were either re-assigned or sold. John Croker, in recognition of his service as church warden, 'that weighty and burdensome office', was granted a moiety to seat 13.⁶⁸ John Horseman, a coachmaker, had sat in one of the seats in the west gallery although this had not been granted to him by act of Vestry. Horseman and his wife were, however, 'antient Housekeepers' and, as the parish had no wish to upset them it was decided to allow them part of seat 18.⁶⁹ Nine seats were sold, at an average price of just over £4 per seat.⁷⁰ The next auction was held in 1727 when a further eight seats were re-assigned. Three seats were sold in 1728, and one of these, 53, was resold in 1729.⁷¹ The sale of the shares in the pews realised £69/18/0d, but the parish did not manage to sell all the shares available and the records do not indicate how the money was spent.⁷²

St Catherine's appears not to have held auctions, preferring, or perhaps needing only to sell shares in pews individually. If, for example, a parishioner transferred his right

from one pew to another, he was obliged to pay a stated sum for either the use of the parish poor, or the use of the parish. The sum varied, but parishioners generally paid either 5/5d or 2/8½d.⁷³ In some cases, however, the right to a share in a pew was sold outright. On such occasions the purchaser paid a lump sum to the previous occupant and a sum for the use of the parish. In 1725, the rights to three seats changed hands; in each case the owner received a specified sum, as did the parish.⁷⁴

For all the parishes the income earned from the sale of pew rights remained relatively small. The position of a parishioner's pew in church, however, was seen as a status symbol. In 1725, St Michan's had instructed the sexton to ensure that all persons were seated according to their rank.⁷⁵ Joseph Mirfield refused to pay for half a seat he did not like.⁷⁶ The right to a seat in St Peter's caused a dispute between Jonathan Lyons and Jonathan Fielding which had to be resolved by act of Vestry.⁷⁷ Parochial custom also dictated that a seat should be reserved for the parish poor.⁷⁸ In St Peter's the poor widows lodged in Lady Anna Hume's Alms House sat in seat 13. In St Michan's eight poor widows, who attended church regularly, were given new clothes 'to render their presence there more Sweet, Clean and Decent'.⁷⁹ Each parish reserved a seat for the poor out of a sense of moral duty, and the practice would have made little impact on the income earned from pew sales. With the exception of extraordinary circumstances, income remained small, but steady, primarily because the position of a parishioner's pew in church was seen as a reflection of his social status.

Fines

The right to pay a fine was an option open to all prospective church officers. If a parishioner chose to 'fine' he was in effect buying an escape from serving a term of office (see Chapter 2). The amount of a fine reflected the importance of the office, and was fixed at a figure which it was hoped would deter non-service. Although every parish experienced periods of crisis when a number of parishioners refused to serve, few opted to

'fine' preferring instead to fulfil their term of office. When large scale dissent occurred the income earned could be considerable. In St Catherine's between 1678 and 1681, fines made an important contribution to parochial income, earning the parish £95/9/0d. The period was an unsettled one throughout the city; St Andrew's, St John's, and St Michael's were all affected by dissent.⁸⁰ There were further periods of unrest in the eighteenth century. St Mary's found difficulty in electing church wardens in 1709 and 1722 (see Appendix 1).

Although each parish set fines commensurate to the office, the maximum sum was not always paid by the defaulter. Moreover the fines were subject to review and could be adjusted if necessary. Most unusually in 1712, and again in 1717, St John's chose to reduce their fines for non-service.⁸¹ On the other hand the disinclination on the part of parishioners to take up parochial office experienced by St Mary's in 1722 prompted them to revise, upwards, the fines charged to parishioners.⁸²

Some money was also derived from the imposition of fines on ordinary parishioners. Legislation had been introduced in the 1690s aimed at reforming and improving the citizenry's manners.⁸³ The diligence with which the legislation was implemented by church wardens is uncertain despite the enthusiastic approach adopted by Archbishop Marsh.⁸⁴ He employed a constable and four of the Grand Jury to assist the church wardens in the Earl of Meath's Liberty and the Liberty of St Sepulchre in keeping the sabbath. Barnard indicates that during the late 1690s the laws were being strictly enough implemented to encourage a growing number of religious societies.⁸⁵ A non-conformist minister, the Reverend John Cook, noted the improvement in manners at the time. He claimed the improvement had been brought about:

through the execution of several good laws against vice ...[and]... the zealous and unwearied endeavours of ... [committed] conformists and non-conformists who had formed themselves into Societies ... [to ensure] the torrent of wickedness was in some measure stemmed and vice ... shun[ned] the light ... where before [it] was daring and open.⁸⁶

A certain degree of enthusiasm may be attributed to the practice of rewarding officers. In St Michan's, five parish constables received rewards of between 8/4d and 5/- for gaining the conviction of several persons for 'Entertaining or being Entertained in Ale Houses in time of Divine in St Michan's Church on Sundays the 13th of September and 31st of January 1724, being One Third of four Pounds fifteen Shillings forfeited'.⁸⁷

Table 3:5: Fines

	Year	Church Warden	Sidesman	Overseer of the Poor
St Andrew's	1679	£5		£2/10/0d
St Bride's	1673	£5	£3	£3
St Catherine's	1679	£5** £4/10/0d	£2/6/0d £1/3/0d	
	1696	£10	£5	£5
St John's	1675	£6	£3	
	1700#	£5	£2/10/0d	
St Luke's	1700s	£5 £3/19/6d	£1/3/0d	
St Mary's	1705+	£5	£2/10/0d	
	1722	£10		
St Michael's	1684	£5	£2/10/0d	
St Paul's	1701	£5++	£2/10/0d	

Sources: St Andrew's, TCD Ms 2062; St Bride's VM 1662-1742; St Catherine's VM 1657-1692 and 1693-1730; St John's VM 1660-1710; St Luke's Church Wardens' Accounts, 1716-1777; St Mary's' VM 1699-1739; St Michael's VM 1667-1754; St Paul's VM 1698-1750.

Notes to Table 3:5

- ** This represents the two fines charged.
- * The parish also issued 1 fine at £2; 1 fine at £1/19/0d; 5 fines at £1/10/0d.
- + In 1709 2 fines of £10 each were paid, but this was an exception to the rule.
- ++ The parish stipulated that this was the minimum fine. A similar condition was applied to the office of sidesman.
- # The church warden's fine was revised in 1712. The sidesman's fine in 1717.

Despite such enthusiasm, references at parish levels to the law and its implementation are sketchy. The income gained by such fines is noted infrequently, and is invariably small. St John's income from swearing was £4 in 1696.⁸⁸ The law instructed that persistent offenders should be punished by an ascending scale of fines, but the evidence provided by St Bride's suggests that this provision may have been ignored. In

1700, the parish exacted £5 from errant parishioners. Forty-three fines were imposed on six named offenders for swearing. A further two parishioners were named and fined for sabbath breaking. In each case the fines charged varied, but the parish did not exact the maximum penalty allowed under the law. Mr Dawson, the worst offender, was charged £2 for twenty oaths. Thomas Taylor was fined less severely, paying 4/- for four oaths. The fines amounted to £3/16/8d, and were probably collected by the church wardens. In addition the records show the minister also collected a number of fines. Although no details are given as to the number of offenders, he collected £1/3/4d in fines.⁸⁹ Fines for swearing were fixed at the following levels: servants, day labourers, soldiers and seamen were fined 1/- ; others 2/-. A second offence meant the fine was to be doubled. A third offence, and the fine was to be tripled. Offenders who refused to pay their fine were liable to distress. Those under the age of sixteen who were caught offending were liable to be whipped. For sabbath breakers, the fine was 5/-. In 1702, St Bride's income from such fines was only £1/17/4d, but because the church wardens' records do not extend beyond 1702-3 it is impossible to say if the practice of fining offenders was pursued or allowed to lapse.

St Michael's records do, however, reflect some of the enthusiasm expressed by Cook. Unlike St Catherine's, who failed to record any income yielded by the fines, St Michael's noted the amounts earned for twelve years.⁹⁰ There were difficulties in implementing the legislation, as Archbishop King noted in 1707.⁹¹ Parochial administration was overburdened by legislation and beset by a constant need to find 'suitable' candidates for every kind of parochial office. It is difficult to say if the parishes were lax in implementing the laws, or merely lax in recording their implementation. St Michael's scale of fines hints at an initial enthusiasm which was gradually replaced by a more pragmatic approach. In 1697, the parish earned £8/9/8d from fines. The yield in 1705 was only 12/10½d. By 1710, earnings amounted to £1/10/0d.⁹² Who paid the penalty for misbehaviour is also unclear. None of the culprits listed by St Bride's were

BENEFACTIONS to this PARISH.

<p>1646 M^{rs} Anne Hoyle P^{er} An^{ti}. 2 1694 M^{rs} W^{illiam} North 100 - 1695 M^{rs} Richard Noyce 20 - R^{ev}. M^{rs} Sam^{uel} Foley. Late Minis^{ter}. L^{ord} Bishop of Down and Connor. 40 - 1695 M^{rs} George Benson. 6 - M^{rs} George Howell 5 - M^{rs} Woodworth 50 - Robert Ware Esq^{ue}. 5 Robert Pepper Esq^{ue}. 10 Ald^{erman}. Cha^{arles} Thompson. 10 Rev^{erend}. Dean Murray. 5 Lady Clenaley. 5 M^{rs} Peter Beaghan. 15 M^{rs} Rich^{ard} Sturdy. 4 1699 S^{ir} Rich^{ard} Belling 40 -</p>	<p>L S A D 20 - 5 - 5 - 40 - 1 6 5 50 - 5 5 10 5 5 5 5 5 4 40</p>	<p>1726 Francis Harrison Esq^{ue} towards Rebuilding the Church } D^o. to the Poor of } the Parish. } 1728 Ald^{erman}. Benjamin Burton } to be put to Int^{erest}. } M^{rs} Mary Warren } Spinster. to y^{oung}. Poor Boys } 1751 Oliver Tallent Esq^{ue}. to be } put to Int^{erest}. for y^{oung}. Poor } M^{rs} Anne Syfson Wid^{ow}. 1 D^o. to y^{oung}. Charity School 2 Ald^{erman}. Tho^{mas} Wilkinsoa } to the Widows. } D^o. to Poor Men. 2 D^o. to be put to Int^{erest}. 20</p>
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active in any aspect of parochial management. This suggests that the policy was to fine the guilty, and not merely the guilty parishioner. The infrequency with which the fines are noted cannot be seen as an accurate reflection of parochial policy as records were not meticulously kept. What evidence there is, however, suggests that the parishes gained little financial benefit from the collection of fines.

Legacies

All parishes benefited from the generosity of wealthy parishioners. The size of the legacies bequeathed varied considerably, but they were always destined, in some way, for the assistance of the poor. A small legacy might be spent immediately. In 1671, Lady Phillips left 18/- to the poor of St Bride's. This was distributed, in small sums, among a number of the parish's poor.⁹³ Larger legacies, such as the £50 bequeathed by Sir William Domville on 10 July 1689, were usually put out to earn interest.⁹⁴

Parish finances were, however, precarious and legacies were sometimes redirected to meet more pressing debts. This was the case in 1697 when St Bride's decided to re-allocate Domville's legacy to meet the large debts owed by the parish to John Barlow.⁹⁵ Barlow, a bricklayer, had undertaken to re-roof the church on 6 August 1683 but the dilapidated condition of the church forced the parish into more drastic action. On 18 October, 1683 it was decided to rebuild the church.⁹⁶ It seems likely that the debt owed to Barlow by the parish arose from his involvement in the re-building of the church. The parish decided that as Domville's legacy of £50 was not earning interest, it should be spent to re-pay Barlow. The principal was to be replaced by burials fees owed to the church wardens. The sexton was empowered to collect these fees and pay them to the minister or church wardens. They in turn were to hold the money until the required £50 had been reached. The interest which the money would have earned, £5, was to be added annually to the Poor Cess which ensured that the poor would not suffer.⁹⁷

The generosity of some wealthy Dubliners extended beyond the bounds of their own parish. Sir John Rogerson's legacies, paid in 1724, brought relief to the poor of St Andrew's as well as St Werburgh's. He left £20 to St Werburgh's to be distributed among twenty deserving families who were to receive 20/- each. In addition, he donated £10 *per annum* towards the maintenance of the charity boys' school and 4/- per week for bread which was to be distributed by the church wardens to the poor every Sunday.⁹⁸ To the poor of St Andrew's, a parish where he had property interests, he left £10.⁹⁹

Table 3:6: St Bride's Parochial Legacies

Year	Donor & Purpose	Bequest
1689	Sir Wm Domville - to buy coal	£50
	Mr Peter Behen	£5
1696	Mr William Story - lent to interest	£50
	Mrs Katherine Story - lent to interest	£20
	Lady Eleanor Domville	£5
	Mr Richard Carpenter	£12/10/0d
1705	Major George Peppard	£2
	Ld Chief Justice Donnelan	£20
	[Darby Egan, Esq.]	£50]
1710	[Dr Stevens	£300]
1722	[Lord Powerscourt	£20]
1727	William Howard, Esq.	£100

Sources: Unbracketed bequests taken from St Brides' VM 1709; 1727.

[] Bequests taken from Monck Mason Papers, [Gilbert Library].

For examples of the legacies received by other parishes see Appendix 3.

Legacies were a useful source of income to the parishes. The periodic reviews into income earned and expended from legacies underline this point. Charitable donations also took other forms. Alms houses were frequently built at the cost of private individuals (see Appendix 6). In the fight against parochial insolvency, however, the legacies helped supplement an often overstretched budget, and the interest they earned provided a welcome source of cash.

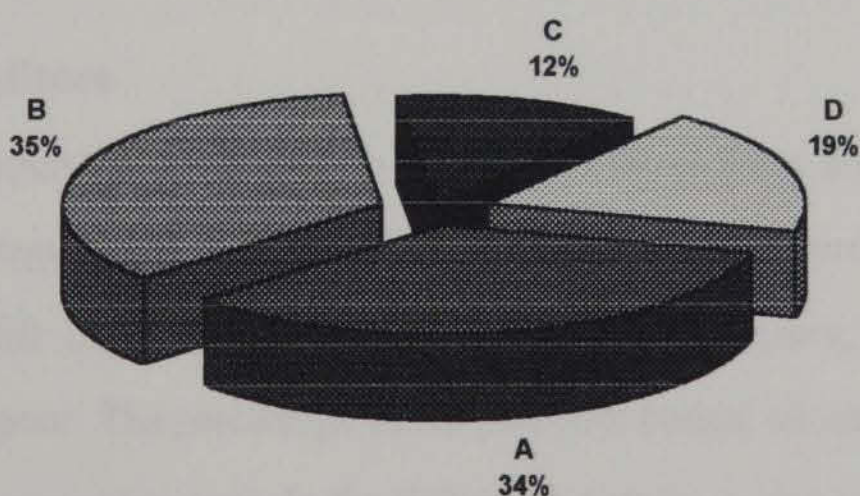
Fees

The parish gained a small amount of income from fees. In most cases where fees were paid, it was the minister, clerk or sexton who benefited (see Appendix 2). These fees had been fixed at a Vestry meeting held in St Catherine's in 1663 in which all the city parishes had participated.¹⁰⁰ They were to be used until the Tithe Table as ordered by Convocation became law.¹⁰¹ The parishes did, however, receive burial fees. St Andrew's fixed their burial rates in 1672, St John's in 1675. Each introduced specific rates, and in each case adult burials fees were double those charged for children under thirteen. Foreigners, that is those who lived outside a particular parish, were expected to pay twice as much as resident parishioners. St John's ordered that any parishioner pretending to be a member of the church, but refusing to pay dues, was not to be granted free burial in the churchyard as was customary. They were instead to be charged as a foreigner. All menial servants were granted free burial in the churchyard; however, all those coming from another parish were to pay double the fees charged to a 'parish' foreigner.¹⁰² Each parish also allowed a select few to construct family vaults within the church. This provided an additional source of income.

Although the pie-charts below show burial fees could be relied upon to provide an annual income, the amount received could vary. During the seventeenth century, for example, St Michael's earned £3/8/4d from burials in 1672-3, £1/6/11d in 1677-8, and £2/3/0d in 1681.¹⁰³ By comparison, St John's received £7/18/6d for thirty-two burials in 1674-5, and £7/12/2d for seventeen burials in 1677-8.¹⁰⁴ The difference in income is less striking when St John's and St Bride's are compared: between October 1697 and October 1698 St Bride's earned £10/16/2d, St John's £9/19/2d.¹⁰⁵ During the early part of the eighteenth century, St Catherine's income from burials was modest, £4/14/0d in 1702, £6 in 1705, and only 8/8d in 1708 (the last time burial income was recorded). In 1701 St Michael's recorded only one burial which earned 13/4d; in 1712 four burials earned £3, and in 1728 the parish received £5/6/8d for nine burials.¹⁰⁶ Why such discrepancies

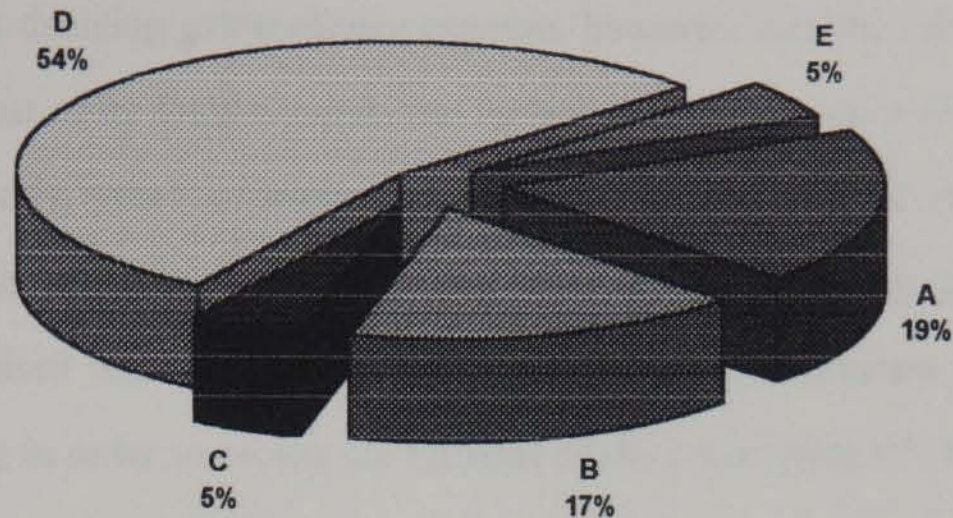
occurred is unclear but the fees do not reflect the information found in the Bills of Mortality or the parish registers. Later in the eighteenth century several parishes ceased to record burial fees altogether. It should be remembered that as burials fees were not raised in Vestry, the parish did not need to endorse their expenditure. Consequently the church wardens did not need to keep accurate records. The lack of Vestry control also allowed the church wardens the freedom to choose how the income should be spent. This fact gained greater significance as the religious profile of the city began to change in the early eighteenth century and the number of Catholics increased. Under common ecclesiastical law, Vestries were granted the power to assess for church repairs, and all inhabitants who were householders were entitled to vote in Vestry. Considerable difficulties in effecting church repairs ensued in parishes with large Catholic populations. In 1725, the government tried to counteract this by banning Catholics from voting in Vestries convened to assess for church repairs.¹⁰⁷ St Bride's policy was to use burial money and Sunday collections, which were more generally used to assist the poor, where possible to pay for church repairs. This had circumvented the Vestry's power of veto but may have caused parochial acrimony and must have only been feasible if repairs remained minor. John Barlow's financial differences with St Bride's may have arisen as a result of this policy.¹⁰⁸

St John's Church Wardens Accounts Receipts 1683



Breakdown of income: A: Poor Cess; B: Rents; C: Fines; D: Burials.

St Catherine's Church Wardens Accounts Receipts 1695



Breakdown of income: A: Poor Cess; B: Fines; C: Burials; D: Pew Sales; E: Extras.

The charts provide two examples of the contributions made towards the parochial budget. The value of some contributions, such as fines and burials, was variable. Even rents, where the value was known, could vary because of arrears. During the seventeenth century, the Poor Cess was not an annual applotment. In the eighteenth century the Cess became an annual necessity providing the parish with much of its annual income. For example, in 1717 the sales of seats provided St Luke's with the major portion of its income but in other years the parish derived much, if not all, of its income from the Cess.¹⁰⁹

Parochial Expenditure

Parochial expenditure fell into two categories - the ordinary and the extraordinary. Within the first category fell the items of expenditure which occurred regularly. These regular expenses fell into three broad categories: church repairs; salaries for parish employees and the poor. The percentage of the parochial budget allocated to each of these categories varied from year to year. In the eighteenth century, however, a growing number of employees resulted in a steady rise in the cost of salaries. In addition to these expenses each parish was required to meet its proportion of civic taxes. From time to time,

however, particular demands would be placed on a parish - the extraordinary. Within this category fell the items of expenditure which occurred infrequently such as the purchase of an organ. The most daunting extraordinary expense, however, was the rebuilding of the parish church. Almost every Dublin parish was forced to rebuild at some time. The result was, almost inevitably, years of debt. There were other exceptional demands upon parochial funds. The misfortunes of fellow Protestants inspired sympathy and assistance. Dublin's parishes raised funds in September 1690 to assist the Protestant refugees who flooded into the city in order to escape the turmoils of the countryside.¹¹⁰ It was claimed that approximately 600 had been forced to leave their homes and take up residence in Dublin because of the activities of the 'Irish rebels'.¹¹¹ In 1707[/8] St John's raised £41/12/11½d for the relief of Protestants of Lisburn and Lisnagarvey who had 'suffered by fire'.¹¹² Dublin's parishes raised £460/18/6d for the Palatines in 1711.¹¹³ For the city's parishes, whether meeting ordinary or extraordinary expenses, the most persistent problem remained to keep spending within the annual budget and to prevent the accumulation of arrears.

The many competing demands placed upon parochial funds is succinctly highlighted by the church wardens' accounts. The rise in the financial commitments they were expected to meet can be seen in Tables 3:7 and 3:8. These additional costs meant there was a substantial increase in annual expenditure between 1683 and 1720. Significantly the single most costly item on the main account for three of the four parishes listed in Tables 3:7 and 3:8 was the maintenance of the poor. Such disbursements were additional to the money raised by Sunday collections which was always devoted to the poor. In 1683, St Bride's expenditure on the poor account, 81% of its budget, was particularly high. Much of the money spent by St Catherine's in 1720 went towards the maintenance of parish bastards and orphans and the nurses who cared for them. Although the mortality rate among such children was high, so were their numbers. In 1728, for

example, St Catherine's had to care for sixty children; in 1729 there were seventy-two and it was estimated that the children's maintenance would cost the parish £144.¹¹⁴

There were other factors which influenced parish spending and pushed it upwards. For example, there was maintenance of the church. Every year some money had to be allocated for this and should the parish decide to embark on particularly costly renovations, then additional funding had to be sought. In 1694, St Michael's discovered the church steeple to be in a dangerous condition. The rebuilding costs were estimated to be £140, therefore the Vestry proposed to raise a part of the money, £54, by means of a special levy.¹¹⁵ On most occasions, however, repairs were paid for from the money annually designated to the church wardens. Some tradesmen's bills were small: 6d for mending a lock, 4d for a staple for a gate, but others were more substantial.¹¹⁶ Thomas Browne, a bricklayer, received £7/13/11d for work on St Michael's in 1674.¹¹⁷ Mr Freebody, a slater, received £4/19/0d for slating work on St Bride's in 1675.¹¹⁸ Occasionally the work was particularly expensive. St Catherine's paid £77/14/0d to have the altar and pulpit gilded in 1702-3.¹¹⁹ Table 3:9 shows that, in 1683, St Bride's and St John's spent only a small proportion of their annual income on repairs. This was not the case in 1675, when St Bride's spent 63% and St John's 21% of the respective parish's annual income on church repairs. In 1683 both parishes were engaged on rebuilding programmes funded by sources unrelated to the funds controlled by the church wardens; and, with such programmes in progress, it would have been possible for the church wardens to allocate 'repair' funds elsewhere.

Urban growth also influenced spending. Dublin's population had mushroomed since the mid-seventeenth century and, in an era when regular church attendance was expected, this meant a growing number of communicants. In 1683 St Bride's annual expenditure on bread and wine was £3/8/8d, by 1703 it had risen to £6/10/1½d.¹²⁰ In the seventeenth century, St Catherine's had employed one beadle, but with the parish's increased population it became necessary to employ two. The parishes were obliged to

ring the church bells in celebration of the monarch's birthday, the arrival of the Lord Lieutenant, and church festivals. In 1691, St Catherine's had rung the bells on ten separate occasions to mark, among other things, the surrender of Limerick, the two days the Lords Justice had spent in town, and William III's birthday.¹²¹

Comparisons between Tables 3:7 and 3:8 emphasize the discretionary spending powers of the church wardens. For example, in Table 3:8 St Luke's does not record the cost incurred from the obligatory ringing of bells on state occasions or the sexton's salary, yet one can assume these obligations were met. On the other hand both parishes recorded spending on items outside their usual requirements. St Catherine's extraordinary charges were for the purchase of a salver, while St Luke's resulted from the planting of trees. The most important thing was that each item of expenditure could be accounted for by the church wardens when the accounts were audited at the end of their term of office.

Table 3:7: St Bride's and St John's Church Wardens' Accounts 1683

	St Bride's	St John's
Repairs to the Church	£1/4/8d (3%)	11/8d (1%)
Repairs to property within the parish	1/6d	
Bread and Wine	£3/8/8d (8%)	£1/6/0d (2.5%)
Holly and Ivy	2/0d	3/6d
Expenses for drawing up parish cesses	19/3d	1/6d
Parish poor	£32/13/3d (81%)	£18/19/4d (38%)
Legal fees		9/0d
Entertainment expenses		£2/14/6d (5%)
Beadle's salary and uniform	£2/2/10d (5%)	£11/10/7½d (23%)
Sexton's salary		£3/0/0d* (5.9%)
Coal		1/0d
A fine spent by the church wardens		£3/0/0d (5.9%)
Extraordinary charges**		£5/2/4½d (10%)
Contingencies		£2/15/9d (5.5%)
Total expenditure	£40/8/10d	£50/1/9d
Total income	£48/4/10d	£82/16/6d

Sources: St Bride's Church Wardens' Accounts, 1663-1704; St John's VM, 1659-1710.

Notes to Table 3:7: * The sexton, John Howell, received only half his annual salary.
 ** St John's had purchased fire new fighting equipment, and repaired old equipment.

Table 3:8: St Catherine's and St Luke's Church Wardens Accounts 1720

	St Catherine's	St Luke's
Repairs to the Church	£7/0/11d (2.5%)	£64/18/7½d (49%)
Repairs to property within the parish		
Bread and Wine	£11/12/7½d (4%)	£2/11/0d (1.9%)
Candles	£9/15/7½d (3%)	£4/5/8d (3%)
Holly and Ivy	8/1d	4/4d
Expenses for drawing up parish cess	£3/1/0d (1%)	7/8½d
Parish poor	£113/16/10½d (40.6%)	£30/4/7½d (22.9%)
Legal fees	£7/6/9½d (2.6%)	
Entertainment expenses		
Beadle's salary and uniform	£18/10/0d (6.6%)	£10/6/4½d (7.8%)
Sexton's salary	£5/0/0d (1.7%)	
Washing the church linen	£7/8//0d (2.6%)	8/1½d
Coal	£1/16/0d (0.6%)	1/5d
Extraordinary charges	£6/11/6d (2%)	£4/4/10d (3%)
Contingencies	£5/6/9d (1.9%)	6/0½d
Salaries for parish employees	£45/8/3d (16%)	£14/0/0d (10.6%)
Poor coffins and burials	£19/18/10d (7%)	
Books	£3/17/6d (1%)	
Bell ringing on state occasions	£4/16/0d (1.7%)	
Insolvents and lost in weight of money	£8/1/4½d (2.8%)	
Total expenditure	£279/16/1½d	£131/18/9d
Total income	£360/9/10d	£137/2/9½d

Sources: St Catherine's VM, 1693-1730; St Luke's Church Wardens' Accounts, 1716-1777

For the parishes balancing the accounts became more difficult as costs rose because although the means by which parochial funds were raised remained unchanged the proportional importance of the various elements within the context of the overall budget altered. In the 1600s, the contribution made by rents to annual income was often significant, although St Bride's was an exception here. For example, St Catherine's rents accounted for 49% of the parish's total income in 1687.¹²² In 1702, despite a rise in rental income, the contribution made by rents to the annual budget had dropped to 17%.¹²³ The position in St Michael's was somewhat different. There rents accounted for 38% of the parish's income in both 1683 and 1715.¹²⁴

Table 3:9: St Catherine's Church Wardens' Accounts 1722-1729

	Actual Income	Estimated (E) Expenditure	Actual (A) Expenditure	Excess of A over E	Excess of E over A
1722	£215/19/1d	£187/11/6½d	£196/1/7½d	£8/10/1d	
1723	£219/4/9d	£183/14/1½d*	£177/5/7d#		£6/8/6½d
1724	£246/16/11½d	£228/13/3d*	£248/15/8d	£20/2/5d	
1725	£251/13/6d	£257/1/4d	£245/1/10d**		£11/19/6d
1726	£277/12/10½d	£232/6/9½d	£256/14/4½d	£24/7/7d	
1727	£258/2/5d	£203/15/11½d	£246/15/4d+	£43/0/4½d	
1728	£309/1/2½d	£302/19/4¼d	£319/1/7d	£16/2/2¾d	
1729	£352/16/7½d	£347/0/1¾d	£360/12/2¾d+	£13/12/1d	

Source: St Catherine's VM, 1693-1730, Church Wardens' Accounts 1722-1729.

Notes to Table 3:9

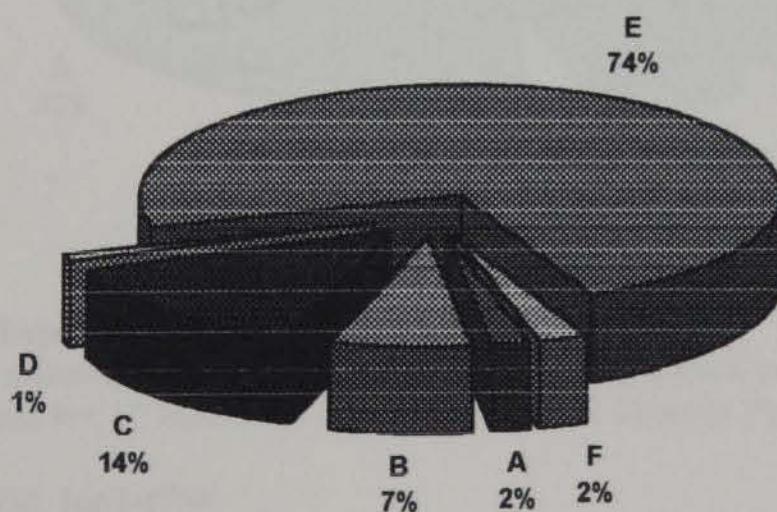
- * In each case the parish rents were deducted from the initial estimated expenditure. This reduced the estimated expenditure to the amount shown above. The allowance made for rents in 1723 was £43/18/8d, in 1724 it was £24.
- ** This account as entered into the Vestry Minutes with no auditors' qualifications added. In the other accounts the figures entered are those submitted by the auditors at the end of each account after it has been examined and passed by them.
- # The auditors claimed the church wardens still held £20/15/10d. The church wardens' expenditure as recorded in the book is shown in the table above. There is no explanation for the conflicting evidence.
- + Insolvencies for 1726 (£20/4/8d) and 1729 (£50/14/0½d) were included as items of expenditure.

The problem was that while annual costs rose, the rise was not reflected in rental income. Long leases meant very limited control over the rental potential of parish property. Other sources of income were also vulnerable. Fines, imposed for misdemeanours or non-service, seldom returned large dividends because they were either indifferently applied or because many chose to fulfil their obligations to the parish rather than incur unnecessary expense. The income earned by burial fees is difficult to gauge because of inadequate record keeping. Therefore in order to provide the church wardens with adequate funds the parishes were forced to rely on the annual applotment as the primary source of income. The willingness of parishioners to meet their cesses promptly was vital to parochial solvency. Any delay in payment could place the finances in jeopardy. Arrears did occur consequently the auditors were, from time to time, forced to allow the church wardens to return a deficit. Perhaps in an attempt to overcome this problem, St

Catherine's and St Peter's began to make an annual estimate of expenditure - see Table 3:9. As the assessment appears with the audited church wardens' accounts, it was probably made by the auditors at the time the accounts were being examined.¹²⁵ The ploy had only limited success for, although estimated expenditure invariably exceeded actual expenditure, the income (the applotment) could be adjusted to take account of expenditure. It was more important to ensure expenditure did not exceed income.

The charts below provide a breakdown of the church wardens' expenditure in St Michael's for 1670, 1676 and 1681. The sample years give a broad picture of church wardens' expenditure during the seventeenth century but some detail is necessary in order to place the charts in a more clearly defined context. For example, the increase in expenditure between 1670 and 1681, was the result of church refurbishment. Considerable work was undertaken in 1676 and 1681, but in 1682 expenditure was reduced to level comparable with that of 1676. In 1683, it was reduced still further and had returned to the level of expenditure made in 1670. By 1685, it had risen again. Parochial expenditure fluctuated, governed by the parish's most immediate needs. It is also important to note that broad categories have been created to simplify, but not to over-simplify, the charts.

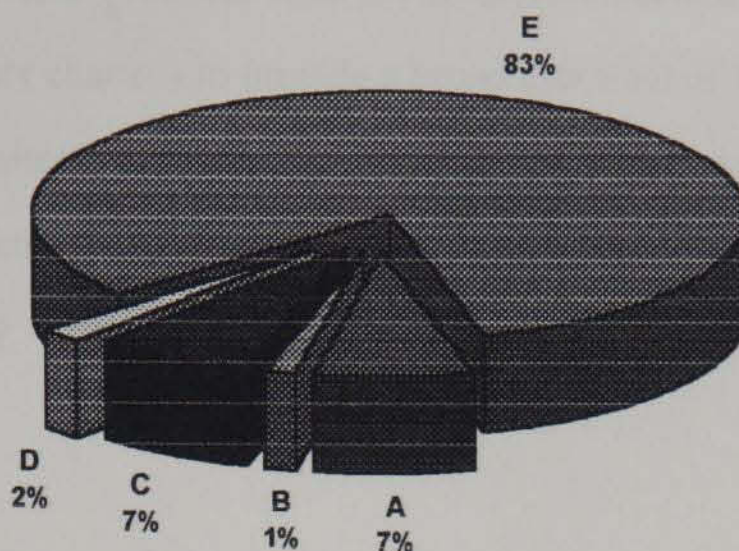
St Michael's Church Wardens Expenditure 1670



Income: £27/5/10d. Expenditure £39/13/10d.

A: Bread, Wine, Holly and Ivy; B: Beadle; C: Church Repairs and maintenance to parish property; D: Legal fees; E: Poor; F: Allowance made for unpaid rents.

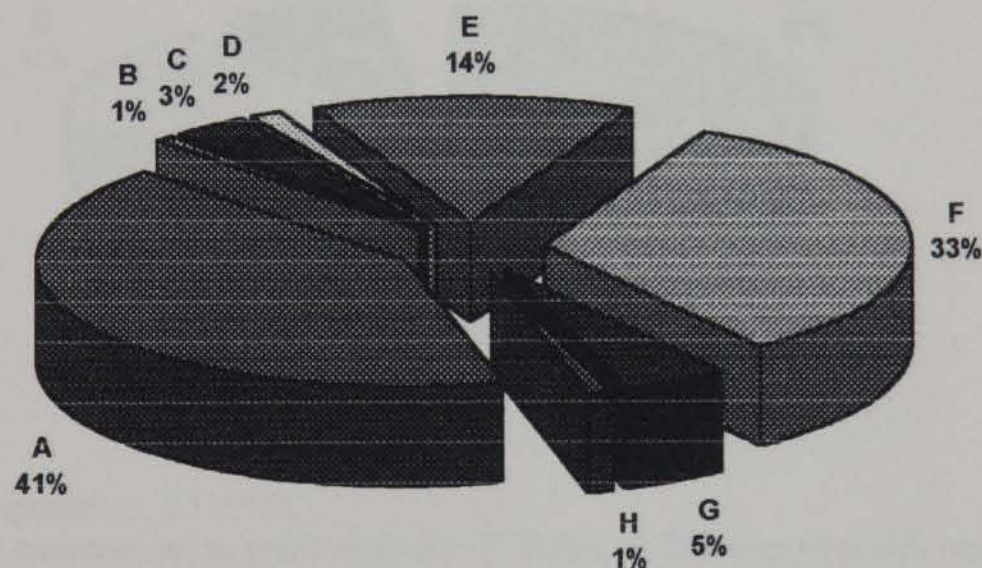
St Michael's Church Wardens Accounts: Expenditure 1676



Income: £117/2/10d. Expenditure: £76/4/4½d.

A: Legal fees; B: Allowance made for unpaid rents; C: Poor; D: Bread, Wine, Candles, Holly and Ivy; E: Church repairs and maintenance to parish property.

St Michael's Church Wardens Accounts: Expenditure 1681



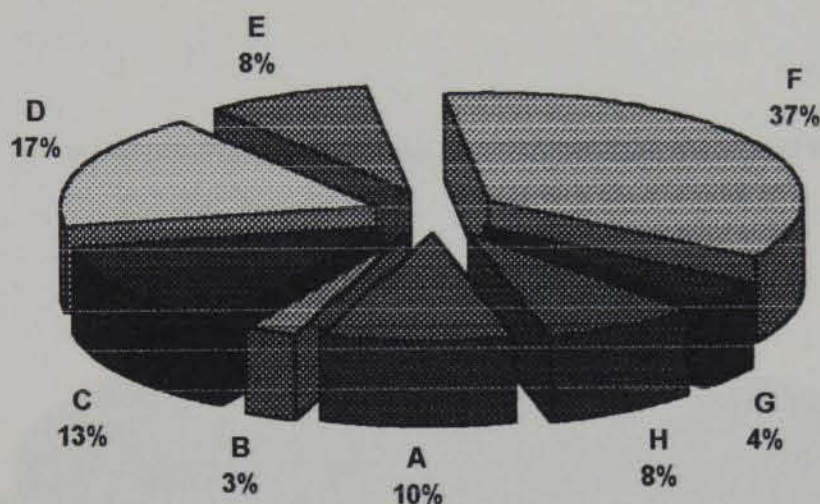
Income: £131/14/7d. Expenditure: £126/17/2d.

A: Church repairs and maintenance to parish property; B: Legal Fees and Cess costs; C: Debts; D: Bread, Wine, Candles, Holly and Ivy; E: Money for unspecified tasks; F: Poor; G: Parish Clerk; H: Sexton.

Source: St Michael's VM, 1667-1754.

The charts below provide a breakdown of the church wardens' expenditure in St Michael's for 1700, 1707 and 1711. As with the seventeenth-century charts, the purpose of these eighteenth-century charts is to provide a broad overview of parochial expenditure. The rising cost of maintaining the parish accurately reflects the situation experienced by the parish in the eighteenth century although there is less fluctuation in the parish's costs than in the earlier century.

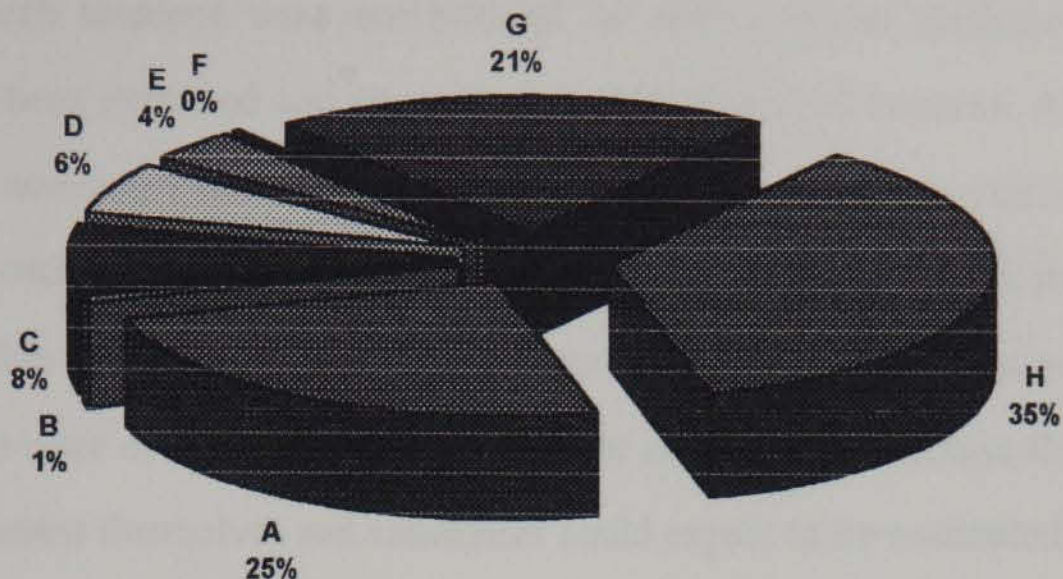
St Michael's Church Wardens Expenditure 1700



Income: ££78/17/6d. Expenditure: £54/6/2d.

A: Church repairs and maintenance to parish property; B: Debts; C: Drawing up parish cess, legal fees and books; D: Beadle; E: Poor; F: Salaries; G: Sexton; H: Bread, Wine, Candles, Holly and Ivy.

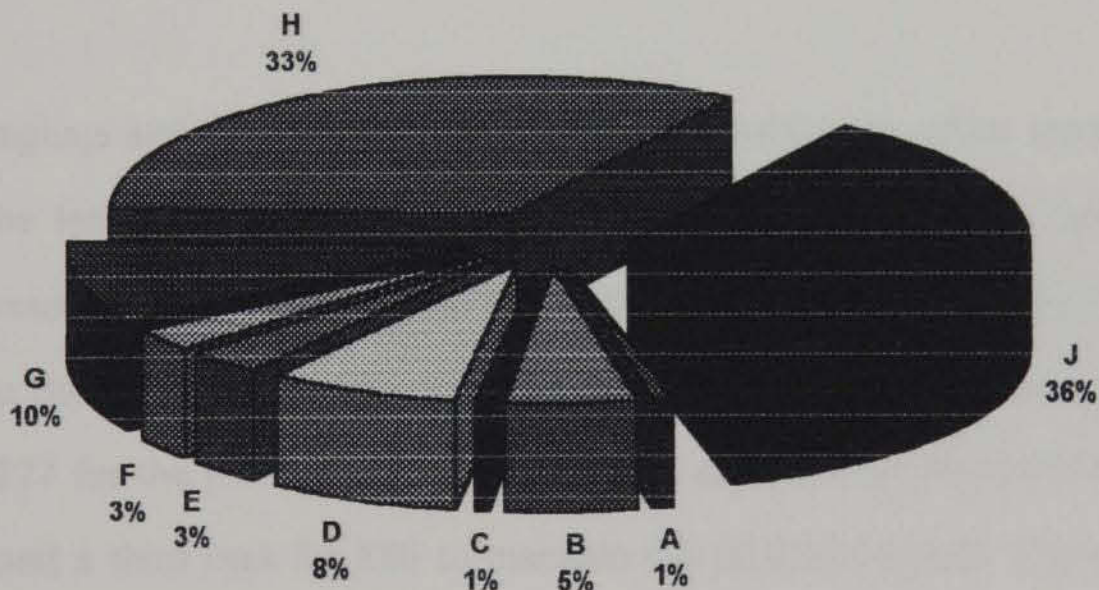
St Michael's Church Wardens Accounts: Expenditure 1707



Income: £158/14/3½d. Expenditure: £126/7/10d + £56/11/6½d surplus cash.

A: Salaries; B: Extras; C: Poor; D: Church repairs and maintenance to parish property; E: Bread, Wine, Candles, Holly and Ivy; F: Legal fees -11/8d; G: Debts; H: Surplus cash.

St Michael's Church Wardens Accounts: Expenditure 1711



Income: £122/1/0¼d. Expenditure: £125/18/7½d (The sum recorded in the accounts does not agree with the total when the items are added together. The total then is £125/15/5½d. The calculations in the pie-chart use the amended figure.)

A: Church wardens allowance; B: Sexton; C: Legal fees - 16/6d; D: Bread, Wine, Candles, Holly and Ivy; E: Church repairs and maintenance to parish property; F: Poor; G: Beadle; H: Salaries; J: Debts.

Source: St Michael's Vestry Minutes, 1667-1754.

A church warden's term of office began at Easter and lasted for one year. The outgoing church wardens were not relieved of their financial obligations until their accounts had been examined and passed by specially appointed auditors. A new panel of auditors was nominated each year. The number varied from year to year, but no parish expected the entire panel to undertake an audit. Instead it was stipulated that two, three, or possibly five of the nominees were to act as auditors. Parishioners qualified for nomination because of their social standing within the parish, or because they had served as church wardens themselves and candidates could expect to be nominated for a number of years. Aldermen John Eccles and Ralph Gore, who refused to serve as church wardens in 1709, were nominated as auditors for St Mary's in the same year.¹²⁶ Martin Tucker had served St Mary's as church warden in 1706 and was nominated as an auditor in 1709 and 1710.¹²⁷ This policy meant the auditors generally had first-hand knowledge of the complexities of parochial funding. A fact of particular importance in years when spending exceeded income for, although Tables 3:7 and 3:8, itemising the church wardens' expenditure, show a surplus of income over expenditure, this was not always the case (see Table 3:9).

Disentangling and resolving the financial chaos which so often resulted from arrears could be lengthy and involved. On 17 October 1722, St Mary's appointed a committee to examine the accounts of the church wardens for the previous year, Robert Sisson and John Brock.¹²⁸ The committee's remit was to examine the following cesses: a cess to raise £227 for the purchase of a fire engine; a cess to raise £148/11/9d to meet various debts, and a third cess for £80 to maintain the churchyard wall. The committee were also instructed to inspect the Parish Cess and the Poorhouse Cess, and, in particular, to discover what gifts and legacies were due to the parish. A report detailing its findings was delivered to the Vestry on 29 January 1722[23].¹²⁹

The St Mary's report noted the purpose for which each cess was levied. It detailed how much money had been received, how it had been spent and all outstanding debts were

noted. Finally the audit committee attached a number of observations to the end of each account. One fact in particular emerges from the auditors' report - the vulnerability of the cess as a means of raising money. It was vulnerable for two reasons: firstly it relied upon the individual levied to pay; secondly it relied upon the appointed collectors to collect the cess in full. If either party failed to fulfil the obligations imposed by the cess, arrears were inevitable. In 1721, the church wardens' financial difficulties had arisen because no cess had realised its full amount and it was, therefore, impossible to meet all the tradesmen's bills. The church wardens' difficulties had been compounded by the sidesmen's refusal to collect some of the arrears, noted in the report, and by a loss of income from missing gifts and legacies.¹³⁰ The arrears were considerable: 55% of the expected total for the three principal cesses remained outstanding.¹³¹ The audit provided the parish with no particular solution to its financial problems. While it ordered the sidesmen to collect all the arrears, it also noted their refusal to comply, and offered no suggestion as to how the impasse might be satisfactorily resolved. It would appear that the parish's financial difficulties were not resolved. Once more, in 1723, St Mary's Vestry minutes note that considerable arrears have prevented the church wardens from submitting their accounts.¹³²

The problem of insolvency was encountered by every parish at some time. In most cases the church wardens' debt was small and provision for it was made in the following year's accounts. The difficulties encountered by St Mary's in 1721 and 1723 reveal, however, the precarious nature of parochial income. A church warden's obligations required him to spend money regularly throughout the year. Provided that the officer had access to an adequate amount of petty cash, the church's various commitments could usually be met. The cess, augmented by such things as the parish rents, was supposed to provide the necessary funds.

The income earned from the applotment/cess, rents, fees, fines and legacies was sufficient to meet regular parochial commitments, but it was never more than moderate. When a parish was forced to undertake costly enterprises, such as the rebuilding of the

church, revenue had to be raised by other means. This could be raised through government or municipal subventions. Some additional funds could also be raised through public subscriptions. Special cesses, levied within the particular parish, provided another source of funds. Despite such measures actual building costs almost always outstripped the projected costs and years of debt could ensue. The parish was then faced with a protracted struggle to pay off the debt which was often accompanied by acrimonious arguments with the building contractors.

On 13 November 1721, John Whinnery, mason, demanded the money owed to him by the parish for building St Mary's church. The parish was incapable of meeting Whinnery's claim as the over-run on the building of the church had left St Mary's with serious, long-standing, financial problems. An applotment had been levied back in 1702 to pay for construction costs, and had raised £949/13/0d.¹³³ This failed to meet the main building costs and, on 21 October 1703, the parish petitioned the House of Commons for permission to raise a further sum of money to meet the outstanding debts.¹³⁴ This was granted on 4 March, 1703[/04].¹³⁵ The Vestry ordered an applotment for £400 to be made on 4 October 1704.¹³⁶ The order appears not to have been acted upon until 1705 when the Vestry agreed that an unspecified sum, which was not to exceed the £800 permitted by the Act, was to be raised.¹³⁷

As the parish's financial troubles were not resolved by the 1705 applotment it petitioned Parliament again in July 1707. It was granted permission to raise a sum of money, not exceeding £1,200, to repay the building debts.¹³⁸ This was to be raised in three years time and in a way agreed upon by the minister, church wardens and parishioners. The matter was, therefore, next raised in 1710 when a committee was appointed to examine all the accounts relevant to the building of the church.¹³⁹ The committee's deliberations are unknown but there was obvious frustration among the parish's creditors, for in the following year, 1711, the parish faced legal charges for non-payment.¹⁴⁰ Despite such action, the parish failed to address its financial problems until

1713 when a committee was finally appointed to supervise the raising of the money for building debts.¹⁴¹ The committee's first task was to examine all the accounts and receipts relating to the building and decorating of the church. Should the committee then decide that insufficient money had been raised to finish the job, upon the certificate of any three of them, the parish was to be empowered to raise such further sums as were required. The overall sum to be raised during the next six years could not exceed £1,200; and in any one year no more than £200 could be raised.¹⁴²

The committee which included the Archbishop of Dublin, William King, examined the accounts on 26 March 1713. They concluded that insufficient sums had so far been raised and that a further £1,200 was required to pay for the building work. It was agreed that £200 should be apportioned, within one year, retrospectively from 1 November 1712. The apportionment was to be levied according to Minister's Money. All houses finished and inhabited, but not yet valued, were to be proportionately taxed. A further £200 was to be raised for each of the following five years until the amount required had been reached.¹⁴³

The measures did not resolve the parish's financial problems. In 1722, the parish was once more forced to confront its old building debts. Again the Vestry noted that it had been agreed to raise £1,200 to meet those costs. £200 *per annum* had been levied upon the parish between May 1715 and May 1721 and although some parishioners had paid their annual proportion in full, many others had not. Furthermore, since the time to raise the money provided by the act had now lapsed, many were refusing to pay outstanding apportionments. The church wardens had no power to distrain for the money owed, so it was decided to seek the advice of the Attorney-General.¹⁴⁴

It may have been exasperation with such parochial prevarication that finally persuaded Whinnery to approach the Court of Chancery to obtain a legal writ to reinforce his claim. The problem, however, remained. Much of the money that was to have been raised to pay for the church's building remained uncollected. St Mary's problems had been

exacerbated by a demand for £157/17/2d from the executors of Henry Green, late parish collector.¹⁴⁵ Therefore, on 13 November 1721, the Vestry agreed to collect all the money that remained outstanding. A committee was appointed to examine the account books held by Green's widow.¹⁴⁶ The committee was to account for all the money Green had received, to discover how it had been spent, and list all arrears. A previous order to pay Green's widow an interim £115 was rescinded. She was not to be paid until all Green's accounts had been settled.¹⁴⁷

The committee reported their findings in Vestry on 28 September 1722. All Henry Green's debts as parish collector were to be inscribed into a Book of Arrears. This book was to be given to the new collector, Thomas Roberts. His duty was to collect Green's debts, and, should any parishioner refuse to meet his obligations to the parish, Roberts was to note his reasons for so doing and inform the parish. The £148/11/9d cess, mostly unpaid, was to be collected immediately by the sidesmen appointed to collect it. Unravelling the £1,200 cess, which the Vestry had ordered to clear the church building debts, proved more difficult. The committee had to meet several times before they could report their findings to the Vestry. A number of meetings were held with John Brock, one of Green's executors. He informed the committee that Green's records revealed that four applotments had been levied by the parish; these had been broken down into six payments which were then charged to the parish's inhabitants. The four applotments produced £1,343/6/8d. There remained uncollected £278/16/9d. This, the committee declared, was to be met by the parishioners or Green's widow. Furthermore the arrears were to be listed, and arranged in 'proper collumns'.¹⁴⁸

This process had been completed by 25 January 1721[/22] but progress had been hindered by the unwillingness of Green's widow and his executors to prepare 'ye sd Green's Acct of discharge ... [and] vouchers for ye same'.¹⁴⁹ The committee had finally obtained these on 19 September 1722. On that occasion Brock produced, but retained, vouchers to show Green had paid £861/16/11d towards the discharge of the parish

building debts.¹⁵⁰ Upon further examination, the papers revealed that Green's widow owed the parish £125/12/8½d as no vouchers could be produced to show this had been received by the parish.¹⁵¹

The Vestry had, however, still to meet Whinnery's debt. It was decided that the £115 which had previously been promised to Green's widow should be paid to Whinnery. He was to receive a further £50/4/6d which had been collected by the new parish collector, Thomas Roberts. The committee recommended that part of the debt owed to the parish by Green widow, £10/12/8½d, should also be paid to Whinnery. The total sum, £175/17/2½d, would partly discharge Whinnery's debt. It was, however, necessary to meet Whinnery's debt in full before it was charged by a decree from the High Court of Chancery for it would be 'extream hard for all such parishers who have paid ... [to] be Charged & Obligd for ye Neglect ... of those ... in Arrears'.¹⁵²

Despite such sentiments the matter was still unresolved. In 1726, the Vestry minutes note that the parish's debt to Whinnery was £300.¹⁵³ The following year, 1727, Whinnery and Thomas Thorne, a merchant resident in St Mary's to whom the parish also owed money, sought parliamentary help.¹⁵⁴ Thorne's appeal proved successful; a section was added to a bill for the relief of insolvent debtors which enabled him to resolve his insolvency problems.¹⁵⁵ Whinnery's appeal was less successful and on 8 March 1727[/28] St Mary's was subpoenaed and ordered to appoint a clerk to appear on behalf of the parish in the case pending between St Mary's and Whinnery. The outcome of the case is unknown but St Mary's debt to Whinnery was not settled until May 1743.¹⁵⁶

St Mary's financial difficulties were not unique. St Werburgh's experienced similar difficulties when the parish rebuilt the church between 1716 and 1721.¹⁵⁷ The rebuilding programme was funded from a number of sources, and, as each source brought with it the possibility of arrears, the risk of debt was high. A review of the building fund showed that between 1714 and 1722 the parish anticipated a fund in excess of £5,000 which would have been sufficient to pay for the church's rebuilding.¹⁵⁸ Much of this, almost 80%, was

to be raised by a donation from the king and by the imposition of a cess. The remaining costs were to be met by subscriptions and the sale of seats, with a tiny amount realised from the sale of materials taken from the old St Werburgh's.¹⁵⁹

The decision to impose a cess on St Werburgh's parish was taken on 21 December 1716. It was decided that, in addition to the sums received from the sale of ground in Essex Street, voluntary subscriptions and from a levy calculated at a quarter of all rents, a further £2,000 was required to meet the rebuilding costs.¹⁶⁰ An assessment of the value of all property within the parish was to be made and an individual's contribution to the cess was then to be levied in accordance with that valuation. Initially the commission had returned an overall valuation for the parish of £9,416/14/0d. There were, however, complaints and some valuations were later reduced; the final, amended, valuation was £9,058.¹⁶¹

In 1719 a commissioners' certificate granted the parish the right to raise a further £2,000 to pay for the building costs.¹⁶² A cess for £1,000 was apportioned on the parish on 3 July, 1719.¹⁶³ The following year, 1720, a committee was appointed to examine the parish building debts, the arrears arising from the £1,000 cess (the only part of the £2,000 cess which had been apportioned), and the money received from the sale of seats and subscriptions.¹⁶⁴ The committee found that current arrears amounted to approximately 30% of the building fund. Although some of those arrears might eventually be realised, they would pay off less than half the parochial debt.¹⁶⁵ The parish was faced with an outstanding debt of £579/2/5d.¹⁶⁶ Two methods of repayment were proposed by the parish; the first involved each parishioner making a fixed annual contribution until the debt had been paid; the second was a more complex, and a more expensive form of debt collection.¹⁶⁷ St Werburgh's records indicate, however, that the debt was eventually paid off by diligent pursuit of arrears.

How did the parish incur such arrears? Perhaps parishioners felt there were too many different demands made upon them for money. For example, the voluntary

subscription fund had encountered difficulties because the donations expected from individuals had been fixed in an arbitrary manner. Sir John Rogerson had refused to pay his subscription of £60.¹⁶⁸ So had others, for, as late as 1722, a number of subscriptions were still outstanding. The amount owed was small, £26/10/0d, but it still represented a loss of income.¹⁶⁹

The £1,000 cess, the apportioned portion of the £2,000 cess which had been apportioned between the 3 July and 24 August 1719, also encountered problems. On 11 November, 1720, the parish recorded that 236 inhabitants had failed to pay the cess and the arrears stood at £409/15/11½d.¹⁷⁰ In Copper Alley 51 people had failed to pay the cess, but the largest debt, £92/12/10½d, was owed by the supposedly opulent inhabitants of south Castle Street.¹⁷¹ There were various reasons for non-payment. Some parishioners had left the parish [51]; others could not be found [3]; others were too poor [28]; some had 'promised' to pay [52], while others were non-resident at the time of the cess [1]. Some had gone to England [2], or were ineligible because they lived in furnished lodgings [1]. Other parishioners claimed exemption from the cess because they had paid a subscription, or were in distress, and some had died before the cess could be collected.¹⁷² In 1722, Thomas Roberts was empowered by Vestry to seek payment by distraint of arrears amounting to £71/12/0½d.¹⁷³ Despite such measures, 38% of the cess still remained uncollected in 1724.¹⁷⁴

It was the tradesmen employed to build the church who suffered most directly from a parish's inability to pay its debts. In St Werburgh's, Messrs Quin, Whinnery and Greenway were still owed money c.1727 for their work in rebuilding the church.¹⁷⁵ Robert Greenway, a smith, had already petitioned the parish for repayment. He claimed that although he had finished work five months previously, he was still owed £220.¹⁷⁶ Unlike St Mary's, St Werburgh's were not threatened with decrees of Chancery. Greenway's petition expressed a sense of frustration at the parish's tardiness in meeting his bill, but nothing more. Nevertheless it was impossible for the parish to meet such bills if

the parishioners did not pay their dues. In 1720, arrears on the £1,000 cess amounted to £409/15/11½d.¹⁷⁷ Four years later Thomas Roberts had succeeded in collecting only £22/13/6d.¹⁷⁸ Further arrears were returned on another cess made to raise building funds on 15 June, 1724.¹⁷⁹ In mid-1728, with some debts from this cess still outstanding, John Kelly, the vestry clerk, was granted permission to levy and distrain.¹⁸⁰

Both St Mary's and St Werburgh's were engaged in expensive building work at a time of economic uncertainty.¹⁸¹ During the 1720s, when both parishes were attempting to pay off the building debts, economic conditions were particularly unstable. St Mary's and St Werburgh's difficulties stemmed from an inability to enforce the payment of dues imposed upon the inhabitants by the parochial authorities.

The rebuilding of St Nicholas Within also aroused resentment. On 2 June 1716, John Howe, a resident of St Nicholas Within, petitioned Parliament on behalf of himself and other parishioners of the parish.¹⁸² He complained of serious mismanagement and misappropriation by the minister and church wardens of monies raised to pay for the rebuilding of the church. The tone of the petition is bitter. Howe alleged the money had been raised in an arbitrary manner. This was regarded as unfair, illegal and extortionate. Howe's sense of injustice had been fuelled by his treatment at the hands of the Consistory Court where in c.1711 he had been cited for non-payment. The court had found in favour of the church wardens and awarded them costs. Howe's subsequent refusal to meet the costs had resulted in his excommunication in January 1712[/13].¹⁸³

Despite Howe's personal grievance, the minister and church wardens had been tactless in their approach to raising funds for the church rebuilding. It had been decided to rebuild St Nicholas Within at a sparsely attended Vestry on 22 November 1706. The following February, 1706[/07], at another ill-attended Vestry, it was decided that the work should be paid for by voluntary subscriptions and an applotment of £400.¹⁸⁴ When the applotment was levied in March, 1706[/07], however, the sum applotted was £488/10/0d.¹⁸⁵ This applotment failed to cover the rebuilding costs and an application

was made to Parliament in 1707 for sanction to raise additional funds. The commissioners, appointed by Parliament to examine the building accounts, subsequently empowered the minister and church wardens to raise £600 at a rate of 5/6³/₄d per £1 ground rent. The new tax was unpopular but, the petition infers, fully paid.¹⁸⁶

Resentment grew in 1709 when adjustments were made in the valuation of property which raised the contributions made by each parishioner to cover Minister's Money and outlays to the poor.¹⁸⁷ The parishioners successfully appealed against the new valuation to the Lords Justices. The Lords Justices' recommendation seems to have been ignored, and parishioners were levied under the new valuation.¹⁸⁸ Further taxation was applied in 1710 despite the parish's refusal to sanction the measure.¹⁸⁹ It was the application of this tax which was to eventually result in Howe's excommunication. In 1711, parishioners, alarmed by the fate that had befallen Howe, passed an 'act of Vestry' which obliged the minister and church wardens to allow the parish to scrutinize the building accounts.¹⁹⁰ The accounts were, however, removed before they could be examined and the parish was forced to pay the parish clerk 'exorbitant Fees' in order to gain copies. Further taxes were imposed upon the parish in May 1714 and in April 1716. Howe claimed that much of the money raised was used by William Kane the 'Minister's manager' for his private use as well as to pay off tavern debts incurred by the minister and church wardens.¹⁹¹

Howe's petition sparked off a Commons enquiry into parochial taxation and spending.¹⁹² The petition was read a second time to the Commons in 1719 when they were occupied with the Heads of a bill for the relief of insolvent debtors. The bill became law in October 1719 and allowed, upon the swearing of an oath, for the release from prison of all debtors not guilty of fraud or collusion (6 Geo. I, c.17.). Did the introduction of this legislation have some bearing on the financial troubles in St Mary's and St Werburgh's? Or were the difficulties a direct result of the unstable economic conditions at the beginning of the eighteenth century? The answers to such questions can only be

speculative, but it is worth remembering that parochial resentment of taxation for church rebuilding was not just an eighteenth-century phenomenon.

During the previous century, St Bride's had incurred financial difficulties while rebuilding. The original proposal, made in 1679[/80], had been to finance the renovations by means of a levy fixed at double the annual sum paid in Minister's Money.¹⁹³ In 1682 it was decided to tax any parishioner who had not subscribed to the renovations, as well as seek voluntary subscriptions.¹⁹⁴ The need to impose the additional tax suggests arrears had accrued. There were certainly arrears late in 1685 when the church wardens were ordered to collect all sums relating to the renovations which remained outstanding.¹⁹⁵ On 6 November, 1691, a debt still remained. The creditor, mason John Barlow, had obtained a decree from the Court of Exchequer against the minister and church wardens for £170.¹⁹⁶ No action was taken to repay the debt until the following year, 1692, when it was decided to levy a cess for £223. It was agreed that this sum would finally remove all outstanding building arrears.¹⁹⁷

St John's had also been forced to undertake major rebuilding work, but the Vestry minutes give no indication that arrears were allowed to accrue. The decision to rebuild was taken in 1680, to be financed by a cess levied at at least three times the yearly amount paid to the minister.¹⁹⁸ The subsequent difficulties experienced by the parish were concerned with extant buildings obstructing the construction of the new church, rather than arrears.¹⁹⁹ The construction of St Peter's, again in the early 1680s, was financed by public subscription, and by parishioners donating both materials and their personal expertise. Isaac Chalke donated 'in plastering Etc Thirteen pounds and in money fowrty shillings'.²⁰⁰ Ralph Evans 'paid in Lime one hundred hogshead' towards the church's construction.²⁰¹ No hint of financial difficulties appears in the surviving building accounts, or the Vestry minutes. Perhaps the policy of allocating pew rights to parishioners in lieu of their contribution towards the church's construction diverted possible dissent. A more propitious economic climate may also have helped.²⁰²

Civic Expenditure

In addition to their domestic obligations the parishes were also expected to meet a growing number of financial demands imposed by the municipality. The responsibilities accompanying this role were very different from those associated with domestic needs. Firstly, the parish had no control over the sum it was apportioned to pay. Secondly, it had no control over how the money was spent. A comprehensive understanding of the full impact of civic taxation upon the parishes is, however, hampered by a lack of detailed parochial documentation. Nevertheless the parishes' role as civic tax collectors was fundamental to the management of the city.

Between 1665 and 1684 St John's contributed £451/10/0d towards the city's upkeep.²⁰³ The presentments had been levied to pay for a number of things, including the wages of the city scavenger; the provision of fire and candle light for the militia; and for repairs to the House of Correction and the city's bridges. Not all the money raised to meet civil presentments, however, was paid to the City. The Great Fire of London in 1666 revived corporate awareness of the dangers of fire. In 1670 the Lord Mayor had been empowered to order all parishes to purchase buckets, poles and hooks, for fire fighting purposes.²⁰⁴ St Bride's failed to comply immediately and found themselves indicted by the authorities. Their tardiness proved costly, for they were forced to spend £17/19/8d in legal costs, and £8/4/6d on twenty-four buckets and the necessary number of poles and hooks.²⁰⁵ In 1677, the parish was ordered to spend a further £24 on similar fire fighting equipment.²⁰⁶

Permission to levy taxes was sought and granted at the various law terms throughout the legal year. The immediacy with which the parishes fulfilled their obligations is unclear but evidence for both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries indicates that warrants were not always apportioned immediately. Nor were they necessarily apportioned annually. In 1709, under Charles Forrest's mayoralty, fourteen presentments were levied upon the city to raise £247. An initial warrant had been granted on seven

presentments, but these had not been applotted at the time St John's received the second warrant for a further seven presentments.²⁰⁷ In St Michan's the pattern was similar. Ten presentments were made between Christmas 1722 and Easter 1723 at the King's Bench and the Tholsel. These were recorded in St Michan's applotment book on four different dates, 6 June 1723, 4 November 1723, 9 December 1723, and 13 January 1723[/24]. St Michan's portion, £98/0/9½d, however, was not applotted by the parish until April 1724.²⁰⁸

Once a presentment had been levied it was collected by parish officers or by specially appointed collectors. Again the lack of evidence for the seventeenth century leads to an incomplete picture, but by the following century it is apparent that all too frequently the presentment was not collected in full. St Bride's, St Paul's, St Michan's, St Peter's and St Mary's all record instances of arrears which occurred because some parishioners had not paid their taxes, and, as a result, the parishes became indebted to the City. In June 1720, St Michan's made an applotment for £55/9/2¼d. Parish presentments amounted to £32/17/5¼d. The remaining amount, just over 40%, however, was needed to meet the deficiencies arising from previous presentments.²⁰⁹ St Mary's faced a similar problem in 1724; an applotment was levied for Grand Jury presentments of £44/18/11½d, £12/12/9½d of this was needed to meet outstanding debts arising from previous applotments.²¹⁰ Within the terms of overall parochial expenditure these deficiencies were not large. St Mary's applotment for parochial expenses in 1724 was £178/5/1½d.²¹¹ St Bride's, when applotting arrears, placed the burden equally upon all solvent parishioners.²¹² Other parishes probably did likewise. It may be, therefore, that arrears resulted not just from an inability to pay, but also from an unwillingness to pay more than once. By 1729, however, several parishes were in considerable arrears for public money. This, the King's Bench asserted, was causing a 'great obstruction' and it claimed the arrears were occasioned by the church wardens neglecting to perform their duty. The court ordered that, in future, all public must be applotted and collected half yearly.²¹³

A broad picture of seventeenth century taxation can be seen in an applotment levied in March, 1681 for the 'repaire of Woodden Bridge called ye Blooddy Bridg & building the stone Bridge at ye End of Queen Street ':

Table 3:10: 1681 Assessments made on Parishes to Rebuild Wooden Bridge

St Andrews	£82
St Werbroughs	£74
St Johns	£54
St Kevans & Brydes	£68
St Katherines & James	£84
St Michans	£94
St Audeons	£68
St Nicholas Within	£48
St Michaels	£44
St Patricks	£68
Donnabrook	£16
Total	£700

Source: TCD Mss 8556-8/91 Hutchison Papers.

As Table 3:10 shows individual contributions to the cess varied but St John's proportion was fixed at £54, or 7.7% of the total required.²¹⁴ How the cess was proportioned out in St John's can be seen in Table 3:11.

Table 3:11: St John's Applotment 1681 - Bridge Cess £54*

	Wood Quay	Blind Quay	Fishamble St	Winetavern St	Cooke St
Portion of Applotment	£10/15/6d	£15/10/0d	£17/4/4d	£10/2/4d	£1/7/8d
Nos Assessed	62	81	93	51	11
Max Payment	10/6d	15/-	15/-	15/-	6/8d
A Nos paying 10/- +	3 (4%)	6 (7%)	5 (5%)	3 (6%)	
B Nos paying 8/11d to 6/-	2 (3%)	7 (9%)	11 (12%)	8 (16%)	1 (10%)
C Nos paying 5/11d to 3/-	24 (39%)	24 (30%)	23 (25%)	13 (25%)	2 (18%)
D Nos paying 2/11d to 1/-	32 (52%)	42 (52%)	52 (56%)	26 (51%)	8 (72%)
E Nos paying 0d**	1 (2%)	2 (2%)	2 (2%)	1 (2%)	

Source: St John's Applotment Book, 1659-1696.

Notes to Table 3:11: NB The figures shown in the table have been rounded up to the nearest % point.

* The parish assessment was £54/19/10d. This exceeded the applotment made by the city.

** Those excused payment were the ward constables.

The proportion paid by each parish varied from cess to cess. In 1684, when two presentments were granted a warrant to levy the parishes, one for £10 for the poor of Newgate prison, another for £35 to repair the road to Dolphin's Barn, St John's contributions were £2 and £3/5/0d respectively - 2% and 9% of the amounts required. In 1688, when the city sought to raise £775/11/4d, St John's paid 6.4% of the total sum, £49/17/3d. There are a number of possible explanations for the proportional differences. The exemption of the Liberties from some civic taxation would have had some bearing on the apportioning of warrants. Another consideration relative to the apportionment of a presentment was the purpose for which the money it raised was to be used. Some presentments were very specific and relative to only a small part of the city, and would, therefore, be apportioned accordingly.

Another reason for adjustment would have been the redefining of parochial boundaries. This would have been the case in 1697, for example, when St Michan's was divided to form three parishes. Further adjustments in taxation apportionments would have been necessary in 1707, with the creation of St Anne's, St Luke's and St Mark's parishes. At the beginning of the eighteenth century it would seem that the overall size of the parish was the determining factor in the apportioning of presentments.²¹⁵ In 1719, however, it was decided that Minister's Money as returned to the King's Bench that year should henceforth be used for the apportioning of Grand Jury presentments.²¹⁶ A record of the effect this decision had on parochial apportionments was recorded by only one parish. In 1720, St Nicholas Without recorded the value of the parish in relation to the proportion of the city's taxes it might expect to be asked to pay. The value of the city as a whole was £3,674/14/7½d, but taxation was not automatically levied on the entire city. In certain cases a cess might be levied which excluded the Liberties of Thomascourt, Donore, St Patrick's and Christ Church, therefore in parishes where the boundaries of the city and the Liberties crossed distinctions had to be made for taxation purposes. The major part of the city, called by the parish the Lord Mayor's Liberty, was valued for taxation purposes at

£3,498/8/11d. The much smaller Liberty, Donore, belonging to the Earl of Meath was valued at £176/5/8½d. St Nicholas Without's overall valuation was £198/4/10d. Since the boundaries of the parish encompassed part of the Meath Liberty, two valuations were necessary. The proportion of taxation payable by the parish would depend on whether or not the Meath Liberty was included. If the Liberty of St Thomascourt was included in the assessment, then the rate was fixed at £5/8/1.34d in every £100 or 1/0.97d in every £1; however, if the Liberty of St Thomascourt was excluded, the rate rose to £5/13/6.71d in every £100, or 1/1.63d in every £1.²¹⁷ Although Minister's Money returns for 1719 were subsequently recorded and are shown in Appendix 10, it is difficult to establish precisely what percentage each parish paid, for the recording of presentments is uneven. Parishes acknowledged their proportions, but did not always indicate the presentments for which they had been levied. Where details of presentments are given in more than one parish, they do not always concur. Three parishes refer to the 1722 to 1723 presentments, St John's, St Michan's and St Peter's. While each parish gives some explanation of the purpose behind individual presentments it is impossible to calculate accurately the final cost of a warrant as no parish records precisely the same number of presentments. Speculative figures, however, can be calculated based on the three items common to all three parishes; the rebuilding of Bloody Bridge and the apprehension of two robbers, Daniel Carroll and Philip Reiley - see Table 3:12. It is interesting to note the various percentages paid by St Peter's on each of the individual presentments as opposed to the percentage paid on the aggregate. Interestingly too, the speculative figures and percentages derived from using the returns recorded in Appendix 10 reflect approximately the percentage as recorded by the parish.

Table 3:12: Estimates paid on Three Civic Presentments made in 1722-1723

	St John's	St Michan's	St Peter's
Contributions to the presentment: 1: Bloody Bridge £589/17/6d 2: Capture of Daniell Carroll £20 3: Capture of Philip Reiley £10	£28/18/1d (4.9%)*	£64/17/9d (11%)*	£36/12/0d (5.9%) £3/1/4 ³ / ₄ d (15%) £2/9/3 ¹ / ₂ d (24%)
Presentment as registered by parish	£705/15/2d	£794/9/11d	[£619/17/6d]*
Overall contribution paid by on presentment as recorded by parish	£37/2/6d (5%)	£98/0/9 ¹ / ₂ d (12%)	£42/2/8 ¹ / ₄ d(6.7%)
P/A contribution paid by parish to presentment shown in table	P £30/19/8d (i.e.5% of 1,2 & 3)	P £74/7/7d (i.e.12% of 1,2 & 3)	A £42/2/8 ¹ / ₄ d (i.e. 6.7% of 1,2 & 3)

Sources: St John's Applotment Book 1696-1735; St Michan's Applotment Book 1711-1725; St Peter's VM 1686-1736.

Notes on Table 3:12

bold* Figures in **bold** type has been calculated by using the Minister's Money returns in Appendix 10.

[]* The parish does not record the estimate, but this figure represents the overall cost of the three presentments recorded in the table.

P. Possible contribution. A. Actual contribution

As Dublin grew its infrastructure became increasingly more expensive to maintain and by the end of the seventeenth century, the number of presentments the parishes had to meet was growing. By the beginning of the eighteenth century the presentments were imposing serious financial burdens upon the parishes. Between 1702 and 1703, St Bride's had to raise money to meet seventeen presentments. The sum to be raised by the presentments was £1,500/11/0d. The parish records details for the apportionment of twelve presentments. St Bride's, whose percentage contributions to each presentment ranged between 6.2% and 7%, was levied for £96/11/2¹/₄d.²¹⁸ In addition, Dublin as a whole was required to raise a further £90 because of arrears on previous applotments, but what proportion of this fell to St Bride's is not indicated. The parish's financial obligation to the City, however, would have exceeded £100.²¹⁹ If this is added to the domestic costs incurred within the parish in 1702 and 1703, when the church wardens spent £110/13/0³/₄d, St Bride's overall expenditure for the year was in excess of £200.

That year was somewhat unusual. A substantial sum, £1,066/11/0d, was required to clear the watercourse in St Patrick's Street to prevent the cathedral from flooding. This was apportioned on the dignitaries and prebendaries of St Patrick's, the inhabitants of St Patrick's Street, and all those living in the Liberties of Donore and St Sepulchre. St Bride's was charged with paying £73/13/9d of this warrant.²²⁰ St John's, by contrast, escaped this warrant, and, as a consequence, was required to raise £29/7/1½d for civic expenditure.²²¹ Had St Bride's similarly escaped, the parish's annual taxation would have been more modest, and similar to St John's.²²² The number of presentments for 1702 to 1703 was high. In the succeeding years, 1704 to 1708, presentments fell to an average of five a year.

The burden of taxation increased as the eighteenth century developed although the number of presentments issued each year continued to vary depending on Dublin's needs. St John's record seventeen presentments between 1712 and early 1714, whereas there were nine made for 1721.²²³ The sums of money to be raised were often substantial. The presentments made between 1712 and 1714 were required to raise £541/13/3d, whereas in 1717 the sum was £296/2/4d.²²⁴ In 1722[/23], when several presentments were made to the King's Bench and the Tholsel, the sum required was £705/5/2d. The greater proportion of this sum, £589/17/6d, was required for the repair of Bloody Bridge but money was required for other purposes. The apprehension of two robbers, Daniel Carroll and Philip Reiley had cost £30. The city treasurer's annual salary of £25 had to be met. Newgate prison had been strengthened at a cost of £32/14/3½d. Finally the cleansing of the watercourse which ran through Thomas Street and the construction of the pavement on College Green had cost £27/13/4½d.²²⁵ Table 3:12 gives a breakdown of how the presentment was apportioned on three parishes.

Despite the general unpopularity of taxation during the seventeenth century there is no evidence of parochial protests against civic taxes. Some complaints, however, do emerge in the eighteenth century. The parishioners of St Paul's objected to the rate at which taxes were levied on the parish in 1702. At that time parochial taxation for civic

purposes was based on an assessment of the parish's size and St Paul's had been adjudged to form a twentieth part of the city. The parish regarded this as unfair, and elected a committee to appeal to the Lord Mayor for a more reasonable proportion.²²⁶ In 1716, St Catherine's noted that parishes throughout the city had expressed dissatisfaction at the cesses imposed by the Four Courts. The church wardens were considering ways of easing the parishes' burden. Meanwhile the church wardens of all the city's parishes had joined together and were seeking legal advice for relief from the cesses.²²⁷

Another example of concerted parochial dissent to civic taxation is recorded by St Michan's. In 1725, the city parishes were cessed to repair the wall of Ormond Quay at a cost of £44/15/0d. The parishes united to oppose the cess in law. This concerted approach had been fostered by the 'Society of Church Wardens'. Very little is known of the Society's origins and history, but they met in November 1725 in order to 'consider, treat, [and] prosecute by joint advice & consent on [the] weighty matters happening' as they affected the 'rights, properties & emoluments of the parishes' either then or in the future.²²⁸ One of the principal concerns of the meeting had been a presentment made for repairing the river walk on Ormond Quay, which the parishes refused to meet. They had obtained a writ moving the presentment from the Tholsel court to the King's Bench where the merits of the presentment were to be argued in the coming Easter term.²²⁹ St Michan's Vestry took a further step to safeguard parochial rights. The vestry clerk was ordered to procure advance notice of all future presentments made by the Grand Jury at the King's Bench and in the Tholsel so that the parishioners could take 'seasonable' notice of them and so prevent further 'impositions' upon the parish.²³⁰

The government had long been aware of the resentment aroused by the growth in civic taxation. In 1703, the House of Commons formed a committee to examine the system of raising money by means of Grand Jury presentments. The findings were reported to the House on 13 October, 1703. The committee found that raising money by presentments was not warranted by law, was arbitrary, illegal and a 'Grievance to the

Subject'.²³¹ Furthermore the application of the money for any purpose other than that for which it was raised was also 'a Grievance'.²³² Despite the committee's findings presentments continued to be levied. A bill, however, was introduced to prevent Grand Juries from using presentments to raise illegal money and to restrict the use of money to the purpose for which it was raised.²³³

The growing number of presentments reflect the increasing cost of urban maintenance they were not, however, the only form of civic taxation which had to be met. In 1665 and 1666 when the Poll Tax was designed to raise £23,500 nationally, Dublin's parishes failed to raise their apportioned quota. In 1665, the arrears amounted to £214/1/6d. Eleven Dublin parishes failed to meet their financial obligations, although St Catherine's was the worst offender with arrears of £57/8/6d.²³⁴ The parishes also recorded a deficit in 1666. Asked to raise £979/3/6d, the parishes succeeded in raising only £767/1/8d.²³⁵ In 1698[99], a bill was passed to raise £120,000. Dublin's portion of this nation-wide land tax was £5,000, to be paid in four equal instalments of £1,250.²³⁶ At parochial level, the tax was levied half yearly. St Bride's and St John's records show the parishes' contributions to the tax were £89/7/3d and £81/5/0d respectively.²³⁷ The records of neither parish, however, refer to the tax again.

Minister's Money

In 1665, under 17&18 Chas. II, c.7, Anglican ministers were granted the right to an income by means of property evaluation and taxation in lieu of tithe. Prior to 1665, ministers in Dublin had received a fixed annual salary which had been established at the beginning of the seventeenth century. In 1616 an Act of Council had ordered all ministers, the Mayor, aldermen and principal citizens of Dublin to attend a council meeting with the purpose of fixing ministers' salaries. It was unanimously agreed that each minister was to receive a specified salary. This was to be apportioned and levied quarterly by the church wardens whose responsibility it was to pay the minister. For example St John's minister

was to receive £60 *per annum*; St Catherine's minister £51 *per annum*. St Michael's minister £45 *per annum*, plus the fees from all marriages, baptisms and burials, and the Easter offerings. The minister of St Owen's [Audeon's] received 100 'marks', plus £10 from St Anne's guild and the benefits of church door, i.e. marriages, baptisms & burials, and offerings of those receiving Communion. St Michan's minister's salary was £50 *per annum*, while St Nicholas' minister received £30 *per annum*.²³⁸

These salaries were apparently not adjusted until the Restoration. St Catherine's record paying their minister £50 in 1658, while the minister's stipend in St John's in 1663 was £60.²³⁹ After the Restoration, however, St Catherine's parishioners were cessed in 1664 and 1665 to pay a minister's salary of £100.²⁴⁰ Very occasionally alternative methods were used to pay a minister. St Werburgh's had levied the parish for Minister's Money in 1659. In the following year, however, 1660, they used the revenue raised from the sale of seats to pay the minister.²⁴¹ St Bride's parishioners, who had no resident minister for five years after the Restoration, had to trust to 'gospel in gloves' and to sermons at 9/- a Sunday.²⁴² The obligations imposed upon the parishes under the 1665 Act were removed in 1689 by an Act of the Jacobite Parliament.²⁴³ Freed from the implications of imposing the Act, St Michael's decided to pay their minister £40 *per annum*.²⁴⁴ The 1665 Act came back into force when the first Williamite Parliament revoked the 1689 legislation; thus St Andrew's undertook a valuation in 1692 along the 1665 lines.²⁴⁵

The 1665 regulations governing the setting up of a valuation have already been discussed more fully earlier in the chapter, but, in brief, they allowed for a valuation to be made once every three years; fixed the levy imposed upon valued property at 12d in the £1 and stated that no property could be valued at over £60.²⁴⁶ Until the valuations were temporarily suspended in 1689, St Andrew's and St Bride's had each held four valuations, St Peter's had held five. St Andrew's parish was valued at £6374, St Bride's at £4046/5/0d and St Peter's at £4761.²⁴⁷ The most complete series of valuations recorded, however,

were those made for the parish of St Andrew's between 1668 and 1725. In all twelve valuations were undertaken in the parish between 1668 and 1725. In those years the total value of all property within the parish was £13,307, which in turn yielded Minister's Money amounting to £665/7/0d (i.e. 5%).²⁴⁸

Table 3:13: Examples of valuations made for Dublin

	St Andrew's	St Bride's	St Peter's
1667: First valuation of property Value in Minister's Money		£2676 £133/16/0d (5%)	£1464* £73/4/0d (5%)
1668: Subsequent Valuation made on new property only. Value in Minister's Money	£3811 £190/11/0d (5%)		
1672: Subsequent Valuation made on new property only. Value in Minister's Money		£574 £28/14/0d (5%)	£1443 £72/3/0d (5%)
1673: Subsequent Valuation made on new property only. Value in Minister's Money	£1107 £55/7/0d (5%)		
1677: Subsequent Valuation made on new property only. Value in Minister's Money	£543/10/0d £27/3/6d (5%)	£338/5/0d £16/18/3d (5%)	£663 £33/3/0d (5%)
1680: Subsequent Valuation made on new property only. Value in Minister's Money	£914/10/0d £45/14/6d (5%)		£651 £32/11/0d (5%)
1684: Subsequent Valuation made on new property only. Value in Minister's Money		£458 £22/18/0d (5%)	£540 £27 (5%)
1692: Subsequent Valuation made on new property only. Value in Minister's Money	£610 £30/10/6d (5%)		
1702: Subsequent Valuation made on new property only. Value in Minister's Money	£944/10/0d £47/4/6d (5%)		£598/10/0d £29/18/6d (5%)
1718: Subsequent Valuation made on new property only. Value in Minister's Money		£688/10/0d £34/8/6d (5%)	

Sources: St Andrew's, St Michan's Common Place Book; St Bride's, TCD Ms 2062; St Peter's, NLI Ms 5230 * The valuation for St Peter's is incomplete.

No parish seems to have held a valuation every three years, St Mary's, for example, held valuations in 1711, 1718 and 1725. St Werburgh's undertook one valuation in 1711 and another in 1721. The process was very involved and could give rise to dissension; extracts from Privy Council Books relating to valuations are interesting, however, for they provide a glimpse of the humdrum nature of some of the work undertaken by the Privy Council and the petty nature of many complaints. A commission for St Andrew's in 1714 was forced to withdraw a return and amend it to indicate which houses were occupied and which were unoccupied. In 1718, St Mary's parish was informed that a commission must be correctly laid out, not on a scrap of paper, to receive formal approval.²⁴⁹

Some complaints were serious. In 1721, tenants of a 'concern' in Crane Lane, St Werburgh's, petitioned the Council. Originally the property had been valued at £20, but it had been improved and revalued at £42. The petitioners regarded the new valuation as exorbitant. They conceded that improvements had been made but they claimed that ground had been taken to enlarge the street and that this had reduced the size and therefore the value of the property.²⁵⁰ The charge of overvaluation was made by another petition from St Werburgh's. It claimed houses were being overvalued because valuations were based on large ground rents rather than on clear rent exclusive of ground rent. Despite requests for reassessments, the Privy Council rejected both petitions.²⁵¹

Implementing a commission of valuation was cumbersome. Some dissension was inevitable, but the possibility of increased revenues encouraged their regularity. St Michan's appointed three commissioners, Benjamin Wybrants, John Croker and William Hamilton, for the valuation undertaken in 1725. The commissioners were assisted by Benjamin Everard, John Bayly, a brewer from Ann Street, and a Mr Wills.²⁵² Everard returned values on eight warehouses and he assessed fifty houses, although only eighteen were included in the final commission.²⁵³ John Bayly valued six warehouses.²⁵⁴ Valuations were also made of six untenanted houses and thirteen thatched cabins.²⁵⁵ Despite being valued, some properties were excluded from the commission. No

explanation is offered for the exclusions. For the minister, however, this meant a loss of income.²⁵⁶

Fixing a valuation could be complex as the detailed descriptions of those houses excluded from the valuation show. In many instances the original premises had been demolished, thereby invalidating the initial valuation made for Minister's Money. It was common for one old structure to be replaced by several new structures. Dr George Martin, for example, had demolished an old house in Bull Lane and 'in the stead of hath built 4 Handsome Houses'.²⁵⁷ The houses occupied the same frontage as the old house but extended further backwards. Houses 103 and 104 were unlet although the commissioners suggested they had been ready to be let for some time as they were 'Roofed, Glaized, Floored, Ceiled & mostly Wainscotted'. It was felt Martin was aware of this as he had refused the commissioners permission to view them on 5 January 1725[26].²⁵⁸ Even after a valuation had been fixed, inhabitants queried excessive valuations and quibbled over the definitions which the commissioners placed on property.

For the assessors, the completion of a commission of valuation was the first step in a lengthy procedure. An applotment had then to be made and collected. This duty fell to the church wardens. Their most important task was to avoid arrears. St Catherine's Vestry minutes show that problems did occur with the collection of Minister's Money. In 1667, St Catherine's failed to collect £25/6/3d of Minister's Money. St Bride's, however, in the same year, suggested that any surplus Minister's Money should be given to the minister for 'his care and paines'.²⁵⁹ During the eighteenth century St Mary's church wardens were unable to submit their accounts in 1723 because of considerable arrears in Minister's Money.²⁶⁰ Although no explanation is offered the parish did experience financial problems with the death of Henry Green, the vestry clerk and parish collector (these are discussed below). These problems may have been a contributor factor in St Mary's financial disarray. An investigating commission was lengthy and involved, and its decisions were always liable to question, as is evidenced by the queries which arose in St Michan's in 1725.

Disputed valuations may have contributed towards the arrears which occurred in St Mary's in 1723 since these would have delayed collection.

Within the general context of day-to-day expenditure Minister's Money was of minor importance. Its significance lay more in the part it played in the applotment of cesses levied to raise funds for domestic or civic outgoings. The rate at which each assessment was fixed depended upon the amount the parish was required to raise, as well as the value of the properties applotted as the cess paid by each inhabitant was calculated in accordance with an individual's Minister's Money valuation. Therefore valuations required regular revision to ensure that properties were correctly valued and that new buildings were included. In 1695, Parliament had ordered that a Vestry should be called once a year, or more often if required, to rate and assess houses and inhabitants within each parish.²⁶¹ Although the primary purpose of this provision was to ensure that no inhabitant avoided paying poor maintenance, it may have assisted parochial administration. Regular perambulations through the parish would have been useful because property within the parish was never developed in a uniform manner. The law restricted the holding of commissions of valuation; therefore properties completed between valuations would have temporarily escaped paying Minister's Money. It was, however, important to ensure that the respite from taxation was only temporary in order to minimize the loss of possible income for both the minister and the parish. For example, in St Michan's, in 1723, property was valued at £9,021. The estimate was broken down as follows: Minister's Money was valued at £7,344 and rents at £1,676. In 1725 property was valued at £9,502/10/0d: Minister's Money was valued at £7,717/10/0d and rents at £1,785.²⁶² This increase represented additional income for the minister, but it would also have had a bearing on the rates at which applotments were set.

During the period of this survey, 1660 to 1729, the 1665 Act remained the crucial piece of legislation. The lack of amendments for clerical provision, as set out within the Act, brought complaints from Bishop King in the late 1690s.²⁶³ Nevertheless Minister's

Money did ensure an income for Dublin's clergy, and despite King's complaints, it also provided a method of evaluating the actual worth of individual cures throughout the city. In 1721, for example, the Prebendary of St John's was worth £257/4/4d. By far the greatest proportion of the prebend's value, almost 68%, came from 'House money', that is Minister's Money valuations.²⁶⁴ The Prebendary had additional sources of income which included 'book dues', rents, the 'vicar's dividend' and a small salary from Christ Church Cathedral. In all these amounted to £82/8/7d.²⁶⁵ There were, however, obligations to be met which reduced the prebendary's income. The annual salaries of the parish's curate and reader, £35 and £20 respectively, had to be met, and there were the almost inevitable insolvencies to be taken into account.²⁶⁶ For the incumbent, these obligations meant that he could never expect to receive the full value of the prebend. In the year in question, 1721, he received only 77% of the prebend's overall worth, £196/17/7d. The actual value of the prebend would also have been influenced by the prevailing economic climate. The early 1720s were to provide a brief respite from the economic gloom which had prevailed throughout the previous decade, and which was to descend upon the parish once more in 1729 and 1730.²⁶⁷ In the long term, while Minister's Money assured a regular clerical income, the precise amount could never be guaranteed.

* * *

In the analysis of parochial finances several points have emerged. During the seventeenth century parochial income was derived from rents, fines, fees, the sale of pews and supplemented, when the occasion demanded, by a cess. In the eighteenth century, however, an increase in financial commitments meant the traditional sources of income were unable to raise sufficient funds to meet demands and the parishes were forced to resort to the use of the cess with increasing frequency. It became their main source of income and was therefore levied on an annual basis. This dependence led to problems especially when arrears were allowed to accrue. The practice of distraint which accompanied non-payment was clearly resented, but the frequency with which it was used

is by no means clear. In financial matters, however, compliance and goodwill on the part of the individual, or the parish, could not be taken for granted. The power of the ordinary parishioner could, on occasion, be as influential as the combined power of the parishes. This is demonstrated by the fact that legislation resulted from both parochial and individual disquiet over fiscal misappropriation. In general, however, such examples of overt dissent were unusual. This is surprising, for parish costs rose enormously between 1660 and 1729.²⁶⁸

The task of administering parochial finances fell to only a small percentage of the parish's population; chief among these were the church wardens, but those appointed to assess and applot cesses were also influential; those appointed to the latter category had frequently served in the former category. The only recourse open to many ordinary parishioners, and which might bring about a change in fiscal policy, was to attend Vestry meetings. The majority of parishioners, however, chose not to exercise this privilege. The responsibility for managing parochial funds was left to the elected officials and the limited few prepared to volunteer their services.

Despite the many factors which mitigated against parochial solvency, such as increased taxation levels, adverse economic conditions, and cumulative arrears arising from non-payment, the parishes did enjoy periods of financial stability. An intriguing question, however, remains, and it is one which is almost impossible to answer other than with generalisations - that of the Catholic reaction. Clearly the Anglican policy of obliging all denominations to contribute to the maintenance of the Anglican church would have been a bitter pill to swallow, and one parish in particular, St Bride's, had to combat open dissension. The Catholic reaction in the city's other parishes is, unfortunately, less clear.

Chapter 4

Beggars and Vagabonds - Dublin's Poor

'You may suppose perhaps (Madam) there are no Beggars in *Dublin* ... but assure your self (Madam) to the contrary for to the best of my knowledge, I never saw them so thick any where else, *in the whole of my life* ...'

John Dunton *The Dublin Scuffle* 1699.

Dunton was not the first visitor to note the poverty-stricken hoards who thronged the streets of Dublin; he would certainly not be the last. It was not that Dublin opinion was impervious to the distasteful impression that the city's paupers left upon the visitor. The city was well aware of the aversion felt by visitor and resident alike to the 'greate number of loose, idle and disordred persons ... [who] give themselves over to sloath and idleness'.¹ Contemporary opinion regarded Dublin's beggars as a 'great dishonor [to] the government ... and [a] disturbance [to] all the inhabitants'.² In an age preoccupied with the rights and privileges of the propertied classes and the immorality of the lower classes, genuine concern for the plight of the poor did exist, but the giving of charity was all too rarely motivated by altruism. More frequently it was used to emphasize the disparity between the classes. Recipients were expected to show 'gratitude to your benefactors and thankfulness to God as becomes such as are upheld by the bounty of one, thro' the grace of the other'.³

Dublin's twin problems - the containment of her beggars, and adequate relief for the genuinely needy - were not unique. London and Edinburgh experienced similar problems. The commitment made by the city and the parishes to the poor was, however, very different. In Dublin the Assembly's ambition was to rid the streets of all 'strange' beggars. Such an ambition was tacitly acknowledged as unrealistic; consequently the city's efforts were focused more and more on containment. Poor relief, which could be given in money or as material assistance, was the preserve of the city's parishes. Providing an account of parochial relief is complicated as only a limited number of parochial records

survive. There are no extant records which deal specifically with parochial poor relief prior to the eighteenth century. Such evidence as exists for the seventeenth century must be extracted from the Vestry minutes, Applotment Books and the church wardens' accounts. The scope for analysis offered by these records is further limited by the fire in the Public Record Office in 1922 which destroyed so much vital material. These factors necessarily restrict the research, but the records which survive for St Bride's, St Catherine's, St John's, St Michael's and, to a very limited extent, St Werburgh's and St Nicholas Within, do provide some indications of how poor relief was managed by the parishes during the seventeenth century. In the eighteenth century a wider range of records survive. Poor relief records for St John's, beginning in 1700, St Michan's, beginning in 1723, and St Peter's, beginning in 1737, provide a broad picture of how early eighteenth-century poor relief was raised and distributed. These records are augmented by the Vestry minutes of St Mary's, St Paul's, St Catherine's, St Michael's, St John's, St Bride's and St Peter's, and a collection of miscellaneous papers belonging to St Werburgh's. The result is a more rounded, but still restricted, picture of parochial poor relief. Before parochial poor relief can be reviewed, it is necessary to discuss municipal involvement so that the efforts of the parish may be seen within the wider context.

Municipal Poor Relief

Between 1660 and 1729, the city complained loudly, bitterly, and frequently, about its many beggars. Yet, despite the widespread discontent, the municipality was slow to introduce measures which might effect change. In almost seventy years the city was responsible for only two important undertakings, the founding of The King's Hospital in 1669 and the Workhouse in 1703.⁴ Why the city should exercise such a cautionary approach to change is unclear, and discovering the inspiration behind such change as took place is difficult. It is not clear whether the changes that were introduced were made at the instigation of the Assembly, the parishes, London or an independent source. Tracing the

legislative evolution is similarly hampered because the motivation for change remains obscure. The city's apparent unwillingness to address the problem and initiate change may have stemmed more from circumstance than from negligence. Its resources were woefully inadequate, too small to cope with its own poor, let alone with the many 'unknown and disaffected persons' who flocked into Dublin, especially in times of crisis.⁵ Furthermore, existing legislation hampered the removal of 'strange' beggars. During the seventeenth century little was done to rectify the legislative shortcomings. It was the general, although not automatic, practice to translate English poor laws to Ireland verbatim. In the eighteenth century the Irish government was pressurized into introducing some domestic legislation, but the measures failed to control either the growing numbers of vagrants or to ensure that sufficient relief was provided for the poor. All these factors militated against effective relief, but nevertheless municipally administered poor relief was a welcome adjunct and a necessary augmentation to parochial relief.

The introduction of statutory obligations towards the poor had begun in 1542 under 33 Hen. VIII, c.15. This Act sought to reduce the number of casual beggars by means of registration and the threat of punishment, but did nothing to alleviate the hardships of those suffering temporary destitution.⁶ Significantly, the important Elizabethan Poor Law of 1601 which formed the basis for the 'old' poor law system in England, was never enacted in Ireland. Nevertheless, throughout the early seventeenth century, political, legislative and administrative measures were introduced to provide some provision for the poor.⁷ In 1602[/03] Sir George Carie was granted permission to construct a Bridewell in Dublin. A House of Correction was established at the east end of 'Saint Maloy his chappell' in 1620. The Corporation converted 'Saint Johns steeple, adjoining to Saint Johns Hospitall in Saint Thomastreete' into a House of Correction in 1629. Here 'rogues, vagabonds, sturdy beggars' were to be set to work.⁸ Contemporary opinion's abhorrence of the idle poor prompted new legislation in 1634-5.⁹

In 1665, further pressure brought some changes in the provision of poor relief. Initially statutory provision had been sought 'for the relief of the poor and putting out poor children apprentices'. The idea of providing work for the poor came to nothing, but a clause was added to the 1665 St Andrew's Act which allowed for the provision of relief of the poor.¹⁰ This legislation was important from a parochial point of view. For the first time a parish had the right to assess and levy inhabitants for the specific purpose of helping the poor. In strict legal terms only St Andrew's had this right, but the law established a precedent which was exploited by the city's other parishes. Just as importantly, the Act underlined the principle of parochial autonomy in poor relief. Behind the stated right to raise money was the implied right to select those eligible for relief. The tradition of parochial poor relief now became a para-legal obligation.

The principle of parochial autonomy, especially where the raising and spending of money was concerned, was important if the parish was to be the mainstay of poor relief. In Dublin, unlike London, this principle was never seriously challenged, perhaps because civic schemes were infrequent and seem to have been designed so as not overtly to threaten parochial autonomy. In 1668[/69] when proposals were put forward for a 'hospital' which, it was hoped, would provide care for the aged poor and education for the city's orphans, it was decided to finance its construction by public subscription.¹¹ By 1669[/70] the aims of the project had changed and the idea of a general hospital was superseded by one designed to house and educate poor children - The King's Hospital.¹²

The city's caution may have been founded on the experiences of London in the early 1660s. During the 1650s, a Corporation of the Poor, founded by parliamentary decree, had overseen the operation of two workhouses which took in and educated poor children, while at the same time handing out hemp and flax to poor Londoners to spin in their own homes. In 1662 the ordinance became a statutory right.¹³ The legislation was, however, seriously flawed. While allowing for the existence of a Corporation of the Poor, it failed to ensure that the Corporation had the sole right to provide relief and employment

for the poor. This brought the London parishes into conflict with the law, because under Elizabethan poor law they were legally obliged to rate their inhabitants for the provision of poor relief. The prospect of having to pay a poor rate to the parish as well as to the Corporation was unpopular, and, as a result, the duration of the scheme was brief.¹⁴

It was not until 1680[/81] that the proposal to build a workhouse in Dublin once more received serious consideration. Progress was slow, influenced by the city's precarious finances. Between 1680[/81] and 1686[/87] matters did not proceed beyond the planning stage, although attempts were made to address the city's vagrancy problem. In 1681 St Bride's spent 1/- for a warrant 'to take up idle people'.¹⁵ The following year, 1682, the Lord Mayor, Humphrey Jervis, instructed the city's church wardens 'to provide badges to be worn by the several and respective poor that belong to, or are maintained, or have allowances from the said parishes, to distinguish them from foreign beggars'.¹⁶ All unbadged beggars who were caught were to be punished in the House of Correction. The unbadged beggars were to be taken to one of the city's prisons or the hospital in Back Lane where they were to be examined before receiving the appropriate punishment. The term 'house of correction' may be an alternative description for prison, although the church wardens accounts show St Bride's spent 9/- writing up a cess for the 'house of correction' on 3 August, 1679. In 1689, the parish levied a cess for £2/13/6d, their portion of the £442/9/6d required by the city to maintain the 'house of correction'.¹⁷ Thereafter the church wardens were expected to undertake daily searches and to present all unbadged beggars to the Lord Mayor, or to justices of the peace, for punishment.¹⁸ The task facing the church wardens was a daunting one, but some assistance would have been received from the city's two liveried beadles.¹⁹

The success of the scheme can best be judged by the fact that proposals to build a workhouse were re-introduced in 1686[/87]. On this occasion the proposals made very definite steps forward. In December, 1687, a workhouse for 'imploying and keeping to worke all idle and vagrant beggars, and for maintaining ... [the] impotent and [those] not

able to worke ...[so removing] such liveing nusances' were discussed by the Corporation.²⁰ Again the city was embarrassed by a lack of funds, but alternative methods of raising funds were proposed. It was suggested that the city's residents should clean the streets in front of their own homes and the money saved in scavenger's fees could be redirected to meet some of the building costs. Additional money could be raised by re-allocating the rent reserved from the corn toll. The city set aside £740 to pay for the construction of a workhouse, but this proved inadequate. In May 1688, the city declared it was unable to continue with the work.²¹ Therefore permission was sought to transfer the cost of building the workhouse on to the city's inhabitants.²² The request may have been granted, but the city's ambitions for a workhouse were brought to a temporary halt by the political events of the late 1680s.

The city's efforts had been curtailed by politics, but it was still essential to find a solution to Dublin's vagrancy problem. In 1688 Robert Parkes, master of the Bridewell, offered one alternative. He noted that the authorities had a statutory right to apprehend and set to work all rogues and beggars.²³ Enforcement of the statute would, he suggested, remove many of the beggars from the city's streets. Some could be employed, others could be given a pension, and 'strangers' could be returned to their former homes. Parkes himself was willing to employ the arrested 'strangers' in various aspects of the weaving industry until they promised to leave the city, and to maintain the impotent. In return he asked for a competent bread allowance and the right to supply the uniforms for the boys of the King's Hospital. He also requested the repayment of all arrears. This money would then be used to buy the necessary stock required to provide employment for all 'sturdy' beggars.²⁴

Little was done to encourage Parkes to put his scheme into action, perhaps because the idea of a workhouse was still very much alive.²⁵ Meanwhile the city continued to be pestered by beggars. By 1695, an upturn in commercial activity had resulted in large scale immigration into the city. Many were beggars, who were to be

found throughout the city.²⁶ These 'sturdy beggars' taught their 'troublesome children' to beg. The city's inhabitants were plagued by these children, who begged at doors 'at unseasonable houres in the night' for relief. It was feared that the unwary might be robbed by wily adults when giving relief to the children.²⁷ The city resolved to suppress this upturn in vagrancy by a stricter implementation of the statutes. In addition, beggars who were not maintained by the parishes were to be provided with work and financial assistance. Money for the scheme was to be raised by voluntary subscription, or assessment.²⁸ At the same time Parliament was one more coerced into debating the plight of the poor.²⁹

The suggestion which emerged from the 1695 parliamentary debate reflected the current economic optimism. Dublin's inhabitants were to be rated and assessed once a year, or more often if required, to provide for the poor. In 1696, St Catherine's, anticipating legislation, divided the parish into wards and appointed 'assessors for the poor'.³⁰ The failure to transmit the heads of the bill to England stymied the legislation, but an awareness of the needs of the poor remained. In 1697, proposals for the relief of the poor were re-introduced.³¹ Parliament's attention was also focused on new proposals for the construction of a workhouse.³² Although both matters were debated further, success eluded the bills' proponents. The heads for erecting a workhouse were read and rejected in September 1697.³³ The provision of relief for the poor continued to be debated in a desultory manner until 1698, but the dissolution of Parliament in June 1699 effectively curtailed any ambitions the government might have had.³⁴ In fact, no positive steps could be taken until Parliament was summoned under a new monarch in 1703.³⁵

The reluctance upon the part of the Irish legislators to address the needs of the poor was not mirrored in England. Between 1694 and 1704, the English Parliament discussed reforms to the poor law at least thirteen times.³⁶ In London this interest led to the re-establishing of a Corporation of the Poor which, between 1698 and 1713, oversaw the running of a municipal scheme which was designed to provide a higher standard of

care than that already provided by the city's parishes. The motivation behind London's philanthropy came from contemporary preoccupations with disorderly behaviour, petty crime and the reformation in manners.³⁷ In response to public opinion, laws against sabbath-breaking and drunkenness were more strictly enforced. It was, however, the failure of the newly-formed Board of Trade and its commissioners to order extensive reform of the poor laws and to cede responsibility for the poor to the municipality rather than the parishes which finally compelled London into taking action.³⁸

It was on the recommendation of London's Lord Mayor, Sir Humphrey Edwin, that the Corporation of the Poor was re-established there in 1698.³⁹ The aim of the Corporation was to train and equip the poor for work. After a period of six weeks training, the poor returned to their respective parishes to continue working under the supervision of the parish officers. Although approximately 400 people, mostly children, were trained by the undertakers, the scheme had collapsed by 1699. There were several reasons for the scheme's failure, but a large proportion of the blame may be laid at the feet of the parish officials. They failed to employ the poor, who continued to receive their pensions. Little effort was made to ensure the poor kept working; consequently those trained soon ceased to work.⁴⁰ The scheme's failure brought a change of emphasis. The role of the workhouse was reviewed, and it was decided to concentrate entirely on the employment of poor children. A house was acquired in 1699, and the Corporation of the Poor was granted the right to charge the parishes an extra 12d weekly for every parish child maintained in the workhouse. In 1700 it was decided to admit vagrant children. An endorsement of contemporary opinion which held that poverty was both a moral and a social condition.⁴¹ The routine of the workhouse was devised to encourage 'honest *Labour* and *Industry*' and while the regime was rigorous it was not necessarily cruel.⁴²

In Dublin, the deteriorating political and economic climate of the early 1700s may have been influential in the city realizing its ambition to build a workhouse. In 1704, legislation granted Dublin the right to erect a workhouse.⁴³ The workhouse was charged

with the care of the poor, but its chief purpose was to clear the streets of beggars. It was granted the power to apprehend all idle beggars and vagrants, place them in the workhouse and set them to work for up to seven years.⁴⁴ Many of the city's beggars were children. They had apparently fled the harsh conditions of their homes and had no alternative but to beg. Others begged because their parents were unable to keep them.⁴⁵ Special provision was, therefore, made for children within the workhouse. All children between the ages of five and sixteen, with no means of support, could be placed in the workhouse. When they reached the age of sixteen, they were to be apprenticed 'to any honest person or persons being Protestant'.⁴⁶ The care of all children under five was to remain in parochial hands until 1728, when the Foundling Hospital was established.

The workhouse, built at a cost of £10,500, took three years to build.⁴⁷ In June 1705, the initial supervisory committee, consisting of Francis Stoyte, Mark Ransford, Samuel Walton, John Pearson, William Fownes, Samuel Cooke, Thomas Bolton and Thomas Proby, was replaced by a new committee.⁴⁸ The new committee showed little enthusiasm for their task. The Treasurer, Alderman John Page, only agreed to serve with reluctance, while Alderman Constantine was prepared to serve for one year only. A further four were either unable or unwilling to serve.⁴⁹ The full committee was Page, Treasurer; Murtagh Dowling, Esq. who was unable to serve because of infirmity; Sir Patrick Dun who promised every assistance; Thomas Bourke Esq.; Alderman John Eccles, who was, he claimed, too busy to serve; Alderman Constantine, willing to serve for one year only; Aldermen Barlow and Mason, who were unable to attend meetings, and therefore others were elected in their stead.

Concern was expressed over the workhouse's funding. Subscriptions remained low and the parishes were slow to pay their contributions.⁵⁰ In 1706, the workhouse committee was forced to remind the parishes of their financial obligations to the workhouse.⁵¹ The church wardens excused their negligence by claiming that they did not know the rules concerning the collection of poor money, adding that collecting small

sums, weekly, would be troublesome. The committee, again altered, now included the Lord Mayor, the Archbishop of Dublin, Aldermen Barlow and Hendrick, Thomas Burgh and Sir Patrick Dun. They introduced measures designed to improve the collection and payment of money to the workhouse.⁵²

The measures had little success. In 1707, concern was expressed over the uncertainty of the workhouse's finances. Archbishop William King, writing to the Duchess of Ormond, a patroness of the workhouse, in July 1707, reported that the workhouse was unfinished.⁵³ The project remained 'in great need of money', although the Treasurer had already received over £8,000.⁵⁴ By November, however, the workhouse was almost completed and already housed 310 inmates.⁵⁵ There were also plans to extend it to house a further 1,000 people. Despite this, King feared that, because times were so bad, the workhouse would never be able to house all those who begged. His fears proved well founded. The workhouse made little impact on the city's vagrancy problems. No single reason can be cited for its failure, but the economic and political climate of the early 1700s, allied to a period of urban growth, may have contributed to its lack of success.

The workhouse's presence exacerbated rather than alleviated the parishes' problems. A dispute between the governors and the parishes over who should be admitted to the workhouse was never satisfactorily settled, although 180 parish poor were admitted.⁵⁶ Subsequently the parishes expressed resentment over the financial support they were required to give the workhouse. In 1709[/10] St Mary's sought legal advice as to whether the parish was obliged to continue paying the poor tax ordered by Parliament when the governor refused to receive those entitled to benefit from the poor house.⁵⁷ By 5 June 1710, combined parish arrears to the workhouse amounted to £1,340/2/10d, indicating that the church wardens were still encountering problems.⁵⁸ The implementation of further penal legislation in 1723 once more designed to remove beggars from Dublin's streets, underlines the persistence of the problem facing the parishes and the inadequacies of the workhouse.

By 1725, dissatisfaction with the workhouse was strong enough to prompt a parliamentary inquiry. A committee was appointed to examine the management of the workhouse.⁵⁹ The subsequent report found mismanagement and considerable neglect.⁶⁰ Of the 229 inmates housed in the workhouse, half of whom were children, few were capable of, or employed in, work. Those who were employed knitted stockings, although a few were kept busy beating hemp.⁶¹ The report laid much of the blame for the mismanagement of the workhouse on the decision to admit over 400 poor in 1706[/07]. There had not been sufficient income to cope with this influx and the workhouse had built up debts from which it was slow to recover.⁶² The report concluded that, if a new management were installed, and all the old funds maintained, the workhouse could still be of benefit to the city.

A workhouse survey carried out at much the same time as the parliamentary report paints a gloomy picture of the condition of many of the adult inmates.⁶³ On 20 March 1725[/26], the workhouse held 222 inmates. Many of the adults were either elderly or infirm. Some were described as mad, others merely as fools. Most were incapable of work. The workhouse's children presented a healthier picture. Children made up half the workhouse population, and the majority was described as 'sound'.⁶⁴ The parishes sending the largest number of children, 28 and 22 respectively, were St Catherine's and St Andrew's. St Nicholas Within, on the other hand, had no poor in the workhouse. St Anne's and St Mary's, who had no adult poor in the workhouse, had placed 6 and 15 children respectively there.⁶⁵ The workhouse was, however deeply unpopular, as a letter, written in 1726 by Archbishop King to the Lord Mayor, Joseph Kane, indicates:

I send your Lordship enclosed the Anwsrs I recd from the Clergy about the poor house, after all the paines I have Taken and perswasions I have used I find the Generality of the People Strangely prejudced against the Workhouse, whether that proceeds from the votes of the House of Commons or the insinuations of som Interested psons I can not Tell, If the Aldermen and their Deputys would go about their Severall Wards with some noted and esteemed Citizens and try what subscriptions may be had it wou'd seem to me the most likely way to succeed, for the Church Wardens they are all (as farre I can perceive) against it because it puts a new Trouble on them which to say truth is

too great already, almost every Act of Parlemt adding a new load to their Burden in so much that tis hard to get any person of figure to serve.⁶⁶

In 1727, Parliament's attention was re-focused upon the workhouse.⁶⁷ A private Act, passed in 1728, introduced measures which were designed to improve the regulation of the workhouse and the provision for the poor.⁶⁸ Archbishop King regarded the Act as unworkable because no proper assessment of the poor had been made.⁶⁹ He suggested that the poor should be counted, and categories drawn up to define the types of poor who merited assistance.⁷⁰ Such a survey would highlight the depth of the problem, for returns would, inevitably, be high. King speculated that as many as 1,000 required relief. The workhouse, already overcrowded, could not absorb such an influx. King also disliked the proposed introduction of taxes. For the past two years the poor had been supported by charity; if taxes were introduced, many would find it hard to pay tax and, at the same time, give charity.⁷¹

King's fears proved to be well founded. The Act failed to resolve the city's dilemma. In December, 1729, the House of Commons was obliged to consider the workhouse once more.⁷² Meanwhile the House of Lords were conducting an inquiry into the 'pernicious' practice of 'lifting'.⁷³ As the inquiry discovered, 'lifting' - the dumping of bastards from one parish upon another - was commonly practised throughout the city. A nurse employed by St John's, Elizabeth Hyland, had 'lifted' 18 children on to other parishes. The resulting legislation, 3 Geo. II, c.17, in attempting to remedy the abuse of lifting, merely added to the problems of the workhouse. Since 1725[/26] the numbers housed by the workhouse had risen from 222 to 349.⁷⁴ By 25 March 1730 there were 265 foundlings in the workhouse and the overall number of residents in the workhouse had risen to 373.⁷⁵

Provision for the foundlings, all under the age of six, was raised by taxation. The tax, fixed at a rate of 3d in every £1 Minister's Money valuation, was to be paid by every house in the city.⁷⁶ Taxation did not, however, solve the workhouse's financial difficulties.

Further legislation, introduced in 1731, recognized that part of the problem lay in the collection of the tax. This had proved burdensome and inconvenient for the church wardens. The workhouse governors were therefore granted the right to appoint special tax collectors.⁷⁷

In 1729, at the time of the Cavan inquiry, it was estimated that taxation should have given the workhouse an annual income of £1,108/17/1¾d. The number of waste houses within the city, however, meant that actual income amounted to £1,050 *per annum*.⁷⁸ A pamphleteer proposed raising the tax levied to support the foundlings from 3d to 6d in the £1 Minister's Money. This, the pamphleteer claimed, would raise a further £1,050 *per annum*.⁷⁹

The workhouse and its problems continued to arouse comment. In 1737, Swift asserted that the workhouse's failure was due to mis-use.⁸⁰ He argued that, if the parishes were more effective in enforcing the badging of the poor throughout the country, Dublin's workhouse would not have to accept so many 'foreign' beggars. Swift's argument was founded on the understanding that Ireland's rural parishes actually operated a community-wide welfare system, but there was no statutory requirement to do this. Carlow's Vestry minutes show that some relief was offered to the rural poor. Collections were made but the sums raised were small: 'Collected for the poor Christmas Day '86, being 16s & given to 22 poor people.' The parish had a poor list but the number of pensioners was tiny. In 1699, of the seven listed poor, five names had been deleted.⁸¹ While Dublin's parishes did maintain multi-denominational poor lists, it is difficult to say whether this was the case outside Dublin or even if other rural parishes offered charitable relief similar to that provided by Carlow. Significantly too, parochial charity was restricted, given only to a select few.

The workhouse was not the city's only measure aimed at helping the poor. On a more personal level, individuals, men and women, could petition the Lord Mayor for relief. Anne Porter successfully petitioned the Lord Mayor for assistance in 1670. She was

granted a pension of £3 *per annum* and promised that, when a vacancy occurred, she would be made one of the six widows maintained by the city.⁸² In 1705, Charles Grey, a Catholic school master, was fined £20 and imprisoned for three months for keeping a Catholic school. On appeal the Assembly reduced his fine to 6d because of his 'great poverty'.⁸³ In 1706, Abraham Eastwood, pleading the hardness of the times, was granted £10.⁸⁴ Walter Bryce, a merchant, who had suffered 'many misfortunes' petitioned for assistance in 1725 and was granted £6.⁸⁵ In the same year, 1725, Francis Holding was granted £4 *per annum* to be paid at half yearly intervals to relieve his distress.⁸⁶ Dorothy Jones, widow of Thomas Jones, gentleman, and daughter of merchant William Eager, was granted £4 *per annum* and 40/- in hand.⁸⁷ The city also maintained six poor widows. Occasional taxes were also levied by the city to provide very specific poor relief. In 1684, £10 was raised to relieve the poor in Newgate. In 1692, a tax of £150 was imposed, probably by the city, upon the parishes for the relief of the Irish poor on Dalkey Island.⁸⁸ City accounts from 1725 to 1729 show that the average amount donated in gifts and alms to needy citizens was £497/16/0d.⁸⁹

The city was aware of the impression made by its beggars and tried to offer constructive help. A more complete scheme of municipally controlled poor relief was impossible. The city lacked sufficient funds to finance a city-wide scheme. There was little prospect, either, of raising adequate funds in the unlikely event of an acceptable scheme being proposed. Existing legislation, 17 & 18 Chas. II, c.7, placed the onus of care and provision for the poor upon the parishes. If the parishes were to abdicate some of their responsibilities, enabling legislation was required. Such legislation was not placed on the statute books until 1703 under 2 Anne, c.19; therefore, for much of the time between 1660 and 1729, the provision of poor relief fell on Dublin's parishes.

Table 4:1: Money Payable *Per Annum* to the Workhouse by Dublin Parishes c.1729[/30]

	Contributions made by each parish in four years.	Amount paid annually to the workhouse.
St Andrew's	£383/16/4d	£95/19/1d (8.7%)
St Audeon's	£275/12/0d	£68/18/0d (6.2%)
St Anne's	£207/13/6d	£51/18/4½d (4.7%)
St Bridget's	£297/3/0d	£74/5/9d (6.7%)
St Catherine's	£368	£92 (8.2%)
Christ Church Liberties		£4/3/9d (0.3%)
St John's	£184/4/11d	£46/1/2¾d (4.2%)
St James'	£64	£16 (1.4%)
St Luke's	£168/1/0d	£42/0/3d (3.8%)
St Michan's	£516/18/10d	£129/4/8½d* (11.7%)
St Michael's	£131/5/8d	£32/16/5d (3%)
St Marie's	£583/17/4d	£145/19/4d (13.2%)
St Mark's	£177	£44/5/0d (4%)
St Nicholas Within	£93/17/4d	£23/9/4d (2.1%)
St Nicholas Without	£271/7/0d	£67/16/9d (6.1%)
St Paul's	£187/12/4d	£46/18/1d (4.2%)
St Peter's	£207/17/0d	£51/19/3d (4.7%)
St Werburgh's	£300/7/4d	£75/1/10d (6.8%)

Source: St Michan's Common Place Book.

Notes to Table 4:1

* St Michan's Church Wardens Accounts for 1729 record workhouse dues of £129/3/2½d. The annual contribution made by the parishes amounted to £1108/17/1¾d

Parochial Poor Relief in the Seventeenth Century

Parochial responsibility for the poor was largely a self-imposed obligation. A parish's willingness to assist the genuinely needy was constrained as much by parish resources as by the needs of the individual. The church warden, as the chief distributor of parochial charity, was an influential figure with important discretionary powers. How much relief was to be given, and to whom, was usually decided by him. An overseer of the poor might occasionally distribute charity, but only on the instructions of the church warden. His main task was to ensure that the poor money was collected and paid to the church warden. The Vestry's role was peripheral. It approved the annual cess, part of

which was spent on the casual poor, but it seldom had any direct involvement with the actual spending of poor relief. It was, however, able to bring some influence to bear on parish pensioners. In 1672, St Bride's ordered that no parishioner was to be admitted to the poor list without first receiving the Vestry's approval.⁹⁰ In 1687, St John's Vestry ordered that Ellinor Burnes be removed from the poor list following her marriage to a successful tradesman.⁹¹

With so few legally defined responsibilities, the parishes imposed their own guidelines. In principle, the parish divided the poor into two main groups: the impotent, but deserving poor to whom relief should be given, and the able-bodied, but idle poor to whom little or no relief should be given. In practice, distinguishing one from the other must have been difficult. No parish could afford to offer unlimited relief; some control over numbers was essential. Preferential treatment was, therefore, reserved for the parish's indigenous poor. 'Strangers' were helped, but the preconditions, if any, were never explicitly stated. It is possible that casual beggars who conformed might expect to receive relief in preference to those who did not. In 1673, seven of St Bride's casual poor who had attending church benefited when the Christmas collection was distributed.⁹² On Good Friday, 1674, twelve of the parish's poor, described as 'at ye church dore', were given part of the collection made that day.⁹³ The parish also gave an undisclosed amount collected on Low Sunday, 1674, to a converted friar held prisoner in one of the city's jails.⁹⁴

The indigenous poor who qualified for relief, the old and infirmed, the sick, the maimed, and the orphaned, were expected to observe an unwritten code of conduct. Misdemeanours were punished in accordance with the gravity of the crime with the ultimate sanction being the right to withhold financial or material help. Therefore the parish exerted considerable control over the poor. In April, 1671, Turlogh Burne, a Catholic, had his pension temporarily withdrawn because he refused to go to church.⁹⁵

Burne's fall from favour was short-lived, but he would not have been re-instated as a parish pensioner until his conformity had been proved. Where misconduct was of a

graver nature, the parish's approach was more censorious. In December, 1674, Mary Ollard, a parish orphan and pensioner, was found guilty of giving birth to a bastard which had subsequently disappeared. In punishment Ollard's pension was suspended, and the parish demanded to know the father's name and the whereabouts of the infant. Also implicated in the affair, because she lived with his family, was John Berry, the parish beadle. He was also punished. He was suspended, his salary withdrawn, and an explanation demanded.⁹⁶ Satisfactory explanations must have been forthcoming, for the suspensions were lifted, but not until 1675.⁹⁷

To the parochial authorities, poor relief and morality were inextricably linked. In 1685, several parishioners petitioned St Bride's Vestry for the right to be admitted as parish poor. A committee was appointed to examine the validity of each claim. Every claimant was to be asked a number of questions: could they maintain themselves by work; did they live in the parish; if so, for how long had they lived in St Bride's; finally had they paid cess in the parish? Enquires were also to be made to see if the petitioners behaved in an 'orderly' manner within the neighbourhood.⁹⁸ The Vestry's right to impose such questions and conditions went unchallenged because it held the ultimate sanction for breaking the moral code - the power to withhold relief. The threat was not an idle one, and so the parish had some degree of influence over the behaviour of its resident poor. Less influence could be exerted over the hoards of itinerant beggars who roamed the city. These beggars were regarded with distrust because of the threat they posed to the economic and social stability of parish life. Relief, when it was given, was given with one specific aim in mind, the immediate departure of the recipient.

The attitude of the Dublin parishes towards the giving of relief was no different to that of their English and Scottish counterparts. Poor relief, however, and the obligations imposed by law varied from country to country. The basis of all English poor relief was the 1601 Act. The Act distinguished between the able-bodied and the deserving poor; allowed for the establishment of houses of correction; provided for the raising of

compulsory taxes; permitted punishment; allowed for 'stock' (raw material of manufacture) to be given to the poor and placed all responsibility for the poor in the hands of the church wardens and overseers of the poor.⁹⁹ In Scotland, the law imposed fewer legal obligations upon the kirk. A distinction was drawn between the deserving poor and the idle, non-deserving poor, but there was no compulsory poor rate and no provision was made for the creation of work.¹⁰⁰ The raising of money for poor relief was done at the discretion of the kirk. The English poor law was more wide-ranging and imposed greater legal obligations. Many contemporary commentators regarded it as superior to that of the Scottish, but the English system was not without its critics. In 1695, Sir Francis Brewster complained that:

there is no Nation I ever read of who is by a Compulsory Law, raiseth so much Money for the Poor as England doth: That of Holland is Voluntary, and turns to a Revenue to the Common-Wealth, as they manage it; but our Charity is become a Nuisance, and may be thought the greatest Mistake of that Blessed Reign, in which that Law passed, which is the Idle and Improvident Mans Charter.¹⁰¹

The idiosyncrasies of domestic law did not foster as many disparities as might be expected. The sources of possible income and the problems they were raised to address were almost identical. In the Edinburgh parish of Canongate, fines and marriage fees provided a substantial portion of the poor relief funds. Interestingly, the fines were levied for religious and moral offences. Unlike London and Dublin, there was no income derived from fines paid for the avoidance of office.¹⁰² Additional income was also earned through collections, pew sales, the hiring out of the mortcloth, and fasts.¹⁰³

In England, the compulsory poor rate was supposed to provide parishes with sufficient funding for their charitable relief. In reality this was seldom the case. Different areas adopted different methods when calculating an individual's personal levy, although generally the levy was based on the rate of rental paid by residents on property. There was, however, considerable 'artifice and deceit, cunning and knavery' employed in trying to conceal true rents in order to avoid a high rate of taxation.¹⁰⁴ The tax was just as difficult to collect and, because evasion was common, the parishes were forced to look

elsewhere for additional income. In the London parish of St Bartholomew's, extra money was raised through collections, fines, the poor box, pew sales, the renting out of the funeral pall and charitable donations.¹⁰⁵ Much of the money raised by the Canongate and St Bartholomew parishes would have been spent on maintaining a particular number of parishioners. This group, the registered poor which consisted largely of widows and children, received aid regularly, but *ad hoc* payments were also made to poor residents suffering temporary destitution. The parish also cared for the ill, and paid for the burial of the poor, as well as assisting poor strangers.

In Dublin, although there was no compulsory poor rate, the parishes used the cess as a way of raising money. The legal obligation to provide poor relief by means of a levy had been granted to St Andrew's in 1665, but Dublin's other parishes availed of the law. St Catherine's appointed assessors for the poor on 22 May, 1665, but no applotment was undertaken until the following year when £50 was applotted for the maintenance of the poor.¹⁰⁶ Evidence of provision for the poor prior to 1665 is sketchy. In 1631, the Assembly ordered the parishes to consider what money would be required to maintain the city's poor. In 1651, a levy of £30 was imposed for the maintenance of the poor. There is, however, no evidence to suggest that the Assembly was behind the poor levy imposed by St John's in 1662 which indicates that the parish could occasionally make independent provision for poor.¹⁰⁷

It is difficult to say how often the parishes used the cess to raise funds for the poor after 1665. The levying of cesses was recorded in the applotment book, and only one applotment book for the seventeenth century, belonging to St John's, survives. Occasionally the levying of a cess was recorded in the Vestry minutes, but not all decisions taken by a parish were entered there. It is possible, therefore, that cesses were levied more frequently than the written evidence indicates. St John's Applotment Book shows the poor cess was levied quite frequently. In St Catherine's, the Vestry minutes indicate a growing reliance on the poor cess. In 1666, St Catherine's stated its intention to spend £50 on its

poor, but no such direction was included for other years when a cess was levied. No lists for parish pensioners survive; therefore it is difficult to estimate the parish's spending on the poor in relation to its overall income for the years in which a cess was levied.¹⁰⁸ This is important for, although the applotment was called a poor cess, it was not necessarily levied to meet the needs of the poor alone. Some of the money always went to the poor: a proportion was allocated to the registered poor; a smaller proportion was doled out by the church wardens on an *ad hoc* basis to the casual poor. In 1669, St John's received £37/3/11d for the use of the poor. Much of this, £29/4/11d, had been raised by cess, but collections at the church door earned the parish a further £6/15/4d.¹⁰⁹ The parish spent the money in the following way: 38% was spent in meeting the weekly payments to the parish poor; 26% was spent in paying the salaries of parish officers; 18% was spent in paying nursing fees; 7% was spent on incidentals; 11% was paid to Jane Howell by order of Vestry.¹¹⁰

No two parishes spent in precisely the same way. In 1680, for example, St Michael's total receipts were £86/7/2d. The income was made up by revenue from rents (£33/8/6d), a fine (£2/10/0d), burial fees (£36/15/2d), the poor cess (£47), and money held by a parishioner (£2/12/0d) which was to be used to buy bread for the poor.¹¹¹ Overall expenditure was £82/16/1d. A total of £44/1/0d was paid out by Mr Wiseman, a sidesman, to the poor. The church wardens also made an *ad hoc* payment of £1 to a poor man and his wife.¹¹² St Michael's total expenditure on the poor, excluding the money allocated to buy bread for the poor, was £45/1/0d, just over half its annual income, but within the budget allowed by the parish for the poor. It was sometimes necessary for the church wardens to use a greater proportion of the poor cess to meet other, more general expenses. This was the case in St Bride's in 1687 when the Vestry authorized an applotment of £80. The church wardens subsequently spent £56/9/6d (70%) on the maintenance of the poor and £23/15/6d (30%) on glazing, slating and other general repairs to the church.¹¹³

For the parishes, the main difficulty with the cess lay with its collection. Evasion was probably as prevalent in Dublin as in London.¹¹⁴ In 1663, St John's accounts show a cess of £78/4/0d was levied to maintain the poor. The parish's actual expenditure was £31/0/1d, approximately half the original estimate, but with arrears of £36 the parish's spending would have been very restricted.¹¹⁵ An incompletely collected cess restricted spending but loss of income through evasion could be redressed by distraint. The sums taken were small. St Catherine's took 4/- in distress for the poor in 1677.¹¹⁶ St John's earned 18/- from distresses taken in 1679.¹¹⁷ The previous year, 1678, the parish had earned 13/- in distresses taken by the minister, Dr Bladen, but such a sum did little to redress the balance in income lost from insolvencies which totalled £9/9/3d.¹¹⁸

Table 4:2: Estimates for Parochial Poor Cesses 1660-1689

Poll Tax due Feb 1696		Average value of estimated cess	Total number of cesses made	Highest cess levied	Lowest cess levied
£196/13/6d £96/14/4¼d	<u>1660-1669</u> St Catherine	£50	1	£81/12/0d	£60/17/6d
	St John	£75/18/2½d	6		
£268/1/1d £188/19/8d £60/17/9d	<u>1670-1679</u> St Andrew	£60	1	£40 £73 £48/0/4d £40	£36 £70* £36/3/6d £32/4/0d
	St Bride	£38	2		
	St Catherine	£70/10/0d	5		
	St John	£42/11/6½d	5		
	St Michael	£35/6/9½d	7		
	<u>1680-1689</u> St Andrew	£80	1	£80 £100** £43/5/6d £37/4/0d	£40 £85 £30/14/0d £25/4/0d+
	St Bride	£54/5/0d	8		
	St Catherine	£97	5		
	St John	£35/14/11d	6		
	St Michael	£31/10/8½d	7		

Sources: St Andrew's VM, TCD Ms 2062; St Bride's VM 1662-1742; St Bride's Church Wardens' Account Book 1663-1704; St Catherine's VM 1657-1692; St John's VM 1659-1711; St John's AB, i, 1659-1696; St Michael's VM 1667-1754; *JHC Ire.*, ii, part 2, Appendix page xxxvi.

Notes to Table 4:2:* Applotments for £70 were made in 1671; 1674; 1675; 1676.
****** Applotments for £100 were made in 1682; 1684; 1686; 1688.
+ Applotments for £25/4/0d were made in 1684; 1685.

Collections made in church provided the parishes with a regular source of income. In England, during the sixteenth century, statutory provision had been made for the giving of alms by means of voluntary collections.¹¹⁹ No such provision was enacted in Ireland, and parishioners' contributions were both voluntary and discretionary, but collections were made every Sunday for the poor.¹²⁰ With no statutory imposition to give, parishioners gave as inclination and economic circumstance dictated; therefore the sums raised varied considerably. Insufficient evidence makes it impossible to establish the patterns of expenditure within, or between, parishes. It is unlikely, however, that the seventeenth-century parishes spent collections any differently from the eighteenth-century parishes. Had major changes occurred, they would have been noted.

During the eighteenth century, Sunday collections were often made for specifically named individuals, the minister announcing the names of those who were to benefit during the service. These collections, known as briefs, were made only once and their intention was to provide relief from temporary hardship. Although there are no briefs recorded for the seventeenth century, St Michael's purchase of a book to register briefs in 1681 shows that they were collected.¹²¹ Collections were made for named individuals. In St Werburgh's between 22 July 1660 and the 17 February 1660[/61], twenty-six Sunday collections for named individuals were made. The fifteen men and eleven women received parochial bounty for a number of reasons, not all of which were specified. Some explanations were, however, given. Among the women, six were described as widows. Among the men, two had suffered from fire, one was a poor shoemaker, another a poor clergyman and one collection was made 'for a gent his name concealed'.¹²² The amounts received varied. Ann Pu received only 16/- on 30 September, 1660, but Patrick Arduff and John Crean each received £3/10/0d on 28 October, 1660 and 3 February 1660[/61] respectively.¹²³ The average collection in these years was, however, £1/17/3d.

Collections intended for the parish's poor rather than a named individual were also made, either at the church door or in church. During the seventeenth century, St Bride's,

St John's and St Michael's all made church door collections. As Table 4:3 shows, the distribution of the collections was left to the church wardens. They decided who should receive assistance, but the main recipients were the indigenous poor. In 1674, for example, Jane Kennedy, one of the recipients of the Good Friday collection, was not a parish pensioner, but in 1683 she became a pensioner and was given a place in the parish poor house which opened that year.¹²⁴ Another recipient, a man described variously as Richard Kegan, Old Kegan, and Father Kegan, received help from the Christmas, Good Friday and Whit Sunday collections. The parish also supported him during an illness, and when he died St Bride's paid for his grave and shroud.¹²⁵

A small amount of income for the poor was also derived from pew sales. In March, 1686, a gallery seat in St Catherine's was exchanged for £4/14/6d, of which £3/9/0d was paid to the former occupants and £1/5/6d for the use of the poor.¹²⁶ The Vestry minutes occasionally record legacies left by the wealthier members of the community for the use of the poor (see Appendix 3). These bequests were usually monetary; precisely how they were spent was generally left to the discretion of the parish. For example, Lady Phillips left 18/- to the poor of St Bride's in 1671. This was divided equally between the parish's pensioners with an additional payment made to the sexton and the beadle; each pensioner received 1/2¹/₄d and the sexton and beadle between them received 1/4d.¹²⁷ In St John's, Lieutenant Peter Hughes left a legacy of £1 in 1679, which was subsequently distributed among 'several poor who appeared at the Vestry'.¹²⁸ In 1689, Sir William Domville had left a legacy of £50 to the poor of St Bride's (see Table 3:6). The money was held by the Bishop of Waterford, Nathaniel Foy, and had been set out to interest. Foy had served as minister of St Bride's until his elevation to the bishopric. On 5 June, 1692, St Bride's received an interest payment of £5. Part of the money was used to buy coal and part was given in cash payments to nineteen poor parishioners.¹²⁹

Table 4:3: Collections made at the church door for the Poor 1660-1695

Parish	Dates upon which the collections were made	Amount collected
St Michael's	1664-65: Collected for the poor of the parish	£4
St John's	1668-69: Received at the church door on Sundays	£6/15/4d
St John's	1669-70: Received at the church door on Sundays	£2/5/0d
St John's	1670-71: Received at the church door on Sundays	£16/4/7d
St John's	1671-72: Received at the church door on Sundays	13/6d
St Michael's	1672-73: Received at the church door on Sundays	£29/11/6d
St Bride's	1673: Dr Yarner ordered to return part of the money collected from several sacraments during the year for the use of the parish poor by the archbishop	£4/6/0d
St Michael's	1673-74: Received at the church door on Sundays	£15/12/3d
St Bride's	1673-74: Total amount received	£4/5/8d
	Received on Christmas Day	£1/7/6d
	Received on Good Friday	16/2d
	Received on Easter Sunday	£1/10/0d
	Received on Whit Sunday	12/0d
St Bride's	12 August 1688: Received in church	£2/3/1d
	1688-89: Received in church	£3/2/0½d
St Bride's	1689-90: Received in church	£48/10/5½d
St Bride's	1691-93: Received in church for two years	£57/11/10d
St Bride's	1693-94: Received in church	£25/16/2d
St Bride's	1694-95: Received in church	£27/11/1½d

Sources: St Bride's Church Wardens' Accounts 1663-1704; St John's Applotment Book 1659-1696; St Michael's VM 1667-1754

Table 4:4: Distribution of Collections made in St Bride's 1673-1674

<u>The £1/7/6d Christmas Collection distributed as followeth</u>	
Dr Watson's Widow, p[er] hand of the Dr*	10/0d
To another poor woman recomended by the Dr	2/6d
To 7 of ye pish poor then at Church	3/6d
To Richd Kegan	2/3d
Eliza Kelsols nurse**	1/0d
Mary Jones a poor sick woman of the pish	4/6d
Buriall shroud etc of a poor woman dyed in ye pish	3/9d
<u>The 16/2d on Good fryday as followeth</u>	
Mrs Watson & another poor woman recomended p the Dr	5/0d
Jane Davis	2/9d
Jane Kennedy	1/0d
Richd Kegan	1/2d
12 poor at ye Chh dore	6/3d
<u>The £1/10/8d Easter Day</u>	
Mrs Watson	6/0d
Old Pierson	1/0d
Hysbands	1/6d
Jno Bury & Joseph***	3/6d
Other poor then present	15/6d
Low Sunday given to friar	unknown
<u>The 12/0d on Whit Sunday as followeth</u>	
To the Dr to dispose	4/0d
Wm Green	2/6d
Old Kegan & others psent	5/6d

Source: St Bride's Church Wardens' Account Book 1663-1704

Notes to Table 4:4

- * Dr Yarner, St Bride's minister.
- ** Eliza Kelsol/ Kelsall was a parish orphan.
- *** Jonathan Bury/Berry the parish beadle. Joseph the parish sexton.

A precise analysis of seventeenth-century parochial poor relief funding is difficult to achieve because details are limited and can be vague. For example, St Catherine's Vestry minutes record three separate sums which are described as poor money: £1/13/5½d, made in 1678; 8/5d made in 1678[/79], and £3/0/3d made in 1679[/80]. Unfortunately, no further explanation is given and it is impossible to identify the source of the money, although the size of the sums suggests they may have been derived from distresses taken for non-payment of cess.¹³⁰

The evidence gleaned from the surviving seventeenth-century poor records, however, shows that the parishes used the various sources of income selectively. In practice certain sources of income, such as those derived from the sale of pews, legacies and collections, were generally reserved for the poor. This is particularly true of the money earned through church collections which was generally spent on the poor. The fact that church wardens' accounts acknowledge all other sources of income - pew sales, fines, rents, burials, legacies, the Poor Cess - as parochial revenue, but rarely register the income earned from collections underlines the special purpose for which the money was intended. (The practice of registering Sunday collections on a regular, yearly basis did not become prevalent until the 1690s.) Parochial revenue was, however, raised for the general good of the whole parish and could be redirected if required to meet other financial obligations. The Poor Cess, in particular, was not as exclusive as its name suggests. Much of the income derived from the cess was spent on the poor, but it could also be used to help meet other parochial debts. Unless a specific recommendation was made that money should be used for the poor of the parish, parochial funds were spent where, when and on what was immediately necessary.

The beneficiaries of parochial charity could expect to receive charity commensurate with their parochial status. For the majority, the casual poor as well as the badged poor, this meant a single payment, rarely large, designed to relieve the immediate distress. For the privileged few, the parish pensioners, the rewards were far greater. There was the security of an annual pension, and the assurance of benefiting from any charitable donations the parish might receive. These fortunate few were mainly widows, although a small number of men were also maintained. Children, too, became pensioners, but it was more usual for those who survived beyond the age of twelve to be bound as an apprentice.

Although a pension was usually granted for life, the exact amount each individual received was left to the discretion of the Vestry. Pension lists were not re-written every year, suggesting that once a pension had been granted it was liable to remain fixed. In

1678, Anne King, the widow of Daniel King and an inhabitant of St Bride's parish for forty years was admitted as one of the parish poor with a pension of 30/- *per annum*.¹³¹ When Edith Wilkinson was admitted as one of the parish poor in 1681, she was allowed 18/-.¹³² Both women had been registered as badged poor in 1681.¹³³ Margaret Gibson, who had also been registered as one of the badged poor in 1681, was more fortunate; she was granted a half share in a room in the parish poor house in 1683 and a pension of 15/-.¹³⁴

The parish's decision to build a poor house had been taken on 7 April, 1683, after receiving a legacy of £10 from a Mr Butler.¹³⁵ The house, completed and ready for occupation in December, had four rooms, two on each floor. The beadle and his wife occupied one room, while the remaining rooms were given to six of the parish poor, all women.¹³⁶ John Barlow, the mason employed to rebuild the church, constructed the poor house at a cost to the parish of £105/10/3d.¹³⁷

If the pensioners represented the elite of the parish poor, their unfortunate opposites were the ordinary poor who thronged the city's streets. The parishes' attitude to this group was ambivalent. The need to provide some charity was recognized - 'given to the poor about to starve 5/-'; 'paid Welsh Janes in sickness and for burial 9/8d'; 'paid a poor woman with canker on her face and her child several times during the year 7/3d'; 'paid a poor man in Bull Alley by order of the Lord Mayor 6/9d'; 'to old Hogan of same Alley in his sickness 6/9d'.¹³⁸ Parochial charity was also driven by a practical motive - the desire to remove as many dependants and beggars as possible permanently beyond the parish boundaries. Every parish was especially keen to remove all those, adult and child alike, who might be a long term drain on resources. The parish of Finglas raised 16/5d to send Mary Jefferys to England rather than admit her to the poor of the parish.¹³⁹ St Michael's paid £1 for a passage to England for a poor man and his wife.¹⁴⁰

Table 4:5: Parish Pensioners and Pensions 1665-1678

	St Bride's		St John's		St Michael's	
	1665	1686	1670	1676	1667	1678
Total nos pensioners	20	29*	12	9	6	7
Nos men maintained	6	5**	3		2	1
Nos women maintained	9	21	9	7	4	3
Nos children maintained	4	3		2		3
Regularity with which pension paid	?	annually	weekly	annually	weekly	annually
Total expenditure on pensions <i>per annum</i>	£13/8/3d	£47/19/6d	£26	£23/8/0d	£19/10/0d	£32/8/0d
Maximum pension paid to an individual	£1/10/0d	£3	12d	£3	2/-	£5/4/0d
Minimum pension paid to an individual	5/-	14/-***	3d	£2/8/0d	1/-	£2/12/0d

Sources: St Bride's VM 1662-1742; St John's VM 1659-1711; St John's Applotment Book, i, 1659-1696; St Michael's VM 1667-1754.

Notes to Table 4:5

NB Between December 1669 and December 1677 St Bride's Vestry Minutes shows that the parish paid the listed poor their pensions bi-annually, in December and April. In 1665, however, the parish made one payment to the listed poor. Whether this payment constituted the full pension or not is unclear.

* This included the beadle, two women who were later discharged, a one woman who was listed as dead, and one woman who was granted a room in the poor house although she did not receive a pension.

** Among the men was Thomas Flynn who received a joint pension with his wife.

*** Ann Evans was granted a room in the poor house but received no money.

Parochial attitudes appear harsh, but the itinerant poor had long been regarded as a threat to social order and economic stability.¹⁴¹ If allowed to remain, the parish feared they might become troublesome and expensive to maintain. Relief was discretionary, but certain obligations were unavoidable. The parish was obliged to care for those who fell sick, and to bury those who died. In Dublin, funeral costs varied. The cost of digging a poor grave was 1/-.¹⁴² A 'poor' coffin cost between 3/- and 7/-.¹⁴³ Few would have been afforded a coffin. It was more usual to bury the poor in a shroud. Father Kegan's grave and shroud cost St Bride's 5/4d in 1674.¹⁴⁴ In 1683 St Michael's paid 4/- for the burial of

a poor man and 3/- to bury a lame boy in 1689.¹⁴⁵ In addition to the funeral expenses, the parish sometimes had to pay for a coroner's enquiry.

Providing poor relief for children was costly. The parish assumed responsibility for orphans and children whose parents had fallen on hard times. In 1689, St Michael's gave 12/- in relief to six poor children 'left fatherless'.¹⁴⁶ The responsibility for bastards was, however, accepted with extreme reluctance. In some cases the intervention of the Lord Mayor was required to remind the parish of its moral obligation. Elizabeth Nicholson, a three-year-old child abandoned by her mother with no means of support, was 'placed' on St Bride's by order of the Lord Mayor, Enoch Reader and the Recorder, Sir William Davis, in 1671. The church wardens persuaded Tobiatha Kelshall, a resident of St Nicholas Without, to care for the child.¹⁴⁷ When the parish reviewed the child's case in 1672 it discovered that her maintenance had already cost £4. This was almost double the normal annual pension paid for the maintenance of a parish child.¹⁴⁸ The Vestry therefore reduced her pension to 55/- *per annum*.¹⁴⁹

Many children did not survive infancy, but those that did could prove to be a considerable drain on parish resources. In 1678, the cost to St Michael's for a year's maintenance for just three children was £13, 40% of the parish overall expenditure on pensioners.¹⁵⁰ If a child survived infancy, the parish had to maintain them until they could be bound into apprenticeship. The purchasing of an apprenticeship was expensive. When John Gaunt was bound to William Peters in 1682, it cost St Michael's £5/4/0d. The parish also bound Mary Connor to Rowland Taylor in the same year for £2/12/0d.¹⁵¹ In 1686, Elinor Jordan, an orphan of St Werburgh's, was indentured to William ffrend, a tailor, and his wife Margaret, for six years for a fee of £6. She was to be taught the art of periwigmaking by Margaret and when the apprenticeship was completed was to be given two suits of clothing.¹⁵² Not all children were fit enough to serve an apprenticeship, but this did not prevent a parish from trying to avoid the obligation of a long term financial

commitment. St Michael's paid a child, born blind, £3/4/0d on the understanding it did not become a burden to the parish.¹⁵³

Limiting long-term financial obligations was essential and it was expedient to spend a certain amount of effort, and money, in order to transfer responsibility where, and whenever, possible. St Bride's tried to remove Jane Davis from the parish by paying for her to return home to Wales.¹⁵⁴ St Michael's spent £2 returning a child, Henry Tibbot, to his relations in Bristol.¹⁵⁵ Returning orphaned children to relatives was comparatively simple; reuniting abandoned children with their errant parents was less straightforward. It was, however, preferable to expensive maintenance. In 1680, St Bride's spent 12/- on legal fees, coach hire and nursing expenses rather than accept responsibility for a child abandoned within the parish.¹⁵⁶ Three years later in 1683, the parish's church wardens were obliged to employ a nurse and spend two days and 6/-, 'over the water' finding out about a child left on the parish. A further 1/8d was spent removing a woman 'with bastard' from the parish.¹⁵⁷

St Bride's diligence was typical. The parishes acknowledged tacitly that it was impossible to abdicate responsibility for all poor children, particularly those born within the parish. Attempts were made to avoid this responsibility but with few alternatives available the parishes' readiness to return abandoned orphans to their home parish and trace absconded parents is understandable. One option did become available. After 1675, the opening of The King's Hospital meant a small proportion of the city's poor children were removed from the streets and provided with maintenance and education. On 5 May 1675, forty children were nominated for the school.¹⁵⁸ St Michan's, St Werburgh's, St Michael's, St John's, St Catherine's and St James' and St Andrew's placed a total of nine boys in the school.¹⁵⁹ The cost to St John's, who placed two boys, Robert Shelton and William Stranger, was £6.¹⁶⁰ The relief offered by the school was, however, very restricted. It admitted only boys, and only those between the ages of eight and fourteen, all of whom were the sons or grandsons of freemen.¹⁶¹ Generally, as the names of the

children show - Bridget St Brides, John St Michael, Mary Michael - the parish's failure to find an absconded parent obliged them to care for the child.¹⁶²

Once responsibility for an abandoned child had been assumed, the infant was placed with a parish nurse, the beadle's wife or the wife of a parishioner. The nurse received an allowance for each of the children under her care. St Bride's placed two children in the care of Murtagh ffitzgerald's wife in December, 1667. The first child received an allowance of £2/1/0d, a year's maintenance. The second child's allowance was 10/-, but the child was to remain in her care only until February 1667[/68].¹⁶³ A nurse's salary remains conjecture, but in 1666, St John's spent £4/10/0d on parish nurses. This suggests the parish employed two full time nurses who each received £2 *per annum*. A third parishioner may also have been employed on a part-time basis, receiving a salary of 10/-.¹⁶⁴ St John's nursing costs rose in 1669, to £7/13/0d, but dropped again to £4 in 1673.¹⁶⁵ This fluctuation suggests that St John's engaged nurses as required, although at least one nurse would have been retained on a permanent basis. In caring for orphans and bastards, the parish appears to have made one important distinction. Once an orphan became a pensioner, the child received exclusive care. In 1678, St Michael's orphans, John Gaunt, Mary Connor and Thady Burne, each had their own nurse.¹⁶⁶ It is unlikely that abandoned bastards received such treatment. With the life expectancy of such children particularly short, the parish nurse would have had more than one child under her care at any one time.

Parochial Poor Relief in the Eighteenth Century

The new century brought no change in the needs of the poor. How the parishes paid for relief, however, becomes clearer. St John's and St Michan's poor records for the early eighteenth century are particularly good. St John's details the money raised by collections between 1700 and 1720. St Michan's defines the categories of parish poor

eligible for assistance between 1723 and 1733. General provision for the poor was also increased. Parochial charity schools were established. Alms houses and hospitals were founded by private individuals. Such establishments did not remove overall parochial responsibility but offered additional sources of relief. It is, however, difficult to assess to what extent such measures improved the lot of the poor. Infant mortality remained high. There was no lessening in the numbers of poor who roamed the city's streets. In 1680, St John's had complained of the poor who 'swarme in the streets & doe dayly com out of the Country ptending themselves to be of the poore of the Citty'.¹⁶⁷ In 1698, St Paul's complained that the 'common beggars frequenting this city [are] a perfect nuisance'.¹⁶⁸ Poverty and vagrancy continued to confound the city and its administrators.

Attempts were made to address some of the legislative deficiencies, particularly with regard to vagrancy. In 1707 it was made a transportable offence. Legislation passed in 1721 allowed a parish to bind out any child found begging within the parish.¹⁶⁹ In addition a vagabond who escaped from prison could to be executed as a felon without the benefit of clergy.¹⁷⁰ In practice the legislation made little impact on the city's vagrancy problems. The failure of such measures was acknowledged by legislation passed in 1723. The government conceded that neither they nor the Lord Mayor had succeeded in reducing the large number of idle and vagrant persons who thronged the city's streets.¹⁷¹ Constant amendments to the Workhouse Act, however, indicates a determination to improve matters.¹⁷² From the parochial point of view, the increased legislation meant additional responsibilities, but little relief from the practical and monetary problems they faced when dealing with the poor.¹⁷³

Parochial revenue was raised as it had been in the previous century. The parish cess provided the church wardens with sufficient capital to meet day-to-day expenses, to pay the parish nurses and to make *ad hoc* payments to the unregistered poor. Sunday collections were used for a number of purposes, all related to the poor. They provided pensions, helped towards the funding of charity schools, paid for apprenticeships as well

as bonuses for parish servants.¹⁷⁴ Legacies, too, made a valuable contribution to poor relief.¹⁷⁵ Some were given for very specific purposes, such as James Knight's, Murtagh Dowling's and Lady Anna Hume's bequests to St Peter's. Each left money to build a house for the relief of 'poore decayed Christians' within the parish.¹⁷⁶ Others, such as John Woodworth, cordwainer, and Richard Noyce, vintner, left money to be used at the discretion of the parish.¹⁷⁷

The need to raise large sums of money obliged the parishes to use the cess more frequently. Most parishes levied a cess annually.¹⁷⁸ St Bride's and St John's assessed and levied annually, but the money raised went towards everyday expenditure rather than to the poor in particular. In St John's, between 1701 and 1703, the cess levied was £45 *per annum*; in 1712 it was £23/7/9½d, but by 1724 it had risen to £65.¹⁷⁹ St Nicholas Without also levied an annual cess. Between 1708 and 1722 two estimates were made each year. In 1708 the estimates were £35 and £40; in 1713 they were £80 and £27/10/0d and in 1718 they were £50 and £50.¹⁸⁰ For a poor parish, this method may have allowed better control over expenditure. The parish could make a more accurate assessment of its actual spending requirements. Small sums would also have been easier for its poorer inhabitants to raise resulting in fewer insolvencies and consequently a smaller deficit. The half yearly estimates were abandoned after November, 1725, when the Vestry ordered that cess money raised for church repairs and the poor should be levied at 3d to the 1/- paid by parishioners for Minister's Money.¹⁸¹

In St Catherine's the cess was used exclusively to fund poor relief for a brief time. In 1700, a poor cess of £100 was levied, but in 1703 it was decided that only £80 *per annum* could be raised 'soe that our poor of all sorts as well Children as Elder men & women be Taken of[f] the Parish Charge now & Hereafter'.¹⁸² Poor funding was revised again in 1712. In future all poor relief was to be funded by the collections made in church.¹⁸³ In keeping with city-wide practice, foundlings and parish nurses would, however, continue to be provided for by the cess - a decision perhaps prompted by the

fact that nursing costs sometimes exceeded the income earned from collections. This had occurred in 1709 when nursing costs exceeded the collection income by £9/6/0½d.¹⁸⁴

In St Mary's the cess may have been used intermittently. The parishioners were specifically levied for maintenance for the poor in 1701 and 1703 and amounts were small, £30 and £20 respectively. This money was expected to maintain parish orphans as well as to pay the salaries of the clerk, the sexton and the beadle.¹⁸⁵ Salaries amounted to £13 *per annum*; therefore the parish anticipated poor relief would cost £17 in 1701, and £7 in 1703. In St Andrew's, in 1703, the money collected by cess was similarly distributed. There, 39% was spent in maintaining the poor, the remaining 61% being used to pay the salaries of parish officers.¹⁸⁶ St Paul's and St Peter's annual cess funded the general needs of the parish.¹⁸⁷ A proportion of the income was allocated to the maintenance of parish nurses and foundlings. In 1728-29 nursing costs in St Peter's were £35/18/5½d, 29% of the annual budget.¹⁸⁸ Parochial policy prior to 1728 is, however, unknown because of the absence of church wardens' accounts for both parishes.

The difficulties which the parishes encountered with the cess have been discussed but its unpopularity is underlined by a document from St Werburgh's relating to the poor. The parish had been obliged to levy a large but unspecified cess which had caused some controversy within the parish, thereby forcing the church wardens to explain their actions.¹⁸⁹ They claimed parochial expenditure in 1726-27 had exceeded the annual budget for a number of reasons: firstly the number of actual payments made to the parish poor and orphans had increased. Between November 1726 and October 1727, the parish had spent just over £143 on the parish poor.¹⁹⁰ These payments had formerly been included in the church wardens' accounts, but such expenditure had been made into a separate account by the minister, Dr Howard. Secondly, a sum of £21 was not formally charged upon the parish until it had been settled by 'act of Vestry' on 6 March 1723[/24]. Thirdly, the £60 *per annum* payable to the workhouse had been lost and the parish had been forced to maintain the poor already in the workhouse by means of an alternative

fund. The money spent, approximately £24, was to be recouped through the cess. Thus the parish had to raise £24, plus the £60 which had been lost. Finally, part of the cess was required to repay a balance owed to the church wardens of 1689 and to meet additional expenditure incurred for a variety of other reasons.¹⁹¹

Table 4:6: Estimates Made for Parochial Cesses 1700-1729

Poll Tax due 2 Aug 1698		Average value of Est. cess	Total no. of cesses made	Highest cess levied	Lowest cess levied
	<u>1700-1709</u>				
£172/2/5½d	St Andrew	£80	1+		
£189/3/0d	St Bride	£64/8/0d	10	£80	£47
£170/10/6½d	St Catherine	<i>£93/6/8d</i>	3#	<i>£100</i>	<i>£80</i>
£155/10/5½d	St John	£37/15/0¾d	10	£45	£20
£280/9/9d	St Mary	£25	2	£30	£20
£88/19/9d	St Michael	£21/5/0d	8	£27	£14
£100/16/10½d	St Nich Without	£79*	2	£83	£75
	<u>1710-1719</u>				
	St Bride	£75/11/1¼d	9**	£90	£60
	St John	£39/0/5¼d	10	£80	£23/7/9½d
	St Michael	£29	5	£40	£20
	St Nich Without	£94/15/0d	10	£120	£78
	<u>1720-1729</u>				
	St Bride	£102/6/0d	10	£136***	£80
	St John	£58/2/0d	10	£90	£23
	St Mary	?++	2		
	St Nich Without	£96/6/8d	3	£102	£87

Sources: TCD Ms 2062; St Bride's VM 1662-1742; St Catherine's VM 1692-1730; St John's AB 1696-1735; St Mary's VM 1699-1739; St Michael's VM 1667-1754; St Nicholas Without AB 1707-1725; *JHC Ire*, ii, part 2, Appendix page xcvi.

Notes to Table 4:6: Est. Estimated Cess.

- * The figure shown derived from the aggregate estimates made for each year.
- ** St Bride's VM do not show an applotment for 1717.
- *** In 1729 St Bride's proposed to spend £72 (65%) on church maintenance; £38 (35%) on nursing foundlings.
- + Records incomplete. Monck Mason comments that the poor applotment was usually around £80.
- ++ On 27 November 1727 and 1 July 1728 St Mary's VM refer to the balance due on the 'charity account' suggesting the parish raised money for the poor by cess.
- # After 1709, the parish cess becomes more general, but included maintenance of children under five.

NB: In the case of every parish included in the about table, only cesses which specifically mentioned maintenance for the poor or the care of children within the parish were counted. St Catherine's cesses have been italicized to indicate the fact that, unlike the other examples quoted, the money appears to have been raised for the exclusive use of the parish's poor.

The cess was seldom spent specifically upon the poor. It was levied when required, for as much as was required as in St Michael's in 1694 and 1695, when collections fell short forcing the parish to levy a cess of £18. As Table 4:7 illustrates, the city also levied cesses to provide relief for the poor outside the city jurisdiction.¹⁹²

Table 4:7: Cesses Imposed upon the Parishes for Poor Relief 1691[/92]-1709

	Purpose of relief	Total cess	Parochial contribution
1691[/92]	Relief of the poor of St Francis Street.	£150	£7/11/11¼d (St John's)
	Relief of the Irish poor on Dalkey Island,		£8 (St John's)
1699	Relief of the poor in Newgate prison.	£30	£1/19/0d (St John's)
1702	Relief of the poor in Newgate prison.	£30	£1/19/0d (St John's)*
	Relief for the inhabitants of Lisburn		£18/15/3d (St Paul's)**
1705	Relief of the poor in the city's jails.	£40	£2/13/4d (St John's)
1707-8	Relief for Portarlington.		£10/18/2d (St John's)
	Relief of the poor in the city's jails.		£13/1/0½d (St Bride's)+
	Relief for the Protestants of Lisburn.		£2/13/4d (St John's) £41/12/11½d (St John's)** £59/5/2d (St Bride's)
1709	Relief for the poor Palatines.		£34/3/2d (St Bride's) £13/3/8d (St John's)

Sources: St Bride's VM 1662-1742; TCD Ms 2062; St John's AB 1696-1735; St Paul's VM 1699-1730.

Notes to Table 4:7

* St Bride's were also taxed for this cess, but that year 2 cesses were levied for £30 each. In one cess the levy was £2/2/10½d; in the second cess the levy was £1/4/7d. The parish makes no distinction between the 2 cesses.

** It seems unlikely that two separate collections would be made for the inhabitants of Lisburn, who had suffered loss because of a fire; which of the two dates is correct remains unclear.

+ In St Bride's VM the Relief of Portarlington is dated 1709, however two separate collections seems unlikely.

Sunday collections were vital to poor relief. They were reserved, almost exclusively, for the poor, although church servants were occasional beneficiaries.¹⁹³ In 1712, St Paul's assertion, that the parish had no way of supporting its poor other than by Sunday collections, may not have been absolutely accurate, but the observation emphasises their importance.¹⁹⁴ St Catherine's decision, in 1712, to rely exclusively on collections for poor relief underlines their reliability as a source of funds.¹⁹⁵

Throughout the year every collection was allocated to a particular person or persons, for a special purpose such as the charity school, or it was dispensed amongst the deserving poor. In St John's, in the early 1700s, Sunday collections made at Matins were spent differently from those collected at Evensong. The morning collections, which were always larger than those made in the evenings, were used to help named individuals. Morning collections were divided into three categories: briefs - money collected for specially named persons; offertory collections - money collected on one particular Sunday each month which could be paid to the church officers or to the parish poor; and quarterly collections - money collected for special parish pensioners.¹⁹⁶ By contrast, the smaller evening collections had no particular designation and were distributed as required.¹⁹⁷ The poor funds were also bolstered by collections made on special fast days, for example, in 1701 on the 2 May, a fast day, St John's collected £1/1/6½d.¹⁹⁸ Collection income varied from parish to parish and year to year. St Bride's earned £29/3/8d in 1700; £18/14/8d in 1701; £28/10/6d in 1702 and £28/10/6d in 1703.¹⁹⁹ St Mary's earned £78/11/1d from collections in 1722; however expenditure on the poor amounted to £79/18/4d.²⁰⁰ In St Werburgh's Sunday collections for 1726-27 amounted to £107/8/9½d.²⁰¹ St Michan's Poor Book for 1723-34 does not state that the income spent each month on the poor was derived from collections, but this is the most likely source. Monthly expenditure depended on monthly income, but the parish's annual expenditure was considerable. In 1724, £131/13/1¾d was spent on the poor; in 1726, the parish spent £121/7/2d maintaining the poor and in 1728 expenditure was £138/9/9½d.²⁰²

Table 4:8A: St John's Collections 1700-1720 & 1732

	AM/Offertory Collections	PM Collections	Festival Collections	Quarterly Collections	Briefs
1701	£53/5/6d (16)	£25/2/2½d (48)	£21/2/7¾d (6)	£11/0/1¼d (14)	£18/6/10d (19)
1702	£22/2/5¼d (10)	£23/4/0¾d (49)	£20/7/4¾d (6)	£10/0/9d (15)	£23/4/0¾d(23)
1703*	£15/10/3d (7)	£14/5/9¼d (34)	£14/11/9½d (5)	£7/15/2¾d (12)	£12/17/3¼d(14)
1732+	£39/18/10¾d (37AM + 9 O)**	£9/18/9½d (37)	£4/8/8d (1)		

Sources: St John's Poor Records, i, 1700-1720; St John's Poor Records, ii, 1732-1748

Notes on Table 4:8A

NB The year is calculated from Easter to Easter. AM. Morning collection. PM Evening collection.

O Offertory collection. (7) Nos of collections in the year.

* The year is incomplete ending 21 November 1703.

** In 1732, the morning and offertory collections taken on the same morning are recorded separately.

+ In 1732, the parish took regular Friday morning collections which amounted to £12/14/8½d.

Table 4:8B: Beneficiaries of St John's Collections 1701-1703 & 1732

	Type of collection	Beneficiaries	Nos of payments and dates received	Amounts raised and received*
1701	Quarterly	Mable Granger	4 payments: 13 April; 31 August; 9 November; 8 February	11/9d; 14/2d; 15/1¾d; £1/1/0d
1701	Brief	P. Bracon	1 payment: 5 October	£1/4/1d
1701	Offertory	Parish poor	23 November	Raised £3/1/9½d Recd £2/10/1½d
1702	Brief	John Phips of Boile (sic)	1 payment: 12 April	14/2½d
1702	Quarterly	Margaret Owens	4 payments: 14 June; 6 September; 13 December; 21 March	9/5¼d; 17/7d; 13/0d; 14/9d
1702	Brief	John Coddington	1 payment: 2 August	16/8¾d
1702	Offertory	Parish poor	28 June	£2/3/0½d
1703	Quarterly	Mary Coffee	3 payments **: 13 June; 15 August; 7 November	15/4d; 14/7½d; 15/8¾d
1703	Brief	Capt. Ben Barrington	1 payment: 30 May	£1/0/4½d
1703	Offertory	Parish poor	4 April	£1/18/9½d
1732+	Offertory	Parish poor	28 January	£1/2/3d

Sources: St John's Poor Records, 1700-1720; St John's Poor Records, 1732-1748

Notes to Table 4:8B

NB The year is calculated from Easter to Easter.

* Unless otherwise indicated the amounts raised were the same as those received by the recipient.

** Details of how collections were spent in 1703 are incomplete, ending the 21 November 1703.

+ Collection records for 1732 give offertory collections only.

Table 4:9: St Michael's, Sources of Income Particularly Designated for Poor Relief the Annual Expenditure as shown in the Church Wardens Accounts 1700- 1714

	Sunday Collections	Fines paid for Swearing & Sabbath Breaking	Church wardens' receipts & % contribution made by collections & fines	Annual expenditure recorded in church wardens' accounts
1700	£8/11/1d+		£78/17/6d	£54/5/9d
1701	£6/1/10d+	£3/0/9½d	£106/1/11½d	£105/1/8d
1702	£3/8/5d++	£3/6/0d	£65/6/2½d	£65/2/6d
1703	£32/8/9d	£2/4/8d	£110/3/0d (31.4%)	£109/9/0d
1704	£28/2/10d	£2/13/11d	£110/13/7d (27.8%)	£110/13/7d
1705	£8/19/8½d++	12/10½d	£127/0/0½d	£127/10/0d
1706	£43/8/5d	£2/16/2d	£144/2/11½d (31.9%)	£87/11/5d
1707	£36/15/0d	£2/8/0d	£158/14/3½d (24.6%)	£126/17/10½d
1708	£32/7/10½d	£2/5/0d	£208/14/1d (16.7%)	£208/14/1d
1709	£17/1/11½d	£1/8/0d	£161/6/2½d (11.7%)	£161/6/2d
1710	£16/18/11d	£1/10/0d	£156/2/10½d (12%)	£159/18/9d
1711	£35/17/3½d*		£122/1/0½d (29.3%)	£125/18/7½d
1712	£25/16/7½d		£158/19/9d (16.2%)	£158/19/9d
1713	£31/4/2d		£151/10/9d (20.6%)	£155/1/0d
1714	£4/19/0d++		£141/4/6d	£146/7/4½d

Source: St Michael's VM 1667-1754, Church Wardens' Accounts 1700-1714.

Notes to Table 4:9 : NB The table is designed to show the contribution made by Sunday collections and fines to parochial earnings. Collections are not recorded prior to 1700 and after 1714. Fines are recorded for 1697 and 1698, and between 1701 and 1710.

+ The collections for 1700 and 1701 were surpluses. The actual total raised was not specified.

++ It is not clear if the sums registered in 1705 and 1714 were the surplus left after expenditure. In the previous 2 years, the church wardens' accounts registered the sum to be surplus income.

* In 1711 the parish spent £28/1/3¼d (78%) of the money earned by collections on the poor. The remaining surplus of £7/16/0¼d was retained by the parish..

Collections were important for poor relief consequently their spending was open to scrutiny. There was, for example, some disquiet concerning briefs which were unpopular. The subject was raised in 1712 during Archbishop King's visitation when the parishes complained of considerable hardship in relation to briefs. Some required the church wardens to go out into the parish and to make house to house collections. The rubrics, however, stated there was no obligation to collect for the poor, other than in church. It was also claimed that briefs, funded as they were by Sunday collections, deprived the most needy who were never the beneficiaries.²⁰³ King, in an attempt to resolve the problem,

advised that briefs should be announced before the sermon and the collection of the offertory. They should be collected by the church wardens at the church door as the congregation left at the end of the service. The minister was to inform the congregation that those wishing to support the parish poor might do so by contributing to the collection made during the service; parishioners wishing to contribute towards the briefs might do so as they left the church.²⁰⁴ As St Michan's Poor Book shows, the recipients of briefs could receive a not insubstantial sum of money. Some briefs went immediately to the intended recipient's creditors: St Michan's minister, Dean Percival, received the full brief, 14/8½d, collected by the parish on 18 December 1726 for Michael Burchall.²⁰⁵ On 10 September, 1727, St Michan's had collected a brief of 8/1d for Thomas Day in respond to a demand made by Richard Hunter of The Ship, Cable Street. A brief on Day's behalf, however, had already been read on the 26 March, 1727, when he had been paid 7/4½d, therefore it was decided not to pay him any money.²⁰⁶

Table 4:10: Examples Briefs Collected in St Michan's 1723-1729

	Beneficiaries	Amount received
1723/[24] : 3 February	Barnaby McGroire	11/-
1724: 31 May 5 July	Sarah Connel James Moor(sic) Garret Knowles	5/10½d 12/- 2/5d
1725: 10 October 4 December	James Farrell John Redman & others	16/5d 15/6½d
1725/[26]: 9 January	Margaret Kery } Marcus Murray } William O'Brien } Barnaby McCulla } Jane Smith & Mary McKee }	1/10½d } 1/10½d } 9/4½d } 16/10½d 2/2¼d } 1/6¾d }
1726: 31 July 11 October	Dan Murphy's portion on 2 briefs Francis Farrell's " " " Thomas Bradshaw & Wm Holmes	8/4½d 8/- 10/8d
1727: 22 January 26 March	Elinor Cleveland Thomas Day	10/4½d 7/4½d
1729: 18 May 14 September 23 November	Philip Watson & Richard Rawlinson Simon Arthur Patrick Martin & Thomas Fox	13/0½d 13/0½d 15/2d

Source: St Michan's Poor Book 1723-1734

Table 4:11: Charity Schools & Money Earned from Charity Sermons 1697-1726

	Nos of schools in parish	Year founded & nos of pupils	Sources of funding	Money earned <i>pa</i> from charity sermons
St Andrew's	2	1709 - 34 boys 1726 - 12 girls	Voluntary contributions	1716 £109/5/6d* 1717 £81/16/1d 1718 £94/16/7d
St Anne's	1	1724 - 30 boys	Offertory collections	
St Audeon's	1	1717 - 20 boys+		1717 £47
St Bridget's	1	1711 - 40 boys#	Subscriptions.	7 sermons raised £247 1719 £48
St Catherine's	1	1711 - 26 boys 1712 - 30 boys 1719 - 40 boys	Subscriptions Offertory collections. Weekly collections.	
St James'	1	1718 - 21 boys	Subscriptions.	
St John's	1	1697 - 15 boys - 5 girls	Weekly contributions & £310**	
St Mary's	2	1716 - 40 boys - 20 girls	Subscriptions, about £140 pa.	3 sermons raised £135
St Michael's	1	1714 - 10 boys	Collections	
St Michan's	2	1716 - 30 boys - 30 girls	Collections	2 sermons raised £63
St Nich Within	1	1718 - 20 boys	Subscriptions.	
St Nich Without	1	1719++ - 12 boys	Subscriptions.	1 sermon raised £36
St Patrick's Liberties	3	1704 - 40/50 boys# 1712 -unknown# 1712 -unknown#	Subscriptions. 2 maintained privately	
St Paul's	1	1705 - 25 girls		
St Peter's	2	1715 - 36 boys - 40 girls	Subscriptions	3 sermons raised £134
St Werburgh's	1	unknown - 9 boys	Subscriptions & collections.	

Sources: *An Account of Charity Schools lately erected in England, Wales and Ireland 1706; Methods of erecting, supporting, and governing charity-schools; with an account of the charity schools in Ireland 1719; An Accounts Charity Schools in Ireland since 1721.* St Andrew's VM; St Bridget's Charity School; St Catherine's VM 1693-1730; St John's Charity School Accounts 1697-1726; St Mary's VM 1699-1739; St Michael's VM 1667-1754; St Werburgh's VM 1720-1780.

Notes to Table 4:11

NB The King's Hospital, although a charity school is not included because its management was not parish based.

* Part of the total raised, £33/13/2d, was raised by the sale of the sermon written by the Bishop of Cork.

** St John's had earned the £310 in the following manner: £180 legacy from Mrs Peppard; £50 legacy from Mr Kennedy; £50 legacy from Mr Warren. A further £30 had been earned from collections. The parish had invested part of this sum, £260, out to earn interest.

+ The parish had paid a school master to teach poor boys as early as 1695.

++ In the pamphlet *An account of the Charity Schools in Ireland, 1721* (Dublin 1724) it is claimed the school was established in 1722.

The pupils in St Bride's and St Patrick's charity schools were mostly Catholic. In St Patrick's two charity schools had been erected especially for Catholic children.

Although most collections were used to provide for the poor, there were occasions when they were made for a very specific purpose. In 1714, St Michael's opened a charity school for ten boys which was to be maintained by morning and afternoon collections, by sacrament money, by money taken at monthly sermons and by charity sermons - see Table 4:11.²⁰⁷ In 1724, a charity sermon was preached in St Michan's with part of the proceeds, £21/13/11d, being used to maintain the parish's charity schools.²⁰⁸ The popularity of the charity sermons as a method of raising money for the poor grew as the century progressed.

The needs of the poor were a perpetual problem. The best parochial efforts were confounded as much by the sheer numbers requiring relief as by the many types of relief required. As St Michan's poor accounts show, the poor were very expensive to maintain. Pensions were usually paid out on Friday, but charity could be dispensed on any day of the week. The numbers receiving charity varied; for example on 26 March 1724, forty-two inhabitants received 1/- each, but on 29 April 1726, there were sixty-two recipients who received 6d each.²⁰⁹ The majority were, however, regular recipients. Edith Keys was a weekly recipient from 1723 to 1732, while William Whalley and Francis Ware received regular weekly pensions from 1725 to 1729.

In February 1728[/29], as Table 4:12 shows, the parish introduced three categories of poor parishioner. Again the amount each might expect to receive varied, but those receiving the highest pension were the reduced housekeepers. Once a parishioner's name had been added to this list, they could expect to receive a weekly pension. The accidental sick, as the name implies, received help for as long as necessary. The stated poor were permanent pensioners, but their weekly pension was often small.

During the year St Michan's assisted other poor parishioners. Sarah Jones received 1/6d in 1723 because she had 'two Grand Children sick of the Small Pox'.²¹⁰ In 1724, William Heath, a distressed clergyman, was given 5/5d to help him get to England.²¹¹ Philip Lyn received 5/5d in 1726/[27], 'his wife & son being sick'.²¹²

Table 4:12: St Michan's Poor Relief 1724 and 1729

	Annual Expenditure	Average nos weekly recipients	Nos payments in year	Weekly pension									
				Highest	Lowest								
1723	£28/5/9d*	34	20	12d	6d								
1724	£143/19/4½d	35	48	12d	3d								
1725	£129/14/5¼d	43	48	12d	6d								
1726	£137/17/8d	53	49	13d	4d								
1727	£136/18/1d	43	39	13d	3d								
1728+	£138/9/9½d	40	31	13d	3d								
	Annual Expenditure	Average number weekly recipients			Number of payments in year			Weekly Pension					
		RH	AS	SP	RH	AS	SP	RH	AS	SP			
1729	£96/10/5½d #	18	24	34	35	35	35	1/8d	2/8½ d	8d	10d	6d	4d

Source: St Michan's Poor Book 1723-1734

Notes of Table 4:12

NB The number of weekly recipients excludes those to whom individual pensions were paid. The amounts these recipients received varied from person to person and week to week. Also excluded are those to whom only one payment was made.

RH Reduced Housekeeper. AS Accidental Sick. SP Stated Poor

* The year is incomplete. Expenditure shown is for 6 months only.

+ The year is incomplete. Expenditure shown is for 11 months only.

The year is incomplete. Expenditure shown is for 11 months only.

St Michan's was a densely populated parish. How many parishioners were badged, that is permitted to beg within the parish, is unknown. In St Mary's, however, positive steps to control begging within the parish were taken in 1711[12].²¹³ A committee was appointed to list the poor and to decide who should be supported by the parish. Charity was only to be given to those who displayed their badges.²¹⁴ In 1723, the parish issued sixty new badges, as well as re-issuing five old badges.²¹⁵ The majority of the new badges, some 70%, were issued to women.²¹⁶ More than half the recipients were over fifty, with the average age of the men and women being sixty-four and fifty-three respectively.²¹⁷ Unusually, the parish granted licences to a twenty-year old woman and a twenty-eight year old man. The poor lived throughout the parish, but were particularly

concentrated in Strand Street, Loftus Lane, Turnagain Lane, Liffey Street and Drumcondra Lane.²¹⁸

St Catherine's also had large numbers of badged poor. Eighty were registered in 1722, but their numbers had risen to eighty-six by 1724.²¹⁹ In St John's, there were thirty badged poor in 1703, thirty-one in 1705, but only twenty-eight in 1706.²²⁰ In St Bride's and St Michael's, the number of badges issued was considerably smaller; only thirteen in St Bride's in 1702 and twelve in St Michael's in 1708.²²¹ The badge allowed its holder to beg legally within the parish, but many of the badged poor may also have carried a certificate explaining their misfortunes. The wording of such certificates shows they were designed to encourage charity, (see Appendix 5). A number were issued by St Werburgh's and it seems unlikely they would have been handed out to those who were not licensed to beg.

The most intractable problem facing the parishes in the early eighteenth century was the provision of care for parish foundlings. As Table 4:13 shows the cost to individual parishes was considerable and many parishes were prepared to engage in dubious practices in order to evade as much financial responsibility as possible. The problem the parishes faced was how to meet the needs of this vulnerable section of the poor. Pamphlets such as *The Case of the Foundlings of the City of Dublin* and the enquiry undertaken by the House of Lords under the Earl of Cavan show that contemporary opinion was not oblivious to the parishes' dilemma. Expressions of sympathy did not rectify the problem. The decision to admit foundlings to the workhouse in 1730 may have made in response to parochial pressure, but it offered little relief to overstretched parish resources. Although after 1730 the parishes no longer had sole responsibility for the care of foundlings, they were still expected, by law, to make financial provision for the children.

Table 4:13: Parish Nurses and Foundlings

	Actual (A) or Estimated (E) cost <i>pa</i> of maintenance	% of annual expenditure spent on nursing	Max nos of children maintained	Sum paid <i>pa</i> to keep a child	Nos of nurses employed	Salary paid to nurses
St Catherine's 1709	£40/19/0½d (A)	18%				
1712	£55 (A)	25.6%				
1720	£113/16/10½d(A)	41.2%				
1726	£63/8/5½d (A)	22.8%	72*			
1729	£117/1½d (A)	37.9%				
St Bride's 1729	£38 (E)					
St John's 1728	£17 (A)				1	60/-pa
St Luke's 1716	£8/15/7d (A)	19%		25/- a ½ yr,		
1727	£24/11/3d (A)	25%	24	or 1/- per week	5	
St Michael's 1708				£2/10/0d		52/-pa
1725					5	
1726					8	
1729	£20 (E)					
St Mary's 1729	£46 (E)				1	90/-pa
St Michan's 1724	£45/15/6½d (A)		36**	9d a week		
1727	£129/3/2½d(A)+				18***	40/-pa
1729					12	
St Werburgh's 1729	£30 (E)					

Sources: St Catherine's VM 1693-1735; St Bride's VM, 1662-1742; St John's: *JHL Ire.*, Vol III; St Luke's Account Book 1716-1777; St Mary's VM 1699-1739 and *JHL Ire.*, Vol III; St Michael's VM 1667-1754; St Michan's Poor Records 1723-1734; St Michan's Church Wardens' Accounts 1723-1761; St Werburgh's VM 1720-1780.

Notes to Table 4:13

NB The figures quoted for foundlings cared for by the parishes are representative. They indicate the scale of the problem. The number of children cared for varied from year to year as did the number of nurses employed.

* This figure is given in the parish estimates made for 1729.

** The parish issued 36 brass lead clasps to fasten string around the necks of foundling children. Each clasp had impressed upon it St Michan's 'impression' to 'discriminate' the children of the parish from those who had been abandoned within the parish illegally. The highest number for a badge issued is 94 indicating the parish actually maintained large numbers of foundlings.

*** One nurse was paid for looking after 7 children.

+ The account was treated separately from other parish expenditure. The parish received and spent the same amount of money on foundlings.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century all responsibility for the care of foundlings rested with the parish, a responsibility accepted only with reluctance. If the responsibility could be avoided or shifted, it was. The approach was callous, but motivated

by financial expediency. In 1699, ten children had been abandoned in St Bride's. Although four had died and the parish had succeeded in removing another, the parish had still had to spend £6/5/5d caring for the remaining children.²²² Such expenditure signalled a tacit acceptance of responsibility. Thereafter the parish would be expected to provide maintenance for as long as necessary, eventually paying for the orphan to be bound into apprenticeship. A single child who survived to reach apprenticeship age had cost the parish a considerable amount of money. Clothing, feeding the child, and caring for it when sick, was the parish nurse's responsibility, but it was the parish's duty to provide the money for such things.²²³ It is difficult to estimate the exact cost to the parish, but it is possible to make an estimation of the possible cost. In 1692, a child was left at the door of Mr James Spicer's house on Merchants Quay. The child was christened Spicer St Michael and was maintained by St Michael's parish until he was apprenticed to John Hease, a shoemaker, in 1701.²²⁴ The overall cost to St Michael's may have amounted to £44/1/10d.²²⁵ Few city parishes could have afforded to accept such a financial burden with equanimity. This would have been especially true in parishes where there were a large number of foundlings, such as St Catherine's and St Michan's.

The parishes were prepared to go to considerable lengths to avoid shouldering too much financial responsibility. St Bride's advertised in the newspaper that anyone discovering the parents of a child abandoned on the parish would receive a reward of two crowns.²²⁶ Parishioners on whose doorstep an abandoned child was found were obliged to forswear all knowledge of the child's origins and parents. (see Appendix 5). It was the parish beadle's duty to 'discover' the parents of the child. In 1716, St Luke's beadle, Stephen Munsey, was paid 1/1d for successfully tracing the parents of one such child.²²⁷ In Finglas, the 'discovered' parents of an abandoned child were forced to swear an oath absolving the parish of all maintenance obligations (see Appendix 5). St Michan's printed one thousand advertisements in 1725 offering a reward of 20/- to anyone who discovered the parent or parents of any foundling children found abandoned within the parish.²²⁸ Why

the parish should be prepared to offer a reward is made clear by the evidence given to the Earl of Cavan's Inquiry in 1729 and by an anonymous contemporary pamphlet printed at the time of the Inquiry.²²⁹

St Michan's difficulties arose because of the practice of 'lifting'.²³⁰ An anonymous pamphleteer claimed seventy-three children had been dropped in St Michan's between December 1728 and December 1729.²³¹ A number of these children were probably placed in the parish by St John's nurse, Elizabeth Hyland, who had lifted eighteen children on to parishes throughout the city during her nursing career.²³² St John's nurse was not the only offender. Lifting was a common practice encouraged by the numbers of foundlings each parish was forced to maintain and by the scarcity of nurses.²³³ Some women were even prepared to 'drop' their own children and then offer themselves as nurses as a means of getting money.

Table 4:14: Foundlings sent to the Workhouse from St Michan's Parish, April- June 1730

Total number of foundlings sent to the workhouse	Date sent to workhouse	Under 6 years of age.	Over 6 years of age	Boys	Girls
8	25 April 1730		8		8
7	8 May 1730	7		4	2
1	26 May 1730	1		1	
3	3 June 1730	3		1	2
3	27 June 1730	3		1	2
22		14	8	8	15

Source: St Michan's Common Place Book.

The problem facing St Michan's, as Tables 4:14 and 4:15 show, was not unique. Parochial policy was generally guided by economics, but this was especially true where foundlings were concerned. The cost of maintaining a child was calculated to be 40/- *per annum*, although, as St Michael's figures for Spicer St Michael show, some parishes were prepared to spend more. The anonymous pamphleteer may have considered £2 *per annum* an inadequate maintenance, but the sheer weight of numbers must have discouraged many parishes from even considering a higher maintenance allowance. In St Michan's, 121

foundlings were 'taken up' between 15 February 1726[27] and 27 June 1730 and although 52% of them died within a few months the parish had still to maintain the remainder until suitable arrangements could be made for their care.²³⁴ Foundlings were maintained by parish cess, and, as has been shown, the cess was liable to arrears because of insolvency. For the parishes to attempt to impose higher cesses designed to provide greater maintenance allowances was probably not feasible.

Table 4:15: Foundlings and their Respective Ages Returned by the City's Parishes and Placed in the Workhouse 25 March, 1730.

	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3	Class 4	Total
St Andrew's	1		8	3	12
St Anne's	5	6	8	5	24
St Audeon's		2	2	3	7
St Bridget's	7		7		14
St James'			3		3
St John's	1		2	2	5
St Kathern's	8	13	17	7	45
St Luke's	1		3	5	9
St Marie's	5	4	15	4	28
St Michael's	3		2		5
St Michan's	23	24	4	7	58
St Nicholas Within		1			1
St Nicholas Without	10	6	6	7	29
St Paul's	2	2		1	5
St Peter's	1	6	1		8
St Werburgh's	2	2	2	6	12
Total	69	66	80	50	265

Source: St Michan's Common Place Book.

Notes on Table 4:15

Class 1: Children under 1 year old.

Class 2: Children above 1 year old and under 2 years old.

Class 3: Children above 2 years old and under 4 years old.

Class 4: Children above 4 years old and under 6 years old.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century the cost of maintaining Dublin's poor was substantial, but the expense was considerably less than that faced by London's parishes. A committee commissioned to inspect poor rates in London discovered that the

average annual cost to one parish, St Martin in the Fields, between 1712 and 1714 was £3,895/10/11¼d.²³⁵ No Dublin parish had access to such huge sums of money and, despite such expenditure, the poor fared no better. Infants and bastards died at the hands of cruel nurses who were 'void of consideration or religion' and hired by church wardens to relieve the burden of the parish at the cheapest possible rate. There was an increase in the number of 'strange beggars, cripples, lusty Idle Men and Women, vagabonds, Blind People, pretended and real Mad Folk' throughout London.²³⁶ All such people should have been moved from the parish, but the report claimed the church wardens used the presence of such people to extort large charity collections. This type of beggar, however, rarely received parish alms, they relied for money to live on by begging on the streets and at coach sides.²³⁷ Clearly London's poor were no better off than Dublin's poor.

* * *

The poor and the difficulties associated with them presented Dublin's parishes with an intractable problem. During the seventeenth century, the methods of assisting and maintaining the poor were rooted in tradition. Legislation was extremely limited and, as a consequence, inadequate. The City provided some relief but this was restricted by financial insecurity. This effectively deterred grandiose public schemes and confined city-funded relief to small, individual payments made to named recipients. The establishment of The King's Hospital by the City was a notable exception. During the eighteenth century, increased legislation, designed primarily to deal with the city's vagrancy problem, met with no obvious success. The main burden of providing for the poor still rested with the parishes. From a parochial point of view the establishment of the workhouse made little impact on the numbers who sought relief. Raising sufficient funds to meet the needs of the growing numbers of poor was difficult, consequently more than one source of parochial income was tapped to provide funds. It is evident from most parish records that Sunday collections were generally reserved for the maintenance of the poor although they too could be diverted on occasion to meet other parochial commitments. Cesses, called Poor

Cesses by the parishes, were levied but the money raised was not spent exclusively on the poor. These sources of income were further augmented by legacies, pew sales and fines. In conclusion, it would seem that between 1660 and 1729 the needs of the poor did not fundamentally change but their continually growing numbers placed considerable strain on the civic and parochial infrastructures designed to alleviate their suffering. The opening paragraph of Jonathan Swift's sermon *Causes of the Wretched Condition of Ireland*, c.1729 summed up the dismal lot of the poor:

It is a very melancholy Reflection, that such a Country as ours, which is capable of producing all Things necessary, and most Things convenient for Life, sufficient for the Support of four Times the Number of its Inhabitants, should lye under the heaviest Load of Misery and Want, our Streets crouded with Beggars, so many of our lower Sort of Tradesmen, Labourers and Artificers, not able to find Cloaths and Food for their Families...

