



## **Terms and Conditions of Use of Digitised Theses from Trinity College Library Dublin**

### **Copyright statement**

All material supplied by Trinity College Library is protected by copyright (under the Copyright and Related Rights Act, 2000 as amended) and other relevant Intellectual Property Rights. By accessing and using a Digitised Thesis from Trinity College Library you acknowledge that all Intellectual Property Rights in any Works supplied are the sole and exclusive property of the copyright and/or other IPR holder. Specific copyright holders may not be explicitly identified. Use of materials from other sources within a thesis should not be construed as a claim over them.

A non-exclusive, non-transferable licence is hereby granted to those using or reproducing, in whole or in part, the material for valid purposes, providing the copyright owners are acknowledged using the normal conventions. Where specific permission to use material is required, this is identified and such permission must be sought from the copyright holder or agency cited.

### **Liability statement**

By using a Digitised Thesis, I accept that Trinity College Dublin bears no legal responsibility for the accuracy, legality or comprehensiveness of materials contained within the thesis, and that Trinity College Dublin accepts no liability for indirect, consequential, or incidental, damages or losses arising from use of the thesis for whatever reason. Information located in a thesis may be subject to specific use constraints, details of which may not be explicitly described. It is the responsibility of potential and actual users to be aware of such constraints and to abide by them. By making use of material from a digitised thesis, you accept these copyright and disclaimer provisions. Where it is brought to the attention of Trinity College Library that there may be a breach of copyright or other restraint, it is the policy to withdraw or take down access to a thesis while the issue is being resolved.

### **Access Agreement**

By using a Digitised Thesis from Trinity College Library you are bound by the following Terms & Conditions. Please read them carefully.

I have read and I understand the following statement: All material supplied via a Digitised Thesis from Trinity College Library is protected by copyright and other intellectual property rights, and duplication or sale of all or part of any of a thesis is not permitted, except that material may be duplicated by you for your research use or for educational purposes in electronic or print form providing the copyright owners are acknowledged using the normal conventions. You must obtain permission for any other use. Electronic or print copies may not be offered, whether for sale or otherwise to anyone. This copy has been supplied on the understanding that it is copyright material and that no quotation from the thesis may be published without proper acknowledgement.

Dublin's Parishes 1660-1729:

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

---

# Trinity College Library Dublin



University of Dublin

THIS THESIS MAY BE READ ONLY  
IN THE LIBRARY

Trinity College Library College Street Dublin 2 Ireland



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

In Two Volumes

Volume II

Rowena V. Dudley

Ph.D.

Trinity College, Dublin

Modern History

May, 1995

Administration of the  
The Church of Ireland Pastors and their Role in the City  
Dublin's Pastors 1850-1910

by Tom...

Volume II

James V. Donohue



THESIS  
3459.2

## Table of Contents

### Volume I

List of Maps and Plates	5	
List of Tables	7	
Acknowledgements	9	
Summary	10	
Abbreviations	12	
Introduction	13	
Chapter 1	Seventeenth Century Dublin 1660-1690	20
	Parochial Overview 1660-1690	32
Chapter 2	'A Person of Figure' - The Church Officer	62
	Authority, Ideology and Administration	62
	Offices of Burden	71
	Minor Offices of Burden	81
	Offices of Profit	83
	The Vestry	90
Chapter 3	'Receipts and Disbursements' - The Parochial Budget	98
	Parochial Income	101
	The Cess or Applotment	102
	Rents	112
	Pew Sales	115
	Fines	118
	Legacies	122
	Fees	124
	Parochial Expenditure	126
	Civic Expenditure	147
	Minister's Money	155
Chapter 4	'Beggars and Vagabonds' - Dublin's Poor	163
	Municipal Poor Relief	164
	Parochial Poor Relief in the Seventeenth Century	177
	Parochial Poor Relief in the Eighteenth Century	193

Volume II

Chapter 5	Law, Order and The Watch	213
	The Watch	228
	Financing The Watch	242
Chapter 6	Fire, Lighting and Scavenging	247
	Fire	247
	Lighting	254
	Scavenging	260
Chapter 7	Eighteenth Century Dublin 1700-1730	268
	Parochial Overview 1700-1730	278
Conclusion		311
Appendices 1 - 10		313
Footnotes		360
Bibliography		423





NINE o'Clock! Nine o'Clock! past  
Nine o'Clock, and a dark cloudy

## Chapter 5

### Law, Order and the Watch

During the seventeenth century, and for much of the eighteenth century, the maintenance of law and order, particularly at night, was the subject of concerned, but intermittent, debate. All the functions of law and order were controlled by the Lord Mayor who devolved the responsibility for fulfilling those functions upon the parishes. In practice the system was more complex. The business of maintaining law and order within the city depended upon the Lord Mayor, the city's aldermen, constables and beadles as well as the Watch, the parish's elected officials, and the parish beadle. Dublin was actually policed by two separate systems. The maintenance of law and order during the day was overseen by the constables, assisted by the beadles.<sup>1</sup> At night the role of policing the city was handed over to the Watch, although the constables continued their supervisory role.

Each system was structured around the parish whose boundaries defined the limits of jurisdiction and authority. Within the confines of parochial boundaries the final arbiters of power were the aldermen. In 1723, the aldermen's authority over the Watch was removed and placed in the hands of locally elected officials known as directors of the Watch.<sup>2</sup> This shift in the emphasis of responsibility originated in the long-felt sense of frustration associated with the Watch. Critics bemoaned its ineffectiveness. The city's growth emphasized its inadequacies. Throughout the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century the Watch was subjected to scrutiny and to regular revision. Successive attempts were made, first through municipal ordinances, and later under statutory legislation, to improve its effectiveness. As a result, responsibility for the Watch vacillated between the representatives of civic authority and the representatives of parochial authority, although ultimate control was never wrested from the Lord Mayor's hands. Despite the unsettled history of the Watch, the role of each official, whether appointed by the parish, or by the

civil authorities, in the maintenance of law and order was distinct and well defined. Policing within the parish, and in the city in general, relied upon co-operation.<sup>3</sup>

All parish officers were selected and elected by the Vestry and were answerable to the Vestry for their actions. The church wardens were assisted by the sidesmen, overseers for the poor, overseers for the highways and the parish beadle. All were appointed to perform a specific role within the community. The duties of the overseers were legally imposed, but both the sidesmen and the overseers were concerned more with the implementation of the civil code than with the implementation of the criminal code. Their remit was to maintain an ordered and orderly society. As the seventeenth century progressed, the desire to achieve an orderly society meant that an increasing amount of formal responsibility was placed upon the shoulders of these officials, particularly the church warden.<sup>4</sup> The age-old custom laid upon every inhabitant to provide his share of personal service within the parish was relied upon less and less. Parochial duties became the statutory obligations of a number of named officials. In relation to law and order, the church warden's involvement with the Watch became a statutory obligation in 1721.<sup>5</sup>

The parish beadle's involvement with the maintenance of law and order brought him more directly into contact with the criminal code. Common law recognised him as an assistant to the parish constable and granted him powers of arrest in the case of a felony. The diligence of the beadle was, however, always subject to question. Legislation passed in 1723 openly criticized the failure of the beadles to fulfil their duties and to clear the city's streets of beggars.<sup>6</sup> Powers were granted to the Lord Mayor, two aldermen and one sheriff to require the parish beadle to remove all vagrants from the streets. Failure on the part of the beadle to enforce the statute could result in a fine, and should a beadle default in payment of a fine he faced imprisonment in the House of Correction.<sup>7</sup> Unlike the English parish beadle, the Dublin parish beadle was not given the responsibility of setting the Watch every night.<sup>8</sup>

Working in conjunction with the parish officials in the maintenance of law and order within the parish were the civic officials. The principal civic administrators of law and order were the aldermen, who were assisted by deputy-aldermen. For administrative purposes the city had long been divided into municipal wards each of which was overseen by an alderman and deputy-alderman. In 1611 an ordinance had been passed which described an alderman as 'a conservator of the peace' with the power to arrest and punish offenders. Within each ward the alderman was expected to examine offenders suspected of felony and treason; to rout out vagrants and beggars; to ensure the constables fulfilled their duties; and to confine offenders until they could be brought before a Justice of the Peace.<sup>9</sup>

These duties were long established and shared by aldermen throughout Britain. In seventeenth-century Exeter, two aldermen were appointed to each quarter of the city, where, following the custom of London, they were to hold their wardmoot.<sup>10</sup> This was a meeting of the householders of the ward which allowed them a degree of participation in local affairs, such as electing the local ward officials.<sup>11</sup> In the 1640s, in the municipal ward of Cornhill, London, 118 officials were elected annually to serve 267 householders. There were 6 Common Council men, 4 scavengers, 1 raker, 16 inquestmen, 4 constables, 1 beadle, 26 watchmen and around 60 jurymen.<sup>12</sup> As in Dublin, the aldermen's first duty was to see that peace was maintained, and their active intervention could be sought to put down a riot. Other duties saw them acting as the policing agents of the city, keeping out undesirables and monitoring the movement of strangers.<sup>13</sup> By the beginning of the eighteenth century the work of the municipal wards was changing and becoming more concerned with supervision of weights and measures, paving, lighting and the control of traffic.<sup>14</sup>

The jurisdiction of the majority of Dublin's aldermen did not extend beyond their own ward, but the power to detain offenders gave them considerable authority within the ward.<sup>15</sup> By the end of the 1630s the growth of the city led to extension of the alderman's

judicial powers. In 1641 six aldermen were created Justices of the Peace with the power to commit individuals to jail.<sup>16</sup> During the Commonwealth, in 1656, the power of a limited number of aldermen was again extended, but only for a short period of time. The Assembly decided that the burden of dispatching justice, which was devolved upon the Mayor, had become so great that he was no longer able to transact important civic business. It was decided to appoint four aldermen as Justices of the Peace for one year. The four aldermen who were nominated and sworn in as Justices of the Peace were Richard Tighe, Daniel Hutchinson, John Preston and George Gilbert. Their task was to assist the Mayor in the administering of justice throughout the city.<sup>17</sup> In general, however, the obligations of the aldermen remained the same in 1690 as they had been in 1611.

The parish constables, as in the case of the alderman, were appointed to serve in a particular ward.<sup>18</sup> The practice, until 1721 and the enactment of 8 Geo. I, c.10, was for the Lord Mayor to appoint parish constables.<sup>19</sup> In the early seventeenth century, the constable had been obliged to carry out orders under pain of fine and imprisonment and as the century progressed the importance and responsibilities of the constables increased. Their duties were varied and involved them in many aspects of the law. Constables were obliged to search the parish twice a year for beggars. The beggars were to be brought before the Justices of the Peace who were to punish them according to 33 Hen. VIII, c.15. In 1619, constables were ordered to assist the deputy-aldermen in keeping a monthly record of all those who entered the city. This order was enacted again in 1623.<sup>20</sup> Further statutory responsibilities were added in 1665, when the constables were required to take accounts of the numbers of hearths in a house. If default of payment occurred, the constables were to distrain the culprit.<sup>21</sup> After 1695, legislation forbade Catholics from keeping a horse valued at £5 or more; it was the constables who were obliged to search and secure a horse from any Catholic who disregarded this law. In the same year, further legislation banned games such as hurling, football and wrestling on Sunday. Those found

guilty were to be fined 12d for every offence. If the guilty party refused to pay the fine, the constables and church wardens were to take distresses to the value of the fine.<sup>22</sup>

In addition to their policing duties, constables often worked at the behest of the Lord Mayor, enforcing municipal ordinances. They were frequently appointed as collectors of the city's taxes and fines. In 1670, in Dublin, they were obliged to collect the fines levied on errant coachmen.<sup>23</sup> In 1676, the city's constables were accused of negligence and dismissed. It was asserted that they had failed to collect the money owed to the City in taxes and of converting such money as was collected to their own use. The Assembly agreed to allow the Lord Mayor and sheriffs to nominate new collectors.<sup>24</sup> On 4 January, 1676, the Lord Mayor, Christopher Lovett, ordered the constables of St Werburgh's to apprehend 'one Thomas Cotton - a pson distracted and out of his right Mind and sense [who] doth frequently in a raging Manner walk the streets of this City and do mischief not Onely to himself but Others'. The constables were to capture Cotton and take him to the House of Correction where he was to be placed in the safe keeping of Daniel Qua (sic). He was to hold Cotton 'secure from Company or Society till further Order'.<sup>25</sup> In 1693, in keeping with the ancient laws of the city, the constables were required to ensure that the streets remained clear of swine.<sup>26</sup>

During the eighteenth century the constables' statutory duties were extended even further. In 1715, in the event of fire, constables were ordered to wear their badge of office and assist in extinguishing the fire by directing the fire fighting.<sup>27</sup> In 1721, the increase in the number of attacks upon persons distraining for 'legal dues' had caused sufficient alarm for Parliament to empower magistrates to order the local constables to assist in the collection of distrains.<sup>28</sup> Additional responsibility was given to the constables in 1727 when Parliament allowed overseers for the highways to direct constables to ensure that those liable to work on road maintenance completed the six days of work required by law.<sup>29</sup> In 1729, Parliament ordered the constables to seize all the vagabonds within Dublin

and place them in the Workhouse. Those who failed to comply faced a 20/- fine which was to be given to the governors of the Workhouse.<sup>30</sup>

The humblest of law enforcement agents was the beadle. The city employed two liveried beadles.<sup>31</sup> In 1671, each beadle received an annual salary of £4 and a bonus of 20/- paid at Christmas. One of the beadle's main duties was to rid the city of beggars.<sup>32</sup> In 1682, the city's two beadles were specifically employed:

for the prevention of the many idle beggars [with] which all parts of the city have been filled ... [and] constantly to attend for prevention and punishment of such beggars and to the end to make it their constant labour.<sup>33</sup>

By the 1690, the salary had risen to £10 *per annum* and was paid to the beadle half yearly, in £5 instalments.<sup>34</sup> The salary remained unchanged in 1721 when Thomas Speakman was employed as one of the city's beadles. Speakman replaced John Barclay who, owing to age, was no longer able to fulfil his duties. The Corporation ordered Speakman to pay £4 *per annum* of his salary to Barclay for the remainder of Barclay's lifetime. Speakman was to receive the other £6 *per annum*, and the whole salary of £10 *per annum* upon Barclay's death.<sup>35</sup> Occasionally the job passed from father to son. In 1720, Nicholas Downes, who had been officiating as one of the city's beadles since the death of his father, successfully petitioned for the right to hold the post in his own name.<sup>36</sup> When Downes died in 1730, his post was filled by Philip Eaton.<sup>37</sup>

In addition to these officers, the city had its own court, the Court of Tholsel, where the Lord Mayor and sheriffs dealt with matters such as trespass, claims for the repayment of debt and recognizances.<sup>38</sup> If matters were not resolved in the Court of Tholsel, they were transferred to a higher court, usually the Court of the King's Bench. This occurred in 1725 when the city's church wardens contested the city's right to levy for the repair of the quays.<sup>39</sup> Finally, in times of crisis, the Lord Mayor could call upon the city militia to help restore order and preserve peace.

The power of the Lord Mayor did not, however, extend to the city's Liberties. The Liberty of St Sepulchre had its own courts, prisons, bailiffs and gallows.<sup>40</sup> A similar situation existed in the Earl of Meath's Liberty, where the marshal, Magan, was described by Meath's agent in 1682[/83] as of 'good character & protestant & confirmed 7 or 8 years ago'.<sup>41</sup> Cheney was pleased with Magan's initiative: he had removed the balconies from his house and placed iron bars on the windows to make it more secure for keeping prisoners in.

An uneasy truce existed between the Lord Mayor and the Liberties. The Liberties guarded their privileges jealously. Even the slightest infringement on the part of the Lord Mayor or his officials could cause civil unrest. An incident in the Christ Church Liberty in 1684 caused a riot and led to a bitter row between the Liberty and the Lord Mayor.<sup>42</sup> The root cause of the incident was the contested rights of jurisdiction within that Liberty. The Liberty's claim that the Lord Mayor, sheriffs and several constables had entered it on 10 July, 1684, forced two inhabitants from the Liberty and committed them to jail as well as beating and wounding others in 'a most outrageous manner', implied that the Lord Mayor had no authority to carry out such actions within the Liberty. In reply the Lord Mayor justified his actions. He claimed that George Parsons, the Liberty's constable, and several inhabitants of the Liberty had been summoned to appear before the Lord Mayor and justices of Oyer and Terminer at the General Sessions held at the Tholsel. Parsons had left the court without first seeking permission to do so; therefore the court had issued a warrant for his arrest for contempt. The officer sent to arrest Parsons had attempted to execute the warrant in a civil manner, but he had been assaulted by many of the Liberty's inhabitants. They had, in a very 'Tumultuous and Riottous' manner, assaulted the officer with swords and then closed the gates against him. On learning of the event the court had decided to order the constables into the Liberty to preserve peace, calm the riot and punish those guilty of riotous behaviour. This had been duly done, but the Lord Mayor



added that the Liberty ought to be within the jurisdiction of the City and under the control of the Lord Mayor and sheriffs.<sup>43</sup>

The ongoing battles with the Liberties was costly. In 1675, the City recorded that £108/5/1d had been spent on lawsuits with the Earls of Meath and Drogheda over 'rights' in the Liberties of Thomascourt and St Mary's Abbey.<sup>44</sup> These violent clashes occurred in other towns when the rights of the 'Liberties' collided with the power of the civic authorities. The Liberties of York were as vigorous as the Liberties of Dublin in the defence of their rights.<sup>45</sup> The animosity did subside, but the Liberties in both cities continued to guard their privileges throughout the eighteenth century.

The maintenance of law and order within the parish was therefore a joint responsibility. A degree of co-operation between the parochial officials and civic officials was necessary in order to achieve even a measure of success. Yet despite the growing contribution made by parochial officials to the maintenance of law and order within the parish, incidents of crime appear very infrequently in the Vestry minutes and church wardens' accounts. The few surviving records dealing with the Watch, as established in 1721 under 8 Geo. I, c.10, provide details of parishioners elected to serve as directors, constables and watchmen, but rarely refer to incidence of crime which occurred within the parish. Incidence of crime did not, however, escape the attention of the newspapers, although references made to law enforcement in *The Dublin Intelligence*, the *Dublin Gazette* and *Whalley's Newsletter* within our period are infrequent. The occasional references are short, with the report focused on the type of crime and the punishment meted out to the offender. There are, however, two articles which refer to the rules and regulations which governed the policing of the city. The first appears in *The Dublin Intelligence* on 8 April, 1712. The second appears in *Whalley's General Post Man* on 31 December, 1716.<sup>46</sup>

**Table 5:1: Crimes Recorded by the Parish**

Date	Parish	Type of crime	Cause or result of crime
21 December 1675	St Bride's	Vandalism - removal of a post 'surreptiously' removed at night	The parish had erected a post to deter the public from using the churchyard as right of way
17 July 1692	St Bride's	Robbery	Church warden robbed of £5/13/3d
Church wardens' accounts 1694-5. Church wardens' accounts 1720-21. 26 March 1722	St Bride's St Michael's St Mary's	Keeping a 'bawdy' house	In each case the parish authorised the church wardens to prosecute the offenders
9 December 1708	St Bride's	Encroachment	Church wardens to use all powers to protect church's rights
6 July 1721	St Bride's	Debt	Michael Watts, apothecary and Thomas Pountney, clerk*, indebted to the parish for £25 plus interest. Matter to go to arbitration
4 November 1726	St Mary's	Murder of a watchman. Several watchmen insulted	Church wardens ordered to prosecute murderer and those accused of insult

**Sources:** St Bride's VM 1662-1742 and Church Wardens' Accounts 1663-1704; St Mary's VM 1699-1729; St Michael's VM 1667-1754.

**Notes to Table 5:1**

\* The term clerk was used to describe an ordained man. Thomas Pountney was the minister in St Michan's.

The type of punishment meted out depended on the offence committed. The stocks were used to punish petty crime within the parish. St Michan's used the stocks to punish idle boys and 'others who psume to play in the Church Yard, break the Windows or make any Noise during the time of divine service'.<sup>47</sup> The varying amounts of money spent, from time to time, in repairs by St Bride's, St Catherine's, St John's and St Michael's suggest the stocks were a popular form of punishment.<sup>48</sup> St Catherine's had stocks in both its Liberties of Thomascourt and Donore.<sup>49</sup> The city maintained a pillory in the Old

Cornmarket. It was there, in 1708, that Thomas Walsh was punished for 'speaking seditious words'.<sup>50</sup>

More serious misdemeanours and crimes against the person were more severely punished. For example, in 1714[/15], Cornelius Carter, a Jacobite printer, was committed to the Black Dog for printing a seditious libel.<sup>51</sup> The conditions under which those committed to the city's prisons, the Black Dog, the Bridewell, the Marshalsea and Newgate, lived were appalling.<sup>52</sup> One of the few attempts made to improve conditions, particularly for poor prisoners, was introduced in 1665. Under 17&18 Chas. II, c.8, a tax, administered by the parish and to be collected every quarter, was levied to provide relief for poor prisoners. It is impossible to say how stringently the Act was implemented, but the evidence provided by St John's Applotment Book suggests that applotments for the relief of poor prisoners were made only intermittently.<sup>53</sup> Widespread corruption and abuse within the prison system meant that the Act effected little change, and schemes designed to alleviate the sufferings of poor prisoners were infrequent.<sup>54</sup> The plight of one group of poor prisoners was highlighted by *Whalley's Dublin Post Man*. On 5 January 1715[/16] the newspaper printed an advertisement on behalf of the poor prisoners in the Four Courts Marshalsea. The advertisement asked for charitable donations and pointed out that the situation of the prison, an alleyway off the public street, meant that few people passed by its entrance and that the numerous poor who begged 'at the grate' received little alms.

In 1729, renewed concern over the conditions endured by prisoners in the city's prisons forced Parliament to introduce new legislation.<sup>55</sup> Money to assist the prisoners was to be raised by presentments. This was then to be paid to the minister in whose parish the prison was situated. He, with the help of the church wardens, was charged with the duty of distributing the money among those prisoners unable to maintain themselves. The Act failed to provide adequate financial provision because presentments were not levied consistently. Yet, despite the failure of the Act, no more new measures were considered. Interest had waned and it would not be reawakened until 1763. The draconian laws of the

day, however, meant that many were forced to endure only a brief period of incarceration. The public execution of those who fell foul of the law took place near St Stephen's Green. A youth of twenty-two, a boy of fifteen and a young woman were executed there for house breaking and burglary in 1714[/15].<sup>56</sup> Army deserters, such as John Carter, a Yorkshireman, were shot on Oxmantown Green.<sup>57</sup>

The infrequency of newspaper reports of civic unrest suggests that city life was not generally disorderly. Drunkenness and brawling were discouraged. Violence, however, lurked below the superficial calm.<sup>58</sup> In 1704, a man called Cresswick attempted to murder Robert Rochford with a knife while the Attorney-General was attending Sunday service in St Andrew's church.<sup>59</sup> Public awareness of crime was always heightened by political and economic tensions and periods of domestic crisis could effect the choice of news printed by the newspapers. For example, the newspapers, reflected the city's unease over the Jacobite rumblings of 1708 by printing the Lord Mayor's proclamation for the apprehension of thirty-one 'Popish Priests' who had deserted their usual places of residence and by noting those punished for sedition.<sup>60</sup> The sense of alarm sparked off by the attempted Jacobite invasion of Scotland would have been increased by events on the continent and by the acute shortage of money in 1710 which followed the economic uncertainties of 1708 and 1709. The country's concern saw expression in the newspapers' references to sightings of foreign privateers close to shore, and the careful reporting of English victories on the continent.<sup>61</sup> Such victories were celebrated by the firing of the Castle's guns, which the newspapers also noted.<sup>62</sup>

The introduction of new legislation, designed to encourage ordinary citizens to combat actively the crime of burglary, appears to have been influential in the increased reporting of crime which took place in 1710. In 1709, any person seizing and successfully prosecuting another person guilty of the offence of burglary was to be paid £5 within 20 days of the conviction.<sup>63</sup> The legislation met with some success. Citizens did take it upon

themselves to pursue criminals. In 1712[13] Thomas Woods was awarded £10 by the Corporation for his diligence in seizing thieves.<sup>64</sup>

The newspapers were not, however, interested in recording the names of those who received the city's bounty. Their interest focused on the numbers of criminals who were caught and punished. In November 1710, the *Dublin Intelligence* observed that a number of thieves and housebreakers had been tried before the Queen's Bench and that eight or nine of them had been found guilty.<sup>65</sup> The following month it noted the execution of two men and a woman, condemned for robbery.<sup>66</sup> However, the escape of twenty-two prisoners from the Marshalsea, late in 1710, aroused only limited interest.<sup>67</sup> The storming of 'hundreds' of Catholics through the town in March 1711 was no more widely reported. The quarry, Henry Oxenard, had been instrumental in the successful conviction of a number of priests and regulars. The pursuing mob had driven Oxenard to take refuge in St Werburgh's Street guard house. The riot resulted in the Lord Mayor, John Eccles, ordering the constables to make returns, before the 30 March, of all the Catholic inhabitants, lodgers and tradesmen within their respective wards so that such people could be called upon to swear the oath of abjuration.<sup>68</sup> It is possible that this incident precipitated the survey known as *An abstract of the Numbers of Protestants and Papists able to bear Arms in the City of Dublin and Liberties thereof*.<sup>69</sup>

Interestingly, the repercussions of one political event, experienced by the city in 1713-14 aroused little comment in the newspapers, although a number of pamphlets discussing the controversy shows that there was active interest in the event.<sup>70</sup> The cause of the unrest lay in the disputed legitimacy of the mayoral elections; the result of the controversy was a total cessation in the day-to-day management of the city. The effect of the crisis was observed by Archbishop William King. He wrote a number of letters in 1714 complaining of the state of confusion which reigned in the city. With no government for eight months, business was impossible. No writs had been served, no juries returned, no debts recovered, no criminals tried, and the streets needed repairing.<sup>71</sup> King complained

that the city was infested with robbers; at least three 'sets' were active in the town, others plagued the highways. He claimed that about 'four score' houses in or near Dublin had been robbed and several people killed. Seven or eight robbers had been apprehended and it was hoped that more would be caught soon.<sup>72</sup> Despite the obvious chaos, King remarked the city remained peaceful, which may account for the newspapers' silence.<sup>73</sup>

There were, however, other political tensions in 1714 which the newspapers did not ignore. Newspaper interest in those condemned to die because of their involvement in the Jacobite cause may have been prompted by the general air of uncertainty which existed at the time. The previous five years had been years 'of extreme parliamentary volatility and constitutional uncertainty'.<sup>74</sup> Concern over Jacobite intentions, however, lasted approximately nine months. Between June 1714 and March 1714[/15] the *Gazette* carried four separate reports of the conviction and execution of Jacobite sympathizers. Tensions must have been at their highest in July, when, within the space of two weeks, twenty-nine men were tried and found guilty of enlisting in the service of the Pretender.<sup>75</sup>

By the early 1720s, however, the underlying frailties and the brittle nature of the Irish economy were exposed with severe consequences for the country and for Dublin. Between 1712 and 1715 the buoyancy of agricultural prices had brought a brief period of prosperity, but the underlying weaknesses of the economy had once more been exposed by the middle of 1717. A number of factors had contributed: the Ulster economy, and linen in particular, was weak, and the demand for Irish staples, such as grain, beef and wool, was slack so consequently prices had fallen.<sup>76</sup> This decline in demand had serious commercial implications for Dublin, the country's main port. Another, but disputed, point which may have affected economic conditions in the early 1720s was the rise in rents. During the mid-1690s a considerable amount of land had been leased for twenty-one or thirty-one years at low rents. When these leases fell due, in 1717 and again in the early 1720s, rents were raised.<sup>77</sup> This signalled a major transfer in purchasing power with disposable income transferred from tenant to landlord. Perhaps it was this newly-acquired income which

provided Irish landlords with the funds to invest in the South Sea Company. The repercussions from the South Sea Bubble scandal in which Irish landowners had invested large sums of money were certainly felt in Ireland. Economic confidence was further shaken early in 1721 when speculation that currency was to be revalued aroused concern. It was feared that such a move would prove particularly detrimental to trade.<sup>78</sup> In an attempt to quell the rumours, the Lords Justices summoned the Lord Mayor to assure him that the rumours were groundless.<sup>79</sup> The Lords Justices' assurances, however, did not alter the harsh realities of an economic depression and there was widespread dissatisfaction throughout the country.<sup>80</sup>

In Dublin the apprehension engendered by the economic crisis helped to fuel a renewed interest in crime. The newspapers' particular preoccupation, that of crime involving the Watch, was probably encouraged by impending legislation. The ineffectiveness of the Watch had long been a matter for concern. Efforts to improve the quality of those who served, and the quality of their service, had failed to produce the desired results. Proposals for a new bill concerning the Watch had been read in Parliament for the first time in October 1719.<sup>81</sup> By September 1721, the bill had reached the amendment stage.<sup>82</sup> The newspapers' preoccupation with the Watch occurred during the summer of 1721 just when interest in the provisions of the bill was likely to have been at its highest. Early in the morning of 30 May, 1721, the Watch at the watch house on 'Cole Keay' stopped three gentlemen from returning to their house. One gentleman was knocked down, and was believed to have died. Another had his skull broken and there were fears he would not recover.<sup>83</sup>

Less than a month later, again in the early hours of the morning, three gentlemen walking down St Nicholas Street were assaulted by a drunken, 'supposed' watchman. The fracas which followed, in which it was feared the watchman was killed, attracted the attention of a mob, and further mayhem was avoided only by the arrival of a constable. All the offending parties were taken to the watch house where the watchman was discovered

to be alive. He was promptly sent to Newgate, and the gentlemen released to go about their business.<sup>84</sup> This bias in the editorial comment exemplifies the expectations that many hoped the forthcoming legislation would bring about - a system for the maintenance of law and order that worked. As in 1709, the new legislation was designed to involve the public, actively, in the fight against crime. One of the provisions of the new bill allowed for the payment of a £5 reward for the capture and conviction of those guilty of stealing money. If a watchman, or any other person was killed while apprehending a thief, the victim's heirs were to receive a reward of £20.<sup>85</sup>

Clearly, political tensions and economic crises could heighten the public perception of crime. At such times, the general sense of unease acted as a conduit, focusing the public's mind on what was, in fact, a constant worry, the maintenance of law and order. In times of crisis, the root cause of the unease, the quality of men enlisted to preserve law and order, was once more brought sharply to the fore. The ability of such men was always open to question. The reputations of the parish beadle and constables did little to enhance their image or encourage public confidence.<sup>86</sup> The men in whose hands the security of the parish rested at night, the Watch, were viewed with equal cynicism. Aware of the widespread dissatisfaction, Parliament and the Assembly, regularly reviewed, and occasionally, reformed policing within the city. Rewards were introduced to encourage ordinary citizens to participate in the fight against crime.<sup>87</sup> In 1712, the Assembly offered a £5 reward for the discovery and conviction of all those guilty of riotous night-time behaviour.<sup>88</sup> Ebenezer Elliston received £10 from the City in 1720 for detecting several robberies and prosecuting the offenders.<sup>89</sup> The parish also rewarded diligence. On 11 February, 1725[/26], St Michan's paid £1/11/8d in rewards to constables who had arrested and prosecuted persons guilty of entertaining or of been entertained in ale houses during divine service.<sup>90</sup> There was, however, little chance of real success while the job of enforcing law and order remained unpopular, and while a candidate's suitability for the post often depended more on his religion than on his ability to fulfil his duties.



## The Watch

Mistrust in all the city's law enforcing agencies did not foster dramatic change, but it did encourage the search for a policing system that worked. Despite this search, throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the city found itself forced to rely on the established systems of maintaining law and order. In practice, this placed the overall responsibility for the maintenance of law and order in the hands of the constable. He was assisted by the beadle during the day, and by the Watch at night, with additional assistance provided by the parish's elected officials and the ward aldermen. Although the effectiveness of the daytime officials aroused concern, the reliability of the Watch gave rise to even greater disquiet.

The tradition of keeping the Watch had been practised in cities since the beginning of the fourteenth century. The purpose of the Watch was to safeguard the city and to maintain law and order at night by regular patrolling of the streets. In Worcester, in 1597, a night watch of eight men patrolled the city's streets between 9pm and 5am.<sup>91</sup> In Exeter, a Watch was kept only in times of emergency, such as after the Gunpowder Plot in 1605. On that occasion thirty-two citizens were summoned each night for duty by the magistrates. Each quarter, or ward, was assigned eight men. The Watch assembled at the Guildhall and from there set out in twos to patrol the city, to see that the gates were closed and that no fire or candlelight was left unattended. After the Gunpowder Plot, the Watch was kept from 8pm until 5am from early November through to Candlemas in February. The watchmen received a wage of 6d per night.<sup>92</sup> The city continued with this method of policing until the end of the eighteenth century. In 1795, Exeter was without a regular nightly Watch, and law and order at night still depended on the constable.<sup>93</sup>

Evidence concerning the activities of the Watch in Dublin prior to the eighteenth century is extremely poor.<sup>94</sup> During the fifteenth century, it was customary for the Corporation to organize the keeping of the Watch during the winter months. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, however, the Watch was sometimes kept in the

summer as well as throughout the winter.<sup>95</sup> Initially each Watch was restricted to patrolling only its own ward. In 1672, however, in response to a memorial issued by the Lord Mayor urging vigilance, St Andrew's decided that:

to keep Watch and Ward for preventing burglaries, robberies and so forth and the parish being heretofore divided into several wards, which kept distinct Watches; it was agreed being thought more conducive to the ease of the parishioners that from henceforth they should be united into watches.<sup>96</sup>

The watchmen were armed with halberts, watch-bills, pikes, poles, lanterns and whistles.<sup>97</sup> (A bill was a weapon similar to a halbert but it was mounted with a hook rather than a blade.) Arming the watchmen was expensive. In 1678, St Catherine's purchased twelve halberts at a cost of £2/4/0d.<sup>98</sup>

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, expressions of dissatisfaction with the inadequacies of the Watch forced a series of reforms. In 1712, the Lord Mayor, Ralph Gore, issued a proclamation for the keeping of the 'Watch and Ward in all Parts of the City & apprehending Disorderly Night-Walkers'.<sup>99</sup> The wounding of a number of people had caused considerable disquiet and, the proclamation claimed, it had made many inhabitants afraid to go out at night. It was, therefore, ordered that the constables were to walk around the parish with a Watch of at least six able-bodied men who were to be armed with halberts or staves. All 'Loose and Vagrant Persons ... and all ... [persons meeting] Riotously or Unlawfully' were to be apprehended.<sup>100</sup> The aldermen and deputy-aldermen were ordered to ensure that the constables and watchmen fulfilled their duties. Finally, a £5 reward was offered for the discovery and conviction of all those guilty of riotous night-time behaviour.<sup>101</sup>

The proclamation failed to state who would pay for the implementation of these measures. There is no evidence in St John's Applotment Book or in the Vestry minutes of the various parishes to indicate that the charge of fulfilling the Lord Mayor's orders fell upon the parish. Neither is there any evidence to indicate the extent to which the measures were in fact implemented. In fact such measures did little to alleviate the anxieties of

Dublin's residents because they failed to address the root cause of those concerns, the men who formed the Watch itself. Before a more efficient and effective Watch could be established, however, it was necessary to amend the law. In December, 1715, Parliament began the debate which was to lead to the establishment of the first comprehensive Watch system.<sup>102</sup> Interest in reform must have been high, especially in Dublin where the recent mayoral crisis had brought civic government within the city to a standstill, for *Whalley's Newsletter* noted the introduction of heads of a bill restraining papists from being constables and for regulating the Watch throughout the kingdom.<sup>103</sup>

The legislators clearly hoped that the introduction of statutory controls over the maintenance of law and order would preserve peace. This was particularly true of Dublin where the Watch had 'of late [been] very weak in arresting and apprehending all night-walkers, malefactors, and suspected persons ... found passing, wandering, or misbehaving'. Many 'ill effected' persons were unwilling to serve on the Watch, but the 'great number of popish inhabitants and the great concourse of people resorting to the city' made it essential to have a strong and efficient Watch.<sup>104</sup> Royal assent for the reformed Watch was granted in June, 1716.<sup>105</sup> Under the new law, 2 Geo. I, c.10, the Lord Mayor and aldermen and the seneschals of the Liberties of St Sepulchre, Thomascourt and Donore were granted the authority to establish Watches throughout the city and its Liberties. The law insisted that 'no person of the popish religion shall be capable of being nominated, appointed, presented, or sworn, or any way serve ... as petty constable in any ... manor, ward, [or] parish'.<sup>106</sup> A house tax, levied on every house at 3d in the £1 according to the yearly value of the house as valued for Minister's Money, was introduced to finance the new Watch. Those paying the tax were not obliged to serve themselves, but were granted the right to appoint a deputy.

The rules and regulations governing the new Watch were printed in *Whalley's General Post Man* on 31 December, 1716. The nine conditions of service imposed by the Lord Mayor dictated the hours during which the Watch was to be kept, between 11pm and 5am in the summer, and between 10pm and 6am in the winter. No constable could leave the Watch before the appointed time. If illness prevented him from attending to his duties he was to supply a deputy. The Watch was never to be without a constable. It was the deputy-alderman's responsibility to set the Watch and ensure it was properly supplied with weapons. The deputy-alderman was also charged with the responsibility of visiting the Watch at regular intervals during the night to make sure it was fulfilling its obligations. The watchmen were required to make hourly preambles around the parish. While walking the watch they were to call out the time, and to stop and examine all suspicious persons and arrest those unable to account for their movements. Misbehaviour on the part of the constables or watchmen was to be reported to the Lord Mayor. Watchmen who were found guilty of drunkenness or dereliction of duty were to be severely punished.

The 1715 legislation did not bring about the hoped-for improvements. Further amendments to the Watch were introduced under 6 Geo. I, c.10, in 1719. The revised legislation, which declared that the safety of the government and the good of its subjects depended on the keeping of a regular Watch, made little difference to the effectiveness of the Watch. The use of the word regular suggests that the Watch was kept in neither a predictable nor an orderly manner.<sup>107</sup>

**Table 5:2A: Statutory Regulations Governing Watch Constables 1715-1723**

	1715	1719	1721	1723
Power to appoint petty constables	Lord Mayor & aldermen	Lord Mayor & aldermen	Nominated by church wardens & Vestry, approved by LM	Nominated by church wardens & Vestry
Qualification for service	Protestant housekeepers		Housekeeper**	Housekeeper
Disqualified from service			No person ranked 'esquire' or higher alderman; deputy alderman; papist;+ publican;+ alehouse keeper+ house of entertainment keeper+	No person ranked 'esquire' or higher; half-pay officer; alderman; deputy alderman; sheriff; papist;+ alehouse keeper;+ house of entertainment keeper+
Duties of petty constables	To make a return on oath all Prots & Caths in parish. To return list of watchmen.	To make a return on oath of all those liable to serve To ensure only Prots serve as watchmen*		Set Watch Winter 10pm-6am Summer 11pm-5am Report to LM on night's watch
Failure on part of constables to comply		Neglect/refusal to make return: fine £5 For every name wilfully omitted from return: fine 10/-		Failure to report conditions of previous night's watch: fine 10/-
Punishment for neglect of duty			Fine 20/-, levied by distress	Fine 10/- levied by distress
Additional duties				Inform Ld Mayor of address Nail constable's staff to house

Sources: Irish Statutes 2 Geo. I, c.10; 6 Geo. I, c.10; 8 Geo. I, c.10; 10 Geo. I, c.3.

**Notes to Table 5:2A**

LM Lord Mayor; JP Justice of the Peace.

\* Catholics, when it became their turn to serve, had to appoint a Protestant deputy. They were liable to distraint if they failed to comply. The JP was to nominate a Protestant deputy. Replacements who refused to serve were to be fined 12d for every night they refused to serve.

\*\* No constable was obliged to serve more than 1 year.

+ A person disqualified from service, if nominated, had to appoint deputy or pay a £5 fine. The church wardens had then to find substitute.

**Table 5:2B: Statutory Regulations Governing the Watch 1715-1723**

	1715	1719	1721	1723
Power of Appointment	City LM right to establish nos of watchhouses & site. To oversee maintenance of watchhouse. Ensure sufficient weapons.	City LM right to establish watchhouses Ensure sufficient weapons	Parish 15 parishioners to decide on nos of constables; watch houses watchmen; rounds per night; weapons; salaries; rules**	Parish 9 parishioners to decide on nos of constables; watch houses, watch stands; rounds per night weapons; salaries rules++
Keeping the Watch	LM & Aldermen set Watch Winter 10pm-6am Summer 11pm-5am	JPs to set Watch Kept 29 Sept - 25 March* Watches confined to parish bounds	To be kept from 25 Mar-25 Mar Winter 10pm-6am Summer 11pm-5am	
Powers of Watchmen	Powers to stop & search. Detain suspects until next day when brought before JP	Powers to stop & search To arrest & detain		
Qualification to serve as Watchman	Peace time: Caths or Prots. Troubled times: Prots only. Candidates, those liable for Hearth Tax	Prots watchmen only in times of danger. Candidates, those liable for Hearth Tax		Protestant; honest; able-bodied
Failure to serve	12d fine	12d fine		
Neglect of duty			Fine 5/- for every offence+	Fine 5/- for every offence+
Nos Watchmen employed	At the discretion of JP	At the discretion of JP	At the discretion of the parish	
Authority controlling watchmen			Lord Mayor Ward Alderman Deputy Alderman Constables	Directors of Watch Constables
Support & maintenance for Watch	Every house levied 3d in £1 Minister's Money		Every house levied 6d in £1 Minister's Money or 6d in £1 rent	Every house levied 6d in £1 Minister's Money

Sources: Irish Statutes 2 Geo. I, c.10; 6 Geo. I, c.10; 8 Geo. I, c.10; 10 Geo. I, c.3

**Notes to Table 5:2B**

\* The Watch could be set earlier, or last longer, if the need arose.

\*\* Although 15 parishioners were nominated, only 7 were required to form a quorum.

+ A watchman could be fined for quitting his station; absenting himself from duty without reasonable cause; entering an alehouse to drink while on duty; being drunk on duty. Upon presentation of proof of the offence to the Lord Mayor, the fine was deducted from the offender's wages and paid to the informer. Alternatively, the offender could be whipped.

++ The rules and regulations governing the Watch were to be published.

In 1721, dissatisfaction and the desire for a 'strong' night Watch forced Parliament to introduce more legislation. Significantly, the new legislation placed the responsibility for appointing and maintaining the Watch in the hands of the city's parishes. This measure reduced the control exerted by the Lord Mayor over the Watch although his influence was not removed entirely. The parishes were obliged to present the names of constables elected to serve in the coming year for the Lord Mayor's approval. Upon approval the constables were to be sworn into office by the Lord Mayor.<sup>108</sup> A limited degree of civic involvement was, thus, retained. Furthermore the ward aldermen and deputy-aldermen were charged, in conjunction with the parish's constables, with the control and inspection of the watchmen.<sup>109</sup>

Under the new Watch law the parish was to call a Vestry meeting every February to elect those who were to serve as directors of the Watch for the ensuing year. Although fifteen directors were appointed, only seven were required to form a quorum. It was the directors' duty to decide on the number of constables, watchmen and watch houses required by the parish for the following year. They were also required to make reasonable bye-laws concerning the duties, wages and weapons of the Watch. In St Paul's, the parish allowed £4 to provide the watchmen with coats, £2 to furnish them with arms and £4 to provide heating and lighting in the watch house adjoining Ellis Bridge.<sup>110</sup> Funding for the watchmen, their equipment and uniforms was provided by a house tax. Every house within the city was to pay 6d in £1 yearly value on valuations returned for Minister's Money.<sup>111</sup> The church wardens were required to present the Watch accounts to the government and privy council every six months for inspection.<sup>112</sup>

Other changes were initiated with the new law. Those appointed to serve as constables, but disqualified from service, were obliged to find substitutes (see Table 5:2A). Fines were introduced for dereliction of duty. Any constable found guilty of neglecting his duties was to be fined 20/-. If a watchman abandoned his station, or was found drunk on

Watch, he was to be fined 5/- for every offence. This fine was to be deducted from his wages.<sup>113</sup>

Continuing dissatisfaction with the Watch, and as the preamble to the new law stated 'the great concourse of people', forced Parliament to amend the legislation again in 1723. The new legislation, introduced to strengthen and improve the Watch, gave the parishes even greater control of policing within their boundaries. The Watch now came under the control of the parish-elected 'Directors of the Watch'. Nine Watch directors were elected but any five could form a quorum. The responsibilities of the director remained those which had been laid down in 1721, but with the additional responsibility of overall control of the Watch.<sup>114</sup> Constables, who were to be elected on the Tuesday of Easter Week, were now obliged to report to the Lord Mayor when they came off the Watch in the morning. The report was to include a description of the watchmen's behaviour, the condition of the Watch equipment - whether any had been lost or broken, the numbers arrested, who they were and where they had been placed.<sup>115</sup> The new law also required the city's Liberties to appoint watchmen.<sup>116</sup>

How did the changes in the Watch affect those most closely involved in its implementation, the parishes? Clearly the provisions of the 1721 and 1723 Acts placed a large amount of extra administrative responsibility upon them. A study of the records of the Watch in the 1720s is interesting and allows some useful observations to be made on the Watch during its formative period. For example, in 1721, a number of parishioners of high social standing were persuaded to serve as directors of the Watch. Among those appointed were the Earl of Abercorn and Abel Ram in St Peter's parish, Sir Thomas Taylor, Richard Tighe, Colonel Kilner Brazier and Thomas Tilson in St Paul's parish, and Thomas Burgh in St Mary's parish.<sup>117</sup> Perhaps the appointment of such influential men was a reaction to the social climate of the early 1720s. On the other hand, their willingness to participate may have been prompted by a real desire to see the Watch properly established. Few, however, were prepared to be nominated as directors after 1721/[22].<sup>118</sup>



Unusually, Abercorn was nominated as a Watch director for the last time in 1724, his name having also gone forward in 1722.<sup>119</sup>

**Table 5:3: The Parish Watch after 1721**

	Nos of constables	Nos of watchmen	Watchman's salary <i>p. annum</i>	Watchhouses & situation	Nos of watch stands
St Audeon's				Usher's Quay Cornmarket	
St Bride's	6 (1724)		£6	Golden Lane	
St Catherine's	9 (1723) 4 (1725)			John's Lane	
St John's		11 (1725) 12 (1726) 10 (1730)	£6	Wood Quay	
St Mary's	8 (1723)			NW corner of church N end Essex Bridge	
St Michael's	4 (1722) 5 (1723)	8 (1722) 10 (1727)	£6 (1722) £5 (1727)		
St Michan's	12 (1725)	28 (1730)	£2/10/0d] £3 ]*	Ormond Bridge Young's Castle	13(1730)
St Paul's	5 (1721/2) 6 (1730)	10(1721/[2]) 12 (1725) 14](1730)+ 6]	£5 £2/10/0d] £3 ]*	Ellis Bridge	4 (1723) 6 (1729)
St Peter's	4 (1721[2])	9 (1721[2])	£5	Aungier Street	2 (1722)
St Werburgh's	7 (1722) 8 (1724) 7 (1725)	9 (1725)		Essex Gate	

**Sources:** St Audeon's *CARD*, vii, p198; St Bride's VM, 1662-1742 and *CARD*, vii, p276; St Catherine's VM, 1693-1730; St John's VM, 1711-1766 and *CARD*, vii, p354; St Mary's VM, 1699-1739 and *CARD*, vii, p453; St Michael's VM, 1667-1754; St Michan's VM, 1724-1760 and Church Wardens' Account Book 1723-1761; St Paul's VM, 1698-1750; St Peter's VM, 1686-1736; St Werburgh's VM, 1720-1780 and *CARD*, vii, p418.

**Notes to Table 5:3**

- \* In 1730 St Michan's and St Paul's paid each watchman £2/10/0d from March to September (the summer months) and £3 for the remainder of the year (the winter months).
- + In 1730 St Paul's appointed 6 watchmen for the summer months; 14 watchmen were appointed to serve during the winter.

Once the organization of the Watch had been set in place, the burden of maintaining its existence fell, as was so often the case, on the more 'middling sort' of parishioner. Nevertheless, the parishes were able to persuade some of the city's most successful citizens to serve as Watch directors. David Latouche served as a Watch director in St Peter's between 1726-27 and 1730-31; Paul Espinass and David Tew served as Watch directors in St Catherine's between 1724-25 and 1730-31; Alderman Henry Burrows served in St Paul's from 1725-26 to 1728-29.<sup>120</sup> In St Michan's, in 1729, seven of the nine directors nominated to serve were described as gentlemen.<sup>121</sup> The remaining two directors were described as merchants. Three of the nine selected, two gentlemen and a merchant, refused to serve. The parish chose two gentlemen and a brewer to serve in their place. The parishes also had a measure of success in persuading parishioners to serve for more than one year as a director. In 1724[/25] the Watch directors of St Michael's, seven of whom had served since the inception of the Watch in 1721[/22], decided that every director must participate in the activities of the Watch. A rota system was devised under which every director was required to serve for a month, and in any one month there had to be three serving directors. The church wardens were ordered to note, at the beginning of each month, whose turn it was to serve.<sup>122</sup>

Each year, the first task facing the newly elected Watch directors was a review of the regulations governing the constables and watchmen for the ensuing year. Such a review was carried out in 1730 by the directors of St Michan's Watch. It was decided that the parish's two watch houses, the first at the north end of Ormond Bridge and the second at Young's Castle, were sufficient. The directors considered that the parish's needs would be adequately met by twelve constables and twenty-eight watchmen, all of whom were named. It was also agreed that the parish had, with such repairs as were necessary, sufficient watchcoats, staffs and lanterns for the following year.<sup>123</sup>

The directors also set out twelve orders which detailed the rules under which the nightly watch was to be kept. Order 1, for example, dictated that the watchcoats, lanterns

and staffs were to be numbered from 1 to 30, and that the watchcoat was to be worn only on duty. Orders 3-8 detailed the watch stands and the nightly rounds of the watch men. Order 9 required the constables and watchmen to behave in a 'mannerly' way. They were not to 'molest any person, except those they find breaking the peace, or have just cause to suspect housebreakers, robbers, or otherwise lewd and disorderly persons'.<sup>124</sup> All persons guilty of such crimes were to be arrested and held in custody by the constable until they could be brought before the Lord Mayor. The document also reminded the constables and watchmen of the consequences of dereliction of duty. Finally, the directors called the Watch's attention to 8 Anne, c.8, and, in particular, to the right to a £5 reward for the apprehension and conviction of burglars; and to 8 Geo. I, c.9, and the right to a £20 reward for anyone apprehending a murderer or robber.<sup>125</sup>

The directions laid down for St Michan's Watch were largely dictated by the legislation, but within the law there was some scope for the individual parish to regulate the Watch in order to meet its own particular needs. It was left to the parish to decide on the number of constables and watchmen required for the following year; what wages should be paid to the watchmen; when they were to be issued with new uniforms; where the watch stands and the watch house should be sited; and how many rounds were to be patrolled each night. One provision in the 1721 and 1723 Acts, however, gave rise to a recurring problem, the Lord Mayor's right to veto candidates nominated to serve as parish constables. St Mary's resolved on 16 April, 1723, that in order to 'prevent Partiality or unequal Dealing' constables were to be chosen in the order in which names had been inserted into the parish books.<sup>126</sup> This resolution did not help the parish. In 1723, the parish were required to find five deputy-constables. One of the deputies, Thomas Evans, a deputy for Caleb Mitchell, was disapproved of by the Lord Mayor on the grounds of age and infirmity.<sup>127</sup> In St Michan's, between 1726[/27] and 1729[/30], at least three men a year were disapproved of by the Lord Mayor. The parish was particularly unfortunate in

1728[/29] and in 1729[/30]. On each occasion the Lord Mayor disapproved of five prospective constables.<sup>128</sup>

St Michan's experience was not unique; other city parishes suffered similarly. In St Mary's, in 1724, and contrary to the legislation, the parish nominated Leonard Mcanally, a Catholic, to serve as a constable.<sup>129</sup> Mcanally was fined £3 and replaced by Thomas Salmon, who was himself replaced by Robert Turnbull.<sup>130</sup> The parish encountered serious problems as the result of disapprovals in 1726. Eight constables were nominated on 12 April, but five were disapproved of by the Lord Mayor. The parish duly nominated five replacements; one agreed to serve as a constable, one was unqualified to serve and was fined because he refused to appoint a deputy and three others appointed deputies in their stead. One of these deputies subsequently died and therefore had to be replaced by a second deputy.<sup>131</sup> In 1729, St Paul's, who required three constables, presented the Lord Mayor with the names of six parishioners who were prepared to serve as constables. The parish gave no hint of preference for any particular candidate, leaving the selection of the three constables to the discretion of the Lord Mayor.<sup>132</sup>

Once elected, a constable was designated a small part of the parish which he was required to supervise. It was his responsibility to ensure that the Watch was properly kept within this area. These duties included ensuring that the parish was patrolled according to the directors' ruling, that the watchmen were orderly, and that all equipment and arms could be accounted for. With no early records for the Watch surviving, it is impossible to say how effectively the constables performed their duties. The regular recurrence of disapprovals handed out by the Lord Mayor indicates that the quality of the candidates often left much to be desired. Given the requirements of the job it seems bizarre that St Mary's should select a parishioner to serve as a constable only to grant him exemption from service because of infirmity.<sup>133</sup>

It is noticeable that, unlike the Watch directors, parishioners who were appointed as constables were not prepared to serve for more than one year. Many were not even

prepared to serve at all. In 1722[/23], St Mary's fined Messrs Houghton and Lynch £5 each for their refusal to serve as constables, but were forced to pay their deputies £3/15/0d.<sup>134</sup> The right of a constable to appoint a deputy, while widely availed of by the constables themselves, did not meet with universal approval. A petition on behalf of the minister and directors of the Watch for St Michan's in 1736 to the Lord Mayor underlines the suspicion under which the deputy-constables were held. The parish stated that:

if there were a more convenient place for the reception of the severall Constables of the Parish, when upon their Night Duty than to be in Common with the sevell watchmen in the watch house it would be a great encoragmt to Parish Constables when Elected to Serve in pson & thereby hinder so many Deputies being made use of which are in reality become a Nuisance & are only Instigators of the too Common Riots in this City by night.<sup>135</sup>

The parish asked for permission to convert an empty house between the north-west end of Ormond Bridge and the Watch House, formerly a 'bog House', for the use of the constables. Permission to proceed with the scheme was granted by an act of Assembly, 22 April, 1737.<sup>136</sup>

The refusal of parishioners to serve as constables beyond the required year is hardly surprising. The unsocial hours of work, as well as the duties accompanying the position, would have been important factors contributing to its unpopularity. It is likely, however, that the job of watchman was even more unpopular. Newspaper reports on the activities of watchmen show that the city had little respect for the men themselves, and little confidence in their ability to perform their job. Nevertheless, with no other alternatives, Dublin was forced to hand over the nightly responsibility of patrolling the parish and arresting suspected criminals and the more rowdy element of the city's inhabitants to the watchmen.

Once more the lack of surviving records means that only a very limited picture can be drawn. Table 5:3 shows the number of watchmen employed, the annual salary, and the number of watch stands within some of the city's parishes. The frequency of the parish rounds or patrols and the number of watchmen required to make a round was

discretionary. It is, however, important to remember that a watchman could not patrol beyond the limits of his own parish. In St Peter's, the parish's two watch stands were situated in York Street, opposite the Quaker cemetery, and at the Deadwall, on the south side of St Stephen's Green. Two watchmen were required to patrol 'Each hour every night'.<sup>137</sup> St Paul's watch stands were situated at the north end of Queen's Street, the corner of Queen's Street, the north end of Smithfield and Stoneybatter. The watchmen were required to patrol three times a night.<sup>138</sup>

An impression of the calibre of the watchman can, however, be gained from St John's Watch Accounts for the years 1724-37. In December 1727, of the eleven watchmen signing for receipt of wages, seven were illiterate.<sup>139</sup> Similar acknowledgements by the watchmen for wages in 1728 and 1729 show that a high proportion of the Watch was illiterate. In August, 1728, six out of the eight watchmen who received wages were illiterate. In December, 1729, six out of nine were illiterate.<sup>140</sup> The accounts do not record the watchmen's ages, but the parish was forced to relieve two watchmen, Joseph Torkinton and John Hutchison, on the grounds of ill health in 1727, which suggests that fitness was not a requisite of the job.<sup>141</sup> The unpopularity of the job did not deter some men from serving as watchmen for a number of years. Bartholomew Williams, William Shore and Thomas Bradley served as watchmen in St John's from 1726 to 1729.<sup>142</sup>

A brief, but broader, description of the Watch is provided by S C Hughes in *The Church of St John the Evangelist, Dublin* (1889), drawn from his perusal of the ten volumes concerning the Watch which have since been destroyed. The books recorded the names of those on duty, those who were sick, those who were found drunk on duty, those who fell asleep on stands, and the directors who visited the Watch house. The Watch equipment and the Watch routine were listed. It was usual for the night to be divided into four watches, each of two hours. Every man served two watches with an interval in between spent dozing in the watch house. Absenteeism, however, meant that only rarely

did the parish have its full complement of nineteen men, including the man in charge of the watch house door, on duty.

It is difficult to assess the effectiveness of the watchmen, the only reference to arrest is found in St Peter's Vestry minutes where the successful capture of two robbers, Daniel Carroll and Philip Reily, is noted in the winters of 1723 and 1724.<sup>143</sup> Hughes' observations, however, suggest that the Watch was neither effective nor efficient, yet references to disciplinary matters are infrequent. St Michael's charged John Purcell 5/5d for loosing a watch coat, and, on the Lord Mayor's instructions, fined William Purcell 5/- for quitting his watch post.<sup>144</sup> In St John's, in 1737, several watchmen were fined a total of 16/- for 'neglect of duty'.<sup>145</sup> The job could be dangerous, as the newspapers show. In 1724, a constable was confronted by a gun when arresting a robber in the Red Lyon in Aungier Street.<sup>146</sup> Another died as a result of a wound received while on duty.<sup>147</sup> The fatally wounded watchman belonged to St Werburgh's and as a result of his death several people were arrested and taken to Newgate and confined there on 'suspicion'. Another watchman belonging to St Werburgh's was paid a gratuity of £5 when he was disabled by an assault.<sup>148</sup>

### **Financing the Watch**

Under the provisions of the 1715, 1721 and 1723 Watch Acts, money to pay for the Watch was levied on every house within the parish at a fixed rate related to either its yearly valuation according to Minister's Money, or to its yearly rental value. The income yielded by the tax, therefore, depended on the size of the parish and the number of inhabitants taxed. In St Catherine's, for example, as the Watch directors' accounts show, only part of the parish was liable to pay Minister's Money. The yield to St Catherine's from the part of the parish liable to pay Minister's Money was £81/5/9d in 1731; however, the yield from that part of the parish which was not valued for Minister's Money, but for poor money and Watch money was £3/12/0d.<sup>149</sup> If the parish had received all the money

due from taxation, its spending budget for 1731 would have been £85/4/11d, but, as was so often the case in financial matters a number of insolvencies were recorded, and the parish's actual budget was only £73/13/0½d.<sup>150</sup> In terms of spending power, this placed St Catherine's on a par with St John's where receipts for 1730-31 amounted to £88/16/10d. St Catherine's was, however, much larger than St John's and the small income, relative to the size of the parish, must have curtailed the activities of the Watch. St Catherine's would have been unable to afford the large numbers of watchmen employed by St Michan's where, in contrast to St Catherine's, £399/2/8d was received and spent on the Watch in 1729-30.<sup>151</sup>

The cost of maintaining the Watch did rise, but some of the rise came about because the parishes increased the number of watchmen they employed. Overall expenditure, as St John's Watch accounts show, remained fairly constant. Between 1724 and 1729, the parish's average Watch receipts were £80/14/0¼d, but the difference between the highest yielding year and the lowest yielding year was only £8. With such a small difference in income, wide variations in expenditure were unlikely.<sup>152</sup> A limited income offered little scope for change. In St Michael's the employment of additional watchmen in 1727 was financed by a reduction in the watchman's salary from £6 *per annum* to £5 *per annum*. When money was in short supply, St John's adopted a much favoured parish ploy, payment by instalments. John Kean, a watchman for the parish in 1729, received his half-yearly salary of £3 in three separate instalments. Andrew Caskin, also a watchman in 1729, received his salary in two instalments.<sup>153</sup>

Estimating the overall annual cost of keeping the Watch in c.1729 is difficult because of the lack of evidence. A survey of the city's Watch was, however, undertaken in 1784.<sup>154</sup> Comparisons between parishes where Watch figures are known reveal some interesting facts. Watchmen's salaries had not risen dramatically between 1729 and 1784. In 1730, St Paul's watchmen received £2/10/0d for watching during the summer and £3 for watching in the winter. In 1784, St Paul's paid £4 *per annum*.<sup>155</sup> St Peter's watchmen



received the same salary in 1784 as they had in 1721[22], £5 *per annum*.<sup>156</sup> In St Michael's the annual salary had actual dropped from £5 *per annum* in 1727 to £4/10/0d *per annum* in 1784.<sup>157</sup> The number of watchmen employed by each parish had risen, with the exception of St Michael's (where in 1784 eight watchmen were employed in the summer and ten in the winter; in 1727 the parish had employed ten watchmen throughout the year). Coals and candles which had cost St Michael's £10/11/3½d in 1729, cost £12/16/0d in 1784. Using the figures for watchmen's salaries which are available for four parishes, St John's, St Michael's, St Michan's and St Paul's, for the years 1730 and 1784, an estimate for Watch costs in 1730, in relation to wages only, can be calculated. In 1730 the four parishes spent £321 *per annum* on wages (see Table 5:3). By 1784, this annual expenditure had risen to £581.<sup>158</sup> City-wide, watchmen's wages in 1784 amounted to £3,377/4/2d.<sup>159</sup> In 1730 watchmen's wages probably cost the city parishes around £1,800-£1,900 *per annum*.<sup>160</sup>

**Table 5:4: The Annual Costs Incurred in Maintaining the Watch.**

	Overall annual expenditure	Salaries	Annual cost of watchcoats	Annual cost of candles	Annual cost of coal	Annual cost of repairs/extras
St John's 1724-25	£83/5/6½d	£66 (79%)	£5/6/2½d (6%)	£6/15/0d (8%)	£2/13/11½d (3%)	1/8d (R) £2/8/4d (E) (3%)
St Michael's 1723-24	£59/18/9d	£48 (80%)	£3/15/4d (6%)	£4/19/4d (8%)	£2/18/4d (4.8%)	5/9d (R) (0.4%)
St John's 1727-28	£79/18/8d	£66* (82%)		£7/12/4d (9.5%)	£2/19/4d (3.7%)	16/11d (R) £2/10/1d (E) (4%)
St Michael's 1728-29	£68/0/7½d	£50 (73%)	£4/17/5d (7%)	£7/12/4d (11%)	£2/18/11½d (4%)	19/7d (R) £1/12/4d (E) (3%)

**Sources:** St John's Watch Accounts 1724-1737; St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754, Watch Accounts; St Michan's Church Wardens Accounts 1723-1761.

**Notes to Table 5:4:** (R) Money spent on repairs or the purchase of new equipment

(E) Money spent on the printing of regulations, watch directors expenses, and the purchase of items such as brooms.

\* In 1727-28 St John's employed 12 watchmen in the winter and 10 watchmen in the summer.

In addition to the upkeep of the Watch, each parish had to maintain a watch house. The cost of construction varied from parish to parish. In 1711, St Catherine's allocated £25 to build a watch house.<sup>161</sup> In St Peter's, the watch house built in 1722, had cost the parish £22/3/0d.<sup>162</sup> St Michael's had spent £16/4/3½d on building the watch house in 1726.<sup>163</sup> The need to increase the number of watchmen, however, forced all the city's parishes to extend the watch house at some time in the 1720s. St Bride's watch house, originally constructed in 1704, was rebuilt in 1724. The initial decision to build a watch house had been taken on 29 March, 1703[/04]; the church wardens, Joseph Evans and Edward Exshaw, were instructed by the Vestry to consult with workmen and find a convenient place for its construction.<sup>164</sup> The Vestry minutes give no indication as to the reasons or incidents which persuaded the parish that a watch house was necessary; however, the decision may not, in fact have originated with the parish. In 1704, St Michan's petitioned the Assembly for the right to build a watch house on the north east side of Ormond Bridge after the parish had been presented by the Grand Jury.<sup>165</sup> St Bride's may also have been presented by the Grand Jury. The Vestry's decision to build a watch house was implemented with great speed hinting at a sense of urgency within the parish. The building was completed and ready for inspection around 17 April, 1704.<sup>166</sup> In 1724, St Bride's sought permission from the Lord Mayor for the right to rebuild the house. On 30 June, 1724, application was made to the city for a presentment of £18 to be levied on the parish to pay for the building. By 27 August, 1724, the parish had received the Lord Mayor's approval. Between 1726 and 1729, St John's, St Mary's and St Werburgh's all sought, and received, permission to extend the parish watch houses.<sup>167</sup>

Although the Watch was regarded with disapprobation, the city continued to rely on it until almost the end of the eighteenth century. The inadequacies of the system were acknowledged but the sensitive nature of police reform deterred ambitious schemes. While changes were periodically made, the parish continued to remain the base unit.<sup>168</sup> A resurgence of urban unrest in 1783-4, however, forced the government to initiate change,

and in 1786 Dublin acquired a centralized police force. The new police force, however, was not a success, and in 1795 the responsibility of maintaining law and order was (temporarily) returned to the parishes.

\*                      \*                      \*

Between 1660 and 1729, the responsibility for law and order within the city was shared between the Assembly, in the guise of the Lord Mayor, and the parishes. The duties of the Lord Mayor, the appointment of the parish constables and his overall responsibility for the supervision of the Watch, gave him considerable influence. The parish was, however, a vital component in the maintenance of law and order. Parish officers were expected to help in the keeping of the peace. Parish boundaries denoted where the responsibilities of all the law enforcement officers began and ended. It was from the parish's inhabitants that the candidates to fill the posts were drawn. There were many disadvantages inherent to the system. The parish boundaries defined but at the same time confined responsibilities. The various responsibilities of the officers probably sparked off petty rivalries and jealousy.

Dublin's problems were not, however, unique. London, where the maintenance of law and order was also devolved upon the parish, experienced similar problems. Law and order were enforced by a number of separate agencies which included the city's marshals and sheriffs, the King's Messengers and the Watch.<sup>169</sup> As in Dublin, the Watch was regarded as incompetent, and its administration and personnel were severely criticized.<sup>170</sup> Yet there too, despite the clamour for reform, little was done to improve the system upon which the Watch was based. In Dublin, as in London, reforms to the policing of the city were regarded with suspicion. Change was therefore slow and never radical and Dublin was left with the persistent problem of how to police the city effectively. It was a problem that was to remain unanswered for much of the eighteenth century.

## Chapter 6

### Fire, Lighting and Scavenging

Between 1600 and 1750 Dublin more than trebled in size. Yet despite this surge in urban development the actual character of the city remained medieval with narrow, twisting, dirty streets which were inadequately lit at night. By far the greatest threat to the safety of the city and her citizens, however, came from fire. Few needed reminding of the hazards of fire, especially while the devastation wreaked by the Fire of London remained a recent memory. As with so many aspects of urban living, Dublin's citizens looked to the Assembly to identify and rectify the problems within the city's environment. In turn the Assembly expected the city's parishes to shoulder some responsibility for the implementation of measures designed to improve city living.

#### Fire

Until the changes instigated by the Wide Streets Commissioners began to make an impact upon the city from the 1760s, Dublin was a city of narrow streets bordered by wooden framed buildings, some of the upper-class developments in the north-east and south-east apart. The minister of St Catherine's lived in a 'fair timber house' on Thomas Street.<sup>1</sup> In 1692, the city granted a lease on an 'old decayed timber house, two stories high, and two roomes of a floor' in Cook Street.<sup>2</sup> This confined, highly combustible, housing was found in the older parts of the city where the risk of fire was an ever-present danger. What galvanized the Assembly into action is not always clear, but, from time to time, measures were introduced which were designed to reduce the risk of fire. Occasionally, some indication is given for action. In 1620 it was the imminent danger of fire, and the 'dayly examples' with 'forewarnings by the great ruyn and greevous hurt hapned in other townes and places ...[with] ... chattles of many of his majesties subiectes

utterly destroyed' which persuaded the Assembly to act.<sup>3</sup> Each parish was to acquire one dozen buckets, two large ladders and a hook.<sup>4</sup> The conflagration which prompted these measures is unknown, but the city authorities may have had in mind the great fire in Dorchester which consumed one hundred and seventy houses, approximately half the town, on 6 August, 1613.<sup>5</sup> In 1638, it was the 'several great fires' which had occurred in Dublin which persuaded the Assembly to send to England for an 'instrument called a water spout' which was deemed as 'very necessary for quenching of any great fire suddenly'.<sup>6</sup>

In 1660[/61] a fire in St James' Street prompted the Assembly to ban the construction of thatched buildings in the city or suburbs.<sup>7</sup> The stimulus to another ordinance, introduced in 1685 when the City ordered that all chimneys must be kept clean to prevent fires, is less clear. A great fire in the Castle in 1684 had, however, 'occasioned so great a consternation' that the Earl of Arran expected 'all letters will be full of it'.<sup>8</sup> Under the new ordinance the occupier of any house where a chimney went on fire was to be fined 20/-. This money was to be paid to the church wardens who were to distribute it among the poor.<sup>9</sup> As these measures show, the Assembly also endeavoured to ensure the city was equipped to fight fire, when and where it broke out. In 1663, stop cocks were ordered to be fitted to all pipes that ran downhill.<sup>10</sup> The city acquired fire engines in 1670.<sup>11</sup> Such measures could be introduced relatively easily, but it was much harder for the Assembly to ensure they were properly implemented. Fire fighting within the city did not just depend upon these measures. The parishes and their inhabitants were a vital component and were required to make some provision of their own for fire fighting. The fear of fire was sufficiently great to ensure the parishes did not evade their responsibilities but, surprisingly, they did not always comply immediately.

In the early 1670s a parish's fire fighting equipment consisted of buckets, ladders and a fire hook. These had been required since the introduction of a city ordinance in 1620. In 1623, the order granting the church wardens the power to assess every parishioner for the payment of buckets, suggests that little had been achieved in the

intervening years.<sup>12</sup> In 1670, the Lord Mayor ordered the parishes to purchase buckets, ladders and a fire hook. The parishes, were, however, tardy. Fire fighting equipment was acquired only gradually.<sup>13</sup> In 1673, St Michael's relied on thirty-six old buckets and two old ladders. The following year, 1674, the Vestry minutes reported that the buckets were now in good repair and the parish had purchased two new ladders and a fire hook.<sup>14</sup> St Bride's responded less readily to the mayoral order. The church wardens' accounts for 1673-74 show the parish met to discuss the order. In fact £3/14/8d was spent on matters connected with the buckets; this included the drawing up a cess to pay for them.<sup>15</sup> The progress made by the parish was, however, too slow to satisfy the Lord Mayor. On 5 November, 1673, the parish was indicted for its failure to purchase buckets.<sup>16</sup> Forced to act, on 6 March 1673[/74], St Bride's bought twenty-four buckets and on 19 March, a pole and hook. The parish's Vestry minutes give no reason for the parish's reluctance to comply, but the cost of the equipment, £8/4/6d, may have been a factor.<sup>17</sup>

In 1676, however, an Order of Council noted that there was a lack of buckets, hooks and ladders in the city's churches. Therefore, the Lord Mayor and seneschals of the Liberties were ordered to ensure thirty-six buckets, three large hooks and two ladders were placed in every parish church.<sup>18</sup> The order was copied by the Lord Mayor and sent to all the parishes. St Bride's purchase of additional buckets, hooks and ladders in 1677 was probably made in response to this order.<sup>19</sup> In 1679, St Catherine's listed among the church possessions thirty buckets and a great fire hook.<sup>20</sup>

The parishes continued to rely on such equipment for fighting fire until the early eighteenth century, but it was not always well maintained. In one parish, St Michael's, the list of fire fighting equipment held by the parish in 1711, two old fire hooks and fourteen old buckets, indicates a surprisingly lackadaisical approach to such vital equipment. The parish was, in fact, not as well equipped as it had been in 1674. St Michael's casual approach may, however, have come about in response to the comprehensive fire fighting measures introduced by the city in 1705[/06].



**T**HE LORD MAYOR,  
to prevent the Calamities that  
may happen by Fire, has Or-  
dered Publick Notice to be given,

THAT *John Oates*, WATER-ENGINEER  
to the Honourable City of *DUBLIN*,  
living in *Dame-street* at the Sign of the  
Boot, is directed by his LORDSHIP to  
assist with Two *Water-Engines* on the first  
Notice that shall be given him, when any  
Fire breaks out in this City or Suburbs.

☞ Note, That the said *John Oates* makes all Sorts of Water-  
Engines at Reasonable Rates, and to as great Perfection as in  
London, having already made One for the Honourable CITY  
of *DUBLIN*.

---

Printed by *John Ray* in *Skinner-Row*, Printer to the Honourable  
City of *DUBLIN*, 1711.

The Assembly had been stung into action by a number of fires which could have proved catastrophic, endangering the whole city, had it not been for the diligence of the city's magistrates and inhabitants.<sup>21</sup> In the very much enlarged city there was a lack of essential equipment. A committee, appointed on 22 February, 1705[/06], having examined the situation, ordered the purchase of two fire engines of the 'best sort' and the construction of a shed to store them in.<sup>22</sup> The city was to buy ninety-six buckets which were to be emblazoned with the city's crest, four large hooks, four ladders of different sizes, four pickaxes and four shovels. These were to be hung in the Exchange and looked after by a porter. Regulations were also introduced detailing the responsibilities of certain individuals in the event of a fire breaking out. When a fire occurred the porter at the Tholsel was to ring a bell and inform the Lord Mayor and sheriffs. The marshal keeper of Newgate, the water bailiffs and serjeants at the mace were to report to the Lord Mayor immediately. All persons concerned in the city's water industry were to go to the scene of the fire bringing with them people able to operate the fire engines as well as tools which could be used to break up the pavements and cut pipes. The assistant to the master of city works was also to attend the fire. All these individuals were to help in putting out the fire. The constables, upon hearing the fire bell, were to go to the scene of the fire carrying long staves to assist the Lord Mayor and sheriffs. Any person who helped extinguish a fire was to be rewarded.<sup>23</sup>

In 1711, there were a number of fires in the city. John Lester, serjeant at the mace, received £5 for his assistance in extinguishing them.<sup>24</sup> A rush of new fire fighting orders followed. John Oates, the city's fire engine keeper, was granted £6 *per annum* to maintain the city's engine. He was to pay six men, once a quarter, to 'play' the engine; and in case of fire he was to have twelve men ready to help him. Oates was to be assisted by Henry Thomas, who received a salary of £5 *per annum*.<sup>25</sup> The Lord Mayor, James Barlow, also printed a pamphlet reminding Dubliners that, in case of fire, two fire engines were kept in Dame Street and maintained by Oates.<sup>26</sup> A third engine was acquired in 1712, and John



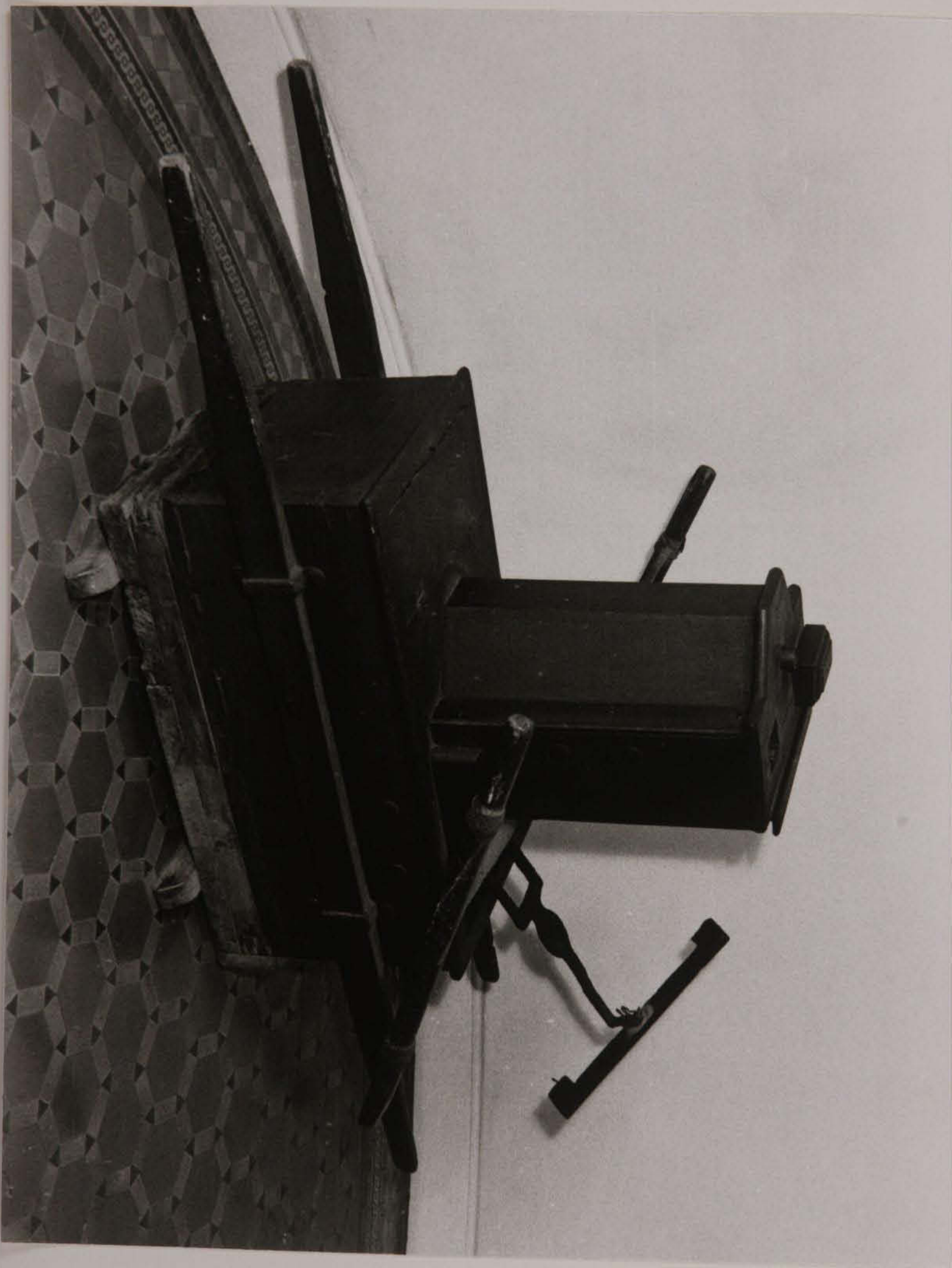


Oates, who was now paid £20 *per annum*, was charged with the responsibility of maintaining them.<sup>27</sup>

In 1715, perhaps in response to Assembly lobbying, Parliament endorsed the municipal ordinances. Under 2 Geo. I, c.5, section iii, it became a statutory obligation for the chief magistrate, the constables and beadles, wearing their badges of office, to attend and help extinguish a fire. They were also to prevent looting, and arrest anyone attempting to steal. If a servant was found guilty and convicted of causing a fire he or she was to pay a forfeit of £50 which was to be distributed by the church wardens among those who had suffered loss as a result of the fire. A servant who defaulted on the fine was to be placed in the workhouse for eighteen months hard labour.<sup>28</sup>

By 1719, these measures were no longer adequate. A number of fires, and the destruction which accompanied them, persuaded the Tholsel to lobby Parliament once more. Under the new legislation, 6 Geo. I, c.15, the parishes were required to take a far more positive role in fire fighting than had hitherto been demanded of them. The church wardens were to ensure that, before 1 May 1721, stop cocks were fitted to all main street water pipes. Every parish was to buy one large fire engine, which was to be fitted with a leather pipe and a socket which could be connected to the stop cocks fitted to the street pipes, and a hand engine.<sup>29</sup> The parish had to keep the equipment in good order; failure to do so meant the imposition of a fine of £10. In order to ensure the upkeep of the engine each Vestry was to appoint an engine keeper whose job it was to maintain the equipment. The engine keeper was to be paid 20/- on each occasion he attended and helped to extinguish a fire. If the parish employed a second engine and keeper to extinguish a fire he was to receive 10/- for his efforts. If the parish employed a third engine and keeper, he was to receive 5/-.<sup>30</sup>

The new legislation meant that the parish had not only to buy an engine and employ someone to look after it; a suitable site for the engine house had to be found, and the cost of its construction met. The immediacy with which the parishes responded to the



legislation varied. St Catherine's had actually anticipated the 1719 legislation. Construction on an engine house, situated in Vicker's Street had begun in 1715. By 1718, the parish had appointed an engine keeper, the ubiquitous John Oates, who was paid an annual salary of £2.<sup>31</sup> In St Nicholas Without a parish committee was appointed in 1719 to implement the legislation. It decided that the engine house should be built on Francis Street between the signs of the Churn and the Ship.<sup>32</sup> It was also decided that £12 would be sufficient to cover the construction costs and that a further £40 would be needed to purchase the engine. The £52 cess was to be levied as follows: the two city wards, St Patrick's Street and Francis Street, were to pay the bulk of the cess at £15/12/0d and £27 respectively. The Poddle and New Street, the county wards, were to pay the remainder, £9/8/0d. St John's anticipated similar costs. The parish agreed to applot £69 to purchase two engines and £10 to build the engine house.<sup>33</sup> The two parishes may have decided to buy their engines from the same manufacturer because St John's church wardens' accounts show that one engine, bought from Mr Molineux, cost £43/5/10d.<sup>34</sup>

To the north of the river St Mary's decided to spend £150. This expenditure was approved on 23 March, 1720, when the Vestry decided to build the fire engine house, and to buy two fire engines, buckets, stop cocks, water plugs and other necessary equipment. James Davis was appointed fire engine keeper with an annual salary of £4. In turn he was to give the parish security of £100.<sup>35</sup> Davis, however, failed to maintain the engine. In 1722, a committee, appointed to examine the church wardens' accounts, found that the engine was not as clean as it ought to be (see Appendix 4). Furthermore the fire fighting equipment in general was dispersed throughout the parish. The committee decided that, in future, all the equipment was to be kept 'in the body of the sd Parish & be exercised or plaid at least once every month so as to have them in a serviceable condition'.<sup>36</sup> The parish did not comply with all the committee's recommendations immediately. A more appropriate site for the fire engine was apparently not found until 1729. In 1722, the engine had been housed in Lady Ikerrin's coach house.<sup>37</sup> On 4 June, 1729, however, the Vestry decided to

build a fire engine house at the north end of Essex Bridge beside one of the parish's Watch houses.<sup>38</sup>

The parishes themselves leave few details as to the annual cost of fire fighting. St Catherine's church wardens' accounts show that John Molineux was appointed engine keeper in 1721 after John Oates was dismissed; in 1726 he was paid £5/11/0d for answering calls and maintaining the engine. If his salary of £2 *per annum* is deducted from this total, the parish had to pay him for attending perhaps as few as three fires during the year.<sup>39</sup> Repairs to the engine made the following year, 1727, costing £2/2/6d indicate the engine was certainly used.<sup>40</sup> In 1728, the parish added £25 to the parish cess to pay for a new fire engine.<sup>41</sup>

The parishes were prepared to call for fire fighting assistance. In 1727, and again in 1729, St Michan's requested, and received, assistance from St Audeon's. On the first occasion the engine was brought from St Audeon's to help extinguish a fire at Lady Dunn's. This cost the parish £1.<sup>42</sup> The fire which occurred in 1729 must have been far more serious. St Audeon's fire engine was called to assist in fighting a fire in Arran Street. This time extinguishing the fire cost St Michan's £7/16/3d.<sup>43</sup>

After 1721, many fire engines within the city were maintained by John Molineux and his partner George Tapplin. They maintained the fire engines in St Catherine's and St John's.<sup>44</sup> Molineux was also appointed city water engineer. Upon the death of Molineux in 1736 this post was granted to John Bolton, smith and engineer, of St Michan's.<sup>45</sup> John Molineux and his partner were also involved in building new fire engines. In 1729, advertisements were placed in Faulkner's *Dublin Journal* extolling their expertise in making engines as well and as cheaply as those made in London.<sup>46</sup> St Werburgh's had purchased a fire engine from Molineux's rival, John Oates. He had claimed in 1711 to have made one of the city's fire engines.<sup>47</sup> The parish decided to buy an engine from Oates on 2 March, 1720, which was designed to throw out forty hogshead of water in 'one hour'.<sup>48</sup> Giles Hosser, who had been appointed parish beadle in 1720, was appointed engine

keeper, with an annual salary of 40/-.<sup>49</sup> As the photographs and Oates' own advertisement show, St Werburgh's machines were based on a design similar to the machines used by Oates in 1711.<sup>50</sup>

It is difficult to say just how effective the city's fire fighting arrangements were, but the loss in property and human life could be considerable. In 1721, *Whalley's Newsletter* reported on one catastrophe. A chimney in a house adjoining the Four Courts went on fire filling the Courts with smoke. In the Court of the Exchequer, which was still sitting, the glass in the windows had to be knocked out and ladders placed up against the windows in order to allow people to escape. The escape route from the other courts was, however, blocked by poles which had been placed across the passage leading to Christ Church Lane to prevent prisoners absconding. In the panic to escape the smoke, more than twenty people were trampled to death.<sup>51</sup> Many fires were blamed on the carelessness of servants. Two fires, one in May 1726, and another in March 1726[/27] which caused considerable damage but no loss of life, were blamed on the thoughtless actions of servants.<sup>52</sup>

Fire remained a constant threat. In addition to the stairs, a large amount of wood was used in the construction of seventeenth-century and eighteenth-century houses. The houses were filled with inflammable materials, heated by open fires and lit by candles. Fire fighting equipment was not sophisticated and effective fire fighting depended on the efficiency of the fire fighters.

## **Lighting**

The introduction of adequate street lighting marked an important transition in urban dwelling. In medieval times night-time activity was viewed with suspicion and fear, and was severely circumscribed by the curfew. With the introduction of adequate street lighting movement at night became easier. This encouraged the local authorities to relax the restrictions imposed by the curfew.<sup>53</sup> In the seventeenth century, urban living changed significantly. An increase in economic and social activity created an expanding urban

population and fostered the growth of night-time entertainment. In Dublin, as in London, the advent of the season brought about a gradual end to the restrictions previously associated with the dark. Social life no longer ceased with sunset. In this changing social climate adequate street lighting was essential.<sup>54</sup>

Dublin had first acquired public lights in 1616. In keeping with all other early street lighting regulations the authorities relied upon the individual to implement its instructions. London had been the first city to impose lanthorn and candle regulations. Around 1415, all householders had been ordered to hang a lantern outside their doors from dusk from 31 October until 2 February.<sup>55</sup> By the end of Elizabeth I's reign most large towns had lanthorn and candle regulations.<sup>56</sup> In Dublin, in 1616, the Corporation ordered that every fifth house throughout the city and suburbs was to have a 'lanterne and candlelight' set out from six o'clock to nine o'clock every dark night from Hallowtide (31 October) to Candlemas (2 February).<sup>57</sup> It was the ward alderman's duty, assisted by his deputy-aldermen and constables, to ensure the regulations were fulfilled. Any offender was to be fined 6d for every night he defaulted. The stipulation that the lamps should be lit every 'dark night' effectively meant that the streets were not lit every night. Traditionally dark nights were those either side of the new moon, therefore on many winter nights the streets must have been clothed in murky darkness.<sup>58</sup>

In Dublin little was done to improve the city's street lighting until the late seventeenth century. On 15 November, 1687, the Assembly decided that in order to prevent the 'many mischiefes and inconveniences in the streets in the dark nights, that lanthornes and candles be hung out in the respective streets of this cittie every night dureing the winter season'.<sup>59</sup> Five inhabitants on each side of the street were ordered to hang out lanterns, lit with candles, and the distances between each light was to be fixed by the Lord Mayor and sheriffs. The lamps were to be lit from five o'clock until ten o'clock each night with candles of 'the bignesse of four to the pound'.<sup>60</sup> The City's instructions

were not acted upon immediately and it became necessary to request the appointment of a supervisor to ensure the parishes fulfilled their obligations.<sup>61</sup>

In London, however, the introduction of improved street lamps brought about a dramatic improvements in the city's lighting. These street lights were too expensive to be provided by the individual householder. Instead householders contracted with a lighting contractor. This was the case in 1687, when Richard Ffountain paid Edmund Heming 5/- a year, for five years, to light his house on dark nights from Michaelmas (29 September) to Lady's Day (25 March) from six o'clock until midnight.<sup>62</sup> The new system of lighting impressed the authorities, and legislation was introduced to strengthen the existing lighting regulations. In 1690, Westminster passed an act which imposed new lighting hours and fines for default.<sup>63</sup>

In Dublin, London's example led to changes. The inspiration behind the legislation which was introduced in 1697 to improve the city's lighting came unequivocally from London. In 1697, Michael Cole, a Dublin merchant had petitioned the Assembly stating that he had spent time and money in 'prepareing and contriveing ingredients for publick lights'.<sup>64</sup> Cole promised to light the city as London was lit between Kensington and Whitehall. He proposed placing lights on broad thoroughfares at every eighth house, on both sides of the street. In lanes and alleys the lamps were to placed at every sixth house. The lamps, usually lit until nine o'clock, would now be lit from six o'clock until midnight from the 29 September to the 25 March, which it had been calculated was one hundred and twenty 'dark nights'. Cole insisted it was particularly important to ensure the streets were well lit after nine o'clock. For, although the shops were closed, the incidents of crime tended to rise after that time. Finally Cole asked that if his proposal was accepted the Assembly would appeal to the government on his behalf. He requested the government grant him the exclusive right to light the city to recompense him for the expense he had in developing his lights.<sup>65</sup>



When enacted, the legislation imposed slightly different regulations to those initially proposed by Cole, but he was awarded the contract to light and maintain the city's lamps for eighteen years.<sup>66</sup> The legislators hoped that by furnishing Dublin with lights the streets would be freer from 'murders, robberies, theft, and other insolencies'.<sup>67</sup> The lamps, similar to those used in London between Kensington and Whitehall, were to be of a similar size and fixed at a height of nine feet to specially erected posts.<sup>68</sup> The lamps were to be placed at intervals, every 220 yards on broad streets and 330 yards on narrow lanes and alleyways. The glass in each lantern must be clear white or French glass; the candles were to be lit from Michaelmas to Lady's Day from five o'clock each night until midnight.<sup>69</sup> Money to pay for city's new lights was to be raised by taxation. Those living on streets where lamps were set 220 yards apart were to pay 3/- *per annum*. For those living on streets where the lamps were set at 330 yards, the annual payment was to be 2/-.<sup>70</sup>

The requirements of the legislation proved difficult to fulfil. Dublin at the end of the seventeenth century held almost 6,000 houses, therefore the number of lamps Cole would have been required to supply and maintain would have been considerable.<sup>71</sup> In practice the lights were set too far apart and incorrectly, and complaints ensued. In 1703, a House of Commons report reprimanded Michael Cole for not maintaining the city's lights properly.<sup>72</sup> Although he did not lose his contract, he was forced to make certain improvements.

A pamphlet published by Cole in c.1703 shows he felt some of the criticisms made against him were unjust.<sup>73</sup> He stated that despite Parliament's decision, at the conclusion of the previous session, to pass over all allegations of negligence he had nevertheless undertaken certain improvements: over a hundred lamps between Newgate and the College had been enlarged; more oil was used so the lamps burnt more effectively and for longer; the lamp lighters' salaries had been increased; all lamp lighters were obliged to patrol with ladders from the time the lamps were lit until the time they were extinguished to ensure they burnt properly and continuously.<sup>74</sup> Furthermore he had surveyed the whole

city to ensure the distances between lamps complied with the law. In doing so he had installed over fifty new lamps. He promised to reimburse all the residents in Turnagain Lane and other streets where he had received 3/- per house and where, it was alleged, the rate should only be 2/-. Cole claimed that in order to set up the lamps he had had to borrow money, and now owed his creditors over £1,100. His many expenses had only allowed him to repay £100, leaving his creditors still being owed over £1,000. Once this debt had been repaid he intended to resign his interest in the public lamps.<sup>75</sup>

By 1711, the contract had passed to Joseph Tininson.<sup>76</sup> He was appointed to care for four hundred lamps, all of which were to be glazed, and to be lit from 15 September to 13 April from five o'clock until one o'clock.<sup>77</sup> During Tininson's tenure of the contract, which lasted until 1718, lights were also placed on Essex, Ormond, Old and Ellis bridges. Tininson, however, failed to keep regular accounts or to mend broken lamps, and in 1718 the Assembly passed the contract to Messrs Cuming, Gregg and Cuningham.<sup>78</sup> In 1719, however, the contract was granted to William Aldrich and Hugh Cuming.

Aldrich and Cummins[Cuming] were Dublin merchants who had developed a larger lamp, which, importantly, they proposed to light for longer. Under the legislation granting them the right to set up lamps throughout Dublin, the city's streets were to be lit from a half an hour after sunset until two o'clock in the morning from the 1 September until the 15 April.<sup>79</sup> This period was extended two years later, in 1721, when Parliament ordered the lamps to be lit from the end of August to the beginning of May.<sup>80</sup> The city's bridges were also better lit with four lamps being placed on each bridge. To pay for the longer lighting time the tax on inhabitants living in streets where the lamps were set every 220 yards was raised by 6d, bringing the full sum paid by each house to 3/6d.<sup>81</sup> Those caught stealing or damaging a lamp, if successfully convicted, were to be fined £5.<sup>82</sup> Once again it was a spate of robberies after the lamps had been extinguished that had obliged the government to review the situation.

Despite the new legislation the streets were still not properly lit. The contractors faced a formidable task for by 1721 the number of houses in Dublin city probably exceeded 10,500.<sup>83</sup> Lighting the city in accordance with the Act therefore required a substantial number of lamps which, it would appear, were not provided. By 1725, there was sufficient dissatisfaction to rouse the parishes into action. On 19 November, 1725, an advertisement was issued by the church wardens in which they promised to:

ascertain the Distances of all the Public Lamps ... the Time of their lighting and going out ... [so] that due Proof may be made before a Magistrate, of what shall be found in the Premises contrary to Law.<sup>84</sup>

The results of the survey were only noted by one parish although a city-wide survey was conducted. In St Andrew's a detailed examination of the parish's public lamps was undertaken by the church wardens, Messrs Stokes and Gregory.<sup>85</sup> If St Andrew's findings were typical of the rest of the city's lighting, Aldrich and Cummins had not fulfilled their legal obligations.

Stokes and Gregory reported their findings to the parish on 14 April, 1726.<sup>86</sup> The lamps had been surveyed on two occasions, 19 February and 26 February 1725[/26]. The church wardens had found there were no public lamps in Dermot's Lane, Lindsay's Row and St Mark's Street and the Folly on Lazer's Hill. Of the 165 public lamps within the parish, 135 were set illegally. Those set on the main thoroughfares were 22 yards too far apart, while those set in the narrower laneways, courts and alleys were 33 yards too far apart. The church wardens also found that the beam of 130 lamps did not project the required two and a half feet.<sup>87</sup> In an attempt to force the proprietors to bring the parish's lighting up to the legal requirements, the Vestry decided to swear an affidavit concerning the lamps before Alderman Thomas Bolton, J.P. It was also decided to make Aldrich and Cummins liable to a 5/- fine for each night the lamps remained incorrect. All money collected from these fines was to be given to the parish poor. The Vestry also decided

that, since Aldrich and Cummins had 'grossly neglected' to fulfil their duties the inhabitants of the parish would not pay their 3/6d lamp money tax.<sup>88</sup>

St Andrew's Vestry minutes are incomplete therefore it is impossible to say whether the parish's measures were successful. There was, however, a concerted effort on the part of the parishes to improve the city's lighting. A survey costing £2/2/8d was undertaken in St Catherine's.<sup>89</sup> In St John's the cost of a similar survey was 14/6d.<sup>90</sup> St Michan's decided on 7 December, 1725 that lamp money was to be withheld wherever the distance between lamps did not comply with the statutory regulations.<sup>91</sup> In St Mary's the Vestry gave permission for the church wardens to pursue the 'undertakers of lamps' and oblige them to set up lamps according to the legislation.<sup>92</sup> The church wardens must have persuaded the contractors to fulfil at least some of their obligations. The following year, 1727, the church wardens accounts show £2/6/0d was paid to Messrs Aldrich and Cummins for lighting two lamps outside the church for the 'whole' season.<sup>93</sup>

One further change to the city's lighting was introduced in 1729, when the government ordered all lamps to be lit by rape oil produced in Ireland.<sup>94</sup> Despite the dissatisfaction expressed by the parishes in 1725, Aldrich and Cummins continued to hold the contract for lighting the city until 1737.<sup>95</sup>

## Scavenging

By the mid-1600s it was recognized that healthy urban living depended upon a clean environment; achieving such an environment was, however, far more difficult. Nevertheless the Assembly did not ignore its responsibilities and repeated, if unsuccessful, attempts were made to ensure the city's streets remained clean.

In 1660[/61] the Assembly had appointed William Harvey city scavenger. His task was to cleanse all the streets within the city's walls, as well as those outside the walls which fell within the Assembly's jurisdiction. If a resident was found guilty of throwing rubbish into the street and allowing it to remain there for twenty-four hours, he was to be

made liable for the scavenger's removal costs.<sup>96</sup> In return for his appointment Harvey was to pay the Lord Mayor one barrel of best toll wheat and fifty barrels of good 'beare malte' every year on 1 November and 15 May and give good security that he would perform his duties correctly.<sup>97</sup> The Assembly, however, defaulted on its payments to Harvey, and by 1663 the city owed him £50/6/2d.<sup>98</sup>

By 1664, matters had deteriorated still further. Harvey was accused of neglecting to clean the streets which were described as 'soe exceeding foule and durty for want of constant sweeping and cleanseing that it proves very noisome and prejudiciall' to the health of the citizens.<sup>99</sup> The Assembly decided that the situation could not be remedied without positive action. It was therefore decided to appoint two men to sweep in front of residents' doors every Thursday and Monday morning. The residents themselves were obliged to sweep in front of their own houses every Wednesday and Saturday evening. The scavengers were to carry horns. These were to be blown half an hour before the scavengers visited a street to allow residents time to gather the rubbish intended for removal.<sup>100</sup> William Harvey, however, remained the chief scavenger serving the city for twenty-four years. In 1675[/76], in recognition of his years of service he was granted an annuity of £10 *per annum*.<sup>101</sup>

Despite the Assembly's efforts to persuade citizens towards cleanliness, the city of the early 1670s remained a dirty place. Pavements were allowed to fall into disrepair, rubble, dirt, mud, even animal's entrails were left in the street. Lord Aungier, William Domville and Peter Iredall were accused in c.1671 of dumping a large amount of soil in Dirty Lane in St Bride's and blocking the laneway.<sup>102</sup> Ralph Cooke of St Andrew's, James Rellicke of St Catherine's, William and Christopher Dring of St Michan's were also accused of dumping mud within their respective parishes.<sup>103</sup> Joseph Fauckener of the Lower Coombe, butcher, had failed to remove so much mud, soil and entrails that 'the air there is very unhealthy'.<sup>104</sup> St Kevin's Street had been without a scavenger to clean the street for the previous two years.<sup>105</sup> The Assembly did appoint paviors to repair and

maintain the streets, but city traffic caused continual wear and tear.<sup>106</sup> In 1673[/74], it indicted four brewers for carrying beer on drays shod with iron.<sup>107</sup> Acquitted by the jury but fearing further indictments, the brewers agreed to pay 10/- *per annum* towards the repair of the streets, but as there were over one hundred brewers in the city in 1673[/74], the chance of keeping the streets well repaired remained small.<sup>108</sup>

It is unlikely that the streets were any cleaner or better maintained by the 1680s. The Assembly's decision to limit the number of public hackney coaches in 1687 to eighty may have been designed to relieve inner city congestion, but it may also have been to help preserve the city's streets.<sup>109</sup> In 1688, the increase in commercial and private traffic within the city meant that the city pavier was now required to employ three assistants.<sup>110</sup> The Assembly also employed five scavengers in 1688, although early in 1689 their numbers were increased to seven.<sup>111</sup>

By 1691, however, the city was in debt to the scavengers and the streets foul despite the scarcity of horses and carts.<sup>112</sup> In an effort to bring immediate improvement, the Lord Mayor ordered the appointment of additional street cleaners.<sup>113</sup> The following year, 1692, Richard Allen, a baker, was contracted to keep the streets clean for three years.<sup>114</sup> Three years later, in 1694, further street cleaning measures were introduced by the Assembly and the 1664 bye-law was revived. Citizens were again obliged to sweep before their own doors; two general street sweepers were employed and Richard Allen was appointed city scavenger.<sup>115</sup>

The continuing urban development meant that by the beginning of the eighteenth century a difficult task faced the city's scavenger. Charles Mathews, the city's surveyor, had earned the scavenger's contract in 1701, but by 1702 he was facing financial ruin.<sup>116</sup> Five months of almost constant rain after he had first acquired the contract had caused the death of a great many horses. The expense of buying replacement horses plus the carts and other equipment needed for the job had proved very costly, and the salary of £560 *per annum* had failed to cover all his expenses. In order to encourage Mathews to carry on

with his work, the Assembly granted him £40.<sup>117</sup> He was also given an additional £100 which could be withdrawn at any time if the Lord Mayor decided he was failing to fulfil his obligations.<sup>118</sup> Mathews continued to act as city scavenger and in 1704 his annual salary was raised to £700 *per annum*.<sup>119</sup>

By 1709, it had become necessary to employ two overseers to supervise the workmen who actually cleaned the streets. Thomas Davis supervised the city's south side, John Thomson its north side.<sup>120</sup> In 1711 the Assembly decided to employ more than one city scavenger.<sup>121</sup> Edward Allen was the principal scavenger for the city's south side. On the north side, the concentration of city markets meant it was necessary to employ two city scavengers, Henry Davis and Thomas Pilkington.<sup>122</sup> By 1715, Pilkington, who continued to serve the north side, operated six carts. Edward Allen, however, employed thirteen cleansing carts.<sup>123</sup> Allen received an annual salary of £600; Pilkington's was £275 *per annum*.<sup>124</sup>

Despite the employment by the scavengers of a large number of carts the dirty streets were still a cause for concern. Within the parish the church wardens had always ensured the area around the church was kept clean. New brooms, whisks and brushes were purchased annually by every parish. Payments, often quite small, for the 'carrying away of dirt' appear in the church wardens' accounts each year.<sup>125</sup> Sometimes the men received more than money for their efforts. This occurred in St Michael's in 1681 when it cost the parish 3/7d in beer and money to remove earth from the churchyard.<sup>126</sup> In St Catherine's payments for the removal of rubbish were as frequent and of a similar size to St Michael's.<sup>127</sup> By 1722, there was sufficient work for a scavenger to persuade the parish to employ one full time at an annual salary of £1/1/8d.<sup>128</sup> In 1726, the salary was raised and Peter Clauzel, the parish's scavenger, was paid £2 *per annum*.<sup>129</sup>

Keeping the parish's streets must have been difficult despite the introduction in 1722 of a bye-law which defined cleansing duties imposed by the 1664 bye-law more precisely. Under an ordinance issued by the Lord Mayor in November 1722, the city was

divided into zones which were to be cleaned on two specified days of the week.<sup>130</sup> To the south of the river St Peter's, St Anne's, St Bride's, St Nicholas Without and Usher Quay were to be cleaned on Monday and Thursday; St James' and St Catherine's, New Hall Market, Old Corn Market and High Street were to be cleaned on Tuesday and Friday; the rest of the city within the walls and St Andrew's were to be cleaned on Wednesday and Saturday. The city to the north of the river was similarly divided. All of Ormond Market as far as Church Street with areas to the north and west of it with the exception of Smithfield were to be cleaned on Monday and Thursday; Smithfield and all the other northside markets were to be cleaned on Tuesday and Thursday; the bridges, Inns, Ormond Quay and all of Ormond Market to the Strand and areas to the south and north of the Strand were to be cleaned on Wednesday and Saturday.<sup>131</sup> Dissatisfaction among the parishes over the ineffectiveness of these arrangements prompted the church wardens to act in 1725. An advertisement was printed informing the public that the city's cleansing arrangements were to be examined by the church wardens.<sup>132</sup> It also stated that a fine of 1/- would be imposed on each occasion an inhabitant failed to clean before his house. All fines were to be divided between the informer and the poor of the parish.<sup>133</sup>

The findings of the review, undertaken at the same time as the lamp survey, were recorded by St Andrew's Vestry on 14 April, 1726. The report stated that the health of the citizens depended on the cleanliness of the city's streets, and that many laws had been passed recently to encourage the removal of rubbish.<sup>134</sup> Some parishioners, however, did not remove rubbish or sweep before their houses on the two days appointed for this duty. Henceforth the church wardens were to see that the parishioners swept before their houses before nine o'clock in the morning on Wednesday and Saturday. The city's scavengers also neglected their duty. Therefore the church wardens were to ensure the scavengers discharged their duty properly. Persons were to be engaged to note any defaults and to complain, with proof, to the Lord Mayor or any of the city's Justices of the Peace. The



informers were to insist on a forfeiture of 5/- for each default which was to be deducted from the scavenger's wages.<sup>135</sup>

It is impossible to assess whether the parishes were successful in their attempts to improve Dublin's cleanliness because of the lack of further information. Legislation giving their efforts more bite was not introduced until 1729, and when enacted it placed more administrative responsibility upon the parish.<sup>136</sup> An advertisement, printed on behalf of the Lord Mayor, Peter Verdoen, in 1730, laid out the church wardens' duties under the new law.<sup>137</sup> The church wardens were expected to perambulate the parish on a minimum of four occasions during the year to examine the condition of the pavements.<sup>138</sup> Returns on the condition of the parish's pavements were to be made to the Lord Mayor within six days of the inspection. All sewers were to be kept in good repair.

The parishes had begun to make financial contributions towards the maintenance of the city's public 'shores' (sewers) in the seventeenth century. In 1673, the common sewer behind St John's church was frequently blocked and often spilled over into the neighbouring areas. In 'hot weather the occasion of infecting the whole City with some Pestilent Disease' was therefore a danger and this forced the parish to undertake major repairs. The inhabitants of St John's parish, Skinner Row (northside) and Christ Church Yard were cessed for £50 to pay for repairing the sewer.<sup>139</sup> St John's cessed the parish for £7/16/0d c.1685 for enlarging Newgate and 'cleaning the common shore'.<sup>140</sup>

By the beginning of the eighteenth century many of the city's main thoroughfares appear to have had a sewer. Some of these were arched and thereby covered in 1705.<sup>141</sup> In 1723, the Assembly ordered that a sewer which ran through St Paul's and St Michan's was to be cleansed, walled and arched. Each parish was charged a proportionate amount to pay for the work. St Paul's portion was £15/14/8d, St Michan's £24/0/8d.<sup>142</sup> The dumping of coal ashes, dirt or similar materials was forbidden, and offenders, if caught, were to be fined 5/-. Each January every parish was obliged to appoint a person to maintain the public pavement in front of and around the church and within the churchyard.

All rubbish must be removal from the site of demolished houses within forty-eight hours. The complaints of citizens were to be heard at the Tholsel every Monday in winter, and every second Monday during the summer. Finally pavements were to be swept every day (except Sunday) before nine o'clock in the morning. Returns made by St Paul's for September 1730 emphasize the necessity for such measures. One hundred and twenty inhabitants throughout the parish were reported for defective pavements. Conditions in the Haymarket, where individual offenders were not named, were described as 'worst of all'.<sup>143</sup> The following return, made by the parish in February 1730[/31], listed only sixty-five offenders, but the western side of the Haymarket was completely unpaved, the Bridewell was all badly paved, and Liffey Street was described as 'a great nuisance'.<sup>144</sup> Among the offenders were a number of prominent citizens, including the Lord Mayor, Peter Verdoen, who lived in King Street.<sup>145</sup>

Conditions throughout Dublin were probably similar to those in St Paul's. In St Michan's the 'disrepair' of the parish's pavements and the 'grossly negligent' scavengers had forced the parish to appoint two overseers of streets in 1729. They were elected to oversee the streets and lighting. From time to time they were to apply to the magistrates to have faults corrected.<sup>146</sup> The city's many horses, public carts, and private coaches would not have helped the condition of the urban roads. Recognition of the problem inspired legislation, but in order for it to be effective the parishes and their officers had to perform their duties diligently.

\* \* \*

Providing effective and efficient public services was not an easy task. The urban expansion which took place between 1660 and 1729 forced the Assembly to assess and revise the city's amenities regularly. Although much of the responsibility for maintenance fell upon the Assembly, the parishes did undertake some administrative responsibilities. Their role, however, remained a relatively minor one until the introduction of legislation during the early eighteenth century sought to involve them more actively. Understanding

and analysing how the parishes viewed their responsibilities is hampered by lack of evidence. It is, however, important to remember that lack of evidence does not demonstrate lack of involvement. For the city to contemplate, let alone provide, an increasingly sophisticated range of public services required parochial approval and co-operation. Dublin, in 1660, was neither well lit nor particularly clean and its fire fighting provisions were extremely basic. By 1729, considerable improvement had been made in the city's provisions for fire fighting. Dublin was also better lit, and if no cleaner this was hardly the fault of the City which had tried hard to improve matters.

## Chapter 7

### **Eighteenth Century Dublin 1700-1730**

Although the signing of the Treaty of Limerick on 3 October 1691 marked the end of open warfare, Ireland remained deeply troubled. James II's policies had ripped the country apart and roused old Protestant fears and suspicions. William's first task therefore was to ensure calm and so 'for the quiet of the people and the settlement of the kingdom' it was decided to call Parliament.<sup>1</sup> This decision marked a turning point in Irish politics for throughout the Stuart era parliamentary government in Ireland had been limited and fragile. Real political influence had rested firmly in the hands of the crown, the court and specifically Dublin Castle. The new century was to bring change. Political influence shifted somewhat towards Parliament and brought in its wake a new phenomenon - party rivalry.

Parliament's growing independence stemmed from the financial strains imposed by war upon both Britain and Ireland. The 1661-6 Parliament had granted sufficient permanent revenues to meet all government needs, even allowing for the transfer to England of any Irish surpluses. The crisis in the latter part of James II's reign had meant a loss of income and massively increased military spending especially with the onset of the Nine Years War. The country's financial problems were further exacerbated by the length and scale of the war with France, and Ireland's obligation to maintain a standing army. Extra revenue was required to pay for these commitments. This Parliament was prepared to grant, but only for limited periods of time, thereby ensuring it had to be summoned at regular intervals. The current economic climate wielded some influence over the regularity with which it was summoned, but by skilful use of its authority Parliament was able to ensure it met approximately every two years.<sup>2</sup>

Parliamentary power was given further impetus by Ireland's constitutional needs. The early Stuart policy, which had depended to a large extent on balancing Protestant against Catholic, was no longer feasible. The need now was to assuage

Protestant opinion. A succession of measures, beginning with the application of an English Act of 1691 which required members of both houses to endorse a declaration against certain Roman Catholic doctrines, set about re-establishing the Protestant monopoly of power.<sup>3</sup> Further measures were taken against Catholics in 1692, 1695 and 1697. These measures mark the intensification of anti-Catholic legislation. For the next thirty-nine years it became parliamentary policy to legislate, when necessary, for the maintenance of Protestants' security.<sup>4</sup>

The rise of party in politics began to emerge in 1692 with the claim by the Commons for the sole right to draft the details for proposed financial legislation. The validity of the claim was to remain unresolved for Sydney prorogued Parliament shortly after it surfaced. In 1695, however, the matter was partially resolved when the Commons was allowed to initiate the main supply bills.<sup>5</sup> The debate, sparked by the claim to 'sole right', had fostered two distinct groups. It was from these two groups that the more familiar grouping labels of Whig and Tory were slowly to evolve.<sup>6</sup> The progress toward true party politics was very gradual, but again religion played its divisive part in separating Whig from Tory. Irish Tories, like their English counterparts, sought to preserve the privileges of High Church Anglicanism, while at the same time adopting a less aggressive stance towards Catholicism. The Whigs, while seeking to protect Protestant Dissenters from the bigotry of Anglicanism, also proposed the repression of Catholicism. The differences in outlook were genuine and fostered mutual mistrust. Tories saw Whig ideals as a threat to the social and religious order; Whigs regarded Tories, particularly after their alliance with Queen Anne's last English ministry, as threatening the Protestant succession.<sup>7</sup>

James II's brief reign had seen municipal power slip from Protestant control. After the Treaty of Limerick, the corporations, notably the Dublin Assembly, became exclusively Protestant. Bye-laws were passed excluding Catholics from municipal freedom.<sup>8</sup> In 1692, in keeping with a resolution made in 1678, it was ordered that no person could become a freeman of the city without first taking the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy.<sup>9</sup> Since no conscientious Catholic could consider taking these oaths

they were effectively barred from participating in municipal government. In 1703, legislation was passed directly excluding Catholics from municipal membership.<sup>10</sup>

The emergence of party politics also posed a brief but serious threat to the stability of municipal government. In 1711, Robert Constantine, repeatedly passed over for the post of Lord Mayor since 1709, appealed to the Lords Justices and the Privy Council.<sup>11</sup> He claimed the office by right of seniority and supported by a Tory Privy Council, his claim led to a three-year battle between the Tory administration in Dublin castle and the mainly Whig aldermen. Candidates elected to mayoralty by the aldermen were prevented from holding office by the administration which used the 'New Rules' to block their appointment. The Assembly soon ceased to function, and Sir Samuel Cooke continued to act as Lord Mayor long after his term of office had officially ended. The dispute ended only when the Whigs came to power nationally in 1714.<sup>12</sup>

There were to be no major disruptions after 1715. The Assembly did not figure prominently in the fight against Wood's Halfpenny, led by Swift.<sup>13</sup> In 1729, a minor argument broke out when the Lord Mayor claimed the sole right to select guild members without the assistance of the aldermen. Influence within the Assembly was, however, changing. The first signs of this change appeared in 1737 when the lower house protested about the slowness of the Lord Mayor and aldermen to appoint a supervisor to the Ballast Office.<sup>14</sup>

Municipal government faced another obstacle, one which had dogged it during the seventeenth century - the Liberties. Their exemption from the City's writ was irksome but of little importance while they remained relatively insignificant. The late seventeenth century had changed their economic status, especially in the Meath Liberties of Thomascourt and Donore where industrial development had begun in earnest. The Liberties, however, were still not prepared to acquiesce to the City's authority. There are isolated statements which indicate the Liberties were prepared to defend their exemptions from civic interference. In a most explicit statement, made in c.1712-13, they asserted that they were places 'of free trade like those of Westminster & ye Strand neare London' where the 'greatest and best Artists' had established

themselves in order to be 'free of the Arbitrary power of the master and wardens of the Corporacons'. This power had been the 'Sole Ruine of Trade' since it sought to increase trade for the guild at the expense of all non-guild tradesmen. In addition the rules governing apprenticeship 'greatly discourages Youth to become apprentices because their service is soe much longer for the sake of their Master than for their owne ... needs'. Furthermore any act which required, as a prerequisite to setting up business in the Liberties, a seven-year apprenticeship, would be 'Injurious ... [and a] discouragemt to protestant artists to come over'.<sup>15</sup>

The guilds' monopoly of trade and cultural exclusiveness was also challenged by the growing numbers of Catholic merchants and artisans.<sup>16</sup> Superficially the guilds position seemed unassailable yet gradually, as the eighteenth century progressed, their power and influence slowly declined. At the heart of the decline lay the quarterage dispute. Although legislation excluded Catholics from participating in the life of corporate towns, limited access to the freedoms enjoyed by Protestants could be gained by their becoming a guild 'quarter-brother'. From an early stage quarterage had been a welcome source of additional revenue for the guilds, but the manner in which they chose to exact their 'dues' came to be increasingly resented. The rumblings of dissent grew as the century progressed, and the more arbitrary the guilds' actions the louder the dissent. Finally, many guilds were forced to abandon their demands for quarterage. Moreover, the bye-laws which had sought to excluded Catholics from controlling trade failed. The numbers of influential and wealthy Catholic merchants gradually increased.

Early eighteenth-century Dublin was battered by economic crises. The War of the Spanish Succession which raged between 1702 and 1713, the economic effects of poor harvests, the South Sea Bubble scandal of 1720 were all to leave their mark upon the economy. The down-turn in the city's fortunes was witnessed at first hand by William King. Conditions were particularly hard in the late winter of 1720. The South Sea affair had resulted in vast sums of money being sent out of the country and trade was severely hindered because of the lack of ready currency. Those who still had cash

reserves refused to use them.<sup>17</sup> In March 1720[/21] King wrote that 'there is a mighty cry of poverty thro the whole town especialy from those, that are concerned in the weaving trade, who are starving for want of imployment'.<sup>18</sup> Later in the same month he wrote:

I will [say] no more of the S.S. but it has surely made us miserable to a high degree if starving be a misery, I lately had a Petition from 300 familys concerned in the Linnen, Silk & woollen Trade, I lay'd it before the Government with another to the Justices & Councill upon which I was ordered to enquire into the Truth of the matter, & thereupon I procured the several ministers Church wardens & other substantiall citizens to go thro' the parishes & to enquire & see the Circumstances of the Petitioners they have done so in most Parishes & returned the names of above 1300 besides wives and children who are all out of employment & starving, having sold everything to get bread, I was of opinion before that  $\frac{1}{3}$  of this City needed Charity, but this and other enquiries have assured me that at least one half are in a Lamentable State I have ordered a collection in every Church for them & engaged the clergy to represent their case in the most effectuall manner to their people, but alas this and all the subscriptions I can get for them is nothing in respect of their wants, most of our Gentry & officers civic and Military are in england, those that are here cannot get their rents from their Tents, the Merchts have no trade, shopkeepers need Charity and the cry of the whole people is loud for bread, God knows what will be the consequence, many are starved & I am affraid many more will.<sup>19</sup>

By the start of the eighteenth century Dublin's importance within the British Isles was undisputed, yet despite the trappings of power - the vice-regal court, Parliament, the law courts - it remained a colonial capital. Ultimate power still rested with London. The Lord Lieutenant was appointed in effect by the crown's London-based ministers, and the final authority for Irish legislation remained with the English Parliament. Nevertheless, within the confines of Ireland, the city enjoyed an unique position and her contribution towards the economy of the country was vital. Dublin was the country's premier port and her contribution to customs receipts remained at or above 50% throughout the eighteenth century.<sup>20</sup> She was the country's major exporter of linen; the country's major importer of coal, grain, sugar and wine.<sup>21</sup> The growth in manufacturing activity, which had begun in the seventeenth century, continued with the range of manufacture increasing to meet the demands of a rising urban population. Much of the country's needs in broadcloths and silk were met by cloth woven in Dublin, and the city was home to many textile-related trades. The city's cultural dominance fostered a thriving publishing trade in both books and newspapers. Dublin provided the wealthy, and the influential, with entertainment - coffee houses,



assemblies, pleasure gardens and the theatre. These attractions proved a powerful magnet and the city's population continued to grow rapidly. In 1706, 3.3% of the country's population lived in Dublin. By 1725 the figure had risen to 3.8%.<sup>22</sup>

A mass of conflicting evidence confronts those attempting to estimate the size of eighteenth-century Dublin. South's Returns made in 1695-6; the *Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin*; Archbishop King; Monck Mason; the intermittent Bills of Mortality and parochial returns; all provide 'evidence', but because the sources are unreliable analysis is difficult. Indeed the Bills of Mortality returned by the parishes were regarded as suspect even at the time they were created. On 20 December 1712, Archbishop King wrote to the Dublin clergy complaining that: 'no care [was] taken to give true & accurate account of returns from the clerks of parishes'. He returned the bills and asked for each to be compared with the actual books and any discrepancies found were to be reported back to him.<sup>23</sup> The short-comings which applied to parochial evidence, drawn from MMVLs and ABs, in the seventeenth century are equally relevant for the eighteenth century. Nevertheless some assessment of Dublin's growth, the dispersal of wealth within the city, and her changing religious profile is possible.

During the latter part of the seventeenth century while growth within the city as a whole appears to have slowed<sup>24</sup> certain parts of Dublin were expanding very rapidly. For example, development to the north of the city, especially on the Jervis estate, brought about the creation of three new parishes in 1697.<sup>25</sup> The exact number of people living in the city, however, remains a matter for conjecture. In 1991, in a reassessment of the city's growth, Patrick Fagan revised South's estimates for 1695 upwards from 40,508 to 47,000.<sup>26</sup> Contemporary comment, however, advocated a somewhat larger city. A report commissioned for William King c.1695 noted that Dublin held approximately 40,000 Protestants.<sup>27</sup> At a time when the city's religious divide has been estimated to have been approximately 68% Protestant : 32% Catholic,<sup>28</sup> Dublin's population may therefore have been as high as 58,823. This

estimate seems somewhat unrealistic, especially when compared with South's figures. In reality the city's population was more probably nearer to 50,000.

The eighteenth century saw very considerable, if spasmodic, growth which resulted in the creation of new parishes (St Anne's, St Luke's and St Mark's) and the dis-uniting of St Catherine's and St James' in 1707. A survey was undertaken c.1710[/11] to ascertain the number of citizens within the city entitled to bear arms. It found that 17,709 citizens were qualified to bear arms: 12,048 Protestants and 5,661 Catholics. If Petty's assumption that one-sixth of the population was entitled to bear arms is correct, Dublin's population in c.1710[/11] may have been as high as 106,254.<sup>29</sup> This is probably an over-estimation for Swift, writing in c.1722, claimed that:

they have found out all the commodious and inviting places for erecting new houses, while fifteen hundred of the old ones, which is a seventh part of the whole city, are said to be left uninhabited and falling into ruin.<sup>30</sup>

If Swift's estimation was, for once, correct then there were approximately 10,500 houses in Dublin c.1722 and the city's population was probably in excess of 84,000 - a more realistic estimation.<sup>31</sup>

By 1728, the city's growth was such that despite the boundary revisions made in 1697 and 1707 Dublin had insufficient churches to meet the need of its inhabitants. A memorandum was sent to George II by Archbishop King explaining the situation:

That the City and Suburbs of Dublin By the increas of Buildings are become so great and the inhabitants so numerous that the Old Churches are not capable of receiving one fourth part of the conformable Protestants and altho Eight new Churches or chappels places of worship have been added within a few years yet there is not room for one half of such as woud come to Devine Service onn the Lords day.

That it has been under consideration to build four new Churches or Chapels that is one in St Mark Parish where the foundations are now laying, Another in St Michans where there are about 14 Thousand Souls for the Building of which the City of Dublin have already given ground, and another in a suburb called Grangegorman which is at present Extraparochial the Inhabitants have no place to worship in, and the fourth in the parish of St Catherines, where there is about 9 Thousand Inhabitants.

Your Petr<sup>r</sup> farther Sheweth that there is no fund for Building of new Churches nor any law for taxing the inhabitants for that purpose, and if there were the generality of the people so extreamply poor that it were impossible to raise a sufficient sum to go with such a work.<sup>32</sup>

The changes envisaged in 1728 by King were halted by his death in 1729; the next new Anglican church, St Thomas' was not built until 1749.<sup>33</sup> By 1733, however, Dublin's population was approaching 140,000, and the city held three times as many houses as it had in 1671.<sup>34</sup>

**Table 7:1: The Number of Houses in Dublin 1695-1733**

	South: 1695	CARD: 1718	Monck Mason: 1718	1733
St Audeon's	276	347	240	458
St Michael's	147	175		168
St John's	301	316	360	315
Christ Church Yard	83	45		46
Christ Church Liberty	123	303		364
St Nicholas Within	95	106	94	113
St Werburgh's	328	378		354
St Andrew's	663	1132		
St Andrew's & St Mark's				1174
St Bride's	425	637	446	547
St Peter's & St Kevin's	425	757		721
St Anne's				320
St Nicholas Without	1035	966		1045
St Luke's		542	460	554
St Catherine's	818	1103		1361
St James'		287	452	623
St Michan's	1101	1051	764	1248
St Mary's		1818		1373
St Paul's		345		482
Total	5,820	10,308		11,266

Sources: *CARD*, vi, p575; *CARD*, vii, p577; Monck Mason Papers III/69.

**Table 7:2: Parish-derived Estimates of Houses in Dublin 1695-1729**

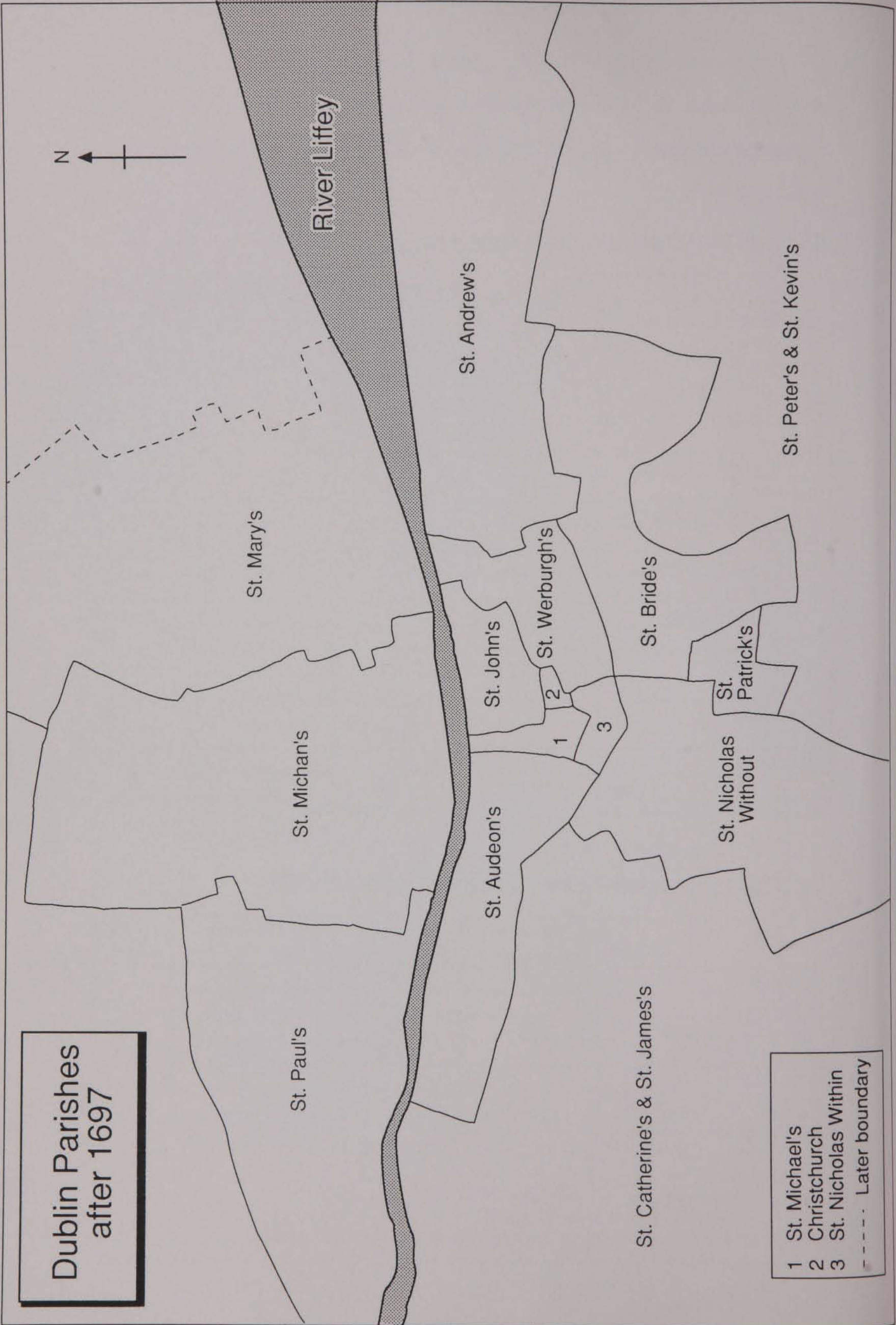
	Estimates made c.1695	Estimates made 1700-10	Estimates made 1711-19	Estimates made 1720-29
St John's	251	261	289	291
St Bride's		653	713	770
St Peter's & St Kevin's	538+	595+		
St Nicholas Without		771	1063	731*
St Michan's			849**	
St Mary's		247++		

Sources: St John's ABs 1659-1696 and 1696-1735; TCD Ms 2062; NLI Ms 5230; St Nicholas Without AB 1707-1725; St Michan's AB 1711-1725; St Mary's VM 1699-1739.

**Notes to Table 7:2**

- \* Figure records number houses in parish after division with St Luke's.
- \*\* Figure taken from an applotment made for church repairs in 1711.
- + All non-domestic buildings and those described as 'additional building' have been excluded.
- ++ Figure derived from subscription list drawn up to raise funds for the building of the church.

# Dublin Parishes after 1697



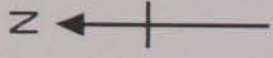
- 1 St. Michael's
- 2 Christchurch
- 3 St. Nicholas Within
- - - - Later boundary

The uneven pattern of Dublin's growth can be seen in Tables 7:1 and 7:2. Although the estimates vary considerably certain conclusions can be drawn. Within the city walls re-development, with the exception of St Audeon's, was static. To the north of the city, however, as Table 7:1 shows, growth was phenomenal.<sup>35</sup> More importantly the development which occurred in this part of the city was largely residential in type and of a high quality. The parishes, but in particular St Mary's, became fashionable and many of Dublin's wealthy and influential citizens settled in this part of the city. Substantial growth also occurred to the south-east, especially in St Andrew's, the city's second fastest growing parish.<sup>36</sup> Here development was more mixed. St Andrew's, for instance, became a fashionable parish. By contrast St Mark's was to evolve into a poor parish. To the south-west the parishes of St Catherine's and St Nicholas Without were also expanding rapidly but the industrial bias of urban growth attracted the less affluent. Therefore by the early eighteenth century a pattern of wealth distribution had begun to emerge and the social contrasts created by these concentrations of wealth were to become more pronounced as the century progressed.

The eighteenth century brought a significant change in the religious profile of the city and although observers continued to describe Dublin as 'more an English than an Irish town;' migration from provincial Ireland was significant enough to arouse critical comment.<sup>37</sup> Behind the fears expressed in 1707 by Dublin's guilds of the serious threat to guild-controlled trade posed by the 'great numbers of Irish papists' settling in Dublin lay the memories of the late 1680s.<sup>38</sup> In 1707, there was little ground for those fears for the c.1710[/11] arms survey was to show a city that was still overwhelmingly Protestant.

Eight years later parochial returns still supported this premise. In 1718, Archbishop King issued a series of questions to the clergy of his diocese. The majority of questions were concerned with the provision of an adequate maintenance for the minister, but Dublin's clergy were also requested to 'compute as near as possible' the religious profile of their parish.<sup>39</sup> A complete survey of the city's parishes does not survive; St Audeon's, however, reported that there were 'few dissenters, but the papists

# Dublin Parishes after 1707



River Liffey

St. Paul's

St. Michan's

St. Mary's

St. Audeon's

St. John's

St. Andrew's

St. Mark's

St. James's

St. Catherine's

1

2

3

St. Werburgh's

St. Bride's

St. Nicholas  
Without

St. Patrick's

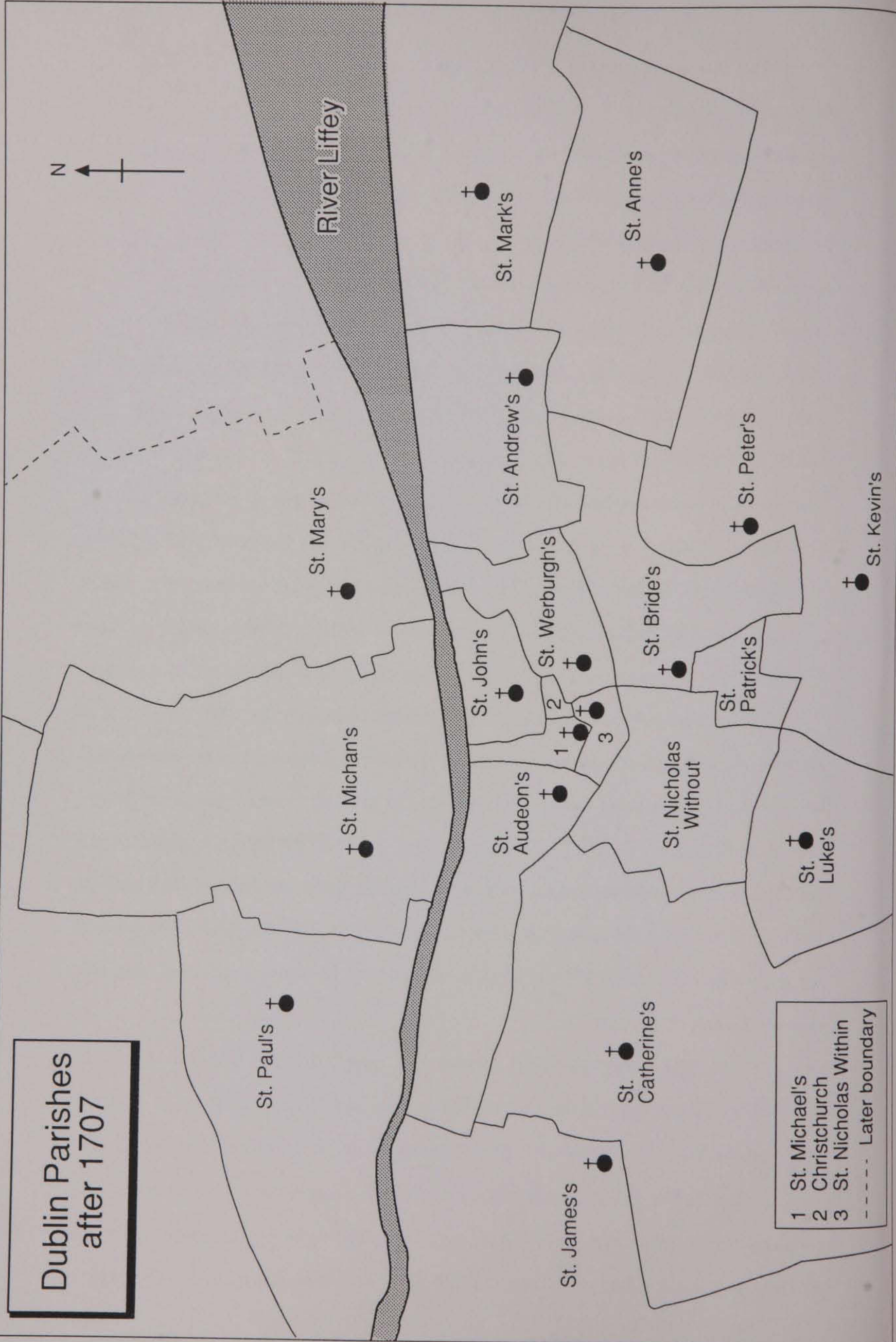
St. Luke's

St. Anne's

St. Peter's

St. Kevin's

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



are 8 or 10 times more than both protestants, Conformists & dissenters'. St Michan's found the inhabitants around the markets so 'variable' that their numbers could not be assessed; but, for the remainder of the parishes, Anglicans outnumbered Catholics by three to one. If the Dissenter totals are added, the Protestants outnumbered Catholics by approximately four to one.<sup>40</sup>

**Table 7:3: The Religious Profile of the Inhabitants of Dublin Parishes in 1718**

	Anglican	Dissenter	Catholic
St Bride's	2827	318	528
St John's	1000	200	300
St Nicholas Within	668	315	323
St Luke's	2438	823	1116
Total	6,933	1,656	2,267

Source: Monck Mason Papers, Vol III/69.

The Catholic population, however, was growing and was supported by an increasing number of priests. In 1722, St Michan's Memorial Book noted instructions issued by Archbishop King's to his clergy. They were urged to pursue their pastoral duties with diligence for, wrote King:

I am informed That there are at present more Popish clergy, Seculars & Regulars in this kingdom and Particularly in the City than at any time heretofore, That they use great Industry & Artifice to Seduce the People, and especially the Meaner & more ignorant.<sup>41</sup>

By 1727, King estimated there were twice as many Catholic priests as Protestant ministers.<sup>42</sup> The change in religious demography was gradual but, by the time of King's death in 1729, Anglican numbers had diminished. This change was noted by Arthur Dobbs in 1731. He observed 'that catholics and dissenters were equal in number to, if they did not exceed, members of the established church'.<sup>43</sup> It is possible that by 1732-3 the Protestant share of the population had dropped to approximately 50%.<sup>44</sup> Dobbs' observation is borne out by the Hearth Tax returns for Dublin which recorded that there were 10,751 Protestant families and 10,455 Catholic families in 1731-3.<sup>45</sup>

**Inner City  
Parishes 1707**

St. Paul's

**Smith Field**

St. Michan's

St. Mary's



River Liffey

St. Audeon's

St. Michael's

Christ Church

St. John's

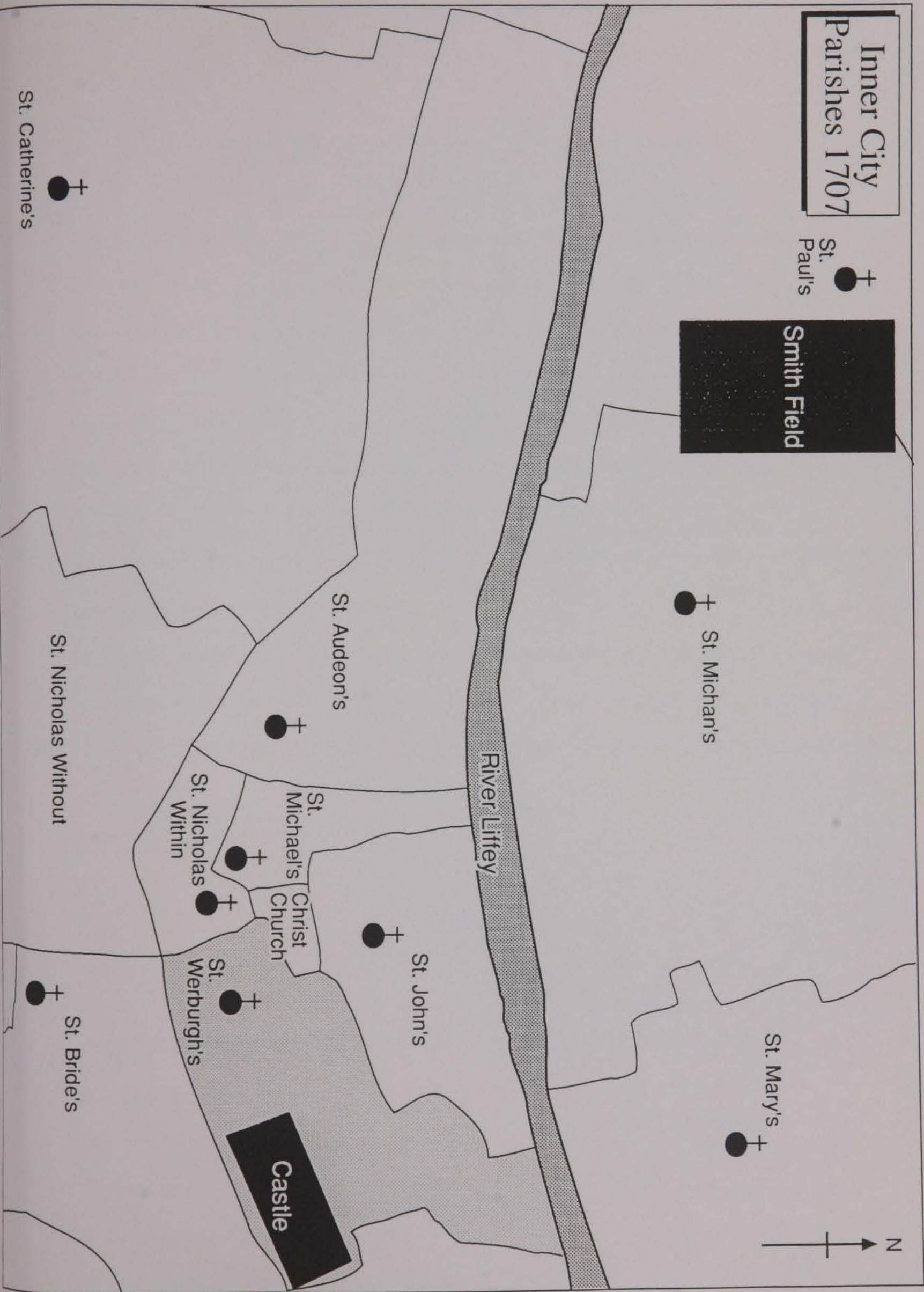
St. Werburgh's

**Castle**

St. Nicholas Within

St. Nicholas Without

St. Catherine's





## Parochial Overview 1700-1730

By the onset of the eighteenth century Dublin's uneven pattern of urban development was a firmly established trend. What effect did this have upon the parishes? Were there any repercussions for parochial prosperity associated with the expansion which did take place? In an effort to understand of how the city perceived eighteenth century development it is necessary to once again examine growth from a parochial perspective.

### Parishes Within the City Walls

The eighteenth century brought no new parishes to the intra-mural city and the boundaries of St Werburgh's, St John's, St Michael's, St Audeon's and St Nicholas Within remained unchanged.

#### St Werburgh's

At the beginning of the eighteenth century St Werburgh's was still a wealthy parish. The old church which had become too small and was structurally unsound was pulled down. The new church, begun in 1716, has been ascribed to Thomas Burgh and Allesandro Galilei<sup>46</sup> although the design for the facade is based on da Volterra's church of Santa Chiara in Rome.<sup>47</sup> Funds to pay for the rebuilding were raised from a variety of sources. The sale of land donated to the parish by George I raised £2,000; further funds were raised by a public subscription, a parish cess and pew sales.<sup>48</sup> By 1719, when the parishioners, who had worshipped in St Bride's while the new church was being built, returned, the reconstruction was incomplete and had cost approximately £8000.<sup>49</sup> In fact the church's facade was never completed in accordance with the original design. In 1728[/29], James Southwell's legacy prompted some new building. He left £431/8/0d for a ring of bells and a clock on condition that the building of a steeple was completed within three years.<sup>50</sup> The steeple, built with a contribution of £300 from the Corporation, was begun in 1729; a wooden dome and cross were added in 1731.<sup>51</sup> In 1715, the parish was described, by the parishioners themselves, as being made up 'in the most part [of] tradesmen and shopkeepers'.<sup>52</sup> St. Werburgh's had a

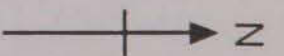
**Inner City  
Parishes 1707**

†  
●  
St. Paul's

**Smith Field**

†  
●  
St. Michan's

†  
●  
St. Mary's



River Liffey

St. Audeon's

†  
●

St. Michael's

†  
●

Christ Church

St. Nicholas Within

†  
●

St. Werburgh's

†  
●

St. John's

†  
●

**Castle**

St. Nicholas Without

St. Catherine's

†  
●

St. Bride's

†  
●

small number of Catholic inhabitants. In 1697, there was one only secular priest, James Russell, who lived with a Mr Geoghan in Cook Street.<sup>53</sup> By 1731, the parish had no secular or regular Roman Catholic clergy at all.<sup>54</sup>

### St John's

St John's church, on the edge of Christ Church Liberty, had been rebuilt between 1680 and 1682. By 1740, however, it was in such a dangerous condition that it had to be shored up by girders.<sup>55</sup> The parish could not afford to rebuild until 1763 when it received a parliamentary grant of £1000 towards rebuilding costs.<sup>56</sup> Although one visitor described the eighteenth-century church as a 'handsome' building, Gilbert was less complementary saying it contained 'neither monuments nor remains of antiquity'.<sup>57</sup> The eighteenth-century parish was full of contrasts. On Fishamble Street could be found the General Post Office, the Music Hall, and the prison for the Four Courts Marshalsea.<sup>58</sup> Dublin's Theatre Royal was situated in Smock Alley, briefly but unsuccessfully renamed Orange Street.<sup>59</sup> In 1697, although there were no regular priests within the parish, St John's had a secular priest '---- Russell'. He was both parish priest and titular dean of St Patrick's.<sup>60</sup> By 1731, the parish's Catholic population were without a priest.<sup>61</sup> St John's maintained its connections with the Huguenot community when a second wave of immigrants settled there after 1692. Robert La Large owned two houses on Blind Quay. Another Blind Quay resident was John Chauvin, a periwigmaker 'of ye french church'.<sup>62</sup> The Duke's Head on Christ Church Lane was leased by Pierre Gareshe.<sup>63</sup>

### St Michael's

St Michael's stood in the shadow of Christ Church cathedral. Although the church was not rebuilt, considerable sums were spent renovating and refurbishing it throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Complaints about its state of disrepair, however, continue to appear in the Vestry minutes.<sup>64</sup> By the end of the eighteenth century, the church had decayed so badly that the parish were forced to use St Mary's Chapel in Christ Church.<sup>65</sup> Something of the character of the early eighteenth-century parish is revealed in the church wardens' expenditure of £1/18/1½d

Inner City  
Parishes 1707

St. Paul's

Smith Field

St. Michan's

St. Mary's

River Liffey

St. Audeon's

St. Michael's

Christ Church

St. John's

Castle

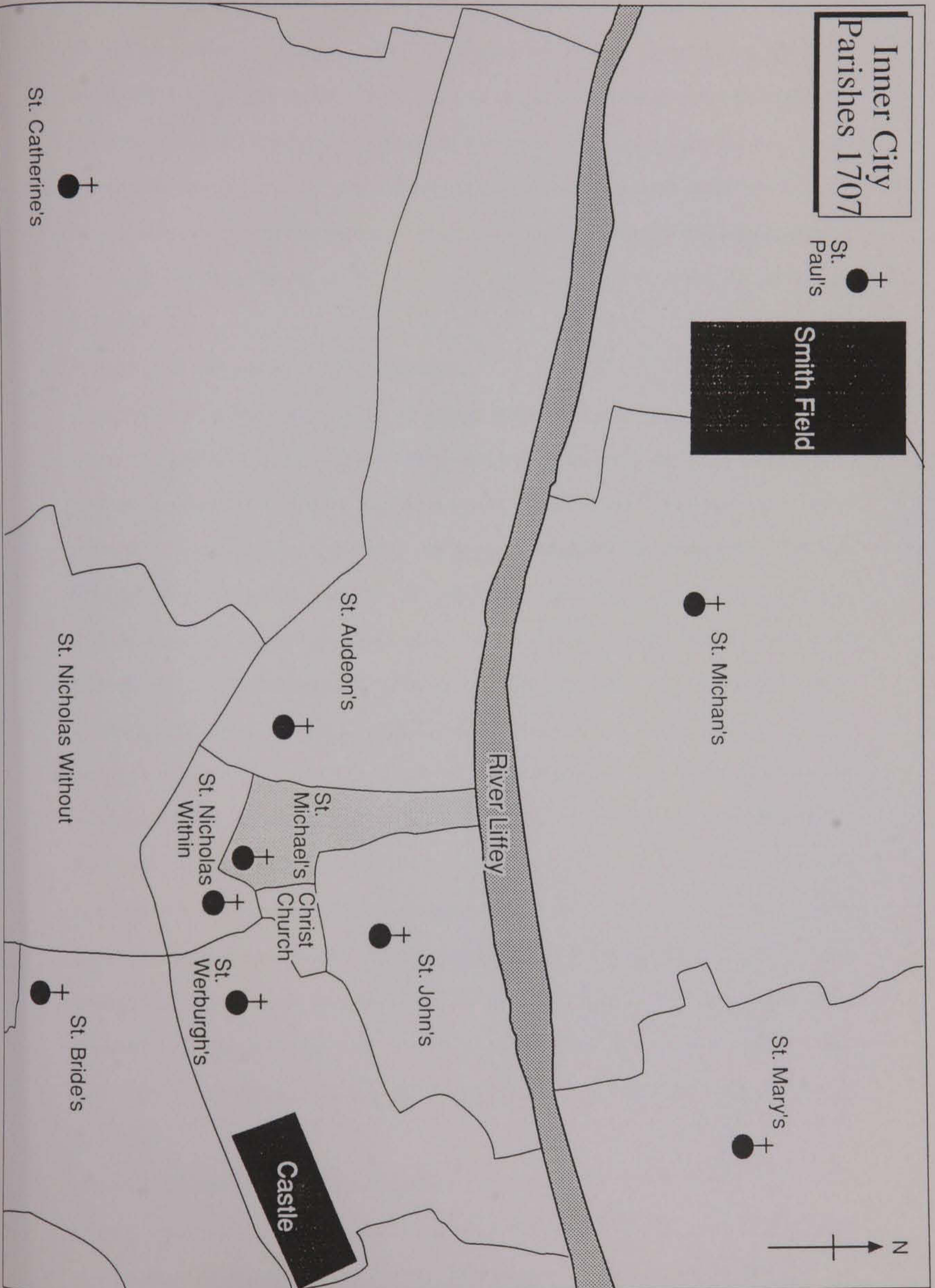
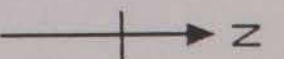
St. Nicholas Within

St. Werburgh's

St. Nicholas Without

St. Bride's

St. Catherine's



when clearing the parish of six bawdy houses in 1721.<sup>66</sup> By the beginning of the eighteenth century a substantial proportion of the parish's population was Catholic. In fact Catholics may have been in the majority c.1710[11].<sup>67</sup> In 1697, seven priests, although resident in St Nicholas', were obliged to officiate and say mass in a chapel in St Michael's and they were forbidden to officiate in any other of the city's seven parishes.<sup>68</sup> The parish continued to attract a large number of Catholics, and by 1731 the parish had three mass houses each with five priests.

### St Audeon's

The eighteenth century saw the gradual decline of the parish as the wealthier inhabitants migrated to the suburbs and were replaced by an increasing number of poorer parishioners, many of whom settled in Cook Street.<sup>69</sup> In 1718, the church was large enough to hold three times the number of Protestant inhabitants who remained in the parish, and although generally well attended 'tis with the inhabitants of St Catherine's and St Nicholas Without'.<sup>70</sup> The parish's population was, and always had been, largely Catholic, and it housed a number of Catholic clergy. In 1697, there were five secular priests resident in the parish; Edmund Murphy - parish priest and supposed Vicar General and four others, two of whom were resident in Cook Street. The parish also had four Dominican friars and a Jesuit living in Cook Street; two Augustinians living in the convent at St Audeon's Arch and a Carmelite at the Convent in Cornmarket. Furthermore at least seven priests had lately 'withdrawne and [are] supposed to be sculking about the towne'.<sup>71</sup> By 1731, the parish had two mass houses and between forty and fifty priests.<sup>72</sup>

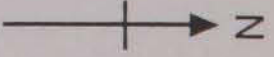
### St Nicholas Within

The parish of St Nicholas Within was Dublin's smallest parish at just over five acres. William King remarked in 1693 that the parish 'had the thinnest congregation in Dublin', adding 'I reckoned one Sunday when there were only thirteen and the minister'.<sup>73</sup> The arrival of Henry Price in 1693, as rector increased the congregation considerably. St Nicholas' church was rebuilt in 1707, but on a modest scale. In 1718,

Inner City  
Parishes 1707

St. Paul's

Smith Field



St. Mary's

St. Michan's

River Liffey

St. John's

St. Audeon's

St. Michael's

Christ Church

St. Werburgh's

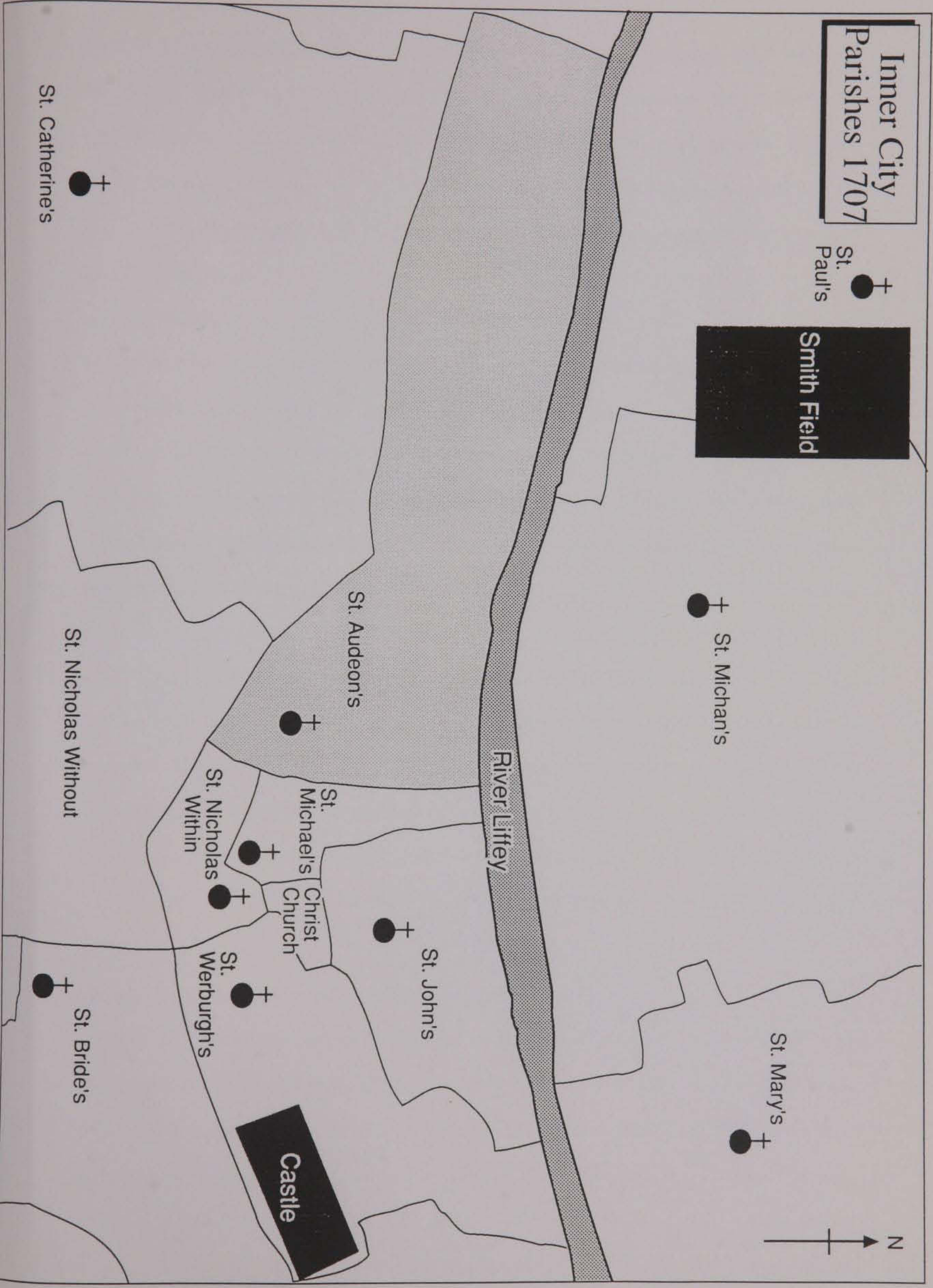
St. Nicholas Within

St. Nicholas Without

Castle

St. Bride's

St. Catherine's



its minister reported that it held only thirty-two pews, which allowing eight to a pew, would seat a maximum of two hundred and seventy people.<sup>74</sup> One of these one was reserved for the Lord Mayor in acknowledgement of the contribution of £150 made by the city to the rebuilding fund.<sup>75</sup> Unlike many Dublin churches, St Nicholas had only a small gallery situated at the west end of the church, which was reserved for the parish children.<sup>76</sup> One of the parish's most notorious residents was Dr John Whalley, a shoemaker, quack, astrologer and founder, in 1714, of the Dublin newspaper *Whalley's Newsletter*.<sup>77</sup> Although the majority of the parish's inhabitants were Protestant, a number of the city's Catholic clergy lived there briefly. The seven secular priests who were resident in the parish in 1697 served all the city parishes.<sup>78</sup> By 1731, however, there were no resident priests in the parish.<sup>79</sup>

During the eighteenth century the Assembly continued to introduce bye-laws which it hoped would improve the quality of city life. In 1693 an ancient law which banned swine from roaming the streets and permitted the killing of such swine was revived.<sup>80</sup> In 1694, a bye-law was introduced which obliged all citizens to sweep before their doors.<sup>81</sup> Such measures may have improved living standards but they did not alleviate the city's congestion. Therefore in 1699, in an effort to improve matters the first, tentative steps in urban planning were initiated. It was decided to pull down Damas Gate, the most public entrance to the city, to allow easier access for coaches.<sup>82</sup> Later other city roads were widened. In 1705, permission to enlarge the passage-way between Dame Street and Sycamore Alley was granted. The estimated cost of the work, approximately £30, was to be borne by the petitioners, Thomas Pooley and William Wybrants. When the work was completed they were to receive £10 from the City.<sup>83</sup> In 1710, the descent from Proudfoot Castle to St John's church was so steep that it was difficult for horse-drawn vehicles to negotiate it. Therefore a plan to lessen the incline and at the same time adjust the gradient on High Street was approved.<sup>84</sup>

Much of Dublin's commercial activity was still conducted within the confines of the old city where the Customs House, Tholsel, law courts and government offices

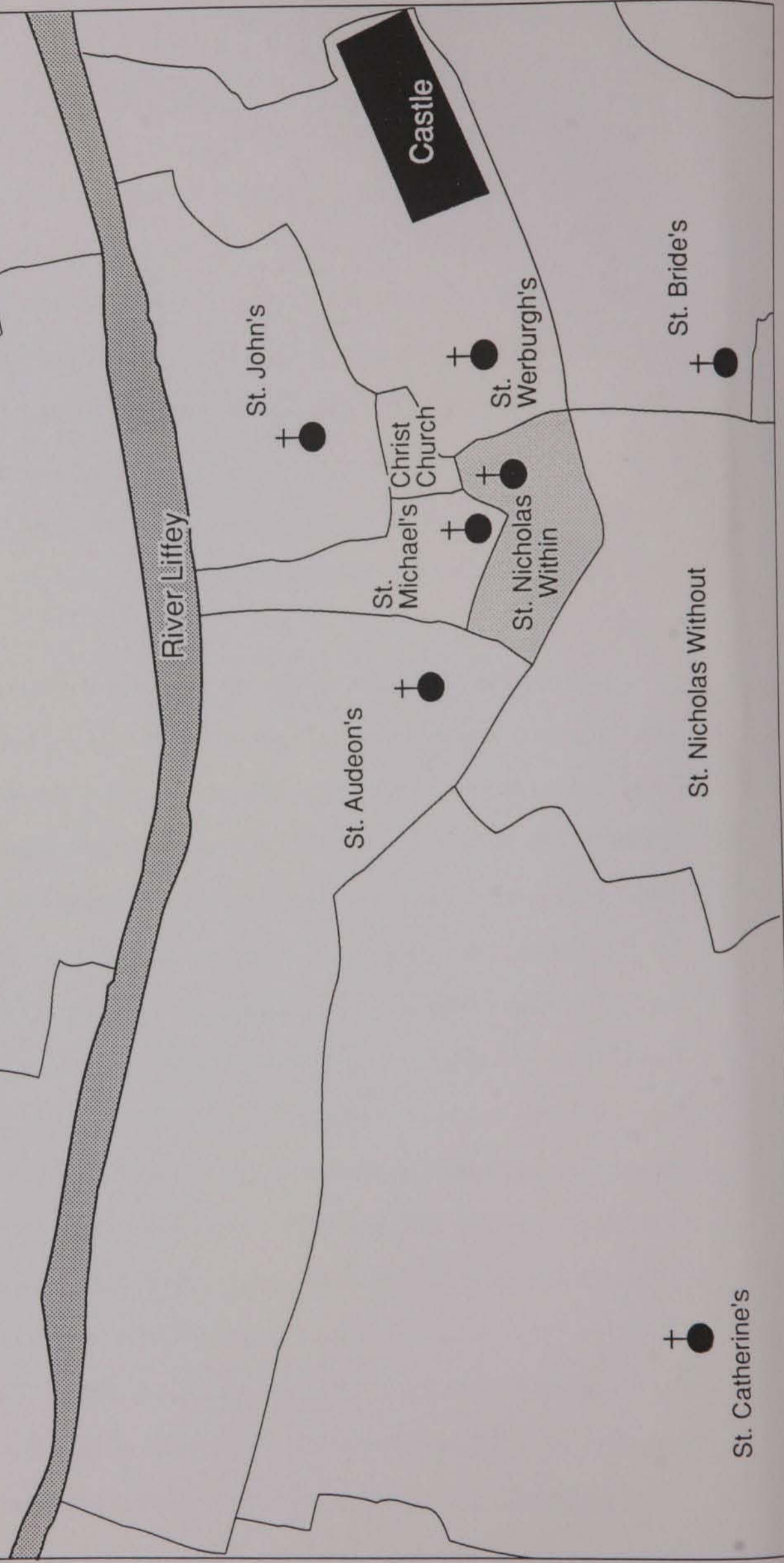
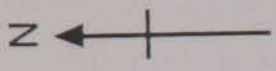
**Inner City  
Parishes 1707**

† ●  
St. Paul's

Smith Field

† ●  
St. Michan's

† ●  
St. Mary's



River Liffey

Castle

St. John's

Christ Church

St. Werburgh's

St. Bride's

St. Michael's

St. Nicholas Within

St. Nicholas Without

St. Audeon's

† ●  
St. Catherine's



were situated. The intra-mural parishes, however, continued to resent the urban expansion which was occurring elsewhere. In 1694, proposals to move the law courts to Oxmantown were vehemently resisted. Already suffering from the removal of the markets, the inhabitants feared the loss the courts would bring about the city's final ruin.<sup>85</sup> In fact the 1690s were not a period of commercial decline. In St John's the number of inhabitants liable for taxation rose steadily between 1691 and 1699 and the parish had found it necessary to create a sixth administrative ward in 1692.<sup>86</sup> The parish's fortunes, however, were adversely affected by the economic difficulties which faced the country from 1710 onwards. For the first time parochial records specify the number of vacant houses within the parish. Although 1712 was a particularly bad year (see Table 7:4), the parish still had to create a new ward (the seventh). In 1718, the parochial records show that twelve houses were vacant, but the minister, in response to King's questionnaire, declared that twenty were ruined.<sup>87</sup>

**Table 7:4: Number of Houses Cessed in St John's Parish 1700-1729**

	Total nos of houses cessed	Nos of waste or empty houses	Location greatest nos empty houses	New houses constructed	Location of new houses
1700	275				
1710	238	11			
1711	269	5			
1712	285	21	6 Winetavern St 8 Smock Alley		
1713	290*	14	6 Fishamble St W 3 Smock Alley		
1714	288*	9		2	Winetavern St
1716	275	12	Smock Alley		
1720	290	5		1	Winetavern St
1722	288+	9	5 Fishamble St		
1724	301	4		3	1 Wood Quay 2 Winetavern St
1729	291	15	6 Wood Quay 4 Blind Quay		
1730	296	12	7 Wood Quay		

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

**Notes to Table 7:4:** \* Exchequer Office has been excluded from the table.

+ The playhouse situated in Smock Alley has been excluded from the table.



The Front of St. Warburghs Church.

Although individual fortunes varied, the gradual decline in new development within the city which began with the onset of the new century effected every parish.<sup>88</sup> In St John's re-development was slow and the number of empty houses in the parish fluctuated. This may explain its diminishing expenditure on sacramental bread and wine but a drop in the number of communicants may also indicate a change in the parish's religious profile. In 1714-15 bread and wine cost the parish £10 *per annum*. From 1716 to 1721 expenditure gradually declined reaching its lowest point, £6/6/6d, in 1720. Thereafter outlay varied, rising briefly between 1723 and 1725 to an average of £8 *per annum*.<sup>89</sup> This improved spending coincided with an upturn in development. On 20 August 1724, the parish returned valuations on twenty-two previously unvalued houses. Growth was unevenly distributed throughout the parish. Wood Quay and Blind Quay had only two valuations each, whereas nine houses were valued on Fishamble Street, and seven on Orange Street, alias Smock Alley.<sup>90</sup> The quality of development also varied, and valuations ranged from £30 on Fishamble Street to £5 on Blind Quay.<sup>91</sup>

In St Michael's, the pattern of urban development was very similar to St John's, but the number of communicants did not fluctuate to the same extent. Between 1719 and 1723, expenditure on bread and wine varied between £3 and £4 *per annum*. It then rose steadily, until 1729, when it reached £5/19/7d.<sup>92</sup> When St Michael's valuation was made in c.1726 twenty-four properties, spread throughout the parish, were assessed. Unlike St John's, the valuation specified that twenty-one of the properties were newly built. They varied in value, but over half, 58%, were assessed at £10 or over.<sup>93</sup> The remaining new houses were valued between £3 and £7. The three properties which were not specifically described as new were valued between £14 and £10.<sup>94</sup> Although comparisons between the two valuations show St John's to have a wider range of valuations than St Michael's, the overall standard of development within the two parishes was probably very similar.

St Werburgh's 1715 description of itself as a parish of tradesmen and shopkeepers could be applied equally to all the other city parishes. Some of its

East City  
Parishes after  
1707



River Liffey

Trinity College

St. Mark's

St. Andrew's

Castle

St. Anne's

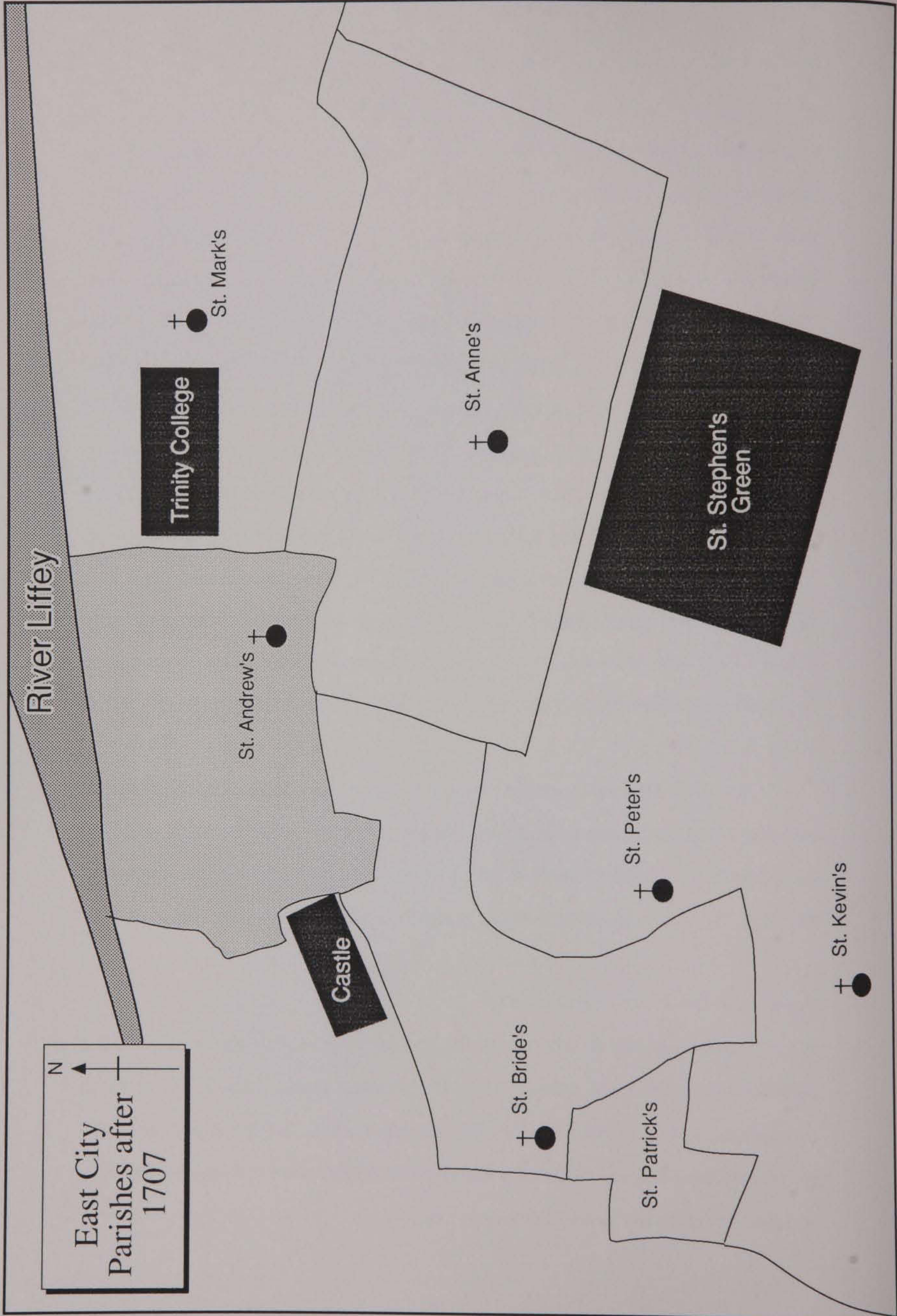
St. Stephen's  
Green

St. Peter's

St. Bride's

St. Patrick's

St. Kevin's



### St Andrew's

St Andrew's served as Parliament's official church and its minister acted as parliamentary chaplain.<sup>100</sup> In 1707, St Andrew's was declared 'too large' and provision was made for it to be divided. This, the legislation stated, could not take place until it became 'vacant by the death, cession, promotion or surrender of the present ... incumbent ... John Travers'.<sup>101</sup> Once this criterion had been met, two separate parishes, St Mark's and St Andrew's, were to be founded. The boundaries of the new St Andrew's were formed to the east by the western sides of Grafton Street, College Lane, Fleet Street and Fleet Alley. The River Liffey formed its northern boundary. To the west and south it was bound by St Werburgh's and St Peter's respectively. The parish retained its earlier popularity with the city's more aristocratic inhabitants. In 1709, College Green was a fashionable address and its residents included Lord Charlemont, the Bishop of Dromore and Sir William Fownes.<sup>102</sup> Other notable residents in 1709 included David Latouche and the Earl of Inchquin, both of whom lived on Dame Street. In 1711, the Lord Chancellor and the Earl of Kildare were among the parish's residents.<sup>103</sup> In 1697, the parish had supported only one Catholic priest '--- Russell'.<sup>104</sup> By 1698, there was a new priest, Edward Byrne, the 'supposed vicar general'.<sup>105</sup> He administered the Dublin diocese during the exile of Dr Creagh and succeeded him as Catholic Archbishop of Dublin in 1707. By 1731, however, there were no Catholic priests within the parish.<sup>106</sup>

### St Anne's

The creation of St Anne's in 1707 owed much to Joshua Dawson. He had begun to develop a large area of land on the north side of St Stephen's Green. On one of the new streets which grew out of this development, Dawson Street, he set aside a plot on which a church, churchyard, vicarage and garden could be built. In recognition of both his donation, and the fact that he was responsible for much of the building within the new parish, Dawson was granted 'the first and next presentation of a vicar or a minister to ... [the] parish of St Anne's'.<sup>107</sup> The new parish was made more viable by combining Dawson's legacy with land taken from St Peter's and St Bride's. St

East City  
Parishes after  
1707



River Liffey

Trinity College

St. Mark's

St. Andrew's

Castle

St. Anne's

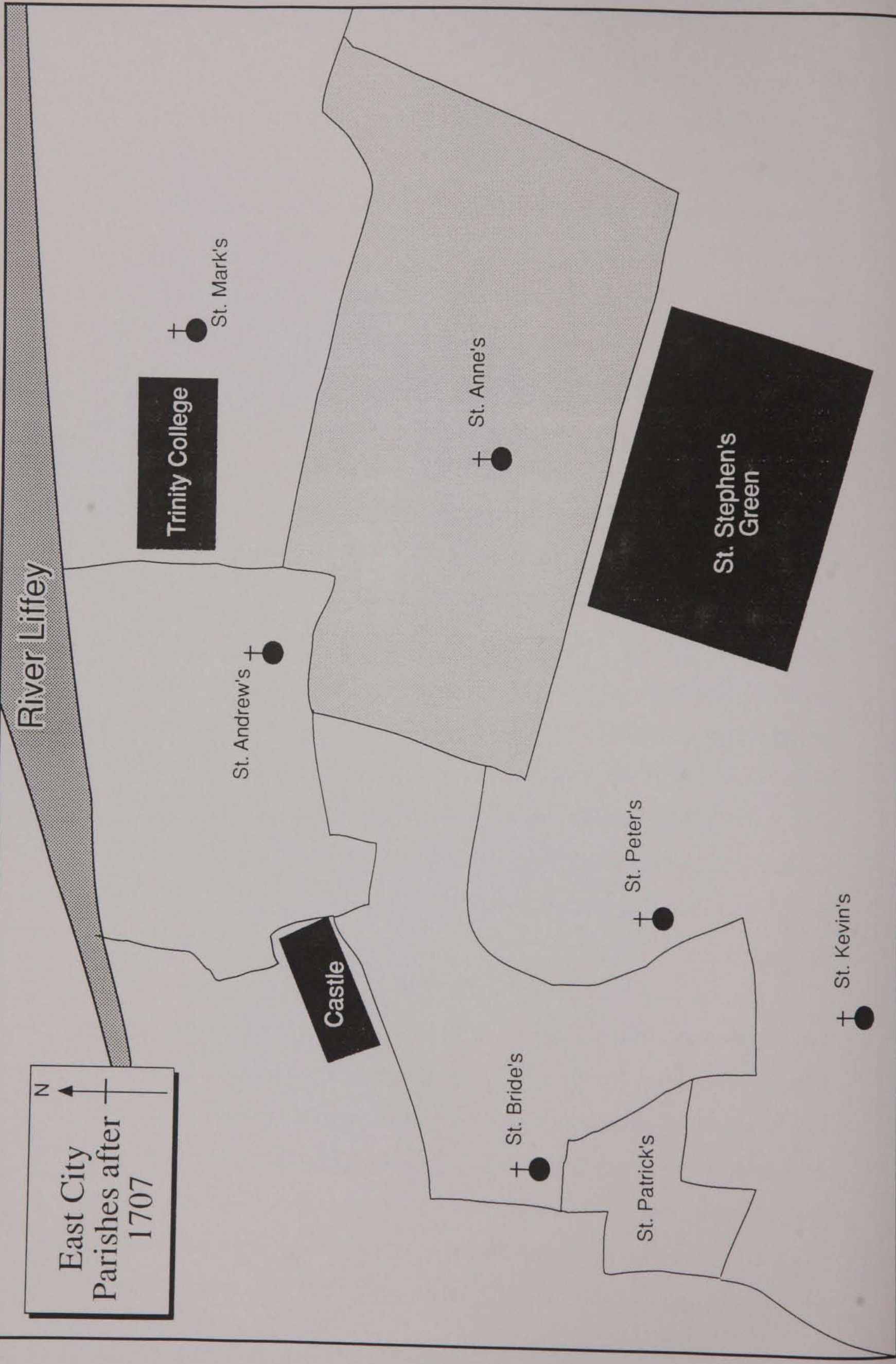
St. Stephen's  
Green

St. Peter's

St. Bride's

St. Patrick's

St. Kevin's



Anne's became an independent parish immediately, but the several boundary revisions needed to create it could only be initiated when the cures of St Peter's and St Bride's became vacant.<sup>108</sup> The parish stretched eastwards from William Street to Merrion Street; and northwards from King Street and the northern side of St Stephen's Green to Chequer Lane and Patrick's Well Lane.<sup>109</sup> The church's design, a direct copy of a da Volterra church in Rome, is credited to Isaac Wills.<sup>110</sup> It was begun in c.1720, but soon ran into financial troubles, and was never completed beyond its first storey.<sup>111</sup> This did not deter developers as Archbishop King observed in 1725:

Mr Jos Dawson purchased a piece of ground which cost but a small sum of money by St Stephens Green, began with laying the foundation of a Church and erecting by Act of Parlement the Parish of St Annes, the Consequence that he set his Ground for above 500/ pound pann and now has Dawson Street one of the best in Dublin built upon it, Sr Humphry Jervis gave ground for a Church over the Water, now St Marys which has thriven so prodigiously that we are now about deviding it.<sup>112</sup>

In 1731, the parish had no 'Popish Chappel or reputed Nunery, or Fryery or Popish School'.<sup>113</sup>

### St Bridget's/ Bride's

By 1707 St Bride's had, as the map shows, changed considerably. The parish had lost approximately one-third of its territory to St Peter's in 1686. Another one-third was lost with the formation of St Anne's. By the beginning of the eighteenth century urban development had overrun the parish. In 1702, Parliament had ordered Dublin's parishes to plant 21,500 trees. Each parish was given a quota,<sup>114</sup> but St Bride's claimed the parish had no vacant land on which to plant its quota of 200 trees.<sup>115</sup> Despite this apparent lack of space the MMVLs show urban development did take place within the parish.<sup>116</sup> Between 1710 and 1724 two hundred and sixteen new properties were built.<sup>117</sup> In order to accommodate the influx of new residents St Bride's Vestry had, in 1705, granted the church wardens permission to construct one or more galleries to accommodate the increasing number of parishioners.<sup>118</sup> In 1718, in answer to King's questionnaire, the church was described as large and convenient. The manse house was very old, but in good repair although some distance from the church.<sup>119</sup> St Bride's had a non-conforming Huguenot congregation who had

# M A P O F THE PARISH OF SAINT BRIDGET'S OR BRIDE'S,

TAKEN FROM AN ACTUAL SURVEY IN THE YEAR 1788.  
WITH HISTORICAL REMARKS AND DEMARKS SPECIFYING THE ANCIENT AND PRESENT ALIAS OF THE PARISH.  
(Copied from the St. Patrick's Collection by the kind permission of the Dean.)

The Curates and Ministers of Saint Br. ...  
as well as of all the other Churches belonging  
to the Oconomy are subject to the Dean of  
Saint Patrick's, over whom he exercises Ord-  
inary and Annual (Vicarial) Jurisdiction.  
The following is the present state of the  
Parish of Saint Bridget, together with the emol-  
ments and revenues of the Curate, derived from  
various sources, as also the Parish Estate, and  
other funds applicable to the support of the  
Parochial Schools and the poor—  
• Minister's money ... £370 11 3  
Two houses in Great Ship St.,  
let in 1794 for sixty years,  
at £30 Irish per annum ... 27 12 10  
A small house adjoining there,  
let at will from year to  
year ... 20 0 0  
Fees for Marriages ... £10 4 0  
Bustles for sales ... 17 5 0  
... 25 0 0

**OUTGOINGS.**  
The present Curate pays two  
yearly annuities of £50 each,  
the Ecclesiastical Commis-  
sioners for Ireland to the  
Senior Curate, and £30 to  
the Junior Curate ... £100 0 0  
Bride's Parish was formerly one of the most  
wealthy and opulent parts of Dublin, but has of  
late years become much impoverished, so that  
the full amount of Ministers' money has not  
been paid for some time. It is, however,  
highly probable that the Minister's money  
throughout Ireland will be just on a different  
 footing, and that other means will soon be pro-  
 vided for the payment of the full amount. In  
 such an event the four parishes in Dublin  
 belonging to the Dean and Chapter will be  
 greatly increased.

**PAROCHIAL ESTATE, AND OTHER  
SOURCES FOR THE SUPPORT OF  
THE SCHOOLS, POOR, &c.**  
A house in Bride Street,  
called the Queen's House,  
set at £30 per annum (this  
was a great Hotel formerly) ... £30 0 0  
House in Little Ship Street,  
set at per annum ... 13 0 0  
House in Great Caffe Street ... 22 3 1  
House in Grafton Street, set  
for per annum ... 43 0 0  
From Mercer's Charity, per  
annum ... 21 1 6  
Amount of annual Estate ... 131 4 7

The following Donations have been made to  
the parish from time to time—  
From Mr. Bachelors, for ... £300 0 0  
Lease Fund ... 100 0 0  
Annuity ... 1,000 0 0  
Bank Stock ... 6,000 0 0  
Grand Total Debentures ... £7,400 0 0  
The Interest thereof to be applied to the  
support of schools, sick poor, and in loans.  
Disputes having arisen heretofore with regard  
to bounds of parishes, to prevent which it is  
considered necessary to give the student and  
most authentic Survey of the Parishes, whereby  
the most accurate information is afforded.  
† These double houses, and with them 1700.



- REFERENCES TO MAP FROM ST. PATRICK'S.**
- 1. Saint Bridget's Church and Greenpark.
  - 2. Church of Saint Michael Le Poit, now Saint Bridget's School and Greenpark.
  - 3. Saint Stephen's Church, now Mater's Hospital and Theatre of Anatomy.
  - 4. Bridget's Court, now annexed to the Gaols. Quaker-Master Green's Office.
  - 5. Matagon's Alley, formerly Anny's Theatre. Big Flower Lane, now building street.
  - 6. Little Mangle Lane, now Drury Street. Chapter Lane, now Lane, and a street.
  - 7. The French Church and Burial ground, now a school house.
- REFERENCES TO MAP FROM ST. PATRICK'S.**
- 8. Widener's Alley House.
  - 9. Queen's South's House, where probably the Dean was born.
  - 10. Bishop Droghda's House, where (Præmion) Madden was born.
  - 11. The Old White Horse Inn.
  - 12. The White Horse Inn.
  - 13. The White Horse Inn.
  - 14. The White Horse Inn.
  - 15. The White Horse Inn.
- BOUNDARY IN THE YEAR 1700.**

1788.—On 24th April, the Dean and Chapter of Saint Patrick's, Dublin, granted to the Dean of Saint Bridget's, Dublin, a new Charter, which was confirmed by the Dean of Saint Patrick's, Dublin, on the 24th of the same month. This Charter confirmed the Dean of Saint Bridget's in the possession of the original and identical Seal annexed or appended to the confirmatory Charter, which is still in perfect preservation at South Terrace, near St. Paul's Alley, during the repairs.

1788.—King John further endowed the Church of Saint Patrick with revenues, which were confirmed by Pope Innocent III., who likewise confirmed to Henry III. of England, Archbishop of Dublin, the confirmation of Pope Honorius III., bearing date the 3th year of his Pontificate, 1212. Saint Patrick enjoys to this day the immunities granted under and by virtue of the latter mentioned Charters, particularly the Parish of Saint Bridget's, described in the Map herein delineated, and which shows the present bounds of the Parish of Saint Bridget, or Bride's, although it was granted to the Curate of Saint Patrick's by Archbishop Cantyn, did in more ancient times belong to the Cathedral of the Holy and Undivided Trinity—a Parish which is now united to the Parish of Saint Bridget, in the City of Dublin, by the Act of the Parliament of Great Britain, in the 1st year of the present King's Majesty, George III., which Act authorized the Dean and Chapter of Saint Bridget's to contract, by which those parishes became united, and all the power and rights of the Dean and Chapter theretofore exercised by them were confirmed. Statutes stood on the subject of the Dean and Chapter of Saint Bridget's, which were repealed by the Act of the Parliament of Great Britain, in the 1st year of the present King's Majesty, George III., which Act authorized the Dean and Chapter of Saint Bridget's to contract, by which those parishes became united, and all the power and rights of the Dean and Chapter theretofore exercised by them were confirmed.

1788.—On 24th August, 1788, the Dean and Chapter of Saint Patrick's, Dublin, granted to the Dean of Saint Bridget's, Dublin, a new Charter, which was confirmed by the Dean of Saint Patrick's, Dublin, on the 24th of the same month. This Charter confirmed the Dean of Saint Bridget's in the possession of the original and identical Seal annexed or appended to the confirmatory Charter, which is still in perfect preservation at South Terrace, near St. Paul's Alley, during the repairs.

1788.—On 24th August, 1788, the Dean and Chapter of Saint Patrick's, Dublin, granted to the Dean of Saint Bridget's, Dublin, a new Charter, which was confirmed by the Dean of Saint Patrick's, Dublin, on the 24th of the same month. This Charter confirmed the Dean of Saint Bridget's in the possession of the original and identical Seal annexed or appended to the confirmatory Charter, which is still in perfect preservation at South Terrace, near St. Paul's Alley, during the repairs.

1788.—On 24th August, 1788, the Dean and Chapter of Saint Patrick's, Dublin, granted to the Dean of Saint Bridget's, Dublin, a new Charter, which was confirmed by the Dean of Saint Patrick's, Dublin, on the 24th of the same month. This Charter confirmed the Dean of Saint Bridget's in the possession of the original and identical Seal annexed or appended to the confirmatory Charter, which is still in perfect preservation at South Terrace, near St. Paul's Alley, during the repairs.



established a church in Bride's Street after 1692, and made a yearly payment of 10/- to the Anglican minister and church wardens.<sup>120</sup> Another dissenting church was established in 1697.<sup>121</sup> The parish also had a number of Catholic inhabitants although there had been no evidence of Catholic clergy within the parish in 1697. In 1713, however, it was reported that Charles Dempsey, the parish priest was, with 'severall other popish priests ... confined in New Gate ... under the Rule of Transportation'.<sup>122</sup> By 1731, the parish was, once more, devoid of resident Catholic priests and it held no masshouses or Catholic schools. Those who wished, attended the masshouses in either Francis Street or Hawkins Street.<sup>123</sup>

### St Peter's & St Kevin's

The new parish church of St Peter's was situated on Aungier Street near its junction with York Road and had been paid for by public subscription. Over one hundred and thirty citizens had contributed nearly £700 towards its building costs.<sup>124</sup> All the church's resident benefactors were assigned seats by the Vestry in recognition of their various contributions.<sup>125</sup> The interior layout of the church was drawn in the Vestry minutes in 1693. The ground floor plan shows a simple rectangle, with square chancel and box pews. A second storey housed a gallery and the organ. A stone porch was added to the west door in 1708, and a new organ costing £150 was bought in 1713.<sup>126</sup> By 1724, however, the church had begun to decay and the roof and south wall were described as in a 'Tottering condition'.<sup>127</sup> Meanwhile, St Kevin's had been allowed to fall into disrepair. In 1698, at the request of the Lords Justices, it was offered as a place of worship to the French Protestants. They in return were to repair and maintain the church for as long as they chose to use it.<sup>128</sup> Although urban development within the parish had prompted Archbishop King to consider dividing the parish as early as 1704<sup>129</sup> no changes were made until 1707 when St Anne's was formed. A new northern boundary was created which ran along King's Street, St Stephen's Green and Merrion Street.<sup>130</sup> In 1630, at the time of Archbishop Bulkeley's visitation, the parish had been united with St Bride's and therefore no estimates had

East City  
Parishes after  
1707



River Liffey

Trinity College

St. Mark's

St. Andrew's

Castle

St. Anne's

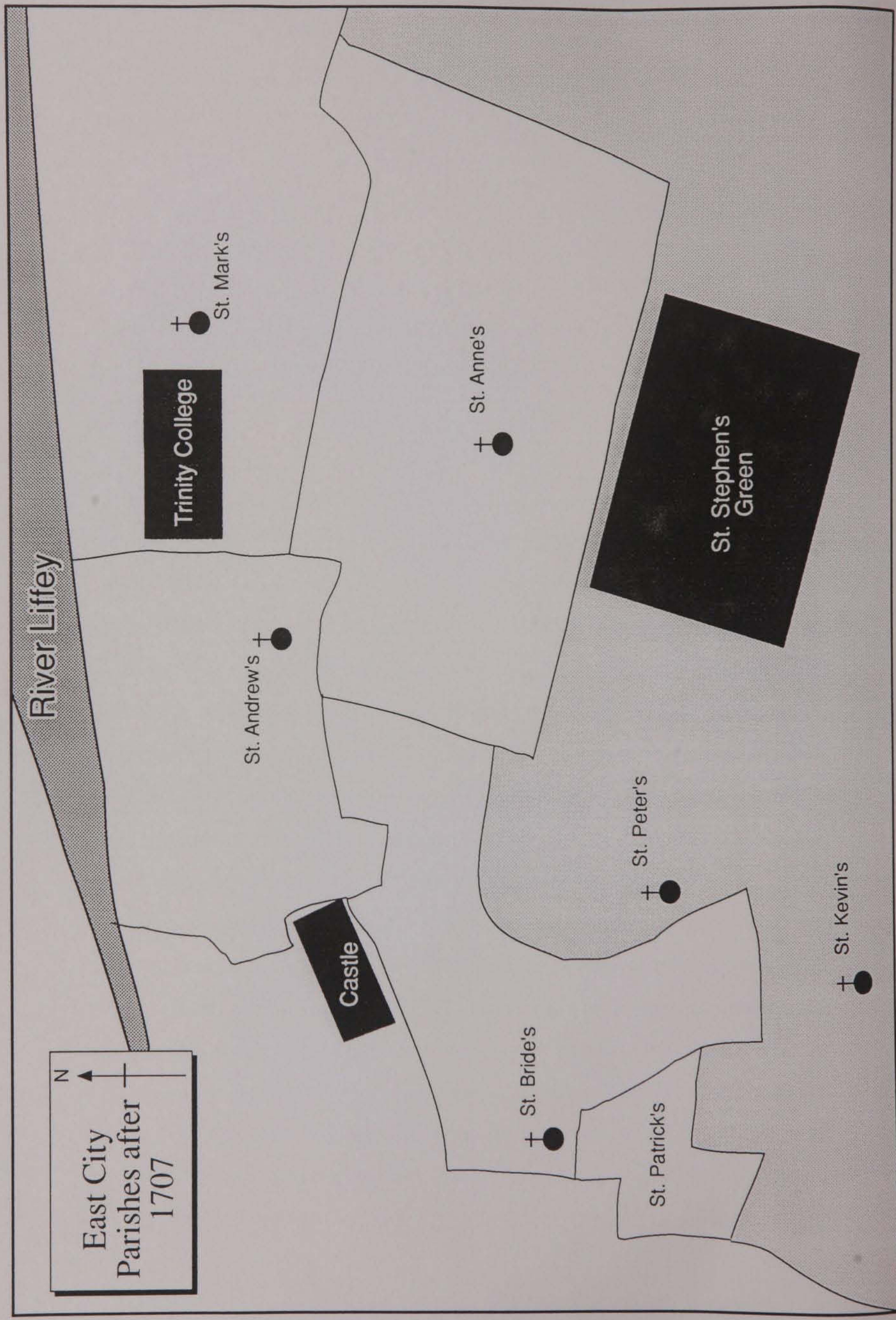
St. Stephen's  
Green

St. Peter's

St. Bride's

St. Patrick's

St. Kevin's



been made of its Catholic population. In 1697, however, the parish housed no Catholic priests.<sup>131</sup> A situation which remained unchanged in 1731.<sup>132</sup>

### St Mark's

St Mark's was founded in 1707 but it did not function as an independent parish until March 1720. The parish was granted land on the south side of Lazy Hill for the church, churchyard and vicarage in a legacy from John Hansard.<sup>133</sup> The parish church, built on Moss Lane, was not begun until 1729, and little was achieved until 1751<sup>134</sup> therefore its first vicar, the Reverend Robert Dougatt, nephew to Archbishop William King, continued as vicar of St Andrew's.<sup>135</sup> The parish of St Mark's lay along the southern banks of the River Liffey on land which had largely been reclaimed from the sea.<sup>136</sup> This reclamation had begun in 1662, when Alderman Hawkins had constructed a 'great wall'. The Ballast Office began building the North and South Walls at the time of the parish's foundation in 1707. These were completed as far as Ringsend in 1728.<sup>137</sup> In 1718, Archbishop King was told that Lazy Hill was 'in much decay, especially since the shutting out of the sea', but it was hoped that the land newly acquired by Sir John Rogerson would do much to improve St Mark's.<sup>138</sup> Development within the area created a parish of strong social contrasts. A dockside neighbourhood rubbed shoulders with the university and the affluent Dawson and Molesworth estates. By 1731, the parish had a Catholic population which met to celebrate mass in an old, but repaired, stable at the back of Lord Ely's house in Hawkins Street. The sole priest, Patrick Doyle, had served the area for the past twenty years and had six assistants.<sup>139</sup>

The creation of new parishes early in the eighteenth century underlines the development which took place in this part of Dublin. Between 1701 and 1718, only the northern suburbs were able to match this rate of expansion.<sup>140</sup> For St Andrew's, the area's fastest growing parish, development was particularly dramatic. Seventeenth-century development had mainly been confined to Lazy Hill. Some development, undertaken by William Mercer c.1700, had begun along the river with the creation of Mercer Dock.<sup>141</sup> The founding of the Ballast Office in 1707 was, however, to prove

River Liffey

Trinity College

St. Mark's

St. Anne's

St. Stephen's  
Green

St. Andrew's

Castle

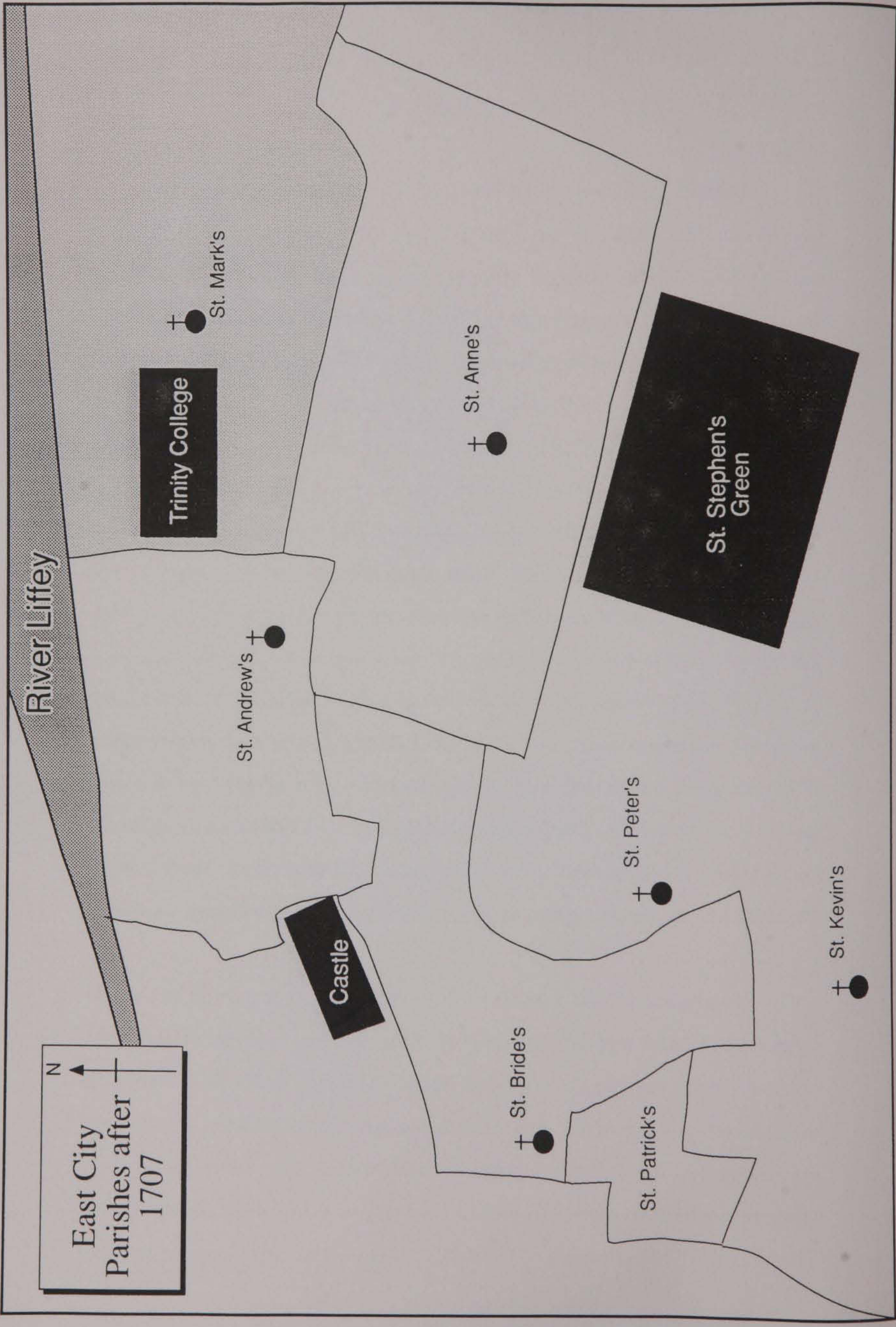
St. Peter's

St. Kevin's

St. Bride's

St. Patrick's

East City  
Parishes after  
1707



decisive. Its purpose was the improvement of Dublin Harbour and the resulting South Wall meant land reclaimed from the sea and, consequently, a much enlarged parish. A considerable amount of this reclaimed land was taken by Sir John Rogerson. In 1713, he received one hundred and thirty-three acres stretching from Lazy Hill to Ringsend which he began to develop immediately.<sup>142</sup> By 1716, the development for which he is remembered, Sir John Rogerson Quay, was underway.<sup>143</sup>

Another would-be developer in this area was David Latouche. In 1718[/19] he had paid £5,000 for a plot of land situated between Sir John Rogerson Quay and Mercer's ground.<sup>144</sup> The purchase was not completed owing to a dispute over the land between the City and Captain Brooks and Latouche was released from his agreement in 1723.<sup>145</sup> Brooks resolved his differences with the City later in 1723 when he undertook to lay out three new streets, each approximately thirty-four feet wide. The ground was divided into fifty-one lots, some of which faced the river, and were to be sold by public auction.<sup>146</sup>

Around St Stephen's Green, a second phase of development was underway - see Table 7:5A. Thirteen new properties were constructed between 1694 and 1702. Development was concentrated on the north and west sides of St Stephen's Green and, as Table 7:5B shows, the valuations given to most of the property suggests a high standard of construction. There were, however, waste plots. On 28 October, 1703, the board of the King's Hospital granted four waste plots to Colonel John Lovet.<sup>147</sup>

On the eastern side of the Green, development, as Table 7:5A shows, continued to move slowly. Colonel Car[e]y Dillon, one of the earliest major developers, was forced to seek an abatement on rent arrears from his landlord, The King's Hospital, in 1703[/04].<sup>148</sup> The large house he had constructed on plots 13, 14 and 15 East St Stephen's Green in the late 1670s, had been pulled down by 1704 but Dillon claimed to have suffered greatly in the recent troubles and had only regained possession of the premises 'half a year ago'.<sup>149</sup> His present, straitened circumstances preventing him from paying the full arrears of £110/5/2½d, instead he offered to make

a contribution of £55 if an abatement were granted. The records do not say whether the abatement was granted but by 1729 the plots were held by James Wilkinson.<sup>150</sup>

**Table 7:5A: Number of NEW Buildings Constructed on St Stephen's Green 1694-1702**

	Northside	Southside	Eastside	Westside	Unknown
1694	1	1		2	
1702	3	1		2	3
Total	4	2		4	3

Source: NLI Ms 5230

**Table 7:5B: Value of NEW Properties Recorded for St Stephen's Green 1694-1702**

	Total number of properties	Valued at £50 or over	Valued at £35 -£40	Valued at £20 - £30	Valued at £10 or under
1694	4		2	2	
1702	9	2	3*	1	3**
Total	13	2	5	3	3

Source: NLI Ms 5230.

**Notes to Table 7:5B**

\* A valuation of £36 was made for a new house and malthouse.

\*\* Two of the three valuations made were for additional building.

An interesting feature of the development undertaken around St Stephen's Green after 1708 is the reduction in size of the sub-plots. Originally plots were granted with a frontage on to St Stephen's Green of sixty feet<sup>151</sup> but during the 1670s a policy of sub-dividing the principal plot, probably to maximize the development potential of each site, had been established.<sup>152</sup> In the eighteenth century, the leases show the sub-plots became smaller. It was still the practice to acquire, where possible, a plot as defined in 1664 by the Assembly, but sub-plots were now given a frontage on to St Stephen's Green of approximately twenty-two feet.<sup>153</sup>

The introduction of the narrower frontages is significant for it coincided with a movement by some of the nobility away from parts of St Peter's. On the Aungier estate, for example, new streets were being opened up but the houses were much smaller and attracted merchants and artisans rather than titled residents.<sup>154</sup> The more ambitious development which had taken place on St Stephen's Green during the

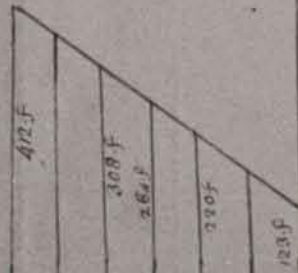
St Stephen's Green

East

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9
- 10
- 11
- 12
- 13
- 14
- 15
- 16
- 17
- 18
- 19
- 20
- 21
- 22
- 23
- 24
- 25
- 26
- 27
- 28
- 29
- 30
- 31
- 32
- 33

- 15
- 14
- 13
- 12
- 11
- 10
- 9
- 7
- 6
- 5
- 4
- 3
- 2
- 1

- 24
- 23
- 22
- 21
- 20
- 19
- 18
- 17
- 16
- 15
- 14
- 13
- 12
- 11
- 10
- 9
- 8
- 7
- 6
- 5
- 4
- 3
- 2
- 1



- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9
- 10
- 11
- 12
- 13
- 14
- 15
- 16
- 17
- 18

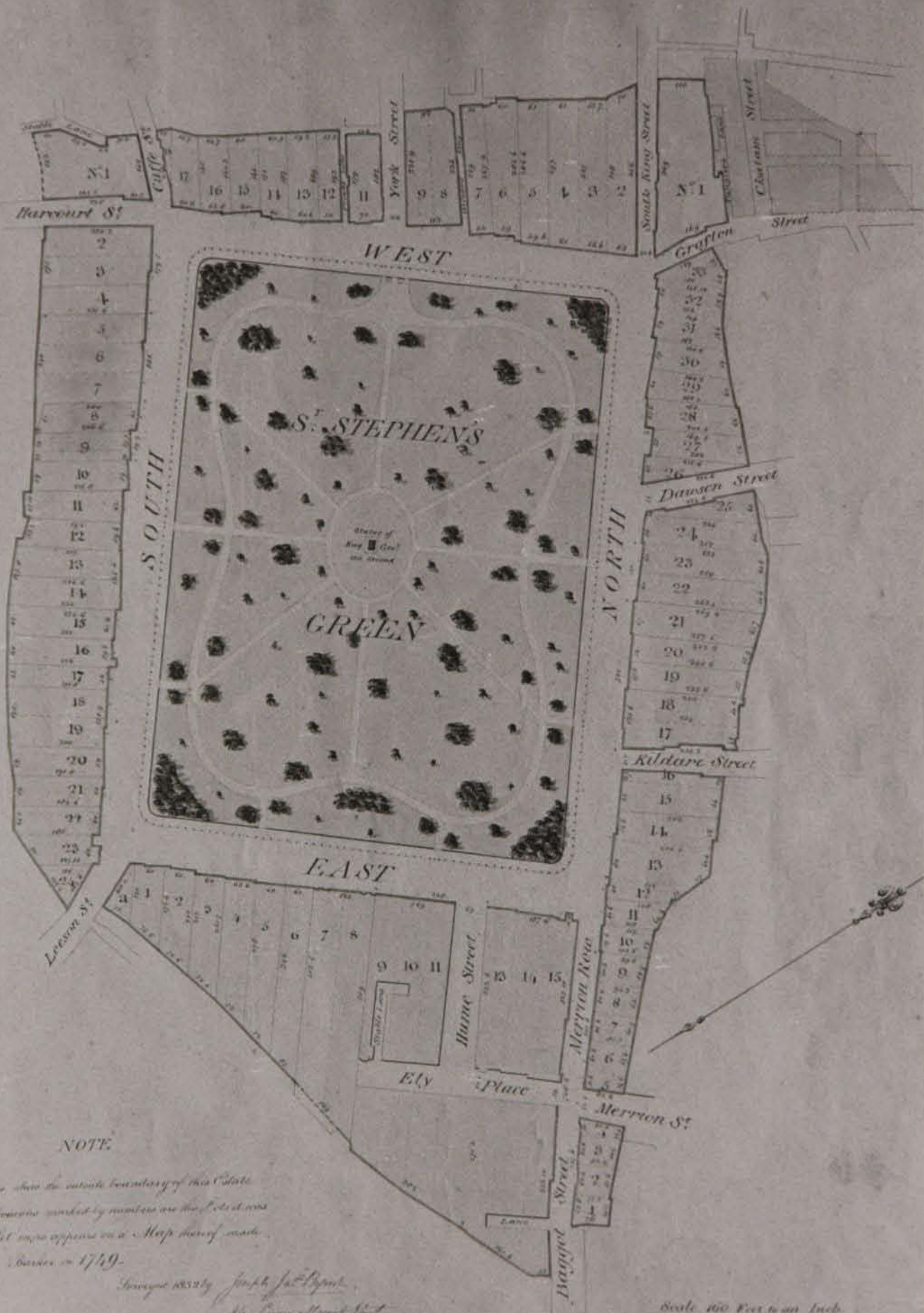
seventeenth century, however, ensured some of the aristocratic residents remained. The Earls of Meath remained resident on the north side of the Green until 1794.<sup>155</sup> Also resident on this side of St Stephen's Green were Lords Castlecomer, Kerry and Shelburne.<sup>156</sup>

The new houses built around the Green between 1709 and 1724 were subject to no controlling regulatory authority. Development was allowed to continue in the haphazard fashion established in the 1660s, dependent on speculators who built to their own specifications.<sup>157</sup> Men such as James Mitchell, a joiner, who was engaged in a minor way in property development on the Dawson estate between 1706 and 1723.<sup>158</sup> There were, however, other, more significant entrepreneurs, especially among the Huguenot community. The first Huguenots, fleeing religious persecution in France, had been attracted to Dublin by the favourable legislation enacted in 1662 to encourage Protestants strangers to settle in Ireland.<sup>159</sup> Between 1671 and 1681, fifty families had settled in the city. During James II's reign their numbers had been drastically reduced but new legislation, introduced in 1692, sought to redress the balance.<sup>160</sup> As a result, between 1692 and 1720, the community expanded to some nine hundred families. Immigration particularly high between 1692 and 1701.<sup>161</sup> In 1698, St Peter's, which had established its popularity among the Huguenots in the seventeenth century, had sufficient numbers within the parish to offer the community the use of St Kevin's.<sup>162</sup> Many of the new immigrants settled on St Stephen's Green and in its environs and their influence on eighteenth-century development was important. They were involved in no less than seventy-one separate property transactions between 1708 and 1738 involving all sides of the Green, although they were particularly active on the south side.<sup>163</sup>

Alexandre de Susy Boam, who served as minister to the French congregation in St Patrick's between 1710 and his death in 1741, was one of the new immigrants to acquire considerable interests on St Stephen's Green. His acquisitions were, in the main, on the south side of the Green, where he built himself a house.<sup>164</sup> David Digges Latouche, although not as important a developer as de Susy Boam, held six leases



GENERAL MAP of the *KING'S HOSPITAL ESTATE* round *S<sup>T</sup> STEPHENS GREEN*.



NOTE

The Blue lines show the outside boundary of this Estate and the Numbers marked by numbers are the Lots it was originally set upon appears on a Map drawn made by Jonathan Barber in 1749.

Surveyed 1852 by *John J. G. G. G.*  
*By James G. G. G.*

Scale 100 Feet to an Inch.

<sup>1</sup> The premises colored yellow is marked on the Map of 1749 as part of Lot N<sup>o</sup> 1, but is part of the Estate of the Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Corporation of the City of Dublin formerly called *St. Paul's Croft*.

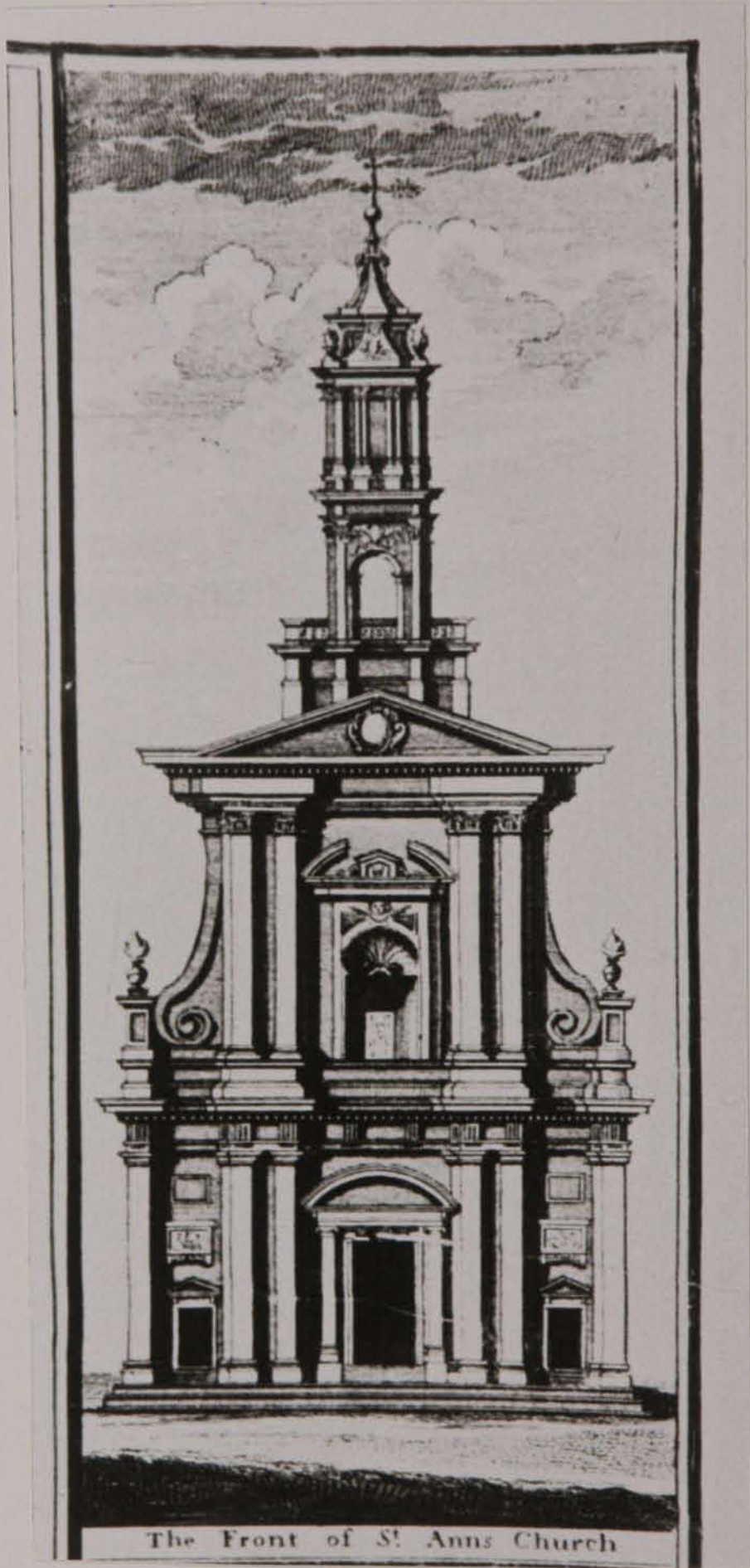


around St Stephen's Green.<sup>165</sup> Latouche's principal property acquisitions were made in the Aungier estate. Between 1720 and 1735, he was involved in one hundred and one property transactions, thirty-four of which took place between 1726 and 1728.<sup>166</sup> Digges Street, begun c.1727 and named after himself, belongs to the period when he was particularly active. The houses were constructed on regular, equal-sized plots and built to a similar design: every house was four storeys high above a basement with a railed area and had a single pointed gable facing the street.<sup>167</sup>

Several of de Susy Boam's compatriots took property on the west side of St Stephen's Green. Pierre Combercrosse leased a west side plot in 1709, which he subsequently re-leased in 1721 to Jacques Girardot.<sup>168</sup> Salomon de Loche, and Anthony de la Sautier were also residents.<sup>169</sup> Farmer Glover, who had holdings in Gregory's Lane - to the west of the Green - leased property to Symon Chabert, David Aubrespry and Paul Guymett.<sup>170</sup> On the eastern side of the Green were Landre's Gardens, extensive nursery gardens, held by Peter Landre.<sup>171</sup>

St Stephen's Green, still regarded as a valuable public asset, was as expensive to maintain as it had been in the seventeenth century.<sup>172</sup> In 1702[3], in an attempt to reduce its financial commitments the City granted the Earl of Meath the management and herbage of the Green for an annual rent of £20.<sup>173</sup> In return Meath was to ensure that all the walks remained open and that no buildings were constructed upon them. The lease was declared void after Meath's death in 1709 because 'there is not on all the south side of the city any place for citizens and children to walk, nor a proper place for the militia to draw out and exercise in, or the Franchises to draw together'.<sup>174</sup> Mary Delany remarked, in 1731, 'I think it may be preferred justly to any square in London, and it is a great deal larger than Lincoln's Inns Fields. A handsome broad gravel walk and another of grass, railed in round the square, planted with trees, that in summer give very good shade'.<sup>175</sup>

To the north of St Stephen's Green the influential developers were Dawson and Molesworth. Joshua Dawson purchased land close to St Stephen's Green from Henry Temple in 1705<sup>176</sup> and development on Dawson Street began in 1706.<sup>177</sup> In 1712[13],



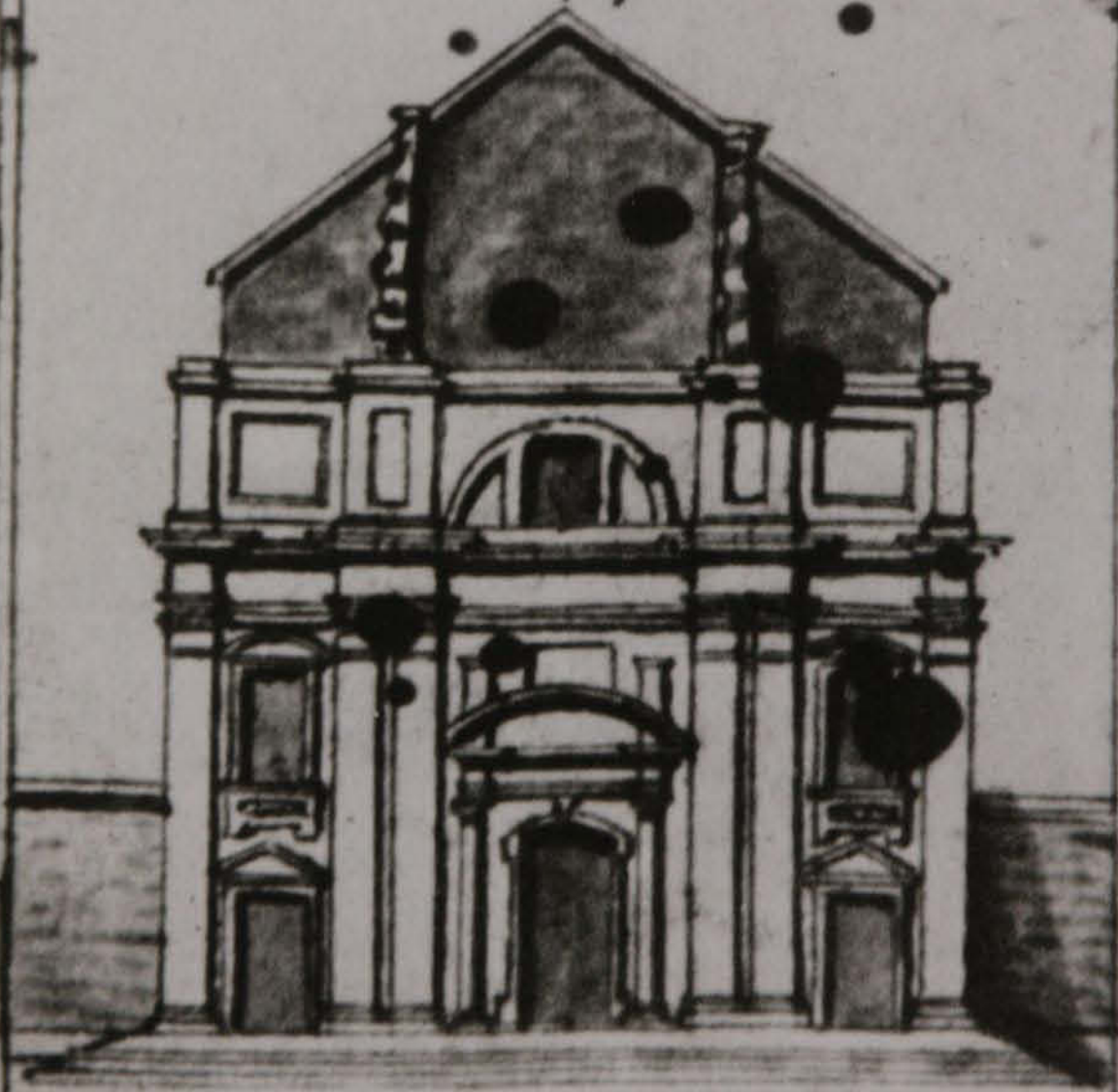
The Front of St. Ann's Church

the City decided to seek land near St Stephen's Green upon which to build the Lord Mayor a house. The original site chosen and 'commonly called Lord Longford's house' was situated in Aungier Street.<sup>178</sup> In 1715, however, Dawson offered his own, recently completed house (and the land on which it stood) in Dawson Street to the Assembly for £3,500.<sup>179</sup> Meanwhile development on Grafton Street and Anne Street had begun by 1713 and 1718 respectively.<sup>180</sup> Development on the Molesworth estate began in 1726 after a private bill had been passed permitting John, Lord Molesworth, to grant leases on lands owned near St Stephen's Green and Dawson Street.<sup>181</sup> The significance of these entrepreneurial enterprises is clearly shown in Brooking's map of 1728.

The high level of property exchange which occurred around St Stephen's Green and its environs is important and a number of significant conclusions can be drawn from it. Firstly the Huguenot community's involvement in property transactions emphasizes just how many settled in the area. Secondly, although migration within St Peter's appears to have been significant, there was considerable movement throughout the city. Some of this was caused by the exiles who returned after 1690. For example, Lord Charlemont returned briefly to St Peter's, moved to St Paul's in 1700, but by 1709 he was a resident in St Andrew's.<sup>182</sup> Clearly the community was a very fluid one. The existence of a floating population in turn suggests that property standards within this part of the city were not as uniformly high as those to the north of the city on the Jervis estate. This theory is reinforced by the not inconsiderable differences found in the rents paid for property around St Stephen's Green (see Appendix 8A)

Another interesting fact which emerges from the re-development schemes is the use of a particular building material - brick. Every new property mentioned in the deeds is described as a 'brickhouse'. It was upon the use of this material that one parishioner in St Peter's built a substantial fortune. Ralph Evans, a bricklayer, is among the earliest signatories to St Peter's Vestry minutes. In 1685 he donated materials and time towards the building of St Peter's church.<sup>183</sup> He served as a sidesman in 1686-7, and as a church warden in 1691-2. After 1692, however, he appears not to have

By J. H. Army, Junr  
Dresden, Pr.



St. Anne's Church

participated in parish affairs. Evans was buried on the 5 June 1729, twelve years after his will was drawn up, so it is possible that his final estate was even greater than that listed in 1717. Nonetheless his legacy to his wife and five children, which included a number of houses in the Stephen's Street/Grafton Street vicinity, was considerable.<sup>184</sup>

Despite a mobile population family links with certain parishes were forged. The Bor family's connection was established in 1673 when John Bor first signed St Kevin's Vestry minutes. His son, Christian Bor, became involved with in St Peter's in 1701, and was elected to serve as church warden in 1702-3. Thereafter he took an intermittent interest in parochial affairs until his death in 1733. Among other families to forge links with St Peter's were the Blackalls, Moncks and Wares. George Blackall, a merchant and native of London, had been persuaded to settle in Ireland by the 1662 legislation and had arrived in Dublin in 1670. In 1686, he donated £20 towards the building of St Peter's church.<sup>185</sup> His son Thomond, baptized in 1674, served as church warden in 1702-3. The Monck and Ware families began their interest in the parish in 1686 by contributing to the church building fund.<sup>186</sup> Robert Ware and his son Henry served as church wardens in 1685-6 and 1701-2 respectively.<sup>187</sup> By contrast, both Henry Monck and his son George refused to serve as church wardens. In 1687, Henry Monck pleaded 'privilege' and was excused from service.<sup>188</sup> In 1716, George Monck was excused because of his employment in the Customs and Revenue office and also because of his disability.<sup>189</sup>

The Huguenots who flooded into this part of the city remained largely aloof from parochial concerns. St Bride's had a large Huguenot community, although the numbers attending parish Vestry meetings remained small.<sup>190</sup> Only nine Huguenots signed St Bride's minutes between 1695 and 1724. For some, such as Stephen de Laune, Stephen Laurin and Charles Vignoles, the exercise was perfunctory, an isolated signature in a single year.<sup>191</sup> For others the commitment was more serious. Peter Gareshe, resident in St John's until at least 1700, served as sidesman in St Bride's in 1711-12, and as church warden in 1715-16.<sup>192</sup> Lewis Chaigneau, who sworn his oath before Abel Ram in 1683, served as church warden in 1706.<sup>193</sup>

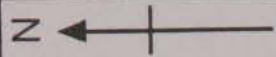
In St Peter's Huguenot involvement was also minimal. James Fontaine, resident in the parish between c.1709 and 1721, signed the minutes only once in 1713.<sup>194</sup> There were, however, exceptions. Louis Le Roux, a silk worker from Lyons had arrived in Dublin in 1691 and was an elder of the French Church in St Patrick's, but he also served St Peter's as a church warden in 1696-7.<sup>195</sup> Daniel Le Roux, a vintner, served as a sidesman in 1705-6; Pierre D'Landre and Frederic Le Roux held the same post in 1712-13 and 1725-6 respectively.<sup>196</sup>

Although, overall, property standards were not as high as they had been in the previous century the pew registers for St Bride's and St Peter's still show significant numbers of wealthy residents. Among St Bride's pew holders in 1693 were Lord Powerscourt, Sir Francis Blundell and Sir Thomas Southwell.<sup>197</sup> In St Peter's, also in 1693, were Lord Longford, the Earl of Abercorn, the Marchioness of Antrim, Lady Cuffe and Sir Thomas Domville.<sup>198</sup>

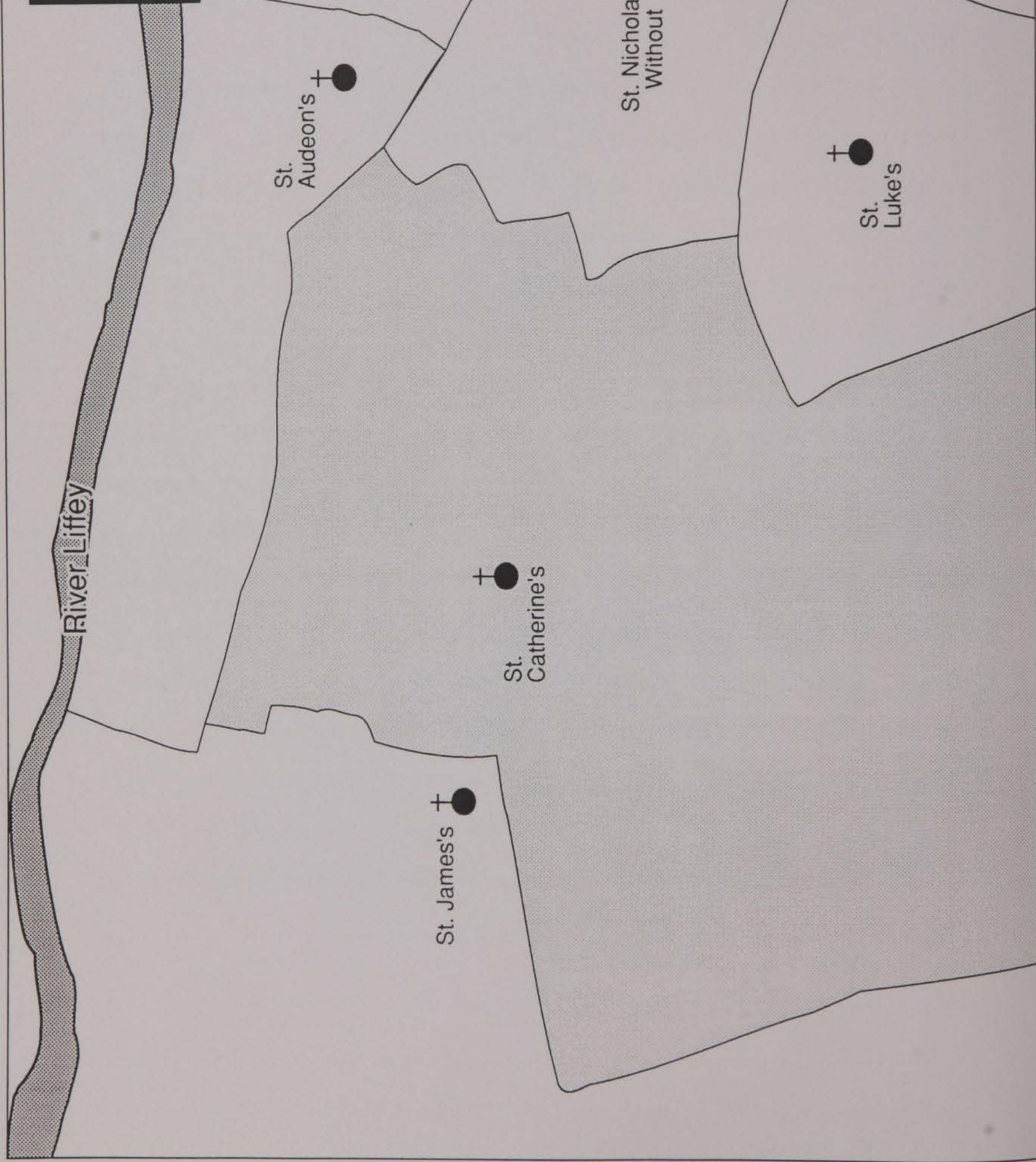
Urban growth changed this part of the city irrevocably. The fluctuating fortunes of the country's economy did impact upon the parishes. In St Bride's five houses in Bull Alley were first advertised for lease in 1709. They were advertised once again in May 1716, with further advertisements appearing throughout the year.<sup>199</sup> St Andrew's, St Anne's and St Peter's were affluent parishes which may have allowed them to weather some of the worst effects of economic hardship better than a less prosperous parish such as St Mark's. Urban growth was slowed down rather than halted by recession. The development of the Fitzwilliam estate from the 1750s onwards ensured that building, which had begun with Aungier and St Stephen's Green, and had been sustained by Dawson and Molesworth, was given fresh impetus.<sup>200</sup> In 1660 the parishes had clustered close to the city walls. By 1729, they were spreading far out into the surrounding countryside.

### Parishes to the West and South-west

In 1660, there were two parishes in this part of the city, St Nicholas Without and St Catherine's and St James' (formed by the united parishes of St John's of



West City  
Parishes after  
1707



River Liffey

St. Audeon's

St. James's

St. Catherine's

St. Nicholas Without

St. Patrick's

St. Luke's

St. Patrick's Cathedral



Kilmainham, St Catherine's and St James'). In 1707, St Nicholas Without became St Nicholas Without and St Luke's, and St Catherine's was disunited from St James'.<sup>201</sup> A new parish of St James' was formed by uniting St James' with St John's of Kilmainham.

### St Catherine's

James Malton described the church of St Catherine's as 'the second parochial church, for beauty of structure, in Dublin'.<sup>202</sup> The church, which still stands today, was designed by John Smith in 1769. An earlier eighteenth-century church, which stood on the same site on Thomas Street, has been attributed to William Robinson.<sup>203</sup> The earlier church was costly to maintain, but a major refurbishment was successfully completed sometime after 1736. In 1740, the raising of a new steeple and spire aroused considerable controversy.<sup>204</sup> The matter was not resolved until the Archbishop of Dublin, John Lord, intervened in 1742.<sup>205</sup> The Vestry minutes hint at the general ill-feeling and where, by implication, the parish felt the blame lay, 'Ordered that noe Papist shall be for the future [be] Imploy'd in any work about the church by any churchwardens whatsoever'.<sup>206</sup> In 1697, the parish supported its own parish priest and an assistant.<sup>207</sup> By 1731, there were three masshouses, one of which had been rebuilt; twenty priests and two schools. Furthermore, a weekly 'conference' was held by 'Lahy a discalceate Carmelite fryar at the house of one James Tomson a turner in Indian Alley'.<sup>208</sup> The Catholic chapel in Dirty Lane remained the parish church until 1782.<sup>209</sup> Contrary to popular belief the Liberties was not a Huguenot ghetto. Even between 1708 and 1738, when the general numbers flooding into the country were at their peak, far more settled around St Stephen's Green than in the Liberties. Only sixty-six conveyances were undertaken in the Liberties as opposed to seventy-nine around the Green.<sup>210</sup> The parish also had a long association with the city's dissenting communities. There was a Presbyterian meeting house in New Row, founded c.1665, and a Quaker meeting house, founded c.1686, in Meath Street.<sup>211</sup>

### St James' and St John's of Kilmainham

The 1707 Act granted the new, united parish of St James' and St John's all lands lying to the west of Dolphin's Barn watercourse, the Earl of Meath's Liberty, and



West City  
Parishes after  
1707

River Liffey

St. Audeon's

St. James's

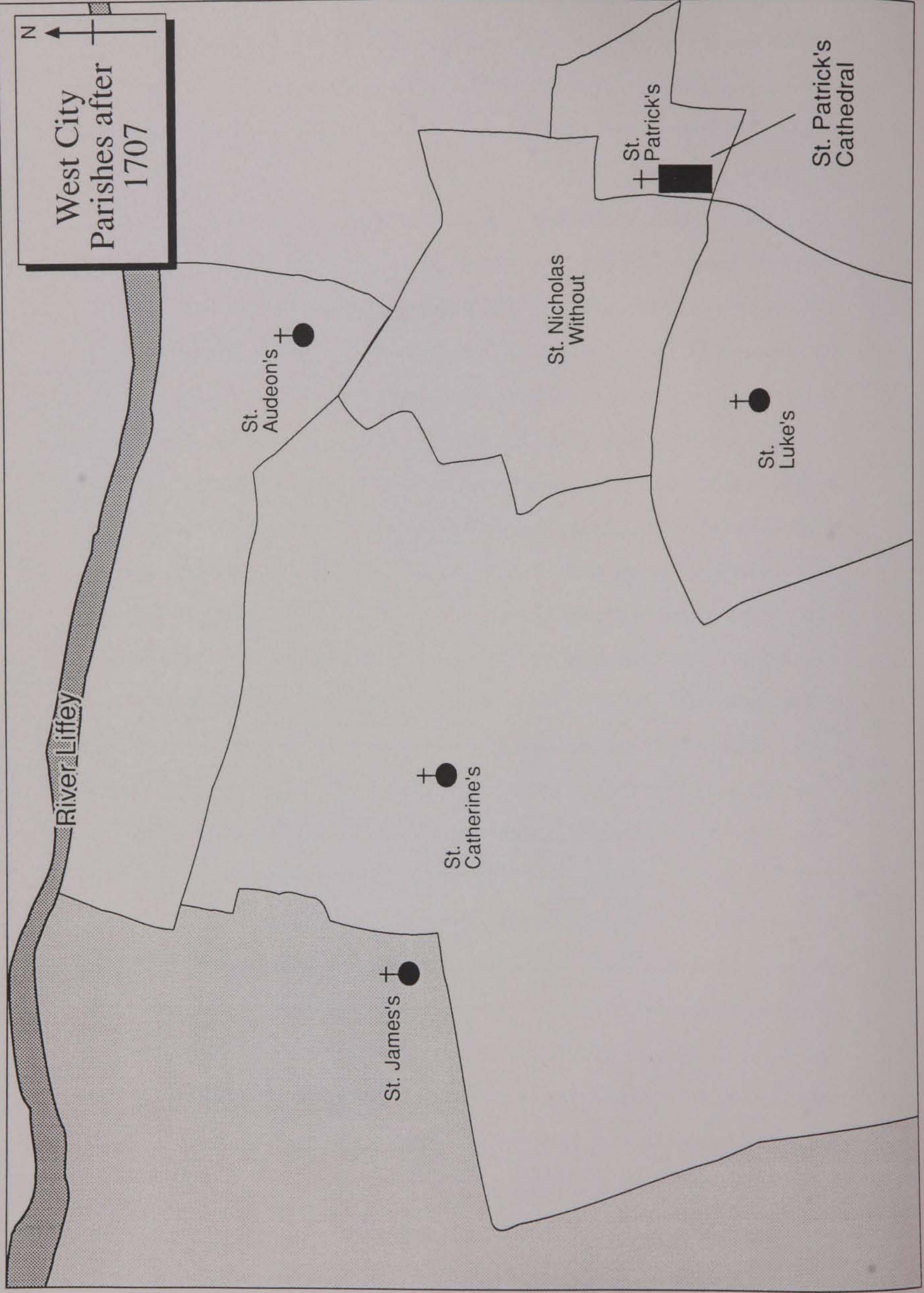
St. Catherine's

St. Nicholas  
Without

St. Patrick's

St. Luke's

St. Patrick's  
Cathedral

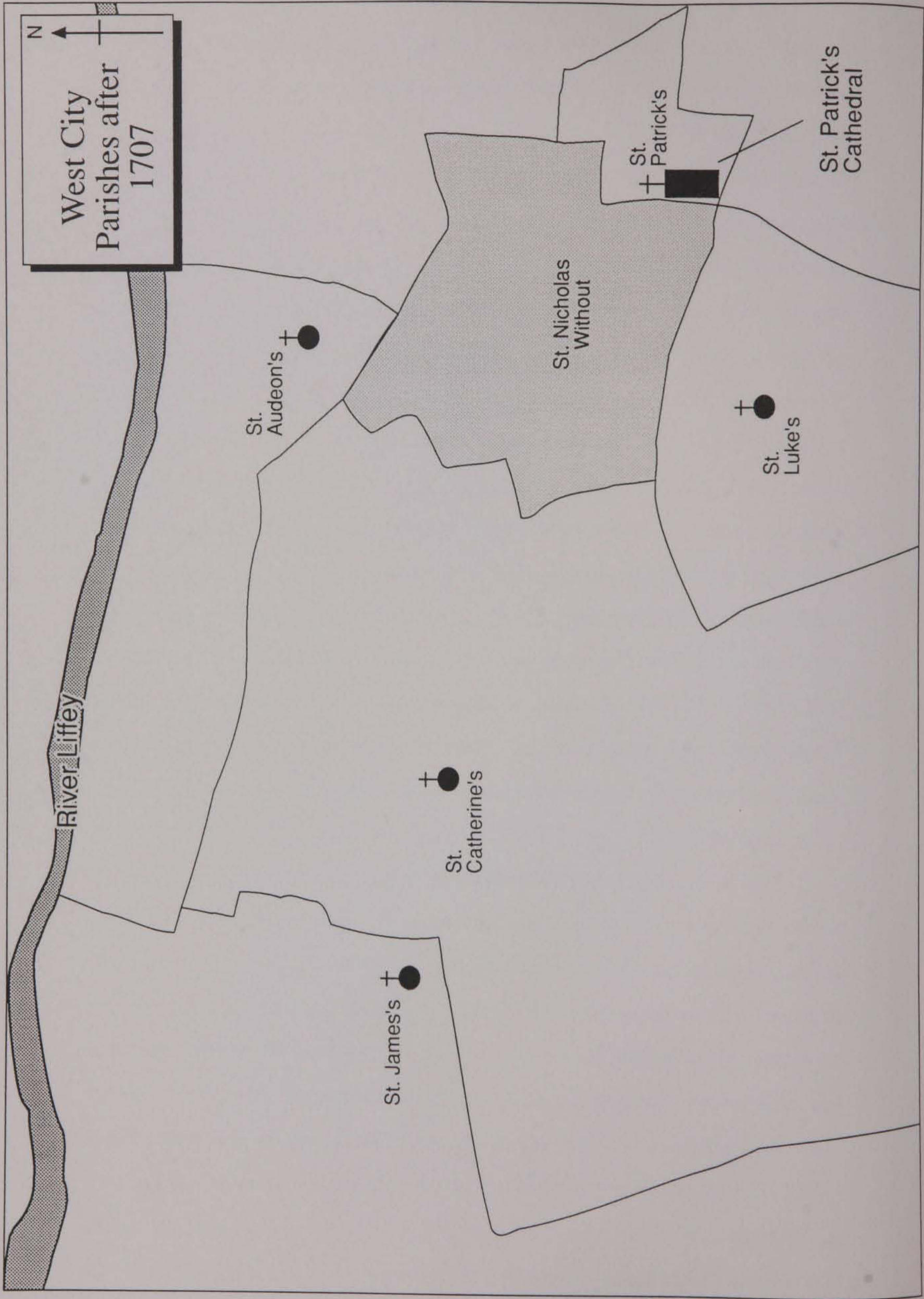
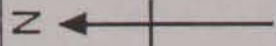


St James' gate as far as the River Liffey. The site of St James' parish church had been recorded by Gomme in 1673. At that time the church was some distance from the city and surrounded by fields. A new parish church, constructed on the same site on St James' Street, was erected shortly after 1707. This collapsed in 1761, and while it was being restored, the parishioners worshipped in the chapel of the nearby Dr. Steven's Hospital.<sup>212</sup> The Royal Hospital at Kilmainham, designed by William Robinson, and begun in 1680, and the common burial ground known as Bully's Acre, lay within the parish of St John's.<sup>213</sup> In 1718, in response to Archbishop King's questions, St James' minister reported that, as the church was within half a mile of all its townlands, no additional church was necessary. It was too small, but the minister suggested that the addition of a gallery would rectify this problem. The parish was overwhelmingly Anglican, of the 452 houses in St James', 20 were inhabited by 'Papists' and 12 by Dissenters. There was, however, a considerable amount of waste ground in the parish and little chance of it being built upon.<sup>214</sup> Although 1707 marked the end of the united Protestant parish of St Catherine's and St James', the Catholic parish remained united until 1724.<sup>215</sup> In 1731, the church wardens' returns noted a masshouse in St James' Street where three priests officiated. There were also two schools and a private masshouse in Dolphin's Barn, in the house of Robert Dillon.<sup>216</sup>

### St Nicholas Without

The new parish of St Nicholas Without, created in 1707, was formed from the northern half of the old parish of the same name. Parishioners of the new, but much smaller, parish continued to worship in St Patrick's Cathedral. The parish was densely populated, with an interesting religious mix. It is possible that Catholics may well have out-numbered Protestants, even in the early eighteenth century.<sup>217</sup> In 1697, the parish had three resident priests, and a number of Franciscan friars.<sup>218</sup> By 1725, the parish had a masshouse and a 'fryars lodgings' in Francis Street, and another masshouse in Mark's Alley.<sup>219</sup> The parish still had two masshouses in 1731, although one had been rebuilt in the interim. There were fifteen priests, and sixteen Catholic schools.<sup>220</sup> The Baptists' first Dublin meeting house had been founded in Swift's Alley c.1690.<sup>221</sup> By

West City  
Parishes after  
1707



River Liffey

St. Audeon's

St. James's

St. Catherine's

St. Nicholas Without

St. Patrick's

St. Luke's

St. Patrick's Cathedral

1725, there was a congregation of between 150 and 200 people.<sup>222</sup> Another Baptist meeting house was founded in Skinners Alley c.1700 and the parish's Applotment Book records a further meeting house in Plunket Street by 1725.<sup>223</sup> Certainly a high level of religious tolerance seems to have been practised within the parish. Mr Holdenby, an Anabaptist teacher, was buried in the new churchyard in 1699.<sup>224</sup> In January 1718[/19] the marriage of Charles Hackett and Ann Farrell was conducted by a 'popish priest'.<sup>225</sup> Earlier, in 1709, the Jewish convert, Juda ben 'Rabbi' Meirs had been baptised in St Nicholas.<sup>226</sup>

### St Luke's

The creation of St Luke's in 1707 reflects the general growth within the area rather than a response to a massive influx of Huguenots.<sup>227</sup> The Dean and Chapter of St Patrick's were granted the right to nominate the minister and curate of St Luke's. The new parish was formed from 'that part...of...St Nicholas Without, commonly called... Donore ward'. Its boundaries ran from the west side of the watercourse which ran from Harold's Cross, through the Black-pits, to the Poddle; and south of the brook running from Crooked-Staff, down the Coombe, to the Poddle.<sup>228</sup> The inhabitants were still without a church in 1713 when Archbishop King wrote to the Earl of Meath complaining that, although sufficient money had been raised, no ground had been found upon which to build the church. King suggested that if the church were built in the street, it would inconvenience no-one, and there would still be room for fairs and markets.<sup>229</sup> By 1715[/16], a church had been erected, but was incomplete. The parishioners petitioned the City for assistance and were granted £50.<sup>230</sup> In 1718, the church was reported as 'new' suggesting it had finally been completed.<sup>231</sup> The parish had little waste ground, and contained 460 houses. The majority of the inhabitants were Anglican, but there were a number of Dissenters, and a sizeable Catholic population (see Table 7:3). In 1731, however, St Luke's reported no masshouses or resident priests, although there were five Catholic schools.<sup>232</sup>

West City  
Parishes after  
1707



River Liffey

St. Audeon's

St. James's

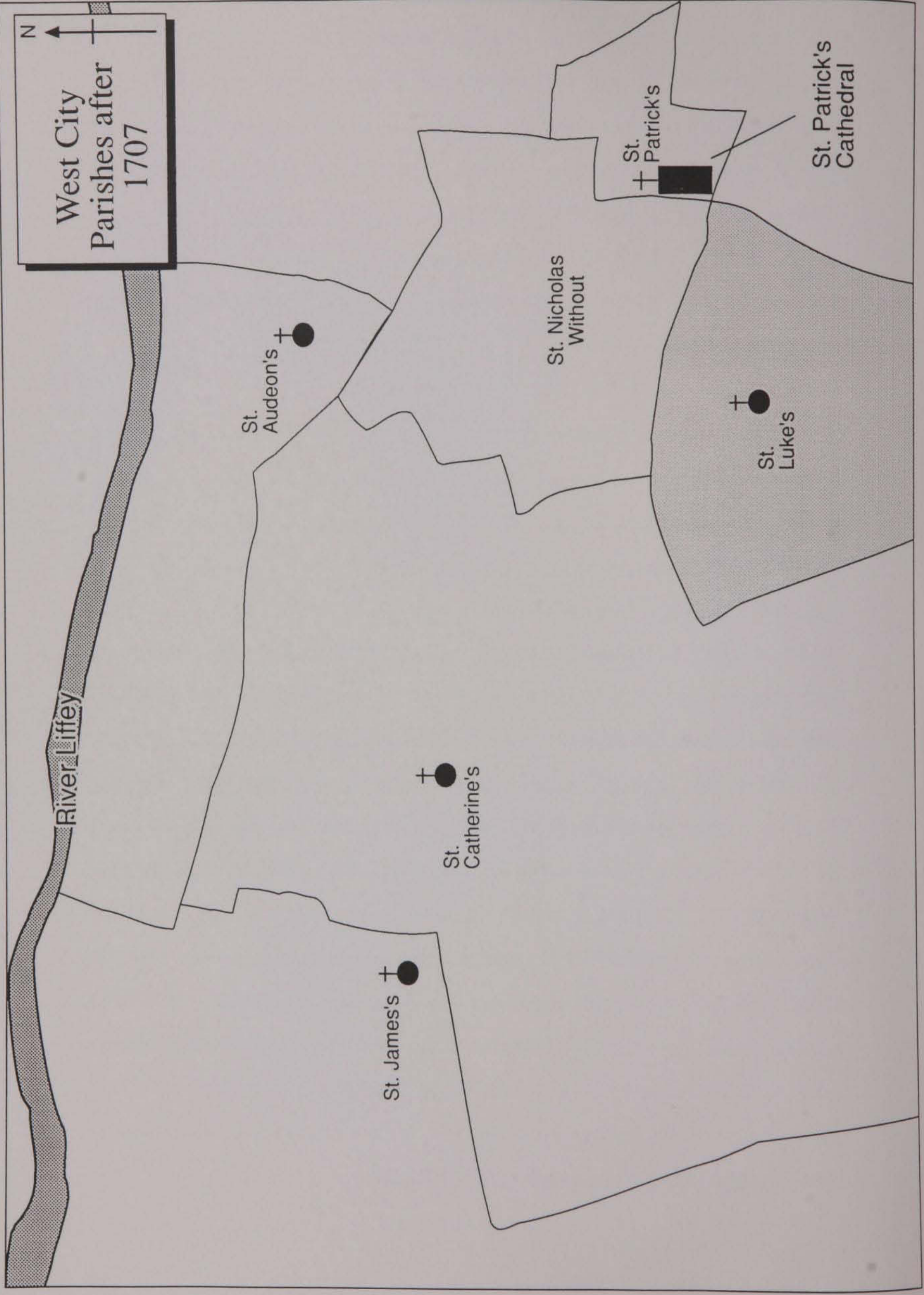
St. Catherine's

St. Nicholas  
Without

St. Patrick's

St. Luke's

St. Patrick's  
Cathedral



The Liberties were a particular feature of this part of Dublin. Only a small part of St Catherine's came under the jurisdiction of the City for much of the parish fell within the Liberty of St Thomas. St Luke's was entirely within the Donore Liberty. In the 1690s, John Dunton wrote of the Thomascourt and Donore Liberties:

this suburb lies to the south part of the city and is a large and spacious one able to furnish out some thousands of brawny weavers and other tradesmen of good reputation and substance, for the greatest part of the woollen trade wrought in Dublin is here, and a large handsome street called the Coom has little more than clothiers shops and weavers' houses. I am informed that there are not four papists masters of families dwelling in all this liberty, so little is that noble lord an encourager of those people.<sup>233</sup>

As the principal landowner in this part of the city, the Meath estate was able to exercise considerable control over urban growth. Development within the estate and the area as a whole was, however, spasmodic. The Meath estate records show that considerable investment in property and land had taken place during the 1680s. Meath Street, the estate's principal thoroughfare, had seen the first letting of premises in 1683.<sup>234</sup> Although growth seems to have slowed between 1690 and 1699 some activity did occur. For example, Mark Ransford leased land in 1691 and 1694, which he developed into Ransford Street.<sup>235</sup> Meath Street was to enjoy a second phase of growth between 1690 and 1710.<sup>236</sup>

The industrial enterprise which took place in this part of the city created a very mixed urban environment. Although, in 1695, St Catherine's held 41 houses with ten or more hearths each, they represented only 5% of the parish's total housing.<sup>237</sup> More typical of the housing within the parish would have been the two new houses advertised in Clothworkers Square in 1709 at an annual rent of 17/- per house.<sup>238</sup> Clothworkers Square is described as being situated beyond the Coombe, on the way to Dolphin's Barn and it is possible that the advertisement is actually describing Weaver's Square. In 1821 Weaver's Square, lined on all sides by gabled houses, was described as being 'originally paved in the French manner'.<sup>239</sup> Equally typical was the leasing of property for domestic as well as commercial purposes. In 1697, a lease of a house, malt house, brew house and gardens in Pimlico Street, at a rent of £7 *per annum*, was

granted to William Hayes.<sup>240</sup> A similar type of lease, in 1709, advertised a large dwelling house, with new brewhouse and a large plot of land off St Thomascourt.<sup>241</sup>

In St Nicholas Without, in 1695, there were even fewer substantial houses. Only 3%, thirty-two houses, had ten or more chimneys, although the parish had the second highest number of houses in the city.<sup>242</sup> The picture drawn from parochial returns a few years later is that of a crowded parish. Behind its main thoroughfares lay a mass of lanes and alleys. Although the parish was divided into only four administrative wards, each ward was supervised by two sidesmen and at least two constables.<sup>243</sup> Much of the parish's poor housing was situated in New Street Ward. This was not the smallest ward but it was consistently apportioned the smallest portion of the cess. In 1711 for example, there were seventeen 'cabbins' within the ward; by 1725, the number had risen to twenty-one.<sup>244</sup> It is unlikely that these 'cabbins' were very different to those described in 1775 by Richard Twiss, an English traveller: 'the outskirts of Dublin consist chiefly of huts, which are termed cabins. They are made of dried mud, and mostly without either chimney or window'.<sup>245</sup>

Just how many people lived in this part of the city by the end of the 1720s is not clear. A description of the Dublin diocese in 1725 noted that St Luke's church, completed less than ten years earlier, c.1718, was now too small for the regular Sunday congregation of about 1,000.<sup>246</sup> St Nicholas Without may have had a population approaching 8,000. In June, 1725, the parish levied 731 cesses. If the average number of persons per house is estimated at 10, then that parish's population would have been 7,310. In 1728, King estimated that St Catherine's population was approximately 9,000.<sup>247</sup> When St James', although the least developed parish, is added the overall impression is that of a densely populated area.

During the eighteenth century the quarrels which had plagued relationships between the City and the Liberties during the previous century persisted. In 1712, Henry Echlin writing to the Earl of Meath over yet another dispute between Meath's Liberty and the City, declared that the City had no authority to 'injure' Meath's tenants.<sup>248</sup> St Catherine's parishioners were, however, as active in civic affairs as they



had been in the seventeenth century and several rose to become Lord Mayor. Mark Ransford, saddler, served as Lord Mayor from 1700-1. John Page, merchant, held the post in 1703-4. John Pearson, brewer, was Lord Mayor from 1707-8. Between 1709-10 it was held by Charles Forrest, merchant, and by Samuel Cooke, brewer/merchant, who served as Lord Mayor from 1712-13.

St Catherine's inhabitants came from a great variety of backgrounds and many were outside the Anglican communion. Generally they distanced themselves from parochial affairs but some were willing to participate to a limited extent. Two Quakers, Bethel Weston and Joshua Wilcox, served as overseers of the poor in 1695.<sup>249</sup> The following year, 1696, they were appointed as assessors of the poor.<sup>250</sup> Although the parish's Huguenot community played little part in parochial affairs some interest was occasionally shown. Pierre Picard, a resident of Marrowbone Lane and a member of the non-conformist congregation, signed the Vestry minutes in 1705.<sup>251</sup> The parish's most success Huguenot immigrant, Paul Espinasse, established a brewing empire on land popularly known as the 'Pipes'. The leasehold had been obtained from fellow parishioner, Mark Ransford. When Espinasse died in 1750, the lease reverted to the Ransford family. It was acquired by Arthur Guinness in 1759.<sup>252</sup> Espinasse conformed and was very active in parish affairs. He served as a sidesman in 1707-8; as a church warden in 1722-23; as a director of the Watch from 1721 to 1734, and as an auditor of the church wardens' accounts from 1728 to 1734.<sup>253</sup>

Espinasse's landlord, Mark Ransford, was a prominent figure who had gained the franchise as a saddler in 1668.<sup>254</sup> His involvement with St Catherine's began in 1673. In 1678-79 he served as a church warden and remained interested in parish affairs until 1692.<sup>255</sup> He was also active in guild and civic affairs.<sup>256</sup> By the time of his death in 1709 he had acquired a significant amount of property within the general area of St Catherine's with interests in Thomas Street, St James' Street, High Street, Francis Street, Kilmainham and Dolphin's Barn as well as being responsible for the development of Ransford Street.<sup>257</sup>

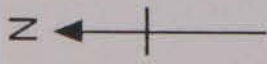
The importance of continuity in service and the willingness of particular families to serve their parishes over a sustained period of time has already been noted. In St Catherine's among those who took an active and prolonged interest in parish affairs were Sir William Billington, Mark Ransford, Giles Mee, John Page and Paul Espinasse. Others who also gave dedicated service included Daniel and John Gayton, John Shelley, Joseph Sheppey, Philip and Richard Walker.

The significance of industrial enterprise to this part of the city is reflected in the parishioners' occupations. Many were concerned with either aspects of the weaving trade or with brewing. Richard Falkiner, Andrew Dodridge and John Sporle, all parishioners of St Catherine's, served as masters of the Weavers' Guild.<sup>258</sup> Among those with significant brewing interests were John Pearson, Giles Mee, John Gayton and Charles Spranger. Commercial employment was not, however, restricted to these two trades. Merchants, chandlers, bricklayers, joiners, skimmers, tailors and pinmakers were also parishioners. This part of the city held Dr. Steevens' Hospital, begun in 1719,<sup>259</sup> the Royal Hospital at Kilmainham, designed by William Robinson, and begun in 1680,<sup>260</sup> and the workhouse, built in 1703-4 in St James' Street, which became the Foundling Hospital in 1727.<sup>261</sup> The new city reservoir, known as the 'Bason' and constructed under the advice of Thomas Burgh early in the eighteenth century was also in this part of the city.<sup>262</sup> St Catherine's and her neighbouring parishes were as diverse in their social and economic makeup as any in early eighteenth-century Dublin.

### Parishes to the North

For almost all the seventeenth century, one parish, St Michan's, administered civic and ecclesiastical control over the city north of the river. Despite considerable development throughout the parish it had been considered inappropriate to interfere with the status quo. In 1697, however, the departure of the John Pooley, Dean of Ossory and minister of St Michan's, for the bishopric of Cloyne 'made roome for ye division of St Michan's parish in Dublin'.<sup>263</sup> The Act dividing the parish stated that 'by the late increase of buildings and inhabitants there is a care too great to be discharged

North City  
Parishes  
1707



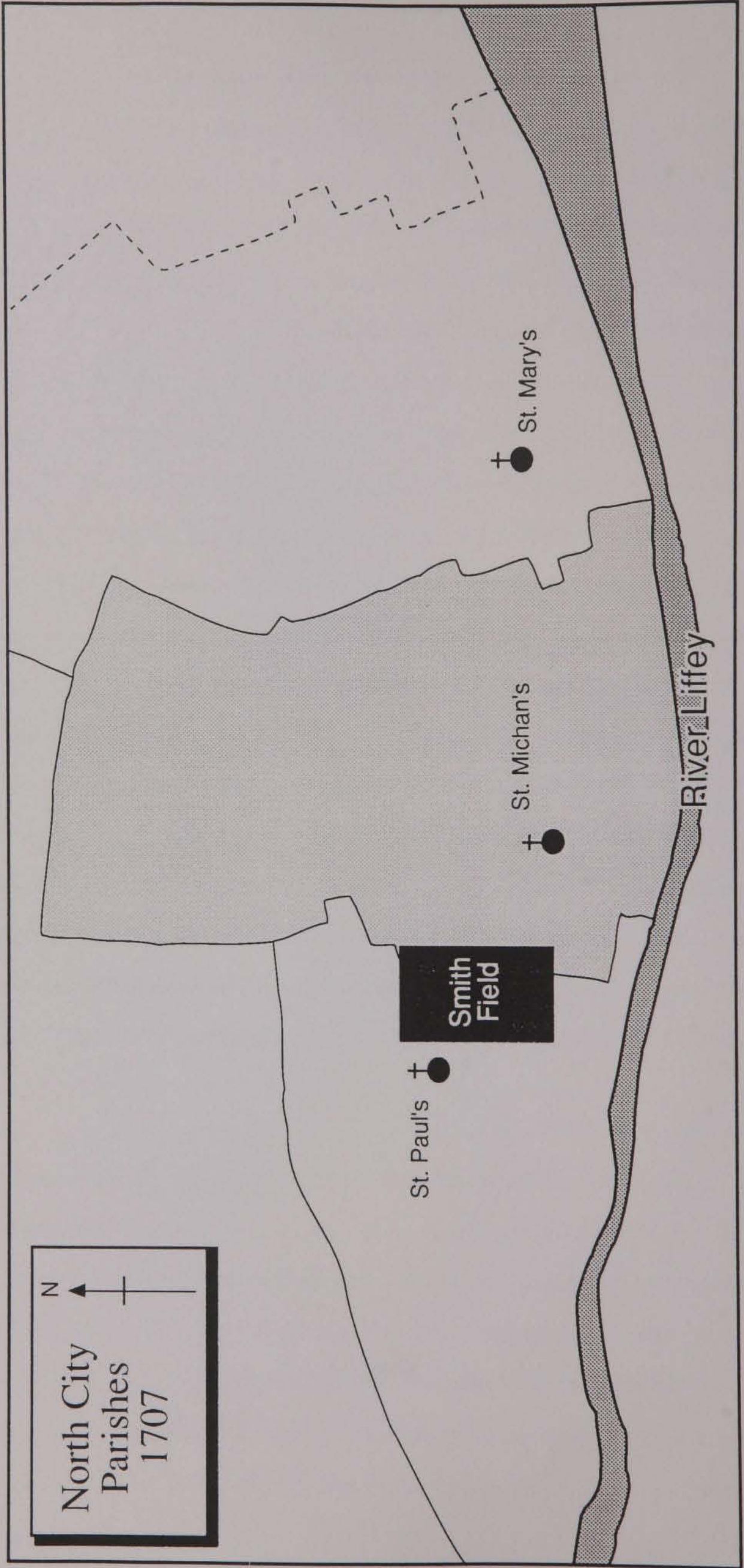
St. Paul's †

Smith  
Field

St. Michan's †

St. Mary's †

River Liffey



by one single minister and the parochial church is not large enough ... St Michan's ... shall ... be divided into three several parishes'.<sup>264</sup> Thus the parishes of St Paul's, St Mary's and New St Michan's were created.

### St Michan's

In 1699, the northern suburbs made 'a large town almost as big as Southwark'.<sup>265</sup> The new parish of St Michan's, created in 1697, encompassed much the same area as that depicted by Gomme's map of 1673. It stretched from the east side of Smithfield westward to, and including, Boot Lane. From its southernmost boundary, formed by the river, it stretched northward to its ancient boundaries. The parish church, situated on the west side of Church Street, had been rebuilt between 1683 and 1686 to designs attributed to Sir William Robinson.<sup>266</sup> In 1718, the minister, John Clayton, estimated that his congregations ranged between 1,200 to 1,500 souls and that the Anglican population was approximately 4,500 people.<sup>267</sup> Clayton's estimates did not include the parish's Catholic inhabitants, but, in 1697, their numbers had been sufficient to support several resident clergy. The Catholic 'chapell' was situated in Channel Row and served by William Dalton, the parish priest, who lodged with a barber in Smithfield. James Gibbons, his assistant, lived in Channel Row, while John Linegar, another priest, lived in Church Street. There were a further two secular priests, Laurence Dowdall and Richard Murphy. They lodged in Church Street and Smithfield respectively, in parishioners' houses. A Capuchin friar, John Wildon, and William Dardis, parish priest of 'Abby Lorha in ye County of Longford', were resident in Smithfield.<sup>268</sup> The parish's most renowned priest, Cornelius Nary, was not appointed until sometime in 1698[/99].<sup>269</sup> By 1731, the parish had three masshouses, in Mary's Lane, Arran Quay and Church Street, and an unidentified number of priests. A 'nunnery' was reputed to be in existence in King Street, and there were twelve Catholic schools.<sup>270</sup> St Michan's connection with the Huguenot community had been established in the 1680s.<sup>271</sup> This was cemented in 1697 when a non-conformist congregation began to worship in a chapel in Lucy Lane.<sup>272</sup>

North City  
Parishes  
1707



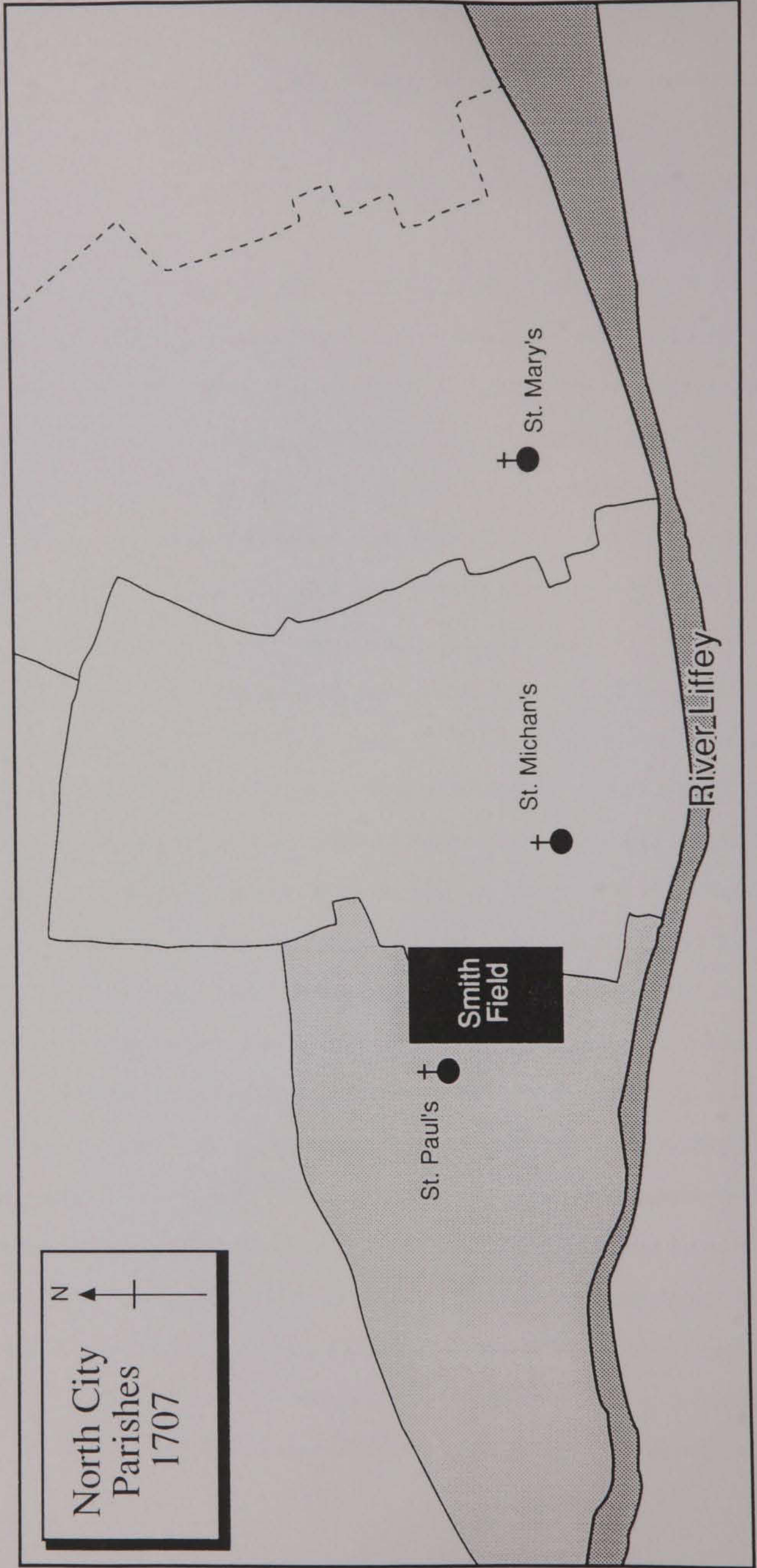
St. Paul's † ●

Smith  
Field

St. Michan's † ●

St. Mary's † ●

River Liffey



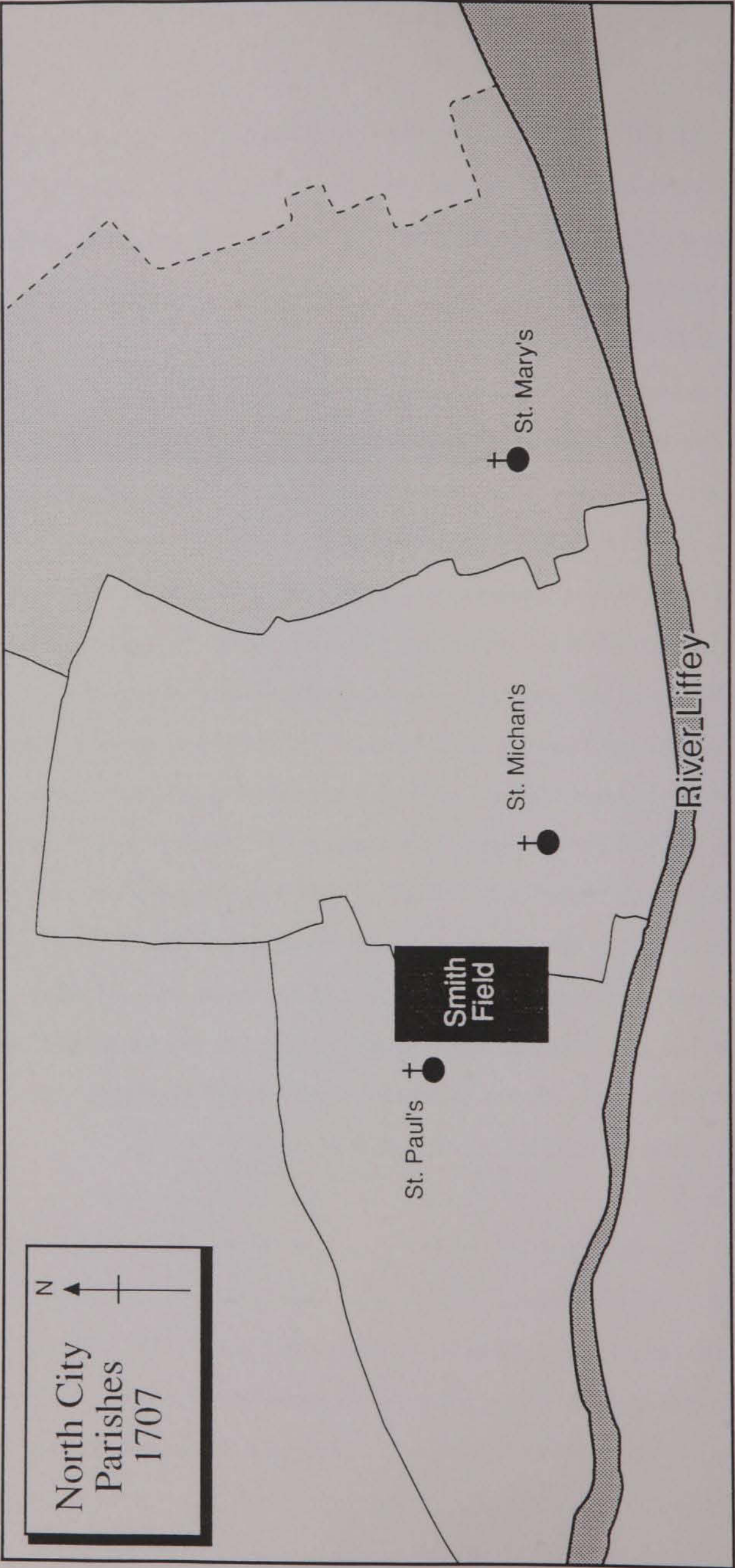
### St Paul's

In 1697, a new parish, St Paul's, was formed in the western part of the old St Michan's. Its boundaries ran from the west side of Smithfield southward by the Glass House and Arran Quay to the river, then westward and northward as far as old St Michan's original boundaries. Until the completion of the church, Vestry meetings were held in the nearby Blue Coat Hospital. The parish church was situated on the south side of King's Street, at the southern end of Oxmantown Green. Its construction had been supervised by the church wardens, one of whom was Lord Charlemont, the sidesmen and 'Messrs Boyle, Westenra and Corker'.<sup>273</sup> The church was completed in 1702, and, in return for the city's 'instrument of donation', a pew was reserved for the Lord Mayor and his successors.<sup>274</sup> Another pew was reserved for the 'Blew' boys.<sup>275</sup> In 1697, the parish's Catholic population was served by William Dalton, a native Dubliner, who had been resident in the city 'upwards of twenty six years ... without giving the least offence to the Government'.<sup>276</sup> Dalton also served as parish priest for St Michan's, as the Catholic parish had not been divided in 1697. Cornelius Nary's appointment as parish priest to St Michan's in 1698[/99] left the sickly Dalton free to minister to the Catholics in St Paul's. Patrick Fagan has observed that the Catholic authorities were able to use the 1704 Registration Act (2 Anne, c.7) to their advantage. This permitted the registration of one parish priest for each civil/Anglican parish hence Dalton's registration as parish priest. The division of the Catholic parish of St Michan's was effected by Edward Byrne in 1707. In 1731, however, the parish returns show only one 'private chappel' in the parish.<sup>277</sup>

### St Mary's

The third parish created on the north side of the river in 1697 was St Mary's. A parcel of land in Piphoe's (Phepoe) Park was set aside for the construction of the church. The parish boundaries were formed by the length of Capel Street, commencing at Essex Bridge; all of Strand Street to the corner of White Lyon Court, including the Court; St Mary's Abbey; both sides of Boot Lane and up Drumcondra Lane to the boundaries of the original parish, St Michan's.<sup>278</sup> The church, situated on the corner of

North City  
Parishes  
1707



St. Paul's † ●

**Smith  
Field**

St. Michan's † ●

St. Mary's † ●

River Liffey

Mary Street and Jervis Street, was begun in 1700[/01], and was probably designed by William Robinson. He prepared a model for the East window.<sup>279</sup> The Vestry minutes show that throughout 1701 he was involved in a supervisory capacity.<sup>280</sup> The church was partly completed by February 1701[/02] when it was agreed that the 'great Charges and expenses' incurred in building the church should be met by voluntary subscriptions.<sup>281</sup> The church's builder, John Whinnery, as we have seen, became embroiled in a lengthy battle with the parish over debts arising from its construction. [In 1721, a Vestry declared the parish incapable of meeting its financial obligations to Whinnery.]<sup>282</sup> In 1723, the church was declared to be in good repair, and the aisles paved. The parish supported an incumbent and two curates who were paid £45 and £40 *per annum*.<sup>283</sup> In 1697, the parish had one resident Catholic priest, Fergus Farrell. He served as chaplain to Lady Castlehaven who lived in Capel Street, 'neer the Mint'.<sup>284</sup> When the Catholic parish of St Michan's was divided in 1707, three new parishes were created; but their boundaries were slightly different to those of the Anglican parishes. Despite the division, St Michan's and St Mary's continued to act as a united parish until 1729 when the new chapel for St Mary's was opened in Liffey Street.<sup>285</sup> This new chapel, its priest, and a private chapel, are registered in the 1731 Returns.<sup>286</sup> St Mary's had a large conformist Huguenot community. Its first meeting, held in 1701, took place in the old Chapter House of St Mary's Abbey situated on Meetinghouse Lane, where the community continued to worship. The lease had been obtained from Sir Humphrey Jervis, and a grant of £200 was given by the Lords Justice towards maintenance costs.<sup>287</sup> In 1718, in response to King's queries, the minister, Dr Francis, declared that the church was large enough for the parish's inhabitants, but lacked a minister's house. There were no tithes or land belonging to the church. There were 764 houses and a great deal of land available for building. He was, however, unsure of the precise numbers of Conformists, Dissenters and 'papists' within the parish.<sup>288</sup>



In 1699, Dunton observed that the only remarkable buildings in this part of the city were the Inns, Bowling Green and 'hospital':<sup>289</sup>

The Inns is a handsome street lying upon the river. It has a cloister in which is a large hall where the judges and other men of law dine ... The Bowling-green is the only thing that Dublin exceeds or equals London in. It is a very large piece of ground well walled in, and the walls covered with fruit trees: the southern wall has an handsome terrace walk its whole length ... Northwest of this is a great plot of land walled, and called the Palace Garden, 'tis a piece of ground which the city gave to James the late Duke of Ormond to build upon, a wall divides it from a field called Hospital Green where the citizens walk and refresh themselves in the open air.<sup>290</sup>

Despite Dunton's reservations this part of the city was one of Dublin's fastest growing areas. Between 1701 and 1718 over 1,000 new houses sprang up in this part of the city.<sup>291</sup> Development was not uniform. In 1718, St Michan's minister, John Clayton, reported that most of the land upon which the manse had stood had been turned into a street; the rest had been used for the building of 'very little inconvenient houses'. Furthermore 'the greatest share of the new buildings are by pulling down a house with a great courtyard & so building that yard & making a new passage for a street'. The resulting valuations were so low that the parish was less than £30 better off than it had been in 1697.<sup>292</sup>

Clayton estimated that the parish had about 850 houses, but the inhabitants, especially around the markets, were so 'variable' that it was impossible to calculate their numbers.<sup>293</sup> Although it is difficult to assess the accuracy of his observations, parochial evidence suggests he had under-estimated the number of houses in the parish. In 1711, the 'new' St Michan's made 849 cesses for church repairs.<sup>294</sup> If Clayton's comment that '96 houses [are] commonly returned vacant each year' is borne in mind, then the number of houses within the parish, 945, is closer to that recorded elsewhere for 1712 than to Clayton's own assessment.<sup>295</sup> In 1714, the numbers cessed had dropped slightly, to 839.<sup>296</sup> The parish was, however, expanding. In 1714, there were six administrative wards, but by 1723 the number of wards had doubled to twelve.<sup>297</sup> Despite the expansion, the parish did not escape the effects of economic upheaval. In 1723, in a cess made for church repairs, 5.2% of the parish's housing was described as 'waste' and 4.4% was described as 'poor'. If these figures are added to those who were

excused the cess, then 11% of the parish was unprofitable, making no contribution towards parochial expenditure.<sup>298</sup>

In St Mary's, development had been controlled and monitored by the Jervis estate. By 1702, Jervis' ambition, a high quality estate north of the river, had been achieved. The high standard of housing attracted influential residents into the area. Capel Street, the estate's most important street because it provided the connecting link, via Essex Bridge, with the southern half of the city, was well developed. In 1702, the street had over one hundred residents, among them Alan Broderick, Attorney General from 1707 to 1710 and Speaker of the House of Commons, and the Countess of Castlehaven.<sup>299</sup> Other streets within the estate were equally popular. Jervis, himself, lived on Abbey Street where there were twenty houses. His neighbours included Sir Henry Tichburn, Sir Henry Echlin and Simon Alcock.<sup>300</sup> Robert Rochford, Attorney General from 1695 to 1707, Speaker of the House of Commons, and church warden of St Mary's from 1700 to 1704[/05] and Lord Mountalexander lived on Ormond Quay. The Chancellor, John Methuen, lived in Mary Street.<sup>301</sup>

Daniel Falkiner, a Dublin merchant, was among those involved in development on the Jervis estate. Originally Falkiner's lease had formed part of the Amory Grant of 1674 and the interest in the premises had passed through the hands of several parties before being acquired by Falkiner sometime after 1696. In 1708, he paid William Pole £750 for a site which fronted onto an area where the intention was to develop a new street to be called 'new Strand Street'.<sup>302</sup> In 1709, Falkiner sold Christopher Dominick 'all the ground lying on the new quay, to be called Jervis Quay' where he, Falkiner, had recently constructed a house and warehouse for £270.<sup>303</sup> Dominick's plot may have formed part of a plot devised to Falkiner by Jervis in 1706, part of which he held in trust for Caleb and John Falkiner.<sup>304</sup>

Another entrepreneur was Joseph Mirfield, a carpenter. In 1706, he had two plots of ground from Jervis, one of which was situated between Stafford Street and Jervis Street.<sup>305</sup> Mirfield constructed a house fronting on to Jervis Street which he sold to Thomas Dance for £280.<sup>306</sup> He was also engaged in development in Henry

Street.<sup>307</sup> An active member of St Mary's, in 1711 he refused to pay five guineas for half of seat twenty-nine as he did not like it.<sup>308</sup> Mirfield served as a sidesman in 1713, as a director of the Watch in 1722, and as church warden in 1728. In 1722, when the parish faced serious financial troubles, Mirfield was one of those appointed to examine the church wardens' accounts.<sup>309</sup>

The pew registers for the northern parishes emphasis the attraction of the area to the wealthy and influential. In 1711, St Michan's residents included Sir Patrick Dunn, Lord Chief Justice Doyne, Sir Charles ffielding, Generals ffarefax and Gore, and Ladies Newcomen and Tyrconnell.<sup>310</sup> St Mary's was a particularly fashionable parish. Among the first purchasers of seats were Lord Moore, Secretary Southwell (Ormond's secretary Edward Southwell), Robert Rochford, Alan Broderick, Lord Mountalexander, Sir Humphrey Jervis and Sir Richard Levinge. Aldermen Pleasants, Gore and Eccles were also pew holders, as was 'Messr Dominick', and six ladies.<sup>311</sup> In St Paul's, early pew holders included Lords Drogheda and Charlemont and Lady Shelburne.<sup>312</sup> Although neither Drogheda nor Charlemont remained in the parish for long the area continued to attract the affluent.<sup>313</sup> In 1716, St Paul's pew holders included the Bishop of Clonfert, Sir Thomas Taylor, Lord Middleton, Henry Westenra and Richard Tighe.<sup>314</sup> Another pew holder was Bruen Worthington, a public notary and clerk of the House of Commons. He had served as a sidesman in 1700-1, and as church warden from 1704-6.<sup>315</sup> Among the less distinguished pew holders were James Brownlow, an innkeeper/distiller originally from St John's, and his son James.<sup>316</sup>

In the main the wealthier members of society tended to distance themselves from parochial affairs, but in the early years, when the structures of parochial administration were being put in place, St Mary's and St Paul's persuaded a number of influential parishioners to serve the parish. In St Paul's, Thomas Keightly, MP for Kildare between 1695 and 1697, served as church warden in 1699-1700. Lord Charlemont and the Hon. Colonel Henry Conyngham served as church wardens in 1701-2 and 1702-3 respectively.<sup>317</sup> In St Mary's, the five consecutive years of service given by Robert Rochford and Allan Broderick were exceptional, especially when the

general reluctance upon the part of some parishioners to hold any office is borne in mind.<sup>318</sup>

St Mary's was particularly fortunate; the social standing of the majority of its congregation ensured that many of its church officers, in particular its church wardens, were well educated. In 1707, for example, Sir Thomas Southwell and Charles Bourchier, Esq. served as church wardens.<sup>319</sup> In 1712, the Rt Hon. Philip Savage was elected senior church warden.<sup>320</sup> The more general practice, however, was to leave the day to day running of affairs to less influential men such as John Bayly, brewer, and John Hamilton, goldsmith, church wardens of St Michan's in 1725 and 1726; and John Findlay, linendraper, and Thomas Constantine, apothecary, church wardens in 1727.<sup>321</sup>

The northern suburbs, especially St Mary's, expanded rapidly.<sup>322</sup> This growth was recognized by Archbishop King who wrote in 1725:

To say the Truth Dublin greatly wants Churches for that side of the Water has in it by a diligent enquiry about 30 Thousand Souls for the reception of which there [are] only 3 Churches, which one with another will not receive above a Thousand psns each, we have no fund for building or rebuilding of Churches notwithstanding by the assistance we had from the Crown and by the Industry and beneficence of private psons.<sup>323</sup>

A number of factors were instrumental in this extraordinary growth. The acquisition of a plot on Oxmantown Green in 1664 had persuaded many to abandon the older parts of Dublin. Growth within the area as a whole was given added impetus by a second wave of Huguenot immigrants who arrived in Dublin after 1692.<sup>324</sup> The key to the area's urban expansion was, however, the creation of the Jervis estate. Had Jervis' enterprise failed, development would have been concentrated south of the river. Instead his success opened the way for later developers such as the highly influential Luke Gardiner. It was he, and his descendants, who were responsible for much of the city's development north-east of Capel Street. A resident of St Mary's, Gardiner had first acquired land south of the river,<sup>325</sup> but his major contribution began in 1714 when he purchased the Moore estate north of the river. Further land was acquired in 1721 from the Reynell family, and it was about this time that he began his first major development, Henrietta Street.<sup>326</sup> Here Gardiner constructed the family residence;

here, too, were built some of the most palatial houses of the time.<sup>327</sup> By maintaining the building standards established under Jervis' stewardship, Gardiner ensured that St Mary's retained the status it had acquired under his highly influential predecessor.

\* \* \*

Urban expansion during the early eighteenth century was a continuation of the trend which had begun a century earlier. There were, however, already signs to indicate that the eastern suburbs were becoming the city's real growth area. Seventeenth-century entrepreneurs within the parishes of St Peter's and St Mary's had deliberately set out to create fashionable estates. Their success exercised a considerable influence on eighteenth-century developers who learned and benefited from their example. The contributions made by Jervis and Aungier were to be emulated by the Gardiner and Fitzwilliam estates. It was this continuity which ensured that the trend eastward persisted. For the intra-mural parishes, the century brought a growing sense of insecurity. Although moving of the markets to the suburbs had meant some loss of commercial activity the courts, Custom's House and Tholsel still remained within the walls. The possibility that these institutions, particularly the courts, might be moved, however, aroused suspicion and anxiety. The Castle remained the centre of vice-regal authority, but parliamentary authority, which had quit the city in 1661 with the removal of the Commons to Chichester House on College Green, was given a new significance with the construction of Edward Lovett Pearce's Parliament in 1729. Dublin, in 1729, was a much larger and a more cosmopolitan city than it had been in 1660.

## Conclusion

The years 1660 to 1729 were years of change for Dublin and her citizens. In this relatively short span of time the whole approach to urban living underwent a radical transformation. In 1660, civil administration within the city was overseen by the Lord Mayor and aldermen. The role of the parishes was subordinate and limited because there was little legislation which demanded their participation. By 1729, the situation was very different. The parish, in the years between 1660 and 1729, became the base around which much of the city's administration functioned.

The impetus behind the change was urban growth. Dublin expanded at a phenomenal rate. The 1660 'Census', probably a poll tax, gives the city's population as a mere 8,780, but this is probably much below the actual population. By 1729, contemporary commentators judged the city's population to be in excess of 100,000. This growth placed demands upon the urban infrastructure which could not be ignored. A series of changes, designed to improve the urban environment, were introduced over a period of time. These necessary changes were underpinned by legislation and the responsibility for ensuring that these legislative obligations were met fell largely to the parishes.

From a parochial point of view not all aspects of the changes were welcome. An improvement in the quality of the environment was welcome but not the fact that it could only be achieved by legislation. For the legislation was accompanied by an ever-increasing amount of responsibility. It was, however, unavoidable. The traditional idea that allowed each inhabitant to contribute on a voluntary basis towards community life was no longer practicable. Town life had become too sophisticated.

Legislation identified, and sought to address, the problems of urban life. While it could not guarantee success but it did bring improvements. For the city's poor, however, the introduction of legislation did not bring about a resolution to their problems. Dublin

tried, with the workhouse, to introduce an organised way of providing relief for the city's poor, but failed. The burden of providing for the numerous poor fell to the parishes who had neither the resources nor always the will to provide adequate relief.

There were other changes. In 1660, the old walled city had been the centre of social and commercial life. In 1729, this was no longer the case. Although it remained the focal point for social life, commercial activity was shifting towards the city's suburbs. The transfer of the markets in the late seventeenth century was to be followed by the removal of the law courts and Customs House in the late eighteenth century. In 1660, less than half of Dublin's citizens lived within the city walls, and the proportion, already halved again by 1695, was much lower still by 1729. The building of fashionable suburbs in the eastern half of the city established a pattern which was to continue throughout the eighteenth century. In 1660, the city had few public services. In 1729, that too had changed. It lit, swept and policed for while the Watch was universally maligned, did provide a nightly police patrol.

By 1729, Dublin had begun the transformation from medieval city into modern metropolis. In seventy years important changes had taken place. The additional responsibilities which accompanied change were to remain with the Dublin's parishes for many years. Ultimately time was to expose the finite potential of the parish as a unit of civic administration. The demands made by an increasingly sophisticated urban society were too complex to be handled by such a localized form of government. Towards the latter part of the eighteenth century Parliament began to enact a number of measures which were to remove administrative duties from the parish and place them under the control of independent authorities. The establishment of the Dublin Foundling Hospital (11&12 Geo. III, c.11, 1772); the House of Industry (11&12 Geo. III, c.30, 1772) opened in 1773; the Paving Board (13&14 Geo. III, c.22) created in 1774; and the setting up of a regular police force in 1786 (26 Geo. III, c.24) were tacit acknowledgements of the parish's limitations and can be seen as marking the beginning of a move away from parochial autonomy towards a more centralised form of government.

## Appendix 1: Church Wardens

	<u>St Bride's</u>	<u>St Catherine's</u>	<u>St John's</u>	<u>St Michael's</u>
1660		Luke Lowther* Ald Ralph Vizzard	Thomas Howard William Martyn	
1661		<b>Peter Lochard</b> <b>Thomas Cooke</b>	Dr Dudley Loftus Ald William Smith*	
1662	Anthony Yardley Bryan Reynolds	<b>Peter Lochard</b> <b>Thomas Cooke</b>	Nicholas Awnsham John Van Persyn	
1663	Thomas Pope William Dawson	Ald Richard Tighe* Ralph Wallis	Christopher Lovet* John Quelch	
1664	Nicholas Weston Henry Wright	Joshua Allen* Thomas Graves	John Guest Francis Williams#	
1665	Thomas Sharp (Thomas Gower) Thomas Martin	William ffullam John Everton	William Benne# Robert Shipley#	
1666	Robert Seaman (Robert Landrey) Thomas Tennant	John Kelly John ffreeman	Gavin Douglas Robert Hill	<b>William Robinson</b>
1667	John Fletcher (Philip Craddock) Robert Hughes	William Brooks Richard Ward	William Moland Francis Brewster*	<b>William Robinson</b> <b>Daniel Wybrants</b>
1668	Richard Allen# Richard fflood	Samuel Molyneux John ffryer (OP)	Robert Neale <b>George Kennedy</b>	<b>Daniel Wybrants</b> <b>Henry Reynolds</b>
1669	William Randall Tristram Tillbury	Daniel Gayton (S) Christopher Elliston	<b>George Kennedy</b>	<b>Henry Reynolds</b> <b>David Sallam(S/OP)</b>
1670	John Osborne Henry Martin	Basil Purefoy <b>Richard Warren (S)</b>	Thomas Mercer <b>Joseph Heskinhull</b>	<b>David Sallam</b> <b>John Coyne</b>
1671	Chris Horncastle <b>John Pue</b>	William Solomon Arthur Emerson(OP)	<b>Joseph Heskinhull</b> William Hughes	<b>John Coyne</b> <b>Henry Aston</b> (S/OP)
1672	John Nethercote William Miles	Thomas Vaughan James Younge	Thomas Powell Charles Empson	<b>Henry Aston</b> <b>Edward Surdevil</b>



## Appendix 1: Church Wardens

	<u>St Bride's</u>	<u>St Catherine's</u>	<u>St John's</u>	<u>St Michael's</u>
1673	(Samuel Southcote) Samuel Butler John Lansdall	John Coakley (OP) <b>Richard Warren</b>	Samuel Blunt Matthew Connor	<b>Edward Surdevil</b> <b>John North(S/OP)</b>
1674	(Jerome Sankey) (Walter Nugent) (Daniel Pope) (William Bragge) <b>John Pue</b> William Peydell	Wm Billington(OP)* Isaac Ambrose	Robert Sherwin Otho Armour	<b>John North</b> <b>Thomas Reyner</b>
1675	John Taylor Geo Sewell(S/OP)	William Eager (S) Richard Lock (S)	Thomas Simpkin John Hyde	<b>Thomas Reyner</b> <b>John ffleetwood</b>
1676	James Walmsley (William Bragge) Thomas Beckett	John Pearson (S) Edward Rose (S)	Paul Palmer Anthony Poe	<b>John ffleetwood</b> <b>Henry Stephens</b>
1677	Nath Neale(S/OP)	Richard Smith (S) Wm Wimersley(OP)	John Smith John Stones	<b>Henry Stephens</b> (Wm Smith) <b>Wm Ormsby</b>
1678	<b>John</b> <b>Reyly#(S/OP)</b> <b>Richard Jones</b>	Thomas Waite Mark Ranford (OP)	(Rice Lewis) Stephen Williams Thomas Cook	<b>Wm Fisher(S/OP)</b> (Lawrence Erles) (Gerrald Cooly) (Michael Lincoln) <b>William Ormsby</b>
1679	<b>John Reyly#</b> <b>Richard Jones</b>	(John Gaiche) (Nicholas Taylor) (Andrew Brice) Thomas Litchfield Thomas Bennett(S)	Thomas Leason William Anyon	<b>William Fisher</b> (Wm Brooking) (M Geraldyne) (John Page) <b>Richard Ryves</b>
1680	William Hughes George Jukes	(Dr John Gage) (Richard Warde) Wm Litchfield(OP) (William George) Robert Conduit(OP)	<b>Richard Gray</b> (William Scriven) Richard Reeves	<b>Richard Ryves</b> (Geo Warburton) <b>Jeremy Berstow</b>

## Appendix 1: Church Wardens

	<u>St Bride's</u>	<u>St Catherine's</u>	<u>St John's</u>	<u>St Michael's</u>
1681	Robert Ormsbye Wm Cragg(S/OP)	John Cliffe (S) (Richard Doolittle) (Thomas Bond) (Thomas Mitchell) (Thomas Hill) Jeffrey Seaman(OP)	<b>Richard Gray</b>	<b>Jeremy Berstow</b> <b>John Kennedy</b>
1682	Edward Whaley Robert Molyneux	(John Hill) (Henry Solomon) (Walter Water) William George Rich Hewettson(S/OP)	Thomas Tilson	<b>John Kennedy</b> <b>Garret</b> <b>Grace(S/OP)</b>
1683	Miles ffells(S/OP) (John Pue) <b>Stephen Jones</b>	(Thomas Cannon) (Ezekiel Gilbert) J Houldsworth(S/OP) Tom Faulkener(S/OP)	William Warren Lewis Roe	<b>Garret Grace</b> <b>William Wise</b>
1684	<b>Hugh Lloyd(S/OP)</b> <b>Stephen Jones</b>	(John fforshall) [James Gardiner]	Isaac Ambrose Isaac Hendrick	<b>William Wise</b> (Thomas Mason) <b>Michael</b> <b>Christian(S/OP)</b>
1685	<b>Hugh Lloyd</b> <b>Stephen Jones</b>	Isaac Ward Thomas Shaw(OP)	William Ford <b>Henry Smith</b>	<b>Mich Christian</b> (Nicholas Taylor) (Ald Sam Carde) George Cooke
1686	<b>Robt Polehampton</b> (S/OP) <b>Stephen Conduit</b> (S/OP)	John Page* Joseph ffenton (S)	James Fletcher Clement Martin	James Tisdall John fforster
1687	<b>R Polehampton</b> <b>Stephen Conduit</b>	John Boswell Robert Samms (S)	Robert Harris Ben Roberts	Charles Pitt William James
1688	(George Sevell) Thomas Spranger <b>Fran Forrest(S/OP)</b>	(John Godley) (Hugh Parry) Sam Desmynieres Philip Green	John Bull John Buchanon	John Langdon Henry Rodgers

## Appendix 1: Church Wardens

	<u>St Bride's</u>	<u>St Catherine's</u>	<u>St John's</u>	<u>St Michael's</u>
1689	<b>Fran Forrest</b> Edward Hall Richard Lamprey <b>John Jervis</b>	(Thomas Jones) Thomas Fox Charles Eastwood(S)	<b>Thomas Stacey</b> Joseph Potter	James Spicer John Markham
1690	Nicholas Rohd (Nicholas Barron) <b>John Jervis</b>	James Henshall(OP) Theophilus Bourke	Joseph Potter Alex Williamson	No Easter Vestry
1691	<b>Josias Evans(S/OP)</b> <b>Mat Pearson(S/OP)</b>	Wm Sherlock (OP) William Doran	<b>Henry Smith</b> <b>Wm Middlebrook</b>	Henry Wetherall William Mitchell
1692	<b>Josias Evans</b> <b>Matthew Pearson</b>	(Samuel Cooke) (Robert Yates) (Joshua Sheppey) Yeoman Gough(OP) John Gayton	<b>Thomas Stacey</b> <b>Wm Middlebrook</b>	Vincent Kidder Richard Winn#
1693	(William Carter) Samuel Hinde (William Story) Geo Toole(S/OP)	Richard Dudgeon(S) Vincent Roe(S)	John Foreman James Swan	John Billop Joseph James
1694	(Dudley Thompson) (Robert Copinger) Wm Pearson(S/OP) Wm Marshall(S/OP)	Thomas Hewettson(S) (William Lemmon) Edward Massey	William Redman Alexander Irwin	Wm Handcock jun Ben Mead
1695	(Theodore Russell) Henry Cadogan (Edward Hall) (Lewis Downes) Walter Bingham (S/OP)	<b>Henry ffisher (S)</b> (Walter Brice) Joseph Worrall	<b>Thomas Stacey</b> Richard Smith	<b>John Aston</b> (S/OP) <b>Edward Gray</b>
1696	<b>Lewis Downes</b> Henry Parsley	<b>Henry ffisher</b> (Robert Jackson) John Sporle	Henry Glegg Luke Burne	<b>John Aston</b> <b>Edw Gray (died)</b> <b>Robt Cheatham</b> (S/OP)
1697	Edward Hall <b>Fran Forrest</b>	Benjamin Meade (Richard Forster) Joshua Sheppey	Simon Anyon James Brownlow	<b>Robt Cheatham</b> (Thomas Busby) John Harper

## Appendix 1: Church Wardens

	<u>St Bride's</u>	<u>St Catherine's</u>	<u>St John's</u>	<u>St Michael's</u>
1698	(Jacob Walton) <b>Fran Forrest</b> <b>Richard Lamprey</b>	Samuel Bennet (Isaac Holdwright) Robert Cock	Lawrence Kardiffe Edward West	David King(S/OP) Caleb Thomas (S/OP)
1699	<b>Richard Lamprey</b> <b>George Hawthorne</b> (S/OP)	John Jackson Peter Percy (OP)	(James Quay) Alexander Vougler (Ralph Norris) (John Skeketon) Thomas Minnitt	John Warren (S/OP) James Dugon (S/OP)
1700	<b>George Hawthorne</b> (Garret Nevill) Thomas Armistead (S/OP)	(Aaron Hanbury) Richard Sanderson John Shelley	Thomas Howsall William Houghton	John Christian (S/OP) Alex Barlow
1701	(John Woffington) <b>George Hawthorne</b> Rich Skinner(S/OP)	William Smith John Nicholson	John Hiorne (Henry Collman) John Lawrence	James Langley (S/OP) Tom Acton(S/OP)
1702	Tom Servant (S/OP) Fran Letort	Ald Chas Forrest (William Lemmon) <b>John Nicholson</b>	Chas ffarragher William Rose	John Nevill Benjamin Taylor
1703	Charles Phipps John Lee(S/OP)	<b>John Nicholson</b> John Miller	John Norrise Richard Audley	William Parry John Hayes(S/OP)
1704	George Hickman Chamberlain Walker	<b>John Nicholson</b> Arthur Warren	Thomas Daniell Richard Buckley	(William Magee) William Aston John Mosson (S/OP)
1705	(Thomas Acton) (William Lambe) George Hickman Chamberlain Walker	James Greenham William Phillpot	Ravensdell Keane John Lloyd	<b>John Gill</b> (S/OP) Wm Peters (S/OP)
1706	Peter Bayley(S/OP) <b>Edw Exshaw</b> (S/OP) Lewis Chaigneau	Richard Maguire (Francis Holding) John Lavender(died) (Robert Taylor) Fran Bonham (S/OP)	James ffrench Edward Reasin	<b>John Gill</b> John Ware

## Appendix 1: Church Wardens

	<u>St Bride's</u>	<u>St Catherine's</u>	<u>St John's</u>	<u>St Michael's</u>
1707	<b>Edward Exshaw</b> John Michell(S/OP)	William Ashley William Steele	Nicholas Macguire Mathew Dixon	<b>Thomas Meredith</b> (S/OP) George Roe(S/OP)
1708	Robert Holt(S/OP) Steph Bootle(S/OP)	Edward Dudgeon Thomas Roberts	Edward Dempster Richard Sinnott	<b>Thomas Meredith</b> <b>Robert Pearson</b> (S/OP)
1709	Samuel Woodward (S/OP) Edward Allen(S/OP)	Philip Walker Thomas How (S)	(Wm Hutchinson) John Wilkinson John Bullock	<b>Thomas Meredith</b> <b>Robert Pearson</b>
1710	John Holliday(S/OP) Richard Rose(S/OP)	Nicholas Smith Edw Pilkington (OP)	Richard Jacob Thomas Bibbie	<b>Thomas Meredith</b> <b>Robert Pearson</b>
1711	<b>Francis Wilkinson</b> (S/OP) Chris Inch (S/OP)	Edward French Richard Faulkner	Robert Lewsly Chas Auchmooty	John Mosson (S/OP) John Hinde(S/OP)
1712	<b>Francis Wilkinson</b> John Stinson(S/OP)	(Thomas Robins) (George Gibson(OP)) Robert Harding William Fookes	John Gass (David Russett) Robert Baxter	<b>Philip Wilkinson</b> (S/OP) <b>John Lindsey</b> (S/OP)
1713	Samuel Dopping Wentworth Harman	Richard Walker William Sibson(OP)	(John Burton) (Richard Maddin) Nicholas Peacock Thomas Jenkins	<b>Philip Wilkinson</b> <b>John Lindsey</b>
1714	Philip Percival (Thomas Deane) John Vanleeuwen	Edward Butler William Walker (S)	Christopher Hart (Timothy Edge) William Rowland	<b>Charles Hendrick</b> (S/OP) <b>Sam Bryon</b> (S/OP)
1715	Peter Garesche (S/OP) John Reyson*	Francis Onge Matthew Browne	Tobias Lewes Joseph Jeffers	<b>Charles Hendrick</b> <b>Samuel Bryon</b>
1716	(Percival Hunt*) Robt Towers(S/OP) Fran Mayson(S/OP)	Capt. Simpson John Powis	Joseph Sidebottom Jonathan Cape	<b>Lawrence</b> <b>Eustace</b> (S/OP) Geo Bonus(S/OP)

## Appendix 1: Church Wardens

	<u>St Bride's</u>	<u>St Catherine's</u>	<u>St John's</u>	<u>St Michael's</u>
1717	Thomas Twigg Nicholas Mahon	Elijah Charles (David Tew*) John Leake	George Davison (Francis Russell)	<b>Law Eustace</b> <b>Sam Fairbrother</b> (S/OP)
1718	John Edkins(S/OP) (Henry Keating) Thomas Bond(S/OP)	William Wright John Flemming (S)	William Hays (Simon Surelock) Edward Workman	<b>Sam Fairbrother</b> Abraham Slater (S/OP)
1719	Tom Rodgers(S/OP) <b>John Pearson</b>	William Wright Owen Sweeney (S)	Hugh Smith John Dickeson	<b>John Taylor</b> (S/OP) Geo Clark (S/OP)
1720	(Ald Matt Pearson) (Daniel Reading) <b>John Pearson</b> <b>Thomas Middleton</b> (S/OP)	John Molineux (S) Thomas Gorsuch (S)	George Grierson John Husband	<b>John Taylor</b> Denis Doyle (S/OP)
1721	<b>Thomas Middleton</b> <b>Wm Walker</b> (S/OP)	William Blood John Morgan	Nathaniel Hone John Chaigneau	<b>John Sinclair</b> (S/OP) Patrick Sinclair (S/OP)
1722	<b>William Walker</b> <b>Jerome Bredon</b> (S/OP)	William Smith Paul Espinass (S)	Edward Weir William Hale	<b>John Sinclair</b> Charles Ward
1723	<b>Jerome Bredon</b> <b>John Constable</b>	Jonathan Maughan Michael Jackson	Moses Beckson Robert Sharsted	Edward Hamilton William Reynolds (S/OP)
1724	<b>John Constable</b> (Robert Reeves) John Chamney	Stephen Nix (OP) Thomas Reily	James Bayly John Parkins	(Henry Lindsey) Edward Wale Patrick Warren
1725	Patrick Callan Wm Taylor (S/OP)	William Leeson(S) Richard Charleton	John Pattison (Isaac Hayes) Terrence Carrol	Anthony Tennant (S/OP) <b>Joseph</b> <b>Phillipson</b> (S/OP)

## Appendix 1: Church Wardens

	<u>St Bride's</u>	<u>St Catherine's</u>	<u>St John's</u>	<u>St Michael's</u>
1726	<b>Wm Morris(S/OP)</b> <b>William Powell</b>	Edward Sprag William Browne (S)	James Bruce James Hartley	<b>Joseph Phillipson</b> <b>Luke Dillon</b> (S/OP)
1727	<b>William Morris</b> <b>William Powell</b>	Edward Hutchinson Thomas Coates	George Coates William Johnson	<b>Luke Dillon</b> Thomas Beaumont
1728	John Exshaw(S/OP) John Lyon (S/OP)	<b>Joseph Maddock (S)</b> <b>Thomas Taylor (OP)</b>	John Booker Charles Fisher	<b>James Magan</b> <b>John Phelan</b>
1729	Arthur Baldwin Henry Hatch	(Philip Pearson) (Godfrey Green(S)) <b>Joseph Maddock</b> <b>Thomas Taylor</b>	David Griffith Balaam Dempsey	<b>James Magan</b> <b>John Phelan</b>
	<u>Finglas</u>	<u>St Mary's</u>	<u>St Paul's</u>	<u>St Peter's</u>
1662	James Settle (Ald Thomas ffooks) <b>Charles Waggstaffe</b> (S/OP)			
1663	<b>Charles Waggstaffe</b> <b>Thomas Spreckley</b>			
1664	<b>Thomas Spreckley</b> <b>Hugh Boxton</b>			
1665	(Edward Ellis) <b>James Smith</b> <b>Hugh Boxton</b>			
1666	James Smith <b>William Townsend#</b>			
1667	<b>William Townsend#</b> William Hovey			
1668				

## Appendix 1: Church Wardens

	<u>Finglas</u>	<u>St Mary's</u>	<u>St Paul's</u>	<u>St Peter's</u>
1669	<b>James Spooner</b> Geo Wordsworth# (S/OP)			
1670	<b>John Avery</b> <b>James Spooner</b>			
1671	James Springham Richard Phillips			
1672	<b>John Avery</b> Robert Ball			
1673	<b>Richard Grey</b> <b>Philip Castleton</b>			
1674	Edward Swan (Isaak Baxter) <b>James Garner</b> <b>James Garner</b>			
1675	Arthur Elliot			
1676	<b>James Spooner</b>			
1677	<b>William Franklin</b> Thomas Allington (S/OP)			
1678	<b>Richard Grey</b> <b>William Franklin</b>			
1679	<b>Richard Grey</b> <b>William Franklin</b>			
1680	<b>William Franklin</b> <b>Richard Grey</b>			
1681	Nicholas Plunket Robert ?			
1682	Roger Moor <b>Ald Philip</b> <b>Castleton</b>			



## Appendix 1: Church Wardens

	<u>Finglas</u>	<u>St Mary's</u>	<u>St Paul's</u>	<u>St Peter's</u>
1683	<b>Richard Grey</b> <b>William Franklin</b>			
1684	<b>James Spooner</b> <b>James Garner</b>			
1685	<b>James Spooner</b> <b>James Garner</b>			Robert Ware Henry fferneley
1686	<b>Thomas Prosser</b> John Wilson			(Thomas Boyd) (Elnathan Lumm) William Williams Sir Abel Ram* George Bonny Samuel West (Henry Monck) (Joseph Bodin) (John Hanson) <b>Lewis Downes</b> Richard Godsall
1687	<b>Jam Spooner, jun</b> <b>John Settle</b>			<b>John Killing</b> <b>Thomas Lee</b> (Robert Ryll) (Edward Webb)
1688	<b>Jam Spooner, jun</b> <b>John Settle</b> <b>Philip Castleton</b>			<b>John Killing</b> <b>Thomas Lee</b>
1689	<b>James Spooner</b>			
1690	<b>Philip Castleton</b> <b>James Spooner</b>			Robert Ryll Edward Webb
1691	<b>Philip Castleton</b> <b>James Spooner</b>			Ralph Evans (S) John Cooper
1692	<b>Philip Castleton</b> <b>James Spooner</b>			James ffade Wm Roberts (S)
1693	<b>Philip Castleton</b> <b>James Spooner</b>			Thomas Jones (S) James Kieran
1694	Thomas Flower <b>James Spooner</b>			Daniel Nichols Chris Spanten (S)

## Appendix 1: Church Wardens

	<u>Finglas</u>	<u>St Mary's</u>	<u>St Paul's</u>	<u>St Peter's</u>
1695	James Spooner Thomas Prosser			John ffookes John Bullard
1696	Edward Swan James Spooner			John ffookes John Bullard
1697	Edward Swan James Spooner			Louis Le Roux Patrick ffarrell#
1698	Sir John Hely James Spooner		Henry Westenra Edward Corker	Nich Borne (S) Caleb Smalley
1699	Nath Whitwell James Spooner		Thomas Keightly Edward Corker	Nicholas Borne Caleb Smalley
1700		Robert Rochford Alan Brodrick	Richard Boyle Thomas Ashe	Tom Dawson (S) Wm Webb (S)
1701	Thomas Prosser Griffith Barnett#	Robert Rochford Alan Brodrick	Ld Charlemont Thomas Tilson	(Elnathan Lumm) Simon Thornton (S) Thomas Dawson
1702	Lewis Powell Chris Busby	Robert Rochford Alan Brodrick	Henry Conyngham James Corry	(Elnathan Lumm) Rich Bulkeley(S) Henry Ware
1703	Lewis Powell Chris Busby	Robert Rochford Alan Brodrick	(Charles Melvil) Richard Wiborow John Greene(S)	Thomond Blackall Christian Borr
1704	George Thornton James Spooner	Robert Rochford Alan Brodrick William Paget Thomas Thorne	Philip Craven Bruen Worthington	Robert Stewart Thomas Phillips John Smith
1705	George Thornton Godfrey Richards	Thomas Thorne James Ramsay	Philip Craven Bruen Worthington	Joseph Leeson(S) Richard Pope.
1706	Hon. Tom Everard Godfrey Richards	Martin Tucker Richard Thompson	(William Poole) (Thomas Whitley) Jam Brownlow, jun Anthony Cox	Richard Arnoldi Thomas Cumberlidge (S)

## Appendix 1: Church Wardens

	<u>Finglas</u>	<u>St Mary's</u>	<u>St Paul's</u>	<u>St Peter's</u>
1707		Thomas Southwell Charles Bouchier	<b>Jam Brownlow, jun</b> <b>Anthony Cox</b>	(William Barry) Geo Marshall(S) <b>Richard Arnoldi</b>
1708	<b>Hon Tom Everard</b> <b>George Thornton</b>	ffolliet Sherigly Michael Sampson	Jospeh Moland James Richardson	William Barry Anthony ffox
1709	<b>James Barry</b> <b>George Thornton</b>	(John Eccles) (Ralph Gore) (William Burgh) (Thomas Meredith) Thomas Cann Christopher Taylor	Samuel Short John Clarkson	(Isaac Chalke(S)) <b>John Boland</b> (S/OH) James Shirreff
1710	<b>James Barry</b> Isaack Manly	Charles Campbell Richard Tisdall	(Robert Porter) (Mr Gyles) John Low Owen Ryan	John Bayley (George Symson) <b>John Boland</b>
1711	<b>George Thornton</b> <b>Benjamin Everard</b>	Peter Verdoen* Robert Byres	James White John Smith	(Edward Burley) <b>John Boland</b> George Spike
1712	<b>James Barry</b> <b>Benjamin Everard</b>	Philip Savage (James Barry) Clement Barry	Michael Smith (S) Philip Atkinson (S)	(James Dymond) <b>John Boland</b> <b>Joseph</b> <b>Worthington</b>
1713	<b>James Barry</b> <b>Benjamin Everard</b>	(John Davis) John Ormsby Samuel Burton	<b>James Rose</b> (Edmund reily) <b>John Caldwell</b>	<b>Joseph</b> <b>Worthington</b> Peter Clasen#(S)
1714	William Thornton John Edge	John Davis Thomas Meredith	<b>John Caldwell</b> <b>James Rose</b>	Charles Hampson Capt Galbreath
1715	Boyle Moore <b>Chas Wormington</b>	Tristram ffortick Simon Martin	Michael Comerford <b>James Smith</b>	<b>Ben Linvell</b> (Thomas Cash) <b>John Rea (S)</b>
1716	<b>Chas Wormington</b> <b>Thomas Hand</b>	William Connor Samuel Taylor	<b>James Smith</b> <b>Anthony Godfrey(S)</b>	<b>Ben Linvell</b> <b>John Rea</b>

## Appendix 1: Church Wardens

	<u>Finglas</u>	<u>St Mary's</u>	<u>St Paul's</u>	<u>St Peter's</u>
1717	<b>Thomas Hand</b> (John Jepson) James Palmer	John Sisson Richard Bulkeley	<b>Anthony Godfrey</b> <b>James Ryan</b>	(George Monck) Patrick Doran(S) John Burbidge(S)
1718	<b>William Settle</b> <b>Thomas Gavin</b>	William Phillips William Reeves	<b>James Ryan</b> John Connor(S)	<b>John Draycott</b> John Waters
1719	<b>William Settle</b> <b>Thomas Gavin</b>	Duke Tighe Richard Griffith	<b>Thomas Taylor</b> <b>Kilner Brazier</b>	<b>John Draycott</b> John Anderson
1720	<b>William Becket</b> <b>William Thornton</b>	Luke Gaven John Beaghan	<b>Thomas Taylor</b> <b>Kilner Brazier</b>	James Sherriff Wm Turpin (S)
1721	<b>William Becket</b> <b>William Thornton</b>	Robert Sisson John Brock	(Richard Wilding) <b>Henry Burrowes</b> <b>John Davis</b>	<b>Wm Green (S)</b> John Evans
1722	<b>William Johnson</b> <b>Michael Boote</b>	(Richard Bamber) (John P Elers) (Nicholas Lincoln) (Thomas Kilpatrick) (William Curry) John Conliff William Craford	<b>Henry Burrowes</b> <b>John Davis</b>	<b>James Hamilton</b> Francis Andrews
1723	<b>William Johnson</b> <b>Michael Boote</b>	Richard Hoare Joseph Nuttal	<b>Richard Tighe</b> <b>William Hendrick</b>	<b>James Hamilton</b> William Smyth
1724	Phinehas Fernelly <b>William Johnson</b>	Robert Nesbitt Thomas Gledstones	<b>Richard Tighe</b> <b>William Hendrick</b>	<b>James Hamilton</b> Lewis Moor
1725	<b>Ignatius Nugent</b> <b>Thomas Cook</b>	Gilbert King John Bayley	<b>Richard Tighe</b> <b>William Hendrick</b>	Samuel Shirreff <b>William Green</b>
1726	<b>Ignatius Nugent</b> <b>Thomas Cook</b>	Ralph Sampson (Samuel Brown) Daniel Coningham	Adam Purdon (S) <b>Alex Graydon (S)</b>	<b>James Hamilton</b> David LaTouche
1727	<b>Sir Nath Whitwell</b> Nathaniel Pearson	William Moore Patrick Alymer	<b>Alex Graydon</b> <b>David Williams</b>	William Roberts John Cook

## Appendix 1: Church Wardens

	<u>Finglas</u>	<u>St Mary's</u>	<u>St Paul's</u>	<u>St Peter's</u>
1728	<b>Thomas Shepherd</b> <b>Henry Taylor</b>	Joseph Mirfield (Hugh White) George Cartwright	<b>Alex Graydon</b> <b>David Williams</b>	Theo Bourke Marcus Dowley
1729	<b>Thomas Shepherd</b> <b>Henry Taylor</b>	Joseph Bury Francis Tucker	Anthony Allen Thomas Slade	William Barker Robert Preston
	<u>St Luke's</u>	<u>St Mark's</u>	<u>St Werburgh's</u>	
1715	George Edkins Mark Sanders			
1716				
1717	Thomas Bignell Thomas Sherrard			
1718	Francis Huband Richard Wards			
1719				
1720	William Milton James Wilmott	<b>John Rathborne</b> <b>Caspar White</b>	Robert Owen Thomas Billing	
1721	Andrew Rolands Cornelius Delany	<b>John Rathborne</b> <b>Caspar White</b>	Eliphall Dobson Rupert Barbor	
1722		<b>John Rathborne</b> <b>Caspar White</b>	Martin Billing Pierce Boyton	
1723	John Taylor <b>Jacob Poole</b>	<b>John Rathborne</b> <b>Caspar White</b>	William Archdall Michael Boyton	
1724	William Gibton Thomas Dalton	<b>John Rathborne</b> <b>Caspar White</b>	William Crofton Adrian Bulkeley	
1725	Paul Chastell Abraham Spence	<b>John Rathborne</b> <b>Caspar White</b>	Thomas Quin John Healy	
1726	<b>Jacob Poole</b> Jonathan Gibson	<b>John Rathborne</b> <b>Caspar White</b>	Thomas walker Richard Hynde	

## Appendix 1: Church Wardens

	<u>St Luke's</u>	<u>St Mark's</u>	<u>St Werburgh's</u>
1727	John Andrews Daniel Ray	<b>John Rathborne</b> <b>Caspar White</b>	Philip Kennersley Robert Scriven
1728		<b>John Rathborne</b> <b>Caspar White</b>	William Barry Jeremy Standron
1729	Henry Martin (Bridges Daniell) Thomas Daniell	<b>John Rathborne</b> <b>Caspar White</b>	Arthur Weldon Francis O'Hara

### Notes on Church Wardens Lists

**Bold** Served more than one term of office.

( ... ) Nonserving officer

\* Lord Mayor

# Illiterate

(S) Sidesman

(OP) Overseer for the Poor

(OH) Overseer for the Highways

## Appendix 2: Fee Tables

### Burial Fees

St Andrew's 1672: as registered on 16 April 1672.

Burial for parishioners in church	£1 to churchwardens for parish use.
Burial of children	10/-
Burial of strangers	£3
Burial of strangers children	£1/10/0d
Burial of parishioners in churchyard	no charge
Burial of strangers in churchyard	6/8d
Burial of strangers children	3/4d

St John's 1675: as registered on 20 July 1675.

Burial of a child of a foreigner of parish	3/4d
Burial of a man or woman	6/8d
Burial of a child out of the parish	6/8d
Burial of a man or woman from out of another parish	13/4d
Double these sums for foreigners in church	
Parishioners to pay as formerly in church.	

## Appendix 2: Fee Tables

### Tithe Fees as agreed by Dublin's Anglican Ministers 1663

<u>For Minister:</u>	for burial of a parishioner	1/6d
	for a black cloak or 'scarf'	2/6d
	for burial [of inhabitant] out of any other parish	2/6d
	for a black cloak or 'scarf'	3/0d
	for velvet pall	13/4d
	for charting	1/6d
	for christening	
	for marriage	5/-
<u>For clerk:</u>	for burial	1/-
	for marriage	2/6d
	for churching	9d
<u>For sexton:</u>	for every grave	1/-
	for every grave in church	2/6d
	for knell	6d

'These fees to be used until Tything table given in Convocation be enforced'

Fees agreed at a Vestry Meeting held in St Catherine's & James 1663

Attended by: Richard Lingard - Vice Provost Trinity College 1662  
William Lightburne - St Audeon's (appointed minister in  
1651; d.1671)  
John Yarner - St Bride's (minister 1665-1678)  
John Glandee - St Michael's (minister until 1693)  
William Hewetson - St Werburgh's (curate 1660-1676)  
Charles Cormick - St Michan's (minister; d.1672)



## Appendix 2: Fee Tables

Tithe Table as drawn up by Convocation for Ireland with the exception of  
Ulster Registered in St Bride's Vestry Minutes 5 November 1668  
St John's Vestry Minutes 1668[/69]

- 1: Easter Offering: Every married couple to pay, yearly, at Easter to the minister 4d ster. Every single man & woman to pay 2d ster.
- 2: Clerk's Wages: Every married couple & every single person who is a householder pay at Easter, to the clerk, for his attendance in church the whole year, 4d ster.
- 3: Churching: At thanksgiving, after childbirth, commonly called churching of women, the minister to receive 12d & the clerk 6d.
- 4: Marriages: At every marriage, the minister to receive 2/8d ster & the clerk 6d.
- 5: Burials: At every burial, the minister to receive 12d for performing the office, & the clerk 6d.
- 6: Privy Tythes: Every merchant, at Easter, to pay the minister 2/6d, all such as buy & sell small wares are accounted merchants, other tradesmen and retailers of ale & beer are to pay yearly, at Easter, 12d.
- 7: Milk & Grazing: For every new calved cow, in lieu of calf, butter, milk & cheese, the minister to receive 6d ster, yearly, at Midsummer. For every strapper, or cow without calf that year, 3d pa. For all dry cows, horses, bullocks (except those appropriated to plough) the minister to receive 'for each' a 1d a quarter. For foal 6d is to be paid yearly as satisfaction for 'teith' cotts.
- 8: Lambs, Pigs, etc: Lambs, kids, pigs, tithe paid when they can subsist for themselves. If not the season, the minister to have tenth fleece (as is the custom of wool.).
- 9: Mills: Tenth/toll to be paid to the minister from profit, unless he take goods in lieu.
- 10: Hay & Cows: Toll to be paid from hay when winnowed & fit for Tenth of all corn, wheat, barley, rye, bears, oates, beans, peas & all fruits & roots. Tenth of flax & turf. Tenth of fish & fowl.

## Appendix 2: Fee Tables

### Eighteenth Century Fee Table

Registered in St Peter's Vestry minutes c.1693

St Mary's Vestry minutes 24 November 1704

<u>St Peter's</u>		<u>St Mary's</u>
	<b>Marriage with Licence</b>	
10/-	the Minister	6/8d
5/-	the clerk	2/-
1/-	the sexton	6d
	<b>Marriage by Publication</b>	
5/-	the minister	5/-
2/6d	the clerk	2/6d
1/1d	the clerk for registering	
1/-	the sexton	6d
	<b>Churching &amp; Registering Births</b>	
2/6d	the Minister	2/3d
1/3d	the clerk	1/3d
6d	the sexton	6d
	<b>Burials in the Chancel</b>	
£5, or as he pleases	the Minister	£2
6/-	to ditto for intering	4/-
13/-	to ditto for velvet pall	13/4d
6/8d	to ditto for child's velvet pall	
6/8d	to ditto for shagg pall	6/8d
5/-	the clerk	2/6d
5/-	the sexton	
1/-	the Passing Bell & for opening the vault	3/6d
	all children under thirteen	half the fees paid by adults
	all foreigners, men, women, children	half as much more of above fees

## Appendix 2: Fee Tables

### Eighteenth Century Fee Table (contd)

#### St Peter's

#### St Mary's

#### Burials in the Church/Parish Vaults\*\*

6/-	the Minister	4/-
13/4d	to ditto for velvet pall	13/4d
6/8d	to ditto for child's velvet pall	
6/8d	to ditto for shagg pall	6/8d
	to churchwardens for parish	£1/5/0d
£1/6/8d	to churchwardens if a foreigner	
5/-	the clerk	2/6d
6/-	the sexton for raising the flaggs	
1/-	the Passing Bell & for opening the vault	3/6d

#### Prayers in the Desk

5/-	the Minister	
10/-	to ditto for velvet pall on the pulpit	
2/6d	the clerk	

#### Funerals Going out of the Parish

2/6d	the Minister	
1/3d	the clerk	
1/-	the sexton	
1/-	to the palls	

#### Funerals in the Church Yard

	the churchwardens for breaking the ground	2/-
2/6d	the Minister	1/6d
13/4d	to ditto for velvet pall	13/4d
6/8d	to ditto for child's velvet pall	1/-
	to ditto for 'Scarff'	1/-
	to ditto for a black cloth	1/6d
6/8d	to ditto for shagg pall	6/8d
1/3d	the clerk for attendance & registering	1/6d
1/-	the sexton	2/6d
1/-	the Passing Bell & digging the grave	2/-
	to all burials under Tombstones for}	
	parishioners to the churchwardens}	13/4d

## Appendix 2: Fee Tables

### Eighteenth Century Fee Table (contd)

#### St Peter's

#### St Mary's

#### Funerals in the Tomb

5/-	the Minister
13/4d	to ditto for velvet pall
6/8d	to ditto for child's velvet pall
6/8d	to ditto for shagg pall
2/6d	the clerk
3/4d	the sexton

#### Foreigners Buried in the Church Yard

6/-	the Minister	
13/4d	to ditto for velvet pall	
6/8d	to ditto for child's velvet pall	
6/8d	to ditto for shagg pall	
3/4d	to churchwardens for breaking open ground	13/4d
	to ditto for all burials under tombstone	£1/6/8d
	to all other fees double that parishioners pay	
2/6d	the clerk for a search	6d

#### Foreigners Buried in Church Yard

	the clerk for a certificate	1/-
1/6d	the sexton	
1/-	the Passing Bell	

#### Additional fees

£5, or as he pleases	the Minister for erecting a tomb
£1/3/0d	the Minister for erecting a headstone
	{ the clerk for registering tombs or seats
10/10d	{ writing the instruments, 5/- each
2/8½d	the clerk for searching Register Book
5/5d	to ditto for a headstone
+9d per house	Easter Dues the clerk

## Appendix 2: Fee Tables

### Eighteenth Century Fee Table (contd)

The following provisos were also included by St Mary's -

It was Likewise Agreed - that no Person (Being Parishioners) shall pay any ffee for Burying or Churching that is not Worth ffive pounds they produceing a Sufficient Certificate thereof undr the hands of three or more substantiall Creditable Inhabitants of the Parish.

That all Persons dying in the Parish and Buried in othr Parishes shall pay all ffees as if Buried in the Church Yard.

That all Corps be bought into the Church or Church Yard by Eleven of the Clock at night at the ffarthest or else to Pay Double ffees in all Respects.

That no Tombstone or Board be above the surfface of the Church Yard.

That all Persons Dying in the Parish be deemed Parishionrs & pay their ffees Accordingly.

That if any Parishioners be desirous to remove their Relations or ffriends that have been formerly Buried in other Parishes they shall pay the ffollowing ffees Only (viz)

To the Church Wardens in the Valts for man or woman	12/6
To Do for Do in the Church Yard	2/-
To Do for children in the Valts	6/3
To Do in the Church Yard	1/-.

\*\* The term 'Parish Vaults' was used only by St Mary's.

## Appendix 3: Legacies.

### Bequeathed to the Poor of St Andrew's

[1697 Anthony Dopping, Bishop of Meath ( former vicar St Andrew's)	£60 - to be put out to interest for poor]
[1698 Silence Parry, in case son & daughter die unmarried	£10 <i>pa</i> ]
[1720 Marjory Ashton, als Wilmott	£20
[1723 William Burne, Aston's Key, gent	£4]
1724 Sir John Rogerson	£10
[1725 William Partington, surgeon	£10]
[1726 Dorothy Redrop, widow	£5]
[1727 Daniel Falkiner, merchant	£10]
Richard Maguire, banker	£10]
[1728 John Turner, goldbeater	£5]
[1729 William Thwaites, gent	£50 - to poor boys]

### Bequeathed to the Poor of St Audeon's

[1668 Warner Westenra, merchant	£5]
[1677 John Parry, Bishop of Ossory	£5]
[1715 Sir Francis Blundell - from 3 years rent arrears received 16 boys were to be clothed & schooled. A school master was appointed but the legacy was lost through fraud]	
[1722 Thomas Tilson, Esq	£5]
[1725 William Ford, of Drogheda	£5]
William Partington, chirurgion	£10]
[1726 Robert Curtis, Esq	£20]
[1727 John Vaughan, gent	£20]

### Bequeathed to the Poor of St Brides'

1681 Unknown	£5
1695 John Gay	£3
1697 Matthew Barry, Esq	£3 for coal for the poor
[1718 Samuel Dopping, Esq to the charity school	£100]
Mr Hind	£80]
Mr Green	£15]
[1719 Temple Briscoe, to poor boys	£20]
Mr Hannibal Hall, surgeon surplus rent of £2 <i>per annum</i> from house in Henry Street for 81 years]	



## Appendix 3: Legacies (contd.)

### Bequeathed to the Poor of St Michael's

1668 Unknown	£2/12/0d <i>per annum</i> for bread for poor
1697 Mr Whichet	£5
Mr Langley	£5

### Bequeathed to the Poor of St Michan's

1712 Dr John Pooley, Dean of Down	¼ of rents & profits of 2 tenements in Smithfield
[1719 William Keating, gent	£2 <i>per annum</i> for 20 years to maintain a boy in the charity school]
Michael Sampson, Esq	£20]
[1720 Charles Kilpatrick, painter	£20]
[1721 Dr Benjamin Pratt, Dean of Down	£10]
[1722 Sir Charles Fielding	£20]
[1724 Stephen Ludlow, Esq	£20]
[1727 Robert Rochford, Esq	£10]
[1729 William Connolly, Esq	£20]
Richard Nutley, Esq.	£20]

### Bequeathed to the Poor of St Peter's

1698 James Knight	£10/8/0d forever for 12, 4d loaves every Sunday £10/16/8d distributed to 200 poor Protestant families on 4 November every year.
[1719 Temple Briscoe, to poor boys	£20*]
[1728 Jane Green, widow, to poor girls	£50]
[1729 Martha Vigors, to poor boys	£10]

\* Temple Briscoe also left £10 to the poor boys of St Kevin's.

### Bequeathed to the Poor of St Werburgh's

1694 William North	£100
1695 Rev Samuel Foley (late Bishop of Down & Connor)	£40 [to be set to interest & same distributed in bread]
Mrs Noyce	£20



## Appendix 3: Legacies (contd.)

### Bequeathed to the Poor of St Werburgh's (contd)

1696 Mr Woodworth	£50
[1699 Sir Richard Bellingham	£40]
1703 Mr Vivian	£20
1704 Mr Carpenter	£40
[1706 Mrs Anne Hoyle	£2 - to 8 poor widows on Good Friday, 5/- each <i>per annum</i> ]
1708 Sir Francis Stoyte	£40
1716 Egbert Vandelande, tailor	£10 - to assist the rebuilding of the church.
[1719 Jonathan Sisson, merchant	two-thirds of 40/- <i>per annum</i> to 8 poor widows to be distributed every Good Friday]
[1723 Jane Thompson	£10]
1724 Sir John Rogerson	£20 - to 20 distressed families, 20/- each. 4/- weekly, distributed every Sunday to poor £10 towards maintaining the poor boys' school.

[ ] Items enclosed in brackets taken from Monck Mason Collection, Gilbert Library  
Items unenclosed taken from Vestry minutes.

## Appendix 4: St Mary's Committee Report, 28 February, 1722.

The following examples are taken from the committee's report entered into the parish Vestry Minutes. The examination was authorized on the 17 October 1722 when the church wardens, Robert Sisson and John Brock, reported substantial arrears in their accounts. The full document is too lengthy to transcribe fully, the committee examined the following cesses :

- 1) A cess to raise money to buy a fire engine : £227/10/0d
- 2) A cess to repay outstanding parish debts : £148/11/9d
- 3) A cess to pay for raising the churchyard wall : £80
- 4) The parish cess and the poor cess for 1721
- 5) To consider gifts, legacies, and debts due to the parish.

- 1) Cess of £227/10/0d - Act passed 23 March, 1720 - £150 for water engines etc; £20 for iron gate; £57/10/0d for Mr Thorne.

Following sums pd by severall parishioners for engine, they therefore not lyable to pay same in cess

By 1st Book of Applotmt	£1/9/9d	)	
Present Book of Arrears on cess	£13/5/7½d	)	<u>£14/15/4½d</u>
There remains the true charge of the sd cess to be collected			£224/11/6d
Cess due in arrears & Nov. last, as per Book of same to be collected as soon as poss. & which deducted from above sum			<u>£85/9/2d</u> £139/2/4d

Remains what recd to be accounted for by Mr Roberts, the Receiver - he having pd out from the above sum:

To Luke Gavan which he paid to Mr Oates on Acct of Engines etc	£75/0/0d
To Oates, which Roberts says in full of Oates Acct, including £24 - subscription money recd by him, which parish ought to have - Oates' receipt in full	<u>£1/5/0d</u> £76/5/0d
Gavan pd Thorne £30	)
Robt Sisson CW, pd Thorne £15	) pd Thorne in full
To Thos. Brooks for 3 doz. water buckets	<u>£9/0/0d</u> £130/5/0d

Roberts already pd for collecting £11/8/0d at 9d in £1, £4/3/7d & is now allowed, at same rate, for collecting £27/14/4d

£1/0/10½d  
£131/5/10½d

£139/2/4d  
£131/5/10½d  
£ 7/16/5½d

Sd sum of £7/16/5½d in hands of Roberts & which he has accounted for & is carried forward to his account No 7.

## Appendix 4: St Mary's Committee Report, 28 February, 1722 (contd)

Observations of foregoing account.

Nothing due as to Iron Gate.

£45 pd to Mr Thorne as part of £57/10/0d

Engines bought & pd for - Large Engine, charged £70, is in Lady Skerrin's house & is not kept as clean as ought to be. The 80 yds of Leather pipe for engine charged at £10, the hand Engine charged at £10, the 19 instruments for opening the water plugs charged at £2/7/6d, 4 brass screws & sockets charged £1/4/0d are all at Mr Oates' in Dame Street though is pd in full for same, & 3 doz buckets, which cost 5/- each where attached as property of Mr Sisson, but Mr Brock got 35 & they are now in his possession, the other one being lost.

Must observe what service parish [can] expect by sd Engines etc after all their expence ( in case of fire wch God Almighty prevent) when most of the materials are remote from the parish as one from the other. And when needed most, may be useless, or out of order. Engine & all materials to be kept together in the body of the sd Parish & be exercised or plaid at least once every month so as to have them in a servicable condition in time of necessity, especially that parish been charged for some time with the salary of £4 for someone to attend engine, which hasn't happened so far.

## Appendix 4: St Mary's Committee Report, 28 February, 1722 (contd)

### 4) Poorhouse & Parish cesses for 1721 - Act passed 1 December 1714

Poorhouse cess £109/17/0<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>d; Parish cess £118/6/2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>d which total is £228/3/2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d

	Poorhouse	Parish Cess	Total
Old Valuations	£106/10/5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> d	£114/14/6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> d	£221/5/0d
New Valuations PoorHouse - Parish	£13/6/3d	£14/6/6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> d	
New valuations but a quarter of what ) is due	)£ 3/6/6 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> d	£ 3/11/7 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> d	£ 6/18/2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> d
Total	£109/17/0 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> d	£118/6/2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> d	£228/3/2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> d

Bk of Arrears on same made 7 Nov.

to be collected & deducted

Old Valuation PoorHouse - Parish

£10/1/6d £11/17/2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d)

New Valuation) )

Poorhouse ) )

£5/4/10<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d ) )

Parish )£1/6/2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d £ 1/8/3d )£ 11/7/8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d £ 13/5/5<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d £ 24/13/ 2d

£5/12/11<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d ) )£98/9/3<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>d £105/0/8<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>d £203/10/0<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d

the quarter of )

which collected)

Then remains what recd by Roberts & )

acctd for by him )£105/0/8<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>d

£203/10/0<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d

Roberts pd on acct to CWs Sisson etc on 21 June 1722 £191/13/4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d

Also pd by order of Sisson to Wofington, receipt 21 June 1722 £15/0/0d

Total pd by Roberts £206/13/4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d

No fees due to CWs because of ease of discharging.

Above £203/10/0<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d recd by Roberts in above cesses & deducted from £206/13/4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d, there remains due to parish £3/3/4d which is carried to Roberts' acct No 7.

Observations - half year's salary due bellow £6/12/0d on 25 March 1722, not pd on 7 Nov. last.

- half year's salary, £2, due John Davis, engine keeper on 25 March, not pd.

Parish also in arrears to Poorhouse on 7 Nov. last as follows:

29 Sept 1718 by Phillips & Ryves	£ 10/5/0 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> d
" 1719 by Griffith & Tighe	£ 9/11/4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> d
" 1720 by Gavan & Beaghan	£ 14/9/6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> d
" 1721 by Sisson & Brock	£ 52/16/2d
" 1722 by Craford & Conliff	£ 108/ 0/0d
	£ 195/2/1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> d

Therefore cess of £98/9/3<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>d pd to CWs Sisson & Brock by Roberts besides balance of £3/3/4d pd by Roberts, the sd CWs have pd Poorhouse by 2 payments only £55/3/10d

## Appendix 4: St Mary's Committee Report, 28 February, 1722 (contd.)

### Examined CWs accounts for 1722

(Recd) Collected in St Mary's Church every Sunday for poor		£78/11/1d
½ seat in gallery, No 64, sold to McCarroll		£ 3/12/10d
Recd CWs fines - Kilpatrick, Bamber, Elers, Curry, £5 each		£20
Recd constables fines - Houghton & Lynch, £5 each		£10
Recd for burials	£16/8/7d	
Recd £206/13/4½d from Roberts in part)		
of applotmts for Poorhouse & Parish )	£206/13/4½d	
cess being £228/3/2½d, the rest arrears)		
Recd Ledwige, Gernon, Aston £28/18/10d)		
sidesmen, in part of applotmt for cess of )		
£159/12/11d for Mrs Green etc, the rest )	£28/18/10d	
not recd. )		
Recd £15 from Roberts in part of )		
applotmt for Engine cess £239/16/10½d)	£15/0/0d	£267/0/9½d
	Total income	£388/1/10½d

(Paid) CWs pd in charity to poor	£41/7/8d	
To nurses of children ld on parish	£38/10/8d	
	£79/18/4d	
Pd to Deputy Constables of )		
Houghton & Lynch )	£3/15/0d	
Pd salaries, bread & wine, candles)		
& sundry repairs to church )	£124/9/3d	
Pd Parker, the Receiver on Acct)		
of Poorhouse Cess )	£55/3/10d	
Expended on Whinnery suit, part)		
to be acctd for by Todd )	£33/15/0d	
Pd Phillips etc, for part of debt)		
of £23/8/3½d )	£11/1/10d	
Pd Thorne, part of £57/10/0d	£15/0/0d	
	£323/3/3d	£323/3/3d
		£ 64/18/7½d

### Observations

£33/15/0d expended on Whinnery suit, some parish salaries & good part of Poorhouse cess not discharged by them as observed in No 4.

NB: No 7 refers to an examination made by the committee of Thomas Roberts accounts.

## Appendix 5: The Poor

### Certificates issued by St Werburgh's.

Certificate 1 c1689-1694.

'To the Reverend Doctor Folio'

'The Humble Petition of Jane Buckhurst  
widdow.'

'Humbly Sheweth'

'That yor Petr was borne & lived next Doore to St Warboroughs Church for aboute 20 years, being now about 71 years of age reduced to Extreme poverty haveing been a good housekepr & now wants bread.'

'Shee therefore humbly begs some Reliefe to preserve her from perishing'  
'And she will ever pray & &.'

'I have known the petitionr for above  
20 years, and doe beieve she is now  
reduced to great poverty.'

[signed] Stephen Ludlow

Jo Smith

Will Haydone

Tho Quine.

Certificate 2 1690.

'Wee Citizens & Inhabitants of Dublin doe Certifie yt ye wife of Mr Edward Lovelace was ye wife of Mr Paul Lovelace Watchmaker who lived in Castle Street & the Parish of St Warboroughs, & left with two small children, wch she hath bred up carefully & well, yt she lived in good reputation & condition, but now understand both her present husband, herself, & sd Children are Stripped of all their Substance by ye Rebels, & are com to this Citty for Safety of their lives & well deserve Charitable consideration.'

'Witness our hands this ninth day of March 1690.'

Certificate 3 1718

'To all Charitable and Weldispos'd Christians to whom these Presents shall come Greeting We whose names are underwritten do certifye That the Bearer hereof Hanah Crumpton widdow liv'd in a very Prosperous Condition till of late her husband dying left her very poor and bare in the world with two Grandchildren to maintain and Five sons beyond Seas in his Matie King Georges Army and being very Antient and Distemper'd is become a mere Object of Charity and Compassion and We do hereby humbly Certifye the same at Dublin this 19th day of December 1718 Eighteen

[signed] Edw. Morton James Cotton

Joseph Rogers Patrick White Peter Walker

## Appendix 5: The Poor (contd)

### Testimonies sworn by parishioners of St Michael's

1 April, 1695.

'Dorothy Clark, the wife of Charles Clark of Skippers Lane, Mariner, made on oath, that on Tuesday the 26th of March 1695 between eight and nine in the evening an infant male child of abt a week old was left at her dore and that she knoweth not whose child it was nor who brought it to har dore.'

'Mary Gold, wife of Stephen Gold allso disposed to the same purpose.'

'Ann Stones, wife of Thomas Stones allso made oath that she knew not from whence the said child came ...'

### Deed sworn absolving Finglas

Deed sworn 14 August 1713

'Know all men by those presents, That We John White of Finglass in ye County of Dublin Mason, & John White John Wise & Richard Haley of ye same Labourers are holden & firmly bound unto ye present Church Wardens of ye Parish of Finglass aforesaid, and their successors, in the Sume of Fifty Pounds ster lawfull money of Great Brittain to be paid to ye sd Church Wardens or their successors on demand: To wch Payment well & truly to be made. We do bind Us & each of us by himself for the whole, and our & each of our Heirs Exrs & Admrs jointly & severally firmly by these presents Sealed with our seales & dated the fourteenth day of August anno Dom 1713.'

'The Condition of ye above Obligation is such that if the above bound John White Mason & John Whits John Wise & Richard Halley Labourers &&&& their Heirs Exrs Admrs or Assigns do from time to time & at all times hereafter save harmless & keep Indemnified ye sd Church Wardens & the Parish of Finglass aforesaid from One Male Child begotten by the sd John White Mason on ye Body of Elinor Gory of Finglass aforesaid, & the same child shall mainatin at their own proper Cesses & charges untill he be of sufficient age & ability to maintain himself with out any help or allowance from the sd Parish; that then this Obligation shall be void & of no Effect, but otherwise to remain in full force & virtue.

Signed & Sealed in  
the Presence of Us  
Bouchier Fane  
Richd Rawlins

his  
John M White  
marke  
his  
John Z White  
marke  
his  
John X Wise  
marke  
his  
Richard O Haley  
marke

## Appendix 6: Alms Houses in Dublin Parishes

	Nos of Alms Houses in parish	Established	Builder and situation	Number of occupants	
				male	female
St Andrew's	1	1726	Rev. Travers		
St Bride's	2	1671++ 1683		1#	7
St Michael's	1	1675			
St Michan's	4***	1725	Mr Reiley: the westend of the churchyard.* Mr Rathborn: Boot Lane. Mr Horish: Glasmanogue		7
St Peter's	4	1698 1699 1724	James Knight: St Stephens churchyard + Mortagh Dowling: St Stephens churchyard.+ Lady Anna Hume: St Stephens churchyard.** Mary Mercer		6 20
St Werburgh's	1	1720	John Travers Gun Alley		

**Sources:** TCD Ms 2062; St Bride's VM 1662-1742; St Michan's VM 1724-1760; St Peter's VM 1686-1736; St Werburgh's VM 1720-1780.

### Notes

- \* The almshouse was built on land known as Trinity Hall, which had been part of the Trinity College estate.
- \*\* Lady Hume's alms house was built to house the widows of clergymen. It later became the Nurses Home for Mercer's Hospital.
- \*\*\* Two of the alms house were in fact described as workhouses.
- + Knight's and Dowling's alms houses adjoined one another.
- ++ Described in St Bride's Vestry minutes 16 May, 1671, as the 'old poorhouse'. It was leased on the above date to William Dawson for rent of £6 per annum and on the condition that he spend £100 improving the building.
- # The beadle and his wife were given a room. There were only 6 widows resident in the house.



## Appendix 7: Irish Statutes with Particular Reference to Parochial Management.

1662

- 14 & 15 Chas. II, c.1: An Act for a perpetual anniversary Thanksgiving on the nine and twentieth Day of May in this Kingdom.
- 14 & 15 Chas. II, c.2: An Act for the better Execution of His Majestie's gracious Declaration for the Settlement of his Kingdom of Ireland ...
- 14 & 15 Chas. II, c.10: An Act for real Union and Division of Parishes ...
- 14 & 15 Chas. II, c.13: An Act for encouraging Protestant Strangers ...
- 14 & 15 Chas. II, c.23: An Act for the keeping and celebrating the Twenty-third of October ...

1665

- 17 & 18 Chas. II, c.6: An Act for the Uniformity of Publique Prayers and Administration of Sacraments ...
- 17 & 18 Chas. II, c.7: An Act for Provision of Ministers in Cities, Corporate Towns, and the making of the Church of St Andrew's ...
- 17 & 18 Chas. II, c.8: An Act for the Relief of poor Prisoners.
- 17 & 18 Chas. II: New Rules.

1672

- 25 Chas. II: New Rules.

1692

- 2 Will. & Mary, c.2: An Act for Encouragement of Protestant Strangers to Settle in this Kingdom of Ireland.

1695

- 7 Will. III, c.4: An Act to restrain foreign Education.
- 7 Will. III, c.5: An Act for the better securing of Government, by disarming Papists.
- 7 Will. III, c.9: An Act for the more effectual suppressing of prophane Cursing and Swearing.
- 7 Will. III, c.14: An Act declaring which Days in the Year shall be observed as Holy-days.
- 7 Will. III, c.17: An Act for the better Observation of the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday.
- 7 Will. III, c.21: An Act for the better suppressing Tories, Robbers, and Reparees ...

## Appendix 7: Irish Statues (contd)

1697

- 9 Will. III, c.1: An Act for banishing all Papists exercising any ecclesiastical Jurisdiction ...
- 9 Will. III, c.3: An Act to prevent Protestants inter-marrying with Papists.
- 9 Will. III, c.16: An Act for divideing the Parish of St Michan's, within the City and Suburbs of Dublin, into three distinct Parishes.
- 9 Will. III, c.17: An Act for erecting and continuing Lights in the City of Dublin, and the several Liberties adjoining.

1698

- 10 Will. III, c.12: An Act for Planting and Preserving Timber, Trees and Woods.

1703

- 2 Anne, c.3: An Act to prevent Popish Priests from coming into this Kingdom.
- 2 Anne, c.6: An Act to prevent the further Growth of Popery.
- 2 Anne, c.7: An Act for registering Popish Clergy.
- 2 Anne, c.11: An Act for building several Parish-Churches in more conventient Places.
- 2 Anne, c.14: An Act for Naturalising of all Protestant Strangers in this Kingdom.
- 2 Anne, c.19: An Act for erecting a Workhouse in the City of Dublin ...

1705

- 4 Anne, c.2: An Act to explain and amend an Act, intituled, An Act for registering popish Clergy.
- 4 Anne, c.6: An Act to prevent the illegal raising of Money by Grand Juries ... for the mending the High-ways ... for appointing Overseers of the High-ways ...
- 4 Anne, c.9: An Act ... for Planting and Preserving Timber, Trees and Woods ...

1707

- 6 Anne, c.4: An Act to Prevent the Destroying and Murthering of Bastard Children
- 6 Anne, c.21: An Act for dividing the several Parishes of Saint Andrew's, Saint Nicholas without the Walls, and the united Parishes of Saint Katherine's, Saint James, and Saint John of Kilmainham ...

## Appendix 7: Irish Statutes (contd)

1709

- 8 Anne, c.3: An Act for explaining and amending an Act, intituled, An Act to prevent the further Growth of Popery.
- 8 Anne, c.6: An Act for the better preventing the counterfeiting the current Coin of this Kingdom.
- 8 Anne, c.8: An Act for the encouraging the Discovery and apprehending of House-breakers.

1710

- 9 Anne, c.5: An Act for the further explaining and putting in execution, An Act for Planting and Preserving Timber, Trees and Woods.
- 9 Anne, c.9: An Act for the amending of the High-Ways and Roads ...

1715

- 2 Geo. I, c.5: An Act for preventing Mischiefs that may happen by Fire ...
- 2 Geo. I, c.10: An Act to restrain Papists from being High or Petty Constables, and for the better Regulating the Parish Watches.
- 2 Geo. I, c.14: An Act for real Union and Division of Parishes.
- 2 Geo. I, c.24: An Act for changing the Scite and new Building of the Parish-Church of St Werburgh's in the City of Dublin.

1717

- 4 Geo. I, c.11: An Act for the better Amendment of the Pavements ...

1719

- 6 Geo. I, c.5: An Act for exempting the Protestant Dissenters of this Kingdom from certain Penalties ...
- 6 Geo. I, c.10: An Act for the better regulating of the Parish Watches ...
- 6 Geo. I, c.13: An Act for the better Maintenance of Curates within the Church of Ireland.
- 6 Geo. I, c.15: An Act ...Amendment ... Pavements ... preventing Mischiefs ... by Fire ...
- 6 Geo. I, c.18: An Act for erecting ... Lights in the City of Dublin ...

## Appendix 7: Irish Statutes (contd)

1721

- 8 Geo. I, c. 9: An Act for amending ... An act for ... apprehending and transporting Felons ...
- 8 Geo. I, c.10: An Act for amending ... An Act for ... regulating the Parish Watches ...
- 8 Geo. I, c.12: An Act ... for the Encouragement of Protestant Schools ...
- 8 Geo. I, c.16: An Act for amending ... Lights in the City of Dublin ...

1723

- 10 Geo. I, c.3: An Act for ... amending ... the better regulating ... Parish Watches ...
- 10 Geo. I, c.6: An Act ... confirming an Exchange made of a Piece of Ground, whereon the Parish-church and Vicarage-house of ... Saint Anne ...

1725

- 12 Geo. I, c.9: An Act for ... erecting and better regulating of Free-schools, and for rebuilding and repairing of Churches.
- 12 Geo. I, c.10: An Act ... to encourage building of Houses ..., and to prevent Dilapidations.

1727

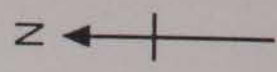
- 1 Geo. II, c.13: An Act ... for amending the Highways and Roads in this Kingdom ...
- 1 Geo. II, c.19: An Act for repealing a Clause in an Act intituled [An Act for real Union and Division of Parishes] ...
- 1 Geo. II, c.27: An Act for the better regulating the Workhouse of the City of Dublin ...


1729

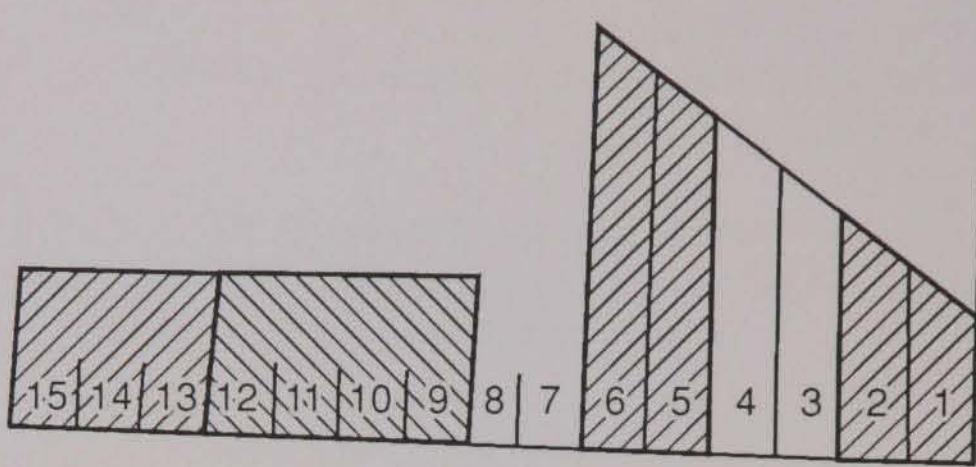
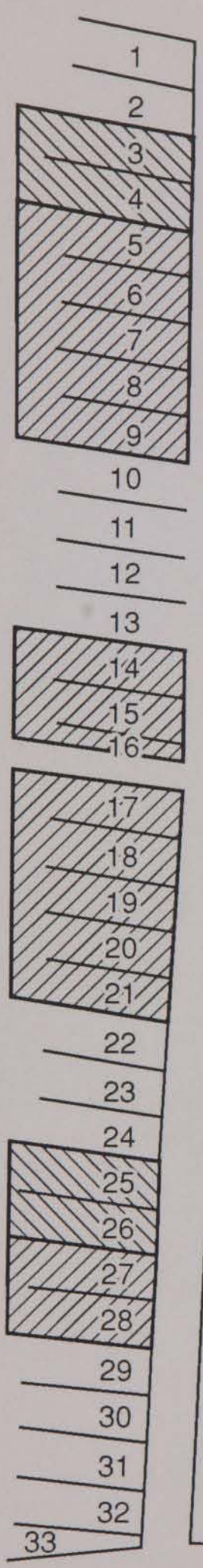
- 3 Geo. II, c.5: An Act for continuing several Temporary Statutes ...
- 3 Geo. II, c.11: An Act for better keeping Churches in repair.
- 3 Geo. II, c.13: An Act for explaining ... several Laws ... for paving and cleansing the Streets of the City of Dublin, and the Liberties of Saint Sepulchre's, Thomas Court, and Donore, ...
- 3 Geo. II, c.17: An Act ... enabling the Governors of the Work-house of ... Dublin to provide for and employ the Poor therein ...
- 3 Geo. II, c.22: An Act ... amending ... An Act for erecting and continuing Lights in the City of Dublin.

1731

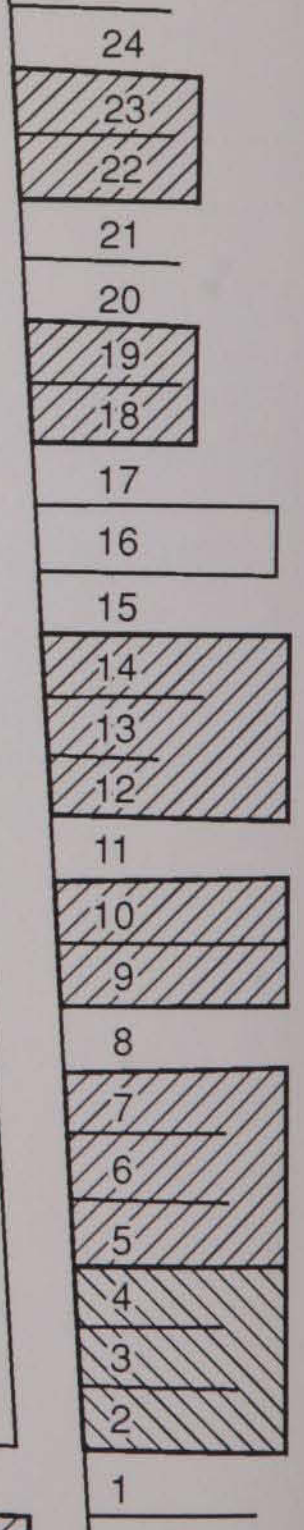
- 5 Geo. II, c.14: An Act to ... amend ... [the better regulating the Work-House of the City of Dublin ...] ...



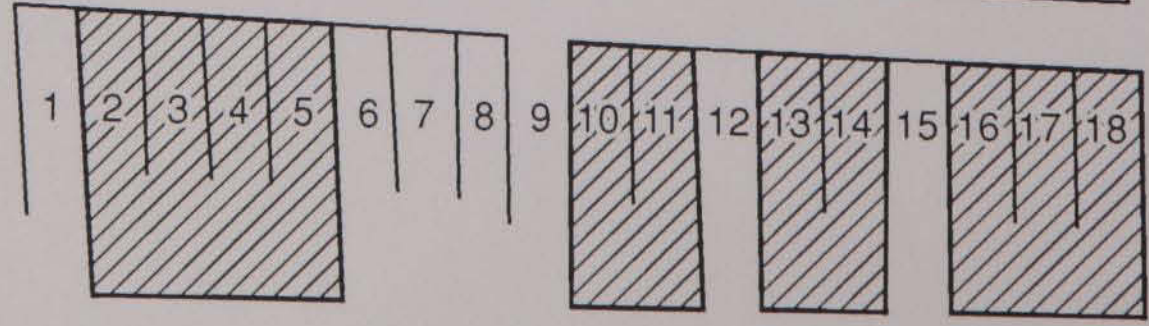
 Plots held by one tenant



Lower Leeson Street



St. Stephen's Green,  
1729



## Appendix 8A: St Stephen's Green, Plot Tenants 1664 and 1729

### St Stephen's Green, North

<u>Plot</u>	<u>Original Tenant (1664)</u>	<u>Present Tenant (1729)</u>	<u>Yearly Rent</u>
1	Peter Wybrants	Anna Maria Evans	6/8d
2	John Lovet	Ralph Evans	6/8½d
3	Hugh Kennedy	Richard Tighe, Esq	7/1d
4	Sir George Gilbert	"	7/1½d
5	George Surdevill	George Savill's ass.	7/10d
6	Thomas Graves	"	7/11d
7	George Stoughton	"	8/3d
8	John Smith	"	8/6d
9	Hugh Kennedy	"	8/8d
10	Peter Ward	French Church Yard	9/4½d
11	John Harrison	Hubbart, Esq	10/9½d
12	John Fletcher	Alderman Fletcher's ass.	11/7½d
13	Alderman Enoch Reader	Ld Viscount Lanesboough	17/11d
14	William Whitshed	Thomas FitzSymons	18/5d
15	William Harris	"	18/7d
16	John Warren	"	19/0½d
17	Timothy Grollier	Henry Ware, Esq	19/8d
18	Joseph Stokes	"	£1/0/5½d
19	Philip Burges	"	£1/1/0d
20	Mathew Nulty	"	£1/1/8d
21	James Barlow	"	£1/1/0d
22	William Drayton	Abell Ram, Esq	£1/3/8d
23	Thomas King	"	£1/2/8½d
24	Robert Mead	Richard Roche's heir	£1/1/11d
25	Sir Daniell Bellingham	Arthur Dawson	£1/1/2d
26	Hugh Price	"	19/6d
27	Edward Twelves	Joseph Leeson	18/1d
28	Alderman Thomas Waterhouse	"	15/9d
29	Robert Arundell	Adrian Bulkellie	14/10½d
30	Alderman Nathaniel Fowlkes	Alderman Thomas Quin's heir	13/9d
31	John Dutton	Brigadier D'Loche's ass.	12/4½d
32	Alderman Richard Tighe	Richard Tighe, Esq	10/7½d
33	Captain Newcomen	Lord Chief Justice Rogerson	4/10d

## Appendix 8A : St Stephen's Green (contd)

### St Stephen's Green, East

<u>Plot</u>	<u>Original Tenant (1664)</u>	<u>Present Tenant (1729)</u>	<u>Yearly Rent</u>
1	John Everton	Jonathon Burniston's heir	9/11¼d
2	John Burniston	"	13/1½d
3	William Phillips	Widow Collis	17/11d
4	John Hickes	Marcus Dowley	{£1/1/5d {£5/18/7d
5	Henry Woodfall	Sir William Ingoldsby's ass.	£1/4/11d
6	Edward Briscoe	"	£1/7/9d
7	Jonathon Desminieres	Henry Stanley Monk, Esq	£1/11/1d
8	Elias Best	"	£2/0/3d
9	Sir Francis Brewster	Daniell Corker	{£9/16/0d
10	"	"	{
11	"	"	{
12	"	"	{
13	William Yeomans	James Wilkinaon, Esq	{£8/14/6¾d
14	"	"	{
15	"	"	{

### St Stephen's Green, South

<u>Plot</u>	<u>Original Tenant (1664)</u>	<u>Present Tenant (1729)</u>	<u>Yearly Rent</u>
1	Sir Daniell Bellingham	Henry Aston, Esq	14/9d
2	John Nicholas	Thomas FitzSymons	8/9¾d
3	Andrew Loyd	"	8/9d
4	Owen Jones	"	8/8¼d
5	Hugh Leeson	Joseph Leeson	8/10d
6	Alderman John Preston	"	8/3d
7	Alderman Joshua Allen	"	8/8½d
8	"	St Werburgh's	8/8½d
9	Ann Blondeville	Alderman Thomas How	{ 9/0d {£8/13/7½d
10	Alderman Joshua Allen	"	{ 8/9d {£8/13/7½d
11	Richard Birne	Widow Berry's ass.	9/7d
12	Arthur Ecles	Abell Ram, Esq	{ 19/0d
13	"	"	{
14	Warner Westenra	"	9/9d
15	Samuel Saltonstall	Richard Tighe, Esq	9/2d

## Appendix 8A: St Stephen's Green (contd)

### St Stephen's Green, South (contd)

<u>Plot</u>	<u>Original Tenant (1664)</u>	<u>Present Tenant (1729)</u>	<u>Yearly Rent</u>
16	Lewis Desminieres	Ralph Taylor	{ 8/6½d {£9/5/5½d
17	Edward Briscoe	Mr Pollard's heir	8/9¾d
18	Robert Brady	Jonathon Horncastle's ass.	8/3¾d
19	William Cross	"	8/5d
20	Luke Lowther	Captain Max Faviar	8/7¾d
21	Alderman Richard Cooke	Alderman Robert Meason's heirs	7/9d
22	William Devin	Jonathon Moland	4/6½d
23	James Browne	"	6/4d
24	George Putland	Erasmus Taylor	{ 2/8d { 17/4d

### St Stephen's Green, west


<u>Plot</u>	<u>Original Tenant (1664)</u>	<u>Present Tenant (1729)</u>	<u>Yearly Rent</u>
1	Sir William Davis	William Williams' ass.	13/1d
2	Alderman Joshua Allen	Lord Viscount Allen	£1/9/4d
3	William Yeomans	"	£1/6/6d
4	Alderman Joshua Allen	"	{£2/8/4d
5	"	"	{
6	Richard Brooking	Edward Richardson, Esq	£1/3/6d
7	William Thorowgood	Richard Wolseley, Esq	£1/2/5d
8	John Betson	John Betson	£1/1/3d
9	William Anderson	Thomas Bewley	£1/0/4¼d
10	Oliver Walsh	Earl of Abercorn	19/3d
11	Christopher Johnson	"	18/8d
12	Richard Lord	Richard Lord's ass.	17/6d
13	John Serjeant	Christopher Collis' ass.	13/2½d
14	Christopher Eliston	"	14/5½d
15	Thomas Sharpe	William Leeson, Esq	13/6d
16	George Hewlett	William Phillip Aston	13/6d
17	Alderman Jonathon Cranwell	"	12/9d
18	John Nicholas	"	15/3½d

NB: assignee is written as ass.

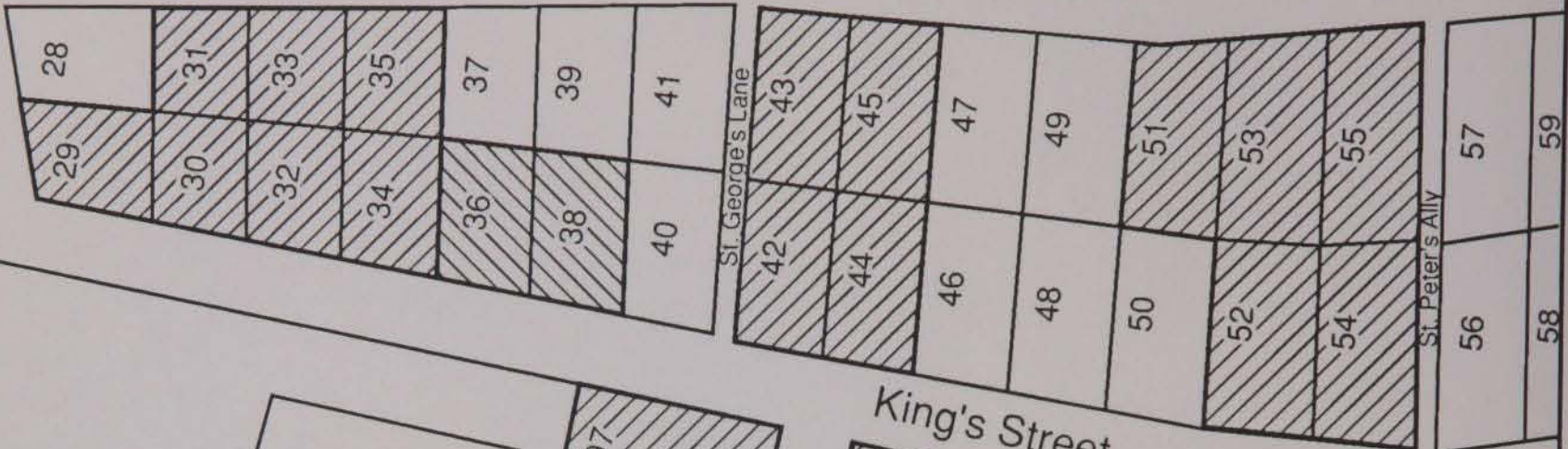
Yearly Rent: This is recorded as that charged in 1729.



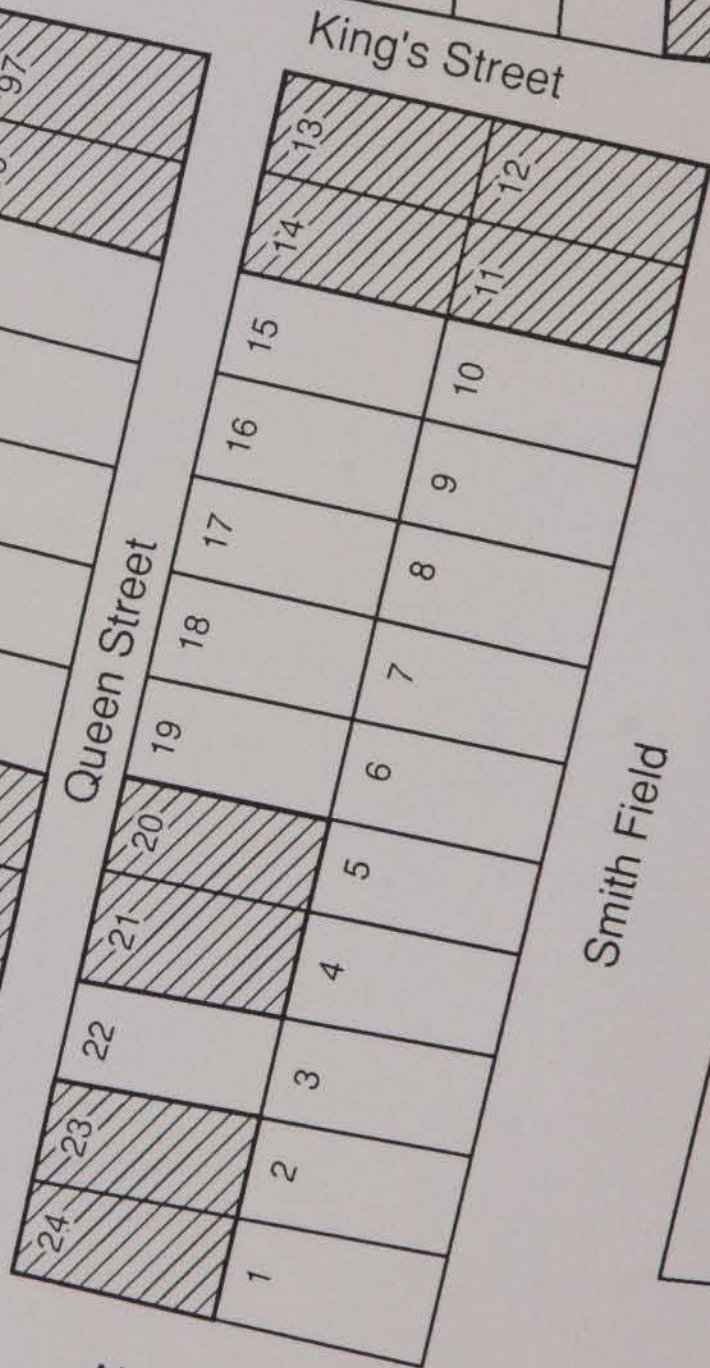
# Oxmantown Green

 Plots held by one tenant

Channell Row

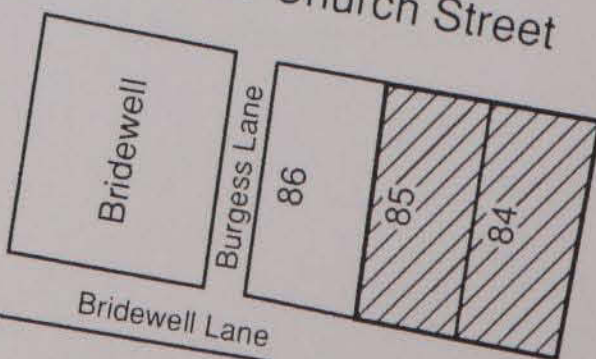


King's Street



Smith Field

New Church Street



Green

Hospital Garden

Paul's Church Yard

Hospital

## Appendix 8B: Oxmantown Green, Plot Tenants 1665 and 1729

<u>Plot</u>	<u>Original Tenant (1665)</u>	<u>Present Tenant (1729)</u>	<u>Yearly Rent</u>
1	George Putland	Thomas Francis' ass.	£1
2	Sir Hercules Longford	Henry Longford, Esq	£1
3	Thomas Walker	Allen Madison, Esq	£1
4	Rees Phillips	Richard Walker p. Desminieres	£1
5	Oliver Walsh	Widow Kelly's Exors	£1
6	Alderman Jonathon Desminieres	Richard Walker p. Desminieres	£1
7	Alderman Enoch Reader	Dean Reader's ass.	£1
8	George Hewlett	Thomas Hewlett	£1
9	Thomas Taylor	Sir Thomas Taylor	£1
10	John Wells	Lord Viscount Allen	£1
11	John Green	Sir Thomas Taylor	£1
12	"	"	£1
13	Robert Mead	Matthew French, clk	£1
14	Christopher Horncastle	"	£1
15	John Wells	Lord Viscount Allen	£1
16	Thomas Taylor	Sir Thomas Taylor	£1
17	John Stone	Jonathon Curtis, Esq	£1
18	Alderman Richard Tighe	Richard Tighe, Esq	£1
19	Myniard Christian	Edward Willis' heirs	£1
20	Thomas Springham	Richard Exham	£1
21	Robert Shipley	Lord Viscount Allen	£1
22	Edward Briscoe	"	£1
23	William Cross	Richard Tighe, Esq	£1
24	"	"	£1
25	Alderman Jonathon Preston	Martin Bazill, Esq	£1
26	Amos Ogden	"	£1
27	No lot	No lot	
28	John Bridges	Daniel Corker, Esq	£1
29	Thomas King	Dean Reader's heir	£1
30	Alderman Enoch Reader	"	£1
31	"	"	£1
32	Alderman John Forrest	"	£1
33	John Alexander	"	£1
34	Thomas Allwyn	"	£1
35	"	"	£1
36	Alderman Jonathon Forrest	Mrs Travers	£1
38	"	"	£1
39	Alderman Jonathon Cranwell	Richard Tighe, Esq	£1
40	Richard Birne	Richard Roche's heir	£1
41	William Hill	Adam Kyan	£1

## Appendix 8B: Oxmantown Green (contd)

<u>Plot</u>	<u>Original Tenant (1665)</u>	<u>Present Tenant (1729)</u>	<u>Yearly Rent</u>
42	Anthony Dory	Daniel Corker, Esq	£1
43	George Surdeville	"	£1
44	Alderman Daniel Hutchinson	"	£1
45	William Harris	"	£1
46	Richard Brooking	William Moore, Esq	£1
47	John Bridges	Daniel Corker, Esq	£1
48	Peter Athen Hurst	Robert Rochford, Esq	£1
49	William Fullam	The Hon. William Moore, Esq	£1
50	Edward Briscoe	Robert Rochford, Esq	£1
51	Christopher Elliston	Charles Baldwin, Esq	£1
52	Luke Lowther	"	£1
53	Jonathon Bysse, Ld Chief Bard	"	£1
54	Alderman Peter Wybrants	Elnathan Lum's heir	£1
55	John Bridges	"	£1
56	"	Daniel Corker, Esq	£1
57	Walter Harris	Edward Wellis' heir	£1
58	John Bridges	Elnathan Lum's heir	£1
59	Christopher Elliston	Edward Wellis' heir	£1
60	Phillip Castleton	Alderman Phillip Castleton's heir	£1
61	Alderman Enoch Reader	Rcihard Greening, Esq	£1
62	John Fletcher	Alderman Fletcher's heirs	£1
63	Sir Hercules Longford	Richard Greening's Esq	£1
64	John Garner	Mathew French, Esq	£1
65	Samuel Saltonstall	"	£1
66	Owen Jones	Thomas Doran	£1
67	George Stoughton	Mathew French, Esq	£1
68	Arthur Eccles	Jonathon Garstin, Esq	£1
69	Robert Hughes	Robert Walter, Esq	£1
70	Edward Twelves	Richard Gibbons, clk	£1
71	Alderman Lewis Desminieres	William Rand's ass.	£1
72	George Southwick	John Boswell's ass.	£1
73	John Fletcher	William Rand's ass.	£1
74	Richard Palfrey	Jonathon Boswell's ass.	£1
75	Christopher Gernon	William Rand's ass.	£1
76	William Griffin	Charles Wallis' ass.	£1
77	John Eastwood	Joseph Fade	£1
78	John Smith	George Savill's ass.	£1
79	Mark, Ld Viscount Dungannon	William Taylor's ass.	£1
80	"	"	£1
81	William Bell	Laurence Gibbons	£1
82	John Eastwood	Nathaniel Weld	£1

## Appendix 8B: Oxmantown Green (contd)

<u>Plot</u>	<u>Original Tennant (1665)</u>	<u>Present Tenant (1729)</u>	<u>Yearly Rent</u>
83	Alderman John Totty	James Wallis' widow	£1
84	Alderman John Forrest	John Ellis, Esq ass.	£1
85	Jonathon, Lord Viscount Massareene	"	£1
86	Henry Woodfall	Richard Tighe, Esq	£1
87	Bluecoat Hospital		
88	"		
89	"		
90	"		
91	William Devin	Jonathon Curtis, Esq	£1
92	Sir Daniel Bellingham	"	£1
93	William Drayton	Captain Tennant's ass.	£1
94	William Dobson	Colonel Curry's heir	£1
95	Joseph Stokes	"	£1
96	Warren Westenra	Henry Westenra's heir	£1
97	"	"	£1

## Appendix 8C: Vacant Leases & Multiple Lease Holdings

### Leases Wanting (1729)

<u>Plot</u>	<u>Location</u>
10	St Stephen's Green, north
5	St Stephen's Green, east
6	"
13	St Stephen's Green, west
18	"
85	Oxmantown Green

### Lots Joined in one Lease

<u>Plot</u>	<u>Location</u>
9,10,11 & 12	St Stephen's Green, east
13,14 & 15	"
7 & 8	St Stephen's Green, south
3 & 12	"
4 & 5	St Stephen's Green, west
9 & 16	Oxmantown Green
10 & 15	"
11 & 12	"
23 & 24	"
28,47,55,56 & 58	"
30 & 31	"
34 & 35	"
36 & 38	"
79 & 80	"
87,88 & 89	"
96 & 97	"

### Number of Leases

St Stephen's Green, north	33	Oxmantown Green	80
St Stephen's Green, east	10		
St Stephen's Green, south	22		
St Stephen's Green, west	17		

## Appendix 9A: St Catherine's & St Peter's Occupations 1660-1690

Occupations of Parishioners	St Catherine's	St Peter's
Baker	3	2
Barber/Surgeon		1
Blacksmith	2	1
Brewer	10	1
Brewer/Malster	2	
Brewer/Merchant	2	
Brickmaker		3
Butcher	2	
Carpenter	2	1
Clothier	1	
Collarmaker	1	
Cook		1
Cooper	2	2
Cutler		1
Dairyman		1
Distiller	3	
Doctor of Divinity		1
Doctor of Medicine		1
Dyer	1	
Feltmaker		1
Glazier	1	
Glover	5	
Goldsmith		3
Joiner	1	
Mason	2	
Merchant	23	6
Painter/Plasterer		2
Saddler	1	
Sheerman	3	
Shoemaker	2	
Silkworker		1
Skinner	3	
Slater	1	
Tailor	1	
Tallowchandler	2	
Tanner	3	
Turner	1	
Upholder		1
Weaver	3	
Wheelwright		1

Sources: Freeman Rolls; St Catherine's VM 1657-1692; St Peter's VM 1686-1736

## Appendix 9B: St Catherine's & St Peter's Civic Involvement 1660-1690

	St Catherine's	St Peter's
<b>Civic Involvement</b>		
Member of Parliament	3	1
Lord Mayor	2	2
Sheriff	11	5*
Alderman	13	3
Burgess of the City	2	

**Sources:** Freeman Rolls; St Catherine's VM 1657-1692; St Peter's VM 1686-1736

\* Two sheriffs served a term of office for County Dublin.

## Appendix 10: Minister's Money as returned to the King's Bench, 1719

St Warbrugh's	£256/11/0d
St John's	£180/18/6d
St Michael's	£136/6/0d
St Audeon's	£236/17/6d
St Nicholas Within	£95/18/0d
St Andrew's & St Mark's	£472/19/6d
St Anne's	£118/15/0d
St Bridget's	£295/3/3d
St Peter's & St Kevan's	£210/0/0d
St Katherine's	£341/10/2d
St James'	£68/16/0d
St Nicholas Without	£198/12/10d
St Luke's	£153/18/8d*
St Michan's	£433/15/0d
St Paul's	£136/11/10d
St Marie's	£432
Donnibrook & Ringsend	£60

**Source:** Monck Mason Papers, Vol III/68 & Vol III/69.

**Note:** \* St Luke's Minister's Money was NOT returned in the 1719 Table. The sum quoted in the above Table is for 1718 and has been taken from Vol III/69.



## Notes

Introduction: Notes to pages 13-19

- (1) Lennon, C. *The Lords of Dublin in the Age of Reformation* (Dublin 1989) p42.
- (2) *ibid.*, p167.
- (3) *ibid.*, p216.
- (4) *CARD*, iii, Preface, p.xxxi.
- (5) *ibid.*
- (6) Andrews, J.H. 'The Oldest Map of Dublin', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* Vol. 83, C, No.7. (Dublin 1983) p218. Also see Cullen, L.M. 'The Growth of Dublin 1600-1900: character and heritage' pp252-278, note 2, p277 in *Dublin City and County: From Prehistory to Present* Aalen, F.H.A and Whelan, K. (eds.)(Dublin 1992)
- (7) Andrews, J.H. 'The Oldest Map ...', p218.
- (8) Cullen, L.M. 'Economic Trends 1660-1691' in T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin, F.J. Byrne *A New History of Ireland*, iii, (Oxford 1976), pp387-407, pp390-1.
- (9) Harrington, J.P. (ed.) *The English Traveller in Ireland* (Dublin 1991), pp103-4.
- (10) Gillespie 'Dublin 1600-1700: A Colonial Capital', unpublished article. I am very grateful to Dr Gillespie for allowing me to read the article. p4.
- (11) *ibid.*, p8.
- (12) Gillespie, R. 'The Irish Economy at War: 1641-1652', pp160-180, p177 in *Ireland from Independence to Occupation 1641-1660* Ohlmeyer, J.H. (ed.) (Cambridge 1995)
- (13) Gillespie, R. 'Dublin 1660-1700 ...', p8.
- (14) *ibid.*
- (15) Irish Statutes, 2 Anne, c.6, 1704.
- (16) *ibid.*, Among the acts which banned Catholic participation were, 2 Anne c.6; 2 Geo. I, c.10; 6 Geo. I, c.10; 8 Geo. I, c.10; 10 Geo. I, c.3; and 3 Geo. II, c.11.

Chapter 1: Notes to pages 20-61.

- (1) Connolly, S.J. *Religion, Law and Power. The Making of Protestant Ireland 1660-1760* (Oxford 1992) pp2-3.
- (2) Arnold, L.J. *The Restoration Land Settlement in County Dublin 1660-1688* (Dublin 1993) p26.
- (3) *ibid.* pp33-34.
- (4) Connolly pp13-14. In November, 1660, a declaration was issued stating that Catholics who had not participated in the rebellion of 1641 and who had served the crown in exile were to be restored to their estates. The declaration also confirmed soldiers and adventurers land grants. Royalist officers were to receive outstanding pay arrears in land.
- (5) Connolly *Religion, Law and Power ...* p14.
- (6) *ibid.* p14. Most of those who had petitioned the court were granted decrees of innocence. The court's activities may have been suspended because Protestants suspected its motives and resented the large numbers of decrees of innocence it had issued.
- (7) *ibid.* p15. Throughout Ireland the effect of the two Acts meant that the Catholic share of land was raised by 20%, just over one-third of what it had been in

1641. For a more detailed account of land holdings in County Dublin see Arnold *The Restoration Land Settlement* ... pp141-142.
- (8) Arnold *The Restoration Land Settlement* ... p141.
- (9) Connolly *Religion, Law and Power* ... p15.
- (10) *ibid.* p16.
- (11) Lennon, C. *The Lords of Dublin in the Age of Reformation* (Dublin 1989) p206, p216. For an understanding of municipal government within Dublin see Murphy, S 'The Corporation of Dublin 1600-1760' *DHR XXXVIII, No 1, December 1984* pp22-33
- (12) Murphy 'The Corporation of Dublin ...' p23 Berkeley withdraw the Rules in March 1672 saying 'other rules' were being considered by the Privy Council. The Corporation became split and the city council expelled the recorder Sir William Davis.
- (13) *ibid.* pp23-24 The 96 members of the Common Council were to be changed every three years. The Privy Council ordered that twice the number of nominations required should be presented to the Lord Mayor who was then authorized to select the appropriate number to serve.
- (14) *ibid.* p24.
- (15) *ibid.* p24.
- (16) Wall, M. 'The Catholics in the Towns and the Quarterage Dispute' *Catholic Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, G. O'Brien (ed.) (Dublin 1989) pp62-3
- (17) *ibid.*, p63, note 17.
- (18) Murphy 'The Corporation of Dublin...' p25.
- (19) *ibid.* p25. The governing body of the city now consisted of the mayor, 24 aldermen, a chamberlain and 48 burgesses all of whom could be removed by the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council. In addition the guilds were reincorporated and in 1688, 13 out of the 20 guilds received new charters.
- (20) *HMC, Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Ormonde, K.P.* New Series 8, (London 1920) 2 November 1687, p351.
- (21) Melvin, P. 'Letters of Lord Longford and Others on Irish Affairs 1689-1702', *Ana Hib* Vol. 32, 1985. J Thompson to Ellis, 5 November 1687, p39.
- (22) *CARD*, vi, pp7-8.
- (23) Dickson, D *New Foundations: Ireland 1660-1800* (Dublin 1987) p16. For an example of the influence of English politics in Irish affairs see Connolly *Religion, Law and Power* ... pp21-22.
- (24) Melvin, P. 'Sir Paul Rycout's Memoranda' *Ana Hib* Vol. 27, 1972. Rycout to John Cooke, 7 July 1686. p155. The letter implies that a Protestant rabble remained active in the city.
- (25) King, W. *The State of the Protestants of Ireland under the Late King James's Government* (London 1691) p98.
- (26) *ibid.*, pp239-240.
- (27) Butlin, R.A. 'Land and People, c1600' in Moody, T.W., Martin, F.X., and Byrne, F.J (eds.) *A New History of Ireland*, iii (Oxford 1976) pp142-167
- (28) Cullen, L.M. 'The Growth of Dublin 1600-1900 ...', p251.
- (29) Gillespie, 'Dublin 1600-1700: A Colonial Capital', unpublished article, p1.
- (30) Dickson, D 'The Demographic Implications of Dublin's Growth, 1650-1850' *Liverpool Studies in European Population, Urban Population Development in Western Europe from the late Eighteenth Century to the Early Twentieth Century*. Lawton, R. and Lee, R. (eds.). (Liverpool 1989) p179.

- (31) *CARD*, iv, pp256-257. This decision was a volte-face on the part of the Assembly who had previously restricted urban development by refusing to grant leases. The policy was successful because the Assembly was the city's largest single land owner. Crown holdings were restricted to the vicinity of Phoenix Park and although St Patrick's held land it could not match that held by the city.
- (32) Gillespie, 'Dublin 1600-1700 ...' In 1660 Dublin port generated 40% of Irish revenue. This rose to 50% by the end of the seventeenth century.
- (33) Irish Statutes 14&15 Chas. II, c.13, 1662.
- (34) For a detailed examination of the city's growth see Butlin, R.A: 'The Population of Dublin in the Late Seventeenth Century' *Irish Geography* 1965. pp51-66. Dickson, D 'The Demographic Implications of Dublin's Growth, 1650-1850' *Urban Population Development in Western Europe...*  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 'Hearth Tax, Household Size and Irish Population Change 1672-1821' *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Vol. 82, C, No6, 1982.*
- (35) For a more extensive analysis of MMVLs and ABs see Chapter 3.
- (36) In the case of the MMVLs the Act stated that only those houses which had not been 'valued or returned upon any former Commission in the said Parish' were liable to be assessed, however some valuations are qualified by the rider 'additional building' although no there is no record of the building under the occupant's name in the previous valuation. In addition property became liable to re-valuation if major improvements were undertaken or if the site was redeveloped. With regard to the ABs the parish could only impose levies upon solvent parishioners therefore the best possible guide to the number of inhabitants within a parish are the cess returns levied for the poor or church repairs which were supposed to include the solvent majority.
- (37) Andrews, J.H. 'The Oldest Map of Dublin', p218
- (38) Cullen 'The Growth of Dublin 1600-1900', p251 and note 2, p277.
- (39) Loeber, R. and Parker, G. 'The Military Revolution in seventeenth-century Ireland' *Ireland from Independence to Occupation 1641-1660* Ohlmeyer, J. (ed.) pp66-88, plate p79.
- (40) TCD Ms 1995-2008, King Papers, 1995-2008/128, May 1690.
- (41) Cullen 'The Growth of the City ...' note 2, p277. Cullen calculated that the city held 2,426 houses in 1610. If Petty's house figure of 8 per house is applied to Cullen's figure Dublin's population was 19,408. If a figure of 6 per house is applied then the population was 14,556. If the number of houses in Table 1:1 is multiplied by 6 then the population of Dublin was 34,632.
- (42) Petty may have discounted waste houses in his calculations. When Donnybrook is included Petty estimated there were 6,025 houses within Dublin.
- (43) *CARD*, vi, p128, Appendix, pp582-605, p588, p596.
- (44) Tutty, M.J. 'Bridges over the Liffey' *DHR XXXV* No 1, December 1981, pp23-33
- (45) Old Bridge Lease nos 490; 491.
- (46) Irish Statutes 14&15 Chas. II, c.13.
- (47) [Anon] *Memoirs of Ireland* (London 1716) p49.
- (48) *ibid.* p88.
- (49) Melvin, P. 'Letters of Lord Longford ...', *Ana Hib*, Vol. 32, 1985, Clarendon to John Ellis 10 April 1688, p45.
- (50) *HMC Calendar ... Ormonde* New Series 6 (Hereford 1911), Examination of Bartholomew Lawrence, Dublin, 17 September 1681, p157.

- (51) The assumption that the Protestant population may have formed 60% of Dublin's citizenry is based on the continuing rise in Dissenter congregations which took place in the latter half of the seventeenth century. Another indicator of the rising Protestant population is the increase in freedom admissions and as Gillespie has pointed out this signalled a rise in guild membership. He noted that a substantial rise in membership of the merchants' guild of Holy Trinity meant that by the late 1670s the guild hall was no longer big enough to accommodate all its members and it was proposed a new guild hall should be built.
- (52) Petty, W. *Several Essays in political arithmetick: Further observations upon the Dublin bills, or accompts of the houses, hearths, baptisms and burials in the city* (3rd edition, London 1699).
- (53) *ibid.*, London, by comparison, held 97 parishes within the city walls, 16 outside them and 6 in Westminster.
- (54) TCD Ms 1995-2008, King Papers, 1995-2008/2317, c.1693? Since the memorandum describes St Michan's as a united parish King's observations must have been made prior to 19 July 1697. On that date he wrote to Robert Southwell informing him of the division of the parish - see TCD Ms 750, King Papers 750/1/79.
- (55) Hughes, S.C. *The Church of St Werburgh's, Dublin* (Dublin 1889) pp12-13. Archbishop Browne, Archbishop of Dublin 1536-1554
- (56) TCD Mss 2062, 2063. Archbishop Francis Marsh served as Archbishop of Dublin from 1682 to 1693.
- (57) TCD Mss 2062, 2063.
- (58) 'Archbishop Bulkeley's Visitation of Dublin, 1630' *Arch Hib*, Vol. 8, 1941, pp56-75. p60.
- (59) Hughes, S.C. *The Church of St John the Evangelist, Dublin* (Dublin 1889) p9.
- (60) *ibid.*, pp10-14.
- (61) St Werburgh's Miscellaneous Papers 27.3.201: The parish lists arrears for Copper Alley which highlights the difficulties encountered when attempting to define accurately parochial boundaries.
- (62) Hughes *The Church of St John's ...* p16.
- (63) St John's VM, i, 1660-1710, 24 May 1680
- (64) *ibid.*, undated but placed at the back of the volume, probably early summer 1680.
- (65) *ibid.*, 17 June 1680; 20 July 1680; 8 August 1680. The height of the building was raised from 22 feet to 24½ feet and an east window was inserted. The building required girders in 1740 to prevent it collapsing.
- (66) 'Archbishop Bulkeley's ...' *Arch Hib*, Vol. 8, 1941. p58.
- (67) Hylton, R.P. *The Huguenot Communities in Dublin 1662-1745* Unpublished UCD thesis 1985, Chapter 3. Included among St John's Huguenot worshippers were Nicholas Bargaroe, resident from the mid 1670s, and David Cossart, a merchant from Rouen both of Fishamble Street. Thomas Minnett (Minet) lived in Winetavern Street and served as church warden in 1699.
- (68) Gilbert, J.T. *A History of Dublin*, i-iii (Dublin 1861), i, p157.
- (69) NLI Ms 13,311 Ware, R. *Notes taken from various sources on Churches in Dublin district by Sir James Ware in the seventeenth century, collected and transcribed by R Ware.*
- (70) 'Archbishop Bulkeley's ...' *Arch Hib* Vol. 8, 1941. pp37-38.
- (71) Gilbert *A History ...*, i, p210.

- (72) St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754, 27 March 1679. Thomas Wiseman a painter/stainer and William Rothery, mason, were both owed money.
- (73) Gilbert *A History ...*, p278; p 281.
- (74) Monck Mason Papers Vol. III/69; and Gilbert *A History ...*, i, p290.
- (75) Gilbert *A History ...*, i, p290 and Monck Mason Papers Vol. III/69
- (76) 'Archbishop Bulkeley's ...' *Arch Hib Vol. 8, 1941*. p59.
- (77) Gilbert *A History ...*, i, p304.
- (78) Gilbert *A History ...*, i, p157
- (79) *Cal. SPD Addenda 1660-1685*, p363-4.
- (80) Gilbert *A History ...*, i, p183.
- (81) *ibid.*, p184.
- (82) *ibid.*, p180.
- (83) 'Archbishop Bulkeley's ...' *Arch Hib Vol. 8, 1941*. p61.
- (84) Gilbert *A History ...*, i, pp195-206
- (85) Dunton, J *The Dublin Scuffle* (London 1699)
- (86) *ibid.*
- (87) St John's Applotment Book, i, 1659-1696, Poor Cess 1662. Pender, S. (ed.) *A Census of Ireland, c.1659* (Dublin 1939) The parish cess 201 properties, the Census registered 904 inhabitants.
- (88) Christ Church Liberty's Proctors Accounts 1665.
- (89) *CARD*, iv, p198 A fire in James' Street had prompted this decision.
- (90) *ibid.*, v, pp603.
- (91) NA Meath Papers, J/3/4 Cheney Letters 24 February 1682[/83].
- (92) *CARD*, iv, p198.
- (93) *ibid.*, p457.
- (94) *ibid.*, vi, pp78-9.
- (95) *ibid.*, v, pp608.
- (96) In c.1660 the city's population was estimated to be 8,780. When St Kevin's, which was defined by the census as not being part of the city proper is added to the total population rises to 8,934. If the returns for all those living within the walls is added together, the number of inner city residents amounts to 3,669.
- (97) TCD Ms 883 Molyneux Papers. Total number of houses in Dublin 5770, of these 1,303 within the walls, 4,467 outside the walls. If Donnybrook is included the total is 5,999.
- (98) St John's Applotment Book, i, 1659-1696, 1662. The vagaries of parish finances were such that, on occasion, additional streets within the principal wards were specifically cessed. For example in 1675, 10 properties in Rose Alley and 13 in Sheepleys (Shipley) Alley were named as wards in that year's Poor Cess.
- (99) St John's Applotment Book, i, 1659-1696, 1662. re John Ghest see Christmas, B. 'Some Protestant Settlers in Ireland 1662-1737' *The Irish Genealogist* 1988, pp349-357 Also see Freeman Admissions, Hutchinson and Lovet were both freemen. Hutchinson admitted in 1634, Lovet in 1655. Lovet served as Lord Mayor in 1676.
- (100) St Werburgh's Miscellaneous Papers 27.3.36. Herbert purchased pew 56 for £1/10/0d. Stephens shared pew 14 with Mr N Caniman.
- (101) *ibid.*, 27.3.37.
- (102) St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754, A List of Pew Holders, 1666. St Werburgh's Miscellaneous Papers 27.3.65 Gressingham, an Englishman from Henley in

- Warwickshire, became a freeman in 1665 and later moved to St Werburgh's where he served as church warden in 1672-3.
- (103) St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754, A List of Pew Holders, 1666.
- (104) Clark, M. 'List of the Principal Inhabitants of the City of Dublin, 1684', *The Irish Genealogist* 1990.
- (105) Gilbert: *A History ...*, i, p67. The tavern is described as '[the] London Tavern in Fishamble Street, with a court and back building, and a slated timber house and garden thereto belonging ...' The building was consistently rated in the higher bands for taxation purposes. It was destroyed by fire in 1729.
- (106) St John's Applotment Book, i, 1659-1696, Poor Cess 1662 and 1680. also Clark, M 'Dublin City Piped Water Accounts, 1680' *The Irish Genealogist* 1987 pp201-204.
- (107) St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754, 1666 and Clark, 'Dublin City Piped Water Accounts ...'
- (108) HMC, *Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont*, ii, (Hereford 1909) 1661-1709, Alderman John Desminieres to Sir John Percival, 3 June 1684, pp138-9.
- (109) CARD, v, p322. Sands proposed to remove all 'encroachments' and extend the quay into the river by 10 to 12 feet.
- (110) *ibid.*, p339.
- (111) See Speed's Map, 1610.
- (112) NLI Mss 13,311 Ware *Notes ... on ... Churches ...*.
- (113) TCD Mss 2062, 2063.
- (114) *ibid.*
- (115) 17&18 Chas. II, c.7.
- (116) TCD Mss 2062, 2063.
- (117) *ibid.*
- (118) Loeber, R *A Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Ireland* (Dublin 1981) pp48-51.
- (119) Monck Mason, W. *The History and Antiquities of St Patrick's near Dublin* (Dublin 1819) note p34.
- (120) MacLysaght, E: *Irish Life in the Seventeenth Century* (Cork 1950) Appendix B 'John Dunton's Letters', No 6, p375-390.
- (121) HMC, *Calendar ... Ormonde*, New Series 4 (York 1906), Brewster to Ormond 12 August 1682, p421.
- (122) Carroll, W. *Lansdowne Irish Estates and Sir William Petty* (Dublin 1881) p17.
- (123) Gilbert *A History ...*, iii, p184 and NA M2751.
- (124) Ferguson, J.A. *A Comparative Study of Urban Society in Edinburgh, Dublin and London in the Seventeenth Century* University of St Andrew's, Unpublished PhD thesis 1981, Chapter 8.
- (125) TCD Ms 2062 Domville's house in the parish Valuation Return was valued at £60. For the number of hearths see Carroll *The Lansdowne Estates ... Petty*.
- (126) *ibid.*, Two houses valued at £50; 1 at £40; 1 at £30; and 12 between £15-£20.
- (127) Carroll *The Lansdowne Estates ...* Lord Kingston also had two coppers. It is interesting to note the discrepancy in valuations between Domville's house with 20 hearths rated at £60 and Kingston's house with 19 hearths is rated at £12.
- (128) St Bride's VM, i, 1662-1742, 9 December 1678. ~
- (129) *ibid.*, 18 October 1683.

- (130) Ferguson *A Comparative Study* ... p359 The city held some 200 Quaker families divided between 3 meeting houses. Therefore a possible 60 families may have lived in St Bride's. The meeting house in St Bride's Street was valued in 1672 at £10.
- (131) St Bride's VM, i, 1662-1742, 25 March 1679.
- (132) 'Archbishop Bukleley's ...' *Arch Hib* Vol. 8, 1941. p62.
- (133) Hylton *The Huguenot Communities* ... Chapter 4.
- (134) TCD Mss 2062, 2063. The old church of St Peter's featured on Speed's map had been built by Sir Robert Baggot.
- (135) *ibid.*
- (136) Irish Statutes 14&15 Chas. II, c.13. and Hylton *Dublin's Huguenot Communities* ... Chapter 3, Fifty families settled in the city between 1671-81. The families worshipped mainly in St Peter's, St Audeon's, and to a limited degree in St Catherine's.
- (137) *HMC, Calendar ... Ormonde* New Series 8, p347 & p356.
- (138) TCD Mss 2062, 2063 and NLI Ms 5230
- (139) OPW, letter dated 11 September, 1992 gives details of construction.
- (140) Burke, N: 'An Early Modern Dublin Suburb: The Estate of Francis Aungier, Earl of Longford' *Irish Geography* 1972 Vol. 7 pp365-385.
- (141) *CARD*, iv, p300
- (142) *ibid.*, p298.
- (143) NLI Ms 5230 St Peter's MMVL 1667 The majority of properties valued in 1667 can not be placed exactly on the Green since the document is simply inscribed 'Stephen's Green'.
- (144) *CARD*, iv, pp401-2 It is unclear if the plots were re-allocated after development, or as vacant plots. It would be unlikely for Brewster to have undertaken expensive development prior to surrendering his interests on the eastern side the Green.
- (145) See Gomme's map 1673
- (146) NLI Ms 5230, St Peter's MMVLs 1677, 1680, 1684; and Routledge, F.J. (ed.) *Calendar of Clarendon State Papers in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford 1970) pp301-2.
- (147) NLI Ms 5230, St Peter's MMVLs 1677, 1680, 1684.
- (148) *ibid.* 1667. Ware's residence in Aungier Street was valued at £50. Other notable residents in Aungier Street were Sir Henry Ingoldsby and the Earl of Donegal. They lived in houses valued at £50 In 1672 the value of the houses constructed by Ware were as follows, 1 at £60; 3 at £20 each; 2 at £15 each; and 2 at £12 each. The Ware family still retained possession in 1729.
- (149) *ibid.* 1667. Leeson was valued at £20, Smith at £46, and Brewster at £38.
- (150) *CARD*, iv, pp401-2. Bellingham's dealings on the Green are complicated. In 1664 he acquired 25 north and 1 south. On 16 March 1665[/66] he acquired 8 south. This was surrendered to the Corporation on 18 January 1666[/67] for a renewal of the fee farm. He also acquired 3 south subsequently surrendered in 1667. In 1666[/67] he acquired 4, 6, 7, 9, 10 south.
- (151) NLI Ms 5230, St Peter's MMVLs 1680.
- (152) Registry of Deeds: Lib 2, p211, No 418 - the Bull; Lib 14, p22, No 5050 - Butchers Arms; NLI Ms 5230, St Peter's MMVL 1680 - the Dove; *Georgian Society Records of Eighteenth Century Domestic Architecture and Decoration in Dublin*, i-v (Shannon 1969), ii, Blue Posts.

- (153) NLI Ms 5230 St Peter's MMVLs 1680, 2 west side sheds were valued at £2 each; 2 on the north side at £1 each.
- (154) *CARD*, iv, p504.
- (155) *ibid.*, v, p138.
- (156) *ibid.*, iv, p384, p545.
- (157) *ibid.*, v, p69; vi, pp164-5. In 1675 John Lumb had been granted herbage on the Green in return for which he was to provide, free of charge, a complete maintenance service. The ploy failed and in 1696[/97] the condition of the Green was such that a committee recommended spending £60 on repairs.
- (158) *DPRS, The Register of the Parish of S. Peter and S Kevin 1669-1761*, ix (Dublin 1911)
- (159) TCD Mss 2062, 2063. The Order of Council appointing St Peter's head of the union was passed on 25 May 1680. The union was confirmed on 9 June 1680.
- (160) Burke 'An Early Modern Suburb ...', p370.
- (161) Freeman Rolls. It is impossible to be certain how Evans gained his franchise, another Robert Evans was granted freeman's rights upon payment of a fine.
- (162) *ibid.*
- (163) *ibid.* The categories under which freemanship were granted were a) service, b) birth, c) marriage, d) on payment of a fine, e) grace especial, f) Act of Parliament.
- (164) NA Ms 5136, Extracts of St Kevin's VM. Fitzgerald, McEnnis, Cullen.
- (165) Christmas *Some Protestant Settlers ...* p352
- (166) St Bride's VM, i, 1662-1742, 1662-86. The difficulties encountered with seventeenth century spelling makes positive identification difficult. Certainly the 'French' parishioners involvement in parochial matters suggests only token conformity since only one of their number signs the Minutes more than once.
- (167) McCullough, N. *Dublin, An Urban History* (Dublin 1989) p58. McCullough defines 'classical' as the period between 1660-1840.
- (168) NA Meath Papers.
- (169) For further information see *Memorial Inscriptions from St Catherine's Church and Graveyard Dublin*, Murphy, S.(ed.) (Dublin 1987) *St James's Graveyard, Dublin ~ History and Associations*. St James's Graveyard Project.(ed.) (Dublin 1988)
- (170) 'Archbishop Bulkeley's ...' *Arch Hib* Vol. 8 1941 pp61-62.
- (171) *ibid.* p62.
- (172) *ibid.* p61.
- (173) Hylton *The Huguenot Communities ...* Chapter 3.
- (174) Monck Mason *The History ... St Patrick's* note p72.
- (175) *DPRS, The Register of St Nicholas Without, Dublin, 1694-1739*, x (Dublin 1912) pp iii-viii.
- (176) *ibid.*
- (177) 'Archbishop Bulkeley's ...' *Arch Hib*, Vol. 8, 1941. p60.
- (178) NLI Ms 100, Lyons, J.S. *Notes for History of Dublin City*.
- (179) *CARD*, vi, p224.
- (180) *ibid.*, A/1/166, 23 November, 1674.
- (181) *ibid.*, J/3//4 Cheney Letters, 24 February 1682[/83].
- (182) *ibid.*, 7 April 1683.
- (183) *ibid.* 13 May 1683.



- (184) *ibid.* 24 June 1684; 21 October 1684
- (185) Lodge, J. *The Peerage of Ireland*, i-vii, (Dublin 1789), i, pp278-80. Edward, the 2nd Earl of Meath had drowned off Holyhead 25 March 1675.
- (186) NA Meath Papers, C/5/2. William Crichley held 8 leases, the earliest dating from 1656. James Gardiner held 4 houses in the Coombe for 41 years from 1676. Thomas Bond held a small piece of land for 41 years from 1679 at 3/4d *per annum*.
- (187) *ibid.* A/2/73, 1 February 1676.
- (188) *ibid.*, A/2/76, 1 July 1678.
- (189) *ibid.* J/3/4 Cheney Letters 13 January 1683[/84]. Newit was unable to afford the changes demanded by Cheney and 'Bows' was persuaded by the agent to take over the lease. Cheney granted him preferential rates but insisted that the changes be made.
- (190) *ibid.* 24 February 1682[/83].
- (191) *ibid.* 9 September 1684, 4 October 1684.
- (192) *ibid.* 4 October 1684.
- (193) *ibid.*, A/2/119 & A/2/116.
- (194) *ibid.*, J/3/4 Cheney Letters, 15 May 1683.
- (195) *ibid.*, A/2/121 & A/2/132.
- (196) *ibid.*, A/2/128.
- (197) McCullough: *Dublin ...* p59. The Liberty's court house was situated in St Thomascourt.
- (198) St Catherine's VM i, 1657-1692, 22 November 1686. The minutes note that several seats were vacant owing to the departure of parishioners.
- (199) *DPRS, The Register of St Catherine's, Dublin, 1636-1715*, v (Dublin 1908) Hearth Tax returns 1666-7, pp236-240.
- (200) NLI Ms 13,311 Ware: *Notes ... on Churches ..*
- (201) Kenny, C. *The King's Inns* (Dublin 1991) p145. The Inns had been restored in 1661.
- (202) Craig, M. *Dublin 1660-1860* (reprint, Dublin 1980) pp13-17.
- (203) Butlin: 'The Population of Dublin ...'
- (204) Kenny: *The King's Inns* p145.
- (205) 'Archbishop Bulkeley's ...' *Arch Hib Vol. 8, 1941*. pp58-59.
- (206) Hylton *Dublin's Huguenot Communities ...* Chapter 3. The Huguenots who established themselves in St Michan's included gentlemen, merchants, a goldsmith, glazier and a coachman.
- (207) Craig *Dublin ...* p21.
- (208) *CARD*, v, p237, p263.
- (209) Craig *Dublin ...* p46. For a view of the quay see Francis Place's sketch of 1698 see McCullough *Dublin ...* pp32-3.
- (210) Craig *Dublin ...* p46.
- (211) Dublin City Hall Ancient Revenue 18.
- (212) *ibid.*
- (213) TCD Ms 8556-8558, Hutchison Papers, 8556-8/4.
- (214) *ibid.*, 8556-8/17.
- (215) McCullough: *Dublin ...* p40.
- (216) TCD Ms 8556-8558, Hutchison Papers, 8556-8/73.
- (217) *ibid.*
- (218) NA Meath Papers J/3/4 Cheney Letters 24 February 1682[/83].

- (219) *ibid.* A/2/106, A/2/112, A/2/108.
- (220) TCD Ms 8556-8558, Hutchison Papers, 8556-8/70.
- (221) *ibid.*
- (222) St John's Applotment Book, i, 1659-1696. He was last cessed for Poor Cess in 1688.
- (223) TCD Ms 8556-8558, Hutchison Papers, 8556-8/73.
- (224) *DPRS The Registers of the Church of St Michan's, Dublin 1636-1685*, iii, (Dublin 1907).
- (225) *CARD*, v, Preface p xxvi.

Chapter 2: Notes to pages 62-97

- (1) Beckett, J.C. *The making of Modern Ireland, 1603-1923* (London, reprint 1989) p126.
- (2) St Catherine's VM, i, 1657-1692, 22 October 1657: A general assembly of the parish's principle citizens in conjunction with the minister and church wardens agreed to act as assessors. They were to decide which parishioners would be permitted to receive the sacraments. On 5 February, 1660, Samuel Cox was prohibited from acting as minister and the parishioners appointed 'Mr Hewetson' to act in his place. Phillips, W.A. *A History of the Church of Ireland*, i-iii, (London 1933), iii, Under the Commonwealth the parochial system was superseded by a congregational system; a loose association of churches based upon the complete autonomy of the local church.
- (3) McGuire, J.I. 'The Dublin convention, the protestant community and the emergence of an ecclesiastical settlement in 1660' *HS*, xiv, 1981, pp121-146, p122.
- (4) *ibid.*, p123. For date of coup see J. Ohlmeyer (ed.) *Ireland ...*, pxlviii.
- (5) *ibid.*, pp124-5.
- (6) *ibid.*, p125.
- (7) Beckett, *The making of Modern Ireland*, p124.
- (8) McGuire, 'The Dublin convention ...', pp130-31.
- (9) *ibid.*, pp136-37.
- (10) *ibid.*, p137.
- (11) *ibid.*, p138.
- (12) Beckett, *The making of Modern Ireland*, p124.
- (13) *ibid.*, p125.
- (14) *ibid.*, p125.
- (15) Dickson, D. *New Foundations: Ireland 1660-1800* (Dublin 1987) pp13-14.  
 Simms, J.G. 'The Restoration, 1660-1685' *A New History of Ireland*  
 T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin, F.J. Byrne (eds.) iii, (Oxford 1976 ) pp 420-435;  
 p437 According to Simms, in 1672 there were approximately 300,000  
 Protestants in Ireland, of these 100,000 were Scots Presbyterians in origin.
- (16) Beckett, *The making of Modern Ireland*, p126.
- (17) See Chapter I.
- (18) Carpenter, A. 'William King and the threats to the Church of Ireland during the reign of James II' *IHS*, xviii, 1972-1973, pp22-28.
- (19) *ibid.*, p22.
- (20) *ibid.*, pp22-3.

- (21) *ibid.*, pp23-5.
- (22) *ibid.*, pp25-8.
- (23) See Chapter I.
- (24) Beckett, J.C. 'The Government of the Church of Ireland under William III and Anne' *IHS*, xi, 1940-1941, pp280-302.
- (25) *ibid.*, p282.
- (26) *ibid.*, p285.
- (27) *ibid.*, p290.
- (28) *ibid.*, The letter was drawn up by Bishop Dopping of Meath.
- (29) *ibid.* p302.
- (30) Ford, A. *The Protestant Reformation in Ireland, 1590-1641* (Frankfurt 1987), p201.
- (31) Beckett, *The Making of Modern Ireland*, p53.
- (32) *ibid.*, p73. The 1615 Irish articles were not formerly repealed, but fell into disuse. Some minor changes were made to the 1604 articles. The 1604 articles had been drawn up with the intention of curbing English puritans and were expected to fulfil a similar function in Ireland.
- (33) *ibid.*
- (34) Ford, *The Protestant Reformation ...* pp288-91.
- (35) Kennedy, R.T. *The Administration of the Diocese of Dublin and Glendalough in the Eighteenth Century*, Unpublished TCD M Litt, 1968. p8. The other deaneries were Wicklow, Omurthy, Ballymore, Athy, Arklow, Bray, Leixlip, Tawney, Newcastle, Lusk, Garistown, Swords, Decantus Christianis. Kennedy's thesis provides a detailed account of the diocese during the eighteenth century and background information on the seventeenth century.
- (36) TCD Ms 750, King Papers, 750/7/24-25, King to Hort, 14 November, 1721: In all the archbishop had the gift of ten benefices.
- (37) Kennedy, *The Administration of the Diocese of Dublin ...* pp12-13
- (38) *ibid.* p12-13 and p21.
- (39) TCD Ms 750, King Papers, 750/3/1/1-2, King to Ashe, 1 August, 1704.
- (40) TCD Ms 1995-2008, King Papers, 1995-2008/2317.
- (41) St John's VM, i, 1659-1710, Church Wardens' Accounts 1662-1663, Easter 1663, expenditure.
- (42) St Catherine's VM, i, 1657-1692, 7 June, 1666.
- (43) TCD Ms 750, King Papers, 750/9/35-36, King to Molyneux, 9 December, 1727. Kennedy, *The Administration of the Dublin Diocese ...* p43 In 1705 St Werburgh's returned an annual income of £300, St Nicholas Within £200 and St Peter's £100. Within the diocese clerical income was poor with less than ten incumbencies yielding an income of more than £100 *per annum*.
- (44) McCarthy, M. *All Graduates and Gentlemen* (Dublin 1980) p21.
- (45) *The Charge Given by Narcissus, Lord Archbishop of Dublin to the Clergy of the Province of Leinster, at his Triennial Visitation, Anna Dom. 1694* (Dublin 1694)
- (46) McCarthy, *All Graduates and Gentlemen*, pp20-21
- (47) See TCD Mss 750 and 1995-2008 and *Instructions and Queries for the Clergy of the Diocese of Dublin, agreed to at a synod held in St Patrick's Church, Apr. 23, 1718* (Dublin 1718)
- (48) Irish Statutes 6 Anne, c.21 and MC 12, Visitation 1707. St Catherine's and St James' were disunited. St James' was ordered to pay £10 towards the costs of

- the passing of the Act. A silver chalice, identical to that owned by St Catherine's, was to be given to St James'. St Catherine's church wardens were to examine all books and records to discover the rents paid when the churches were united. These were to be divided correctly, by the archbishop, between the two parishes. St Catherine's were to continue their maintenance of all the poor who had previously been the responsibility of the united parishes.
- (49) TCD Ms 2536, King Papers, 2537/174-177, King to Hort, 29 September, 1724.
- (50) MC 12, Visitation 1715. Harrison claimed his suspension was not valid as it had not been imposed by the archbishop, but by his representative. In suspending him, Harrison claimed, the representative had exceeded his powers.
- (51) St Catherine's VM, ii, 1700-1729, Church Wardens' Accounts 1708-1709; 1721-1722. *The Charge Given by Narcissus Marsh ... 1694*. The oath sworn in 1694 is quoted by R Burn *Ecclesiastical Law*, i-iv, (7th edition London 1809), i, pp389-414
- (52) Burn, *Ecclesiastical Law*, i, p 404 The full oath was 'You shall swear that you will be assistant to the church wardens in execution of their office so far as by law you are bound'.
- (53) *The Charge given by Narcissus Marsh ...* Apart from the requirement to have the necessary liturgical books and concern for the condition of church property the church wardens were asked to affirm that baptisms, marriages and burials were conducted and recorded correctly. All lands, tithes, rights owned by the parish had to be known to the incoming church wardens. The Terrier, a schedule made from time to time of the parish's temporal possessions, had to be registered with the bishop. Other questions concerned the parish clerk and sexton and their ability to perform their jobs. St Michan's Memorial Book records similar questions put to the church wardens during the 1720s.
- (54) St Catherine's VM, ii, 1700-1729, Church Wardens' Accounts 1700-1701; 1707-1708.
- (55) St Bride's VM, i, 1662-1742, 11 July, 1678.
- (56) *The Charge given by Narcissus Marsh ...*
- (57) TCD Ms 2062, St Andrew's VM, extracts, 1669-1754, 25 February, 1694[/95].
- (58) Bolton, R *A Justice of the Peace in Ireland, 1683* (Dublin 1683), 2 Eliz I, c.2.
- (59) TCD Ms 2062, 25 February, 1694[/95].
- (60) Irish Statutes 33 Hen VIII, c.15 and I Eliz I, c.2;
- (61) St Michan's Church Wardens' Accounts, i, 1723-1761, 29 June, 1725.
- (62) St Paul's VM, i, 1698-1749, 1731.
- (63) Burn, *Ecclesiastical Law*, i, p411 The church wardens, under canon 89, were required to give an account of the money spent during their term of office at the end of their year of service or within one month of the office ending.
- (64) Lea, S.P. *Present State of the Established Church of Ireland, or Ecclesiastical Registry of Ireland for 1814*. (Dublin 1814), p36.
- (65) Irish Statutes, 17 & 18 Chas. II, c.7, section v, 1665. The corporation formed by church wardens - a corporate aggregate - is so called because it is formed by more than one person. That formed by an individual, the Lord Mayor of Dublin for example, is known as a 'corporate sole'.
- (66) St Bride's VM, i, 1662-1742, 27 January, 1690.
- (67) Irish Statutes 10 Geo. I, c.3. See Chapter 3, 'Receipts and Disbursements - The Parochial Budget'

- (68) St Catherine's VM, i, 1657-1692, 14 February, 1686[/87]. Those appointed to help the church wardens were Giles Mee, William Billington, Bazil Purefoy, Mark Ransford, Theophilus Bourke and William Wimersley. Any two could serve. Pews were held upon residency and had to be disposed of if the occupant left the parish.
- (69) St Bride's VM, i, 1662-1742, 25 March, 1695.
- (70) St Catherine's VM, i, 1657-1692, 16 August 1685; 8 November, 1686; 15 November, 1686; 20 November, 1686; 22 November, 1686.
- (71) *ibid.*, 14 February, 1686[/87] This entry was subsequently deleted.
- (72) *ibid.*, 21 June 1688.
- (73) St Michan's Pew Register 1724-1767, 24 June, 1725.
- (74) St Bride's VM, i, 1662-1742, 9 April, 1705.
- (75) Irish Statutes 7 Will. III, c.9; 7 Will. III, c17 and 33 Hen. VIII, c.15.
- (76) Barnard, T.C. 'Reforming Irish Manners: The Religious Societies in Dublin during the 1690s' *THJ*, 35, 4 (1992), pp805-838.
- (77) St Paul's VM, i, 1698-1750, An opinion given by George Gore concerning the sale of pews, church wardens duties and setting of church rates.
- (78) St Catherine's VM, i, 1657-1692, Memorandum, 19 April, 1781.
- (79) *ibid.*, 6 December 1687. On 10 January, 1687[/88] the poor cess was revised, and the sidesmen were not involved as assessors.
- (80) St Mary's VM, i, 1699-1739, 6 July, 1703.
- (81) English Statutes, 43 Eliz. I, c.2.
- (82) Irish Statutes, 1 Geo. II, c.27.
- (83) *ibid.*, 11 James I, c.7.
- (84) *ibid.*, 4 Geo. II, c.11.
- (85) NA, Ms 5136 'Extracts from St Kevin's Vestry Book 1669-1674' 30 November 1671.
- (86) *ibid.*, 30 November 1671.
- (87) St Catherine's VM, ii, 1693-1730, 4 April 1727.
- (88) TCD Ms 750, King Papers, 750/8/96 King to Lord Mayor (Joseph Kane), 10 May 1726.
- (89) Finglas VM, i, 1657-1758, p125. In 1683 the parish introduced the following fines £2 for nonservice as a church warden, 10/- for nonservice as a sidesman. Carlow VM, i, 1669-1762. In 1686 £2 fine for nonservice as a church warden introduced. Carlow was in the diocese of Leighlin.
- (90) St Bride's VM, i, 1662-1742. 25 March 1695; 28 October 1695.
- (91) *ibid.*, 28 October 1695. The Vestry minutes do not record the outcome of the prosecution.
- (92) St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754, 4 May 1685.
- (93) St Catherine's VM, ii, 1693-1730. 8 December 1702.
- (94) Burn, *Ecclesiastical Law*, i, pp 366-80, Other categories entitled to claim exemption were dissenters, those prosecuted for a felony, and those living outside the parish boundaries.
- (95) St Peter's VM, i, 1686-1736, 5 October 1687 Monck claimed 'privilege' as a patentee, Bodin as an attorney.
- (96) St Paul's VM, i, 1698-1750, Easter Monday 1701, p5.
- (97) St Mary's VM, i, 1699-1739. 1 April 1700; 22 April 1701; 30 March 1703; 17 April 1704.
- (98) St Bride's VM, i, 1662-1742. 16 October 1673. Only those named could

- serve as church wardens.
- (99) *ibid.*, 7 April 1689. By 1689 the city's Protestant population was severely depleted many having fled to England. This order may have been introduced to counteract the effects of that migration.
- (100) St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754, 2 April 1678.
- (101) The absence of Chambers' signature from the Vestry minutes is puzzling but may in part be explained by a comment made by William King some years later. In c.1693 King noted 'Mr Chambers is minister of it [St Catherine's], but has not attended it these many years being infirmed.' see TCD Ms 1995-2008, King Papers, 1995-2008/2317 Undated c.1693 ?
- (102) NA Meath Papers, J/3/2, Cheney to Meath 4 November 1684.
- (103) St Catherine's VM, i, 1657-1692, 22 April 1679. The Vestry ordered that those chosen, but refusing, to serve to be fined at the discretion of the minister and serving church wardens a sum not exceeding £10 or compelled to serve. The money was to be used for the benefit of the church.
- (104) St John's VM, i, 1659-1710, 13 April 1681.
- (105) *ibid.*
- (106) St Catherine's VM, ii, 1693-1730, 16 October 1696.
- (107) St Bride's VM, i, 1662-1742, 21 April 1701.
- (108) St Mary's VM, i, 1699-1739, 25 April 1709. At the time of the fine the parish's ordinary rate for nonservice as a church warden was £5.
- (109) *ibid.*, 17 April 1704.
- (110) *ibid.*, 10 April 1721; 10 October 1721.
- (111) *ibid.*, 16 April 1723. It was still parish practice to appoint four sidesmen in 1729, see 8 April 1729.
- (112) Finglas VM, i, 1657-1758, 1659.
- (113) St Mary's VM, i, 1699-1739, 23 December 1713. Nominees included the MPs Philip Savage, Robert Rochford and John Percivall; the Attorney General George Gore; the architect Thomas Burgh, Sir Richard Levings and Mr Justice Nutley.
- (114) *ibid.*, 5 March 1713[/14]. The inclusion of the Archbishop reflects the purpose for which the committee was drawn up.
- (115) *DPRS, The Register of the Church of St Michan's, 1636 to 1685*, iii, (Dublin 1907)
- (116) *JHC Ire.*, iii, Book I. Tighe was involved on several committees including one concerned with improving the maintenance for curates. St Catherine's VM, ii, 1693-1730. Tighe signed the Vestry minutes from 29 February 1719[/20] to 20 February 1721[/22].
- (117) Irish Statutes 8 Geo. I, c.10.
- (118) Irish Statutes 6 Geo. I, c.15.
- (119) Lea, *Present State ...* p31. Irish Statutes 17 & 18 Chas. II, c.7. A lecturer's involvement with ecclesiastical affairs meant the post was always held by an ordained man.
- (120) St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754, 13 January 1681[/82].
- (121) *ibid.*
- (122) *ibid.*, 10 June 1684. The Dean and Smith were to consult with the Recorder, Sir Richard Ryves and two lawyers John Browne and John Spragg.
- (123) *ibid.*, 9 April 1694.
- (124) St Peter's VM, i, 1686-1736, 1 November 1699.

- (125) St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754, 1704.
- (126) St Mary's VM, i, 1699-1739, 5 October 1705.
- (127) *ibid.*, 2 October 1729.
- (128) St Michan's Memorial Book, Rules dated 6 May 1725, concerning the duties of parish officers also Wyse Jackson, R. *Scenes from Irish clerical Life in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Limerick 1941), pp36-38.
- (129) Lea, *Present State ...* p31 A parish clerk was also required to be speak Irish, but this qualification may not have been imposed in Dublin.
- (130) St Bride's VM, i, 1662-1742, 5 November 1668.
- (131) St Mary's VM, i, 1699-1739, 9 May 1701.
- (132) St John's VM, i, 1660-1710, 20 January 1695[/96].
- (133) St Peter's VM, i, 1686-1736, 10 December 1712.
- (134) St Catherine's VM, i, 1657-1692, 4 November 1675.
- (135) St John's VM, i, 1660-1710, 21 January 1694[/95].
- (136) St Michan's Memorial Book Among other duties, the sexton was to keep the church clean; care for the church's ornaments and utensils; dig graves; toll the bell half an hour before divine service; protect the interior of the church from damage; attend all Vestry meetings; help in the collection of Minister's Money and attend on the minister every day for instructions.
- (137) St Mary's VM, i, 1699-1739, 22 February 1721[/22].
- (138) *ibid.*
- (139) St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754, 10 October 1699; 5 October 1700; 9 September 1701; 22 October 1702; 14 October 1703.
- (140) Webb, S & B. *English Local Government from the Revolution to the Municipal Corporations Act: The Parish and the County*. (London 1906) p124, note p124.
- (141) St Michan's Memorial Book. Once the Vestry had approved the presentments the Vestry clerk was to enter them into the Applotment Book. The applotment was then to be divided into the proper number of books and delivered to the constables and sidesmen as directed by the church wardens. The Vestry clerk was to enter all arrears. Any arrears, if solvent, were to be applotted on the respective houses in the next applotment.
- (142) St Bride's VM, i, 1662-1742, 6 April 1702. The Minutes state that there was no clerk to enter in Vestry 'acts', baptisms, marriages or burials and to assist the minister in other services.
- (143) *ibid.*, 8 October 1722. Conduit was a freeman of Dublin, and a member of the Trinity Guild. He had also held several civic posts. On his death, however, his widow was forced to seek charity from the Lord Mayor.
- (144) St Mary's VM, i, 1699-1739, 13 February 1707[/08].
- (145) *ibid.*, 1 February 1709[/10]. The rise was to be effective from the 29 September 1710.
- (146) *ibid.*, 1 December 1714.
- (147) *ibid.*, 22 January 1716[/17], 28 September 1722.
- (148) *ibid.*, 28 September 1722, 17 October 1722, 28 February 1722[/23].
- (149) Boydell, B. 'St Michan's Church Dublin: The installation of the organ in 1725 and the duties of the organist' *DHR, XLVI, No 2, 1993*, pp101-120, note 5.
- (150) St Catherine's VM, i, 1657-1692, 25 June 1678; 13 April 1680.
- (151) *ibid.*, 13 April 1680. Gayton's salary was to be paid half-yearly and raised as part of the poor cess.

- (152) For an account of St Michan's organ see B. Boydell 'St Michan's Church, Dublin - the Installation of the Organ in 1725' in *DHR*, xlvii, 2, 1993. St Michan's Church Wardens' Accounts, i, 1723-1761, 1727. The parish paid John Byfield £32/13/0d, part of an agreed sum of £60, to repair the trumpet stop in the great organ and a principal stop in the chair organ. The parish had paid £16/9/2d for the erection of the organs.
- (153) St Mary's VM, i, 1699-1739, i, 23 December 1713. Cavannagh was to be paid £4 *per annum*. Both men were to be paid quarterly.
- (154) St Bride's VM, i, 1662-1742, 2 April 1716.
- (155) Hughes *The Church of St Werburgh's ...*, p154.
- (156) St Peter's VM, i, 1686-1736, 29 March 1687. He was paid £16 *per annum*.
- (157) *ibid.*, 1695. Quilter had been succeeded by Thomas Hollister in 1692. When Ellison was first appointed his salary was £10 *per annum*. This was increased in 1696 to £15. A year later, 1697, he was paid £16.
- (158) *ibid.*, 20 November 1712; 20 October 1713.
- (159) *ibid.*, 10 April 1721; 3 May 1721.
- (160) *ibid.*, 10 July 1723.
- (161) St Michan's Memorial Book. A beadle was also expected to search the parish for bawdy houses and inform the minister and church wardens, in writing, who kept them and who frequented them. He was particularly concerned with the control of beggars and was expected to assist the parish constable.
- (162) St Bride's VM, i, 1662-1742, 17 December 1674; 21 December 1675.
- (163) St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754, 14 April 1718. Hunter's appointment had to be reconfirmed each year. He was still serving as beadle in April, 1728.
- (164) St Mary's VM, i, 1699-1739, 1 March 1721[/22].
- (165) Irish Statutes 28 Hen. VIII, c.15.
- (166) St Bride's VM, i, 1662-1742, 13 May 1706; 21 April 1712.
- (167) Irish Statutes 6 Geo. I, c.15.
- (168) *ibid.*, 8 Geo. I, c.10.
- (169) Burns *Ecclesiastical Law*, iv, p7.
- (170) St Catherine's VM, i, 1657-1692, 8 November 1686.
- (171) St Bride's VM, i, 1662-1742, 30 September 1674.
- (172) Pearl, V. 'Change and Stability in Seventeenth Century London' *The Tudor and Stuart Town 1530-1688* (London 1990), J. Barry (ed.) pp152-165.
- (173) *ibid.*, pp152-165.
- (174) *ibid.*, pp152-165 and Webb, S. & B. *English Local Government ... The Parish and the County*.
- (175) Burns, *Ecclesiastical Law*, pp7-12
- (176) St Mary's VM, i, 1699-1739, 1 April 1700.
- (177) St Catherine's VM, i, 1657-1692, 21 June 1688. The pew transfer had been entered into the Vestry minutes in the ale house, therefore it had not been approved by the Vestry.
- (178) St Bride's VM, i, 1662-1742, Memorandum 18 October 1683.
- (179) *ibid.*
- (180) Irish Statutes 8 Geo. I, c.10
- (181) St Bride's VM, i, 1662-1742, 9 December 1678. The church wardens had called Vestries on a number of occasions but the parishioners had either failed or refused to attend.



- (182) *ibid.*, c. February 1722[/23] ?, 15 June 1723. The first entry is not dated but states the Vestry is adjourned until '2nd instant', this is taken to mean 2 March 1722[/23]. The entry following this entry is, however, dated 16 April. A Vestry was also adjourned on 15 June 1723.
- (183) Finglas VM, i, 1657-1758, 18 April 1682 and St Catherine's VM, i, 1657-1692, 15 November 1686, 19 March 1686[/87].
- (184) St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754, Michael Christian, church warden 1684-85, accounts audited 21 October 1686; James Tisdall and John ffoster, church wardens 1686-87, accounts audited 4 December 1687; Charles Pitt and William James, church wardens 1687-88, accounts audited 12 December 1689; John Langdale and Henry Rodgers, church wardens 1688-89, accounts audited 14 December 1691; John Markham and James Spicer, church wardens 1689-91, accounts audited 14 December 1691.
- (185) *ibid.*, Church Wardens' Accounts 1689-91.
- (186) St Catherine's VM, i, 1657-1692 24 August 1691.
- (187) St John's Applotment Book, ii, 1696-1735. Money was raised for the Protestants of Portarlinton in 1707 and for the Palatines in 1709[/10].
- (188) St Mary's VM, i, 1699-1739, 13 November 1721, 13 December 1725.
- (189) TCD Ms 1995-2008, King Papers, 1995-2008/128, May 1690.
- (190) *ibid.*, 1995-2008/2317, undated c.1693.
- (191) St Catherine's VM, ii, 1693-1730, 29 February 1719[/20].

### Chapter 3: Notes to pages 98-162

- (1) Irish Statutes 17 & 18 Chas. II, c.7.
- (2) St Bride's Church Wardens' Account Book 1663-1704
- (3) St John's VM, i, 1659-1710. Church Wardens' Accounts 1684, 1687, 1692, respectively.
- (4) *ibid.*, In 1660s average expenditure was £25/15/6d *per annum*. It was particularly high in 1680s averaging £82/16/2½d *per annum*. By 1690s it had risen to £72/15/2½d *per annum*.
- (5) *ibid.*, Average income in 1660s was £34/3/1¼d *per annum* In 1680s £88/1/9¾d *per annum*. In 1690s £73/16/3½d *per annum*.
- (6) St Mary's VM, i, 1699-1739, 22 September 1720.
- (7) Hughes, S.C. *The Church of St Werburgh's* pp22-3.
- (8) St Werburgh's Miscellaneous Papers 27.3.96 c.1714-1722.
- (9) St Paul's VM, i, 1698-1750, Easter Monday 1701.
- (10) *CARD*, vi, p363.
- (11) The parish constable was appointed by the Lord Mayor.
- (12) St Nicholas Without Applotment Book, i, 1707-1725. In 1707 the 4 parish wards were Patrick Street., Francis Street., Donore and New Street. Each ward had two constables except Francis Street which had three.
- (13) *ibid.*, October 1722, Church repairs cess £50.
- (14) Irish Statutes 10 Geo. I, c.3, section xix. The requirement to have at least 13 parishioners involved in an applotment was made in connection with the applotment of Watch money.
- (15) St Michan's Applotment Book, i, 1711-1725. Each inhabitant was expected to pay a portion of the overall cess. An individual's portion was calculated on the value of the property he occupied. The value had been fixed by a panel of

assessors. If a house was valued at £20 and the rate for the applotment set at 6d in the £1 the amount due was £3.

- (16) NLI Ms 5230, MMVLs 1680 and 1684.
- (17) St Michan's Common Place Book. Regulations were laid out after a commission had been requested by Reverend John Clayton on 25 March 1725. TCD Ms 2062. Similar instructions were inscribed on the valuation made for St Bride's in 1718.
- (18) St Bride's VM, i, 1662-1742, 2 February 1679[/80].
- (19) St Mary's VM, i, 1699-1739. 14 January 1711. The minutes order that henceforth parish cesses were to be applotted according to Minister's Money.
- (20) St Mary's VM, i, 1699-1739, 7 December 1705.
- (21) St Peter's VM, i, 1686-1736. 24 November 1714.
- (22) *ibid.*
- (23) St Michan's Church Wardens' Accounts, i, 1723-1761; 1724, 1725.
- (24) Irish Statutes 10 Geo. I, c.3.
- (25) St John's VM, i, 1660-1710. 4 December 1688; 8 January 1688[/89]. No further mention is made of the affair so it would appear the matter was either settled satisfactorily or lost sight of in the political upheavals of the time.
- (26) St Peter's VM, i, 1686-1736, 24 September 1695.
- (27) St Werburgh's Miscellaneous Papers 27.3.120, 18 September 1716. The full value of the distresses taken was £1/14/5d. Items included a dish, value 2/6d; two vices value 1/1d and 3/6½d respectively; 6 wash balls and a calico cap value 1/1d and 3/1½d respectively. There were eight men and two women defaulters.
- (28) St John's VM, i, 1659-1710, 8 October 1688.
- (29) *ibid.*
- (30) St Catherine's VM, i, 1657-1692, 10 December 1671. The Bishop's Court was in fact the Consistory Court.
- (31) *ibid.*, 18 February 1671[/72]. The auditors of Warren's accounts claimed that a deficit had been returned on his church warden's accounts. He and other parishioners were, however, owed £112/12/4d for repairs made to St Catherine's and St James' churches. It is not clear how the debt, recorded in the Vestry minutes on 1 May 1683 arose, but this bill for repairs may have been the cause of the debt.
- (32) *ibid.*, 30 October 1685.
- (33) *ibid.*, 7 June 1692. Young had married Warren's widow Elizabeth.
- (34) *ibid.*, 7 June 1692. There is no record of the cess in the Vestry minutes and no early applotment books for St Catherine's exist.
- (35) St John's Applotment Book, i, 1659-1696, 1662-1666.
- (36) St Michan's VM, i, 1724-1760, 1 April 1726.
- (37) *ibid.*, the church wardens would have been assisted in their collection of cesses by the constables and sidesmen.
- (38) St John's Applotment Book, i, 1659-1696, 1675. The parish levied 289 inhabitants. 8 were in band A, 2.76% of the total number levied.
- (39) St John's Applotment Book, ii, 1696-1735. Between 1700-9 the average applotment was £38/11/0d. Between 1710-19 it was £34/9/2½d.
- (40) St Catherine's VM, i, 1657-1692, Church Wardens' Accounts 1667; 1668, and St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754, Church Wardens' Accounts 1668; 1678.
- (41) St Bride's Church Wardens' Account Book, i, 1663-1704, 1672-3; 1677-8.

- (42) *ibid.*, 1697-8, and St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754, Church Wardens' Accounts 1701.
- (43) St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754, Church Wardens' Accounts 1700. Despite the small sum paid for Conran's Tomb the rent was rarely paid.
- (44) St Catherine's VM, i, 1657-1693, Church Wardens' Accounts 1691, and *ibid.*, ii, 1693-1730, Church Wardens' Accounts 1702.
- (45) *ibid.*, ii, 1693-1730, Church Wardens' Accounts 1702; 1728.
- (46) *ibid.*, i, 1657-1693, 11 April 1674.
- (47) *ibid.*, ii, 1693-1730, 22 February 1702; 28 October 1712.
- (48) St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754, 14 March 1708[/09]. The parish owned land in Oxmantown, a number of houses on Cork Hill, Winetavern Street, St Michael's Lane, Castle Street and High Street.
- (49) St John's VM, i, 1660-1710, 10 July 1673.
- (50) *ibid.*, Kennedy's accounts 1678. In 1678 Smith's wife paid £12 in rent. In 1679 she paid £5 on arrears of £24/6/8d.
- (51) *ibid.*, 22 January 1682. Lease was granted on a property in Church Street for 61 years at an annual rent of £10 plus a fine of £64.
- (52) *ibid.*, 6 November 1694.
- (53) *ibid.*, 27 November 1694.
- (54) St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754, Church Wardens' Accounts 1665.
- (55) St Catherine's VM, i, 1657-1692, 17 April 1666.
- (56) *ibid.*
- (57) The term moiety is used by the parish to indicate a parishioner's right to sit in a particular pew.
- (58) *CARD*, vi, pp365-6. The city had contributed £150 towards the rebuilding costs.
- (59) St Catherine's VM, i, 1657-1692, 25 June 1678; 22 April 1679.
- (60) *ibid.*, ii, 1693-1730, Church Wardens' Accounts 1695-6.
- (61) St Peter's VM, i, 1686-1736, Pew assignments 1693.
- (62) St Mary's VM, i, 1699-1739, 4 December 1704. All seats were to be paid for within 15 days. If a parishioner defaulted the pew was liable for resale.
- (63) *ibid.*, 6 November 1704.
- (64) St Paul's VM, i, 1698-1750, 2 February 1716. On 8 March 1702, by 'act' of Vestry, the seats had been valued, numbered and disposed of to those paying the correct sum. It was declared that those holding seats who left the parish with no intention of returning, and who declared this intention within twelve months, were to have the right to dispose of their seat to another parishioner for a sum not exceeding that which they had originally paid and providing they had first offered it to the minister and church wardens at a cheaper rate.
- (65) *ibid.*, 2 February 1716[/17]. The other seats sold were 15, 18, 25, 41, 44 and 51. The sale of these pews earned £12. The parish earned a total of £16.
- (66) St Peter's VM, i, 1686-1736, 30 July 1728.
- (67) St Michan's Pew Register. Of the seats for auction 10 had only one half to sell; 35 were to be sold in two halves; 1 seat, number 45, was sold in quarters.
- (68) *ibid.*, Croker had served as church warden in 1723-24 and 1724-25 despite being entitled to claim 'privilege' because of his business at the King's Court.
- (69) *ibid.*, The west gallery had been taken down to accommodate the new organ. Parishioners who had occupied pews in the gallery now taken up by the organ were given new pews.

- (70) *ibid.*, The most expensive pew was auctioned for £8, the cheapest for £2.
- (71) *ibid.*, The parish raised £36/4/0d in all, but the re-sale of one seat obliged them to return two-thirds of the purchase money, £2, therefore the sale only realised £34/4/0d. Lambert Emmerson had paid £3 for a half share in pew 53 in 1728. He quit the parish in 1729, and was therefore owed a refund of £2. The parish sold the now vacant share in pew 53 to Thomas Baillie, a merchant of Anderson's Court. He paid £3.
- (72) *ibid.*, The total received by the parish has been calculated to account for the £2 they were obliged to return to Emmerson when he left the parish.
- (73) St Catherine's VM, ii, 1693-1730, 3 February 1714[/15]; 27 March 1722[/23].
- (74) *ibid.*, 24 March 1725. Seat 30 was sold for £16, and 5/5d for the use of the poor; £1/3/0d was paid to a widow for a half share in seat 90, and 2/8½d for the poor; and the third seat was sold for £2 which was paid to the previous owner and 2/8½d for the poor.
- (75) St Michan's Memorial Book, 6 May, 1725.
- (76) St Mary's VM, i, 1699-1739, 19 September 1711. He was given pew 29 for £5/5/0d but refused to pay for the pew as he did not like it.
- (77) St Peter's VM, i, 1686-1736, 14 November 1720. The Vestry divided the rights to the seat between Lyons and Fielding.
- (78) St Luke's Church Wardens' Accounts 1716-1777, Church Wardens' Accounts 13 October 1716.
- (79) St Michan's Poor Accounts 1723-1729, 15 February 1725[/26]. 16 shifts, caps and gowns were given to 8 widows at a cost of £2/11/2d. It cost 1/9d to make 3 shifts, caps and gowns. The remainder were given free.
- (80) TCD MS 2062 . 'Extracts from St Andrew's Vestry minutes'. St Andrew's Easter Vestry 1680; 1682, and St John's VM i, 1660-1710, Church Wardens' Accounts 1683, and St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754, Easter Vestry 1678, July 1678, Easter Vestry 1679, 1684, 1685.
- (81) St John's VM, ii, 1711-1766, 1712, 1717.
- (82) St Mary's VM, i, 1699-1739, 16 April 1722.
- (83) Irish Statutes 7 Will. III, c.7 and 7 Will. III, c.9.
- (84) Barnard, T.C. 'Reforming Irish Manners: The Religious Societies in Dublin during the 1690s' *THJ*, 35, 4 (1992), pp805-838.
- (85) *ibid.*, p815.
- (86) TCD Mss 6448 Transcript of the Diary of the Reverend John Cook. Cook was a member of the Wood Street congregation.
- (87) St Michan's Poor Accounts 1723-1729, 11 February 1725[/26]. Two of the 5 constables received 8/4d each, 3 received 5/- each. This entry is interesting because it serves as a comment on the legislation enacted during the 1690s. Clearly sabbath breaking was regarded as more serious offence since the law continued to be implemented while the law on cursing fell into disuse.
- (88) St John's VM, i, 1660-1710, 11 June 1696. The money earned was distributed among the parish poor.
- (89) St Bride's Church Wardens' Account Book, Church Wardens' Accounts 1700.
- (90) St Catherine's VM, ii, 1693-1730, 29 January 1704. The Vestry instructed that an enquiry should be made into how much money has been earned, and how it has been spent; and St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754, Church Wardens' Accounts 1697; 1698; 1701-1710.

- (91) Barnard 'Reforming Irish Manners ...', p819. King complained of the difficulty in finding honourable men to serve as church wardens, constables and 'inquisitors'.
- (92) St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754, Church Wardens' accounts 1697, 1705, 1710.
- (93) St Bride's VM, i, 1662-1742, 23 June 1671. 15 payments were made, 2 parishioners received 1/2<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>d, 12 were paid 1/2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>d. John Berry, the beadle and Margaret Kennedy received 8d each.
- (94) *ibid.*, 21 November 1709.
- (95) *ibid.*, 10 January 1697[/98].
- (96) *ibid.*, Memorandum 1685. The church was rebuilt within two years.
- (97) *ibid.*, 10 January 1697[/98].
- (98) St Werburgh's Miscellaneous Papers 27.3.208. Will of Sir John Rogerson. These last two items were to be financed by rents on property leased from the Corporation in Salutation Alley, near Dame Street and inherited by his son John.
- (99) *ibid.*, Rogerson donated £100, plus £10 *per annum*, to King's Hospital.
- (100) St John's VM, i, 1662-1710, 1663.
- (101) Phillips, W.A.(ed.) *History of the Church of Ireland from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, i-iii, (London 1933) iii, pp128. A writ of licence was given to Convocation on 21 May 1661 granting the right to sit during the session of Parliament. The ordinances passed by Convocation had canonical validity. As a last resort the Privy Council would have been able to exercise some controls over the decisions passed in Convocation. See Appendix 2 for details of fees.
- (102) St John's VM, i, 1660-1710, 20 July 1675, Appendix 2
- (103) St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754, Church Wardens' Accounts: Edward Surdevile Accounts 1672-3; William Ormsby's Accounts 1677-8; John Kennedy's Accounts 1681.
- (104) St John's VM, i, 1662-1710, Church Wardens' Accounts 1674-5; 1677-78.
- (105) *ibid.*, 1697-98 and St Bride's Church Wardens' Accounts Book, Church Wardens' Accounts 1697-98.
- (106) St Catherine's VM, ii, 1693-1730, Church Wardens' Accounts, 1702, 1705, 1708 and St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754, Church Wardens' Accounts 1701; 1712; 1728.
- (107) Irish Statutes, 12 Geo. I, c. 9.
- (108) Barlow obtained a decree from the Court of the Exchequer against the minister and Matthew Barry, Clerk of the Privy Council who were the sureties.
- (109) St Luke's Church Wardens' Accounts 1716-1777. In 1717 the parish's gross income was £135/8/3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d. Seat sales earned £106/19/6d. In 1719 gross income was £96/14/2d. This had been raised by 2 cesses, levied at £58 and £40.
- (110) St Bride's VM, i, 1662-1742, 22 September 1690.
- (111) St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754, 19 January 1690[/91].
- (112) St John's Applotment Book, ii, 1696-1735, 1707[/08].
- (113) *JHC Ire.* ii, Bk II, Appendix p.ccliv, 1711.
- (114) St Catherine's VM, ii, 1693-1730, Church Wardens' Estimates 1729
- (115) St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754, June -October 1694. Levy passed by 16 votes to 7.
- (116) *ibid.*, Church Wardens' Accounts 1674 and St Bride's Church Wardens' Accounts Book 1663-1704, 1683.
- (117) St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754, Church Wardens' Accounts 1674.
- (118) St Bride's Church Wardens' Account Book 1663-1704, 1675.

- (119) St Catherine's VM, ii, 1693-1730, Church Wardens' Accounts 1702-3.
- (120) St Bride's Church Wardens' Account Book, 1663-1704, 1683, 1703.
- (121) St Catherine's VM, i, 1657-1692. Church Wardens' Accounts 1691. The cost to parish for bell ringing was £3/8/6d.
- (122) St Catherine's VM, i, 1657-1692, Church Wardens' Accounts 1687.  
Total receipts £36/4/4d, total rent revenues £17/16/4d.
- (123) *ibid.*, Church Wardens' Accounts 1702. Total receipts £140/5/0d, total rent revenues £24/6/4d.
- (124) St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754. Church Wardens' Accounts 1683, 1715. In 1683 total receipts £87/1/11d, total rent revenues £33/8/6d. In 1715 total receipts £130/11/0d, total rent revenues £50/12/7d.
- (125) St Catherine's VM, ii, 1693-1730. Estimates began in 1720. St Peter's VM, i, 1686-1736. Estimates began in 1728.
- (126) St Mary's VM, i, 1699-1739, 25 April 1709. Gore had previously been nominated to serve as an auditor in 1707.
- (127) *ibid.*, 25 April 1709, 5 March 1710[/11].
- (128) *ibid.*, 17 October 1722. Sisson and Brock were elected at Easter 1721.
- (129) *ibid.*, 28 February 1722[/23]. Report is dated 29 January 1722[/23], but entered into the Vestry minutes on the above date. Although several eminent citizens were nominated, including the Lord Chief Justice Thomas Whitshed, the examination was carried out by Alderman Surdeville, Thomas Kirkpatrick, Joseph Mirfield and Hugh White.
- (130) *ibid.*, 28 February 1722[/23]. The sidesmen refused to collect arrears of £130/1/3d which remained on a cess of £148/11/9d. A further £34/18/3d remained outstanding on a cess of £80.
- (131) *ibid.*, Three cesses £227/10/d + £148/11/9d + £80 = £456/1/9d  
Arrears £85/9/2d + £130/1/3d + £34/18/2d = £250/8/7d
- (132) *ibid.*, 13 August 1723. Church wardens were granted until 3 September to submit their accounts.
- (133) *ibid.*, 18 May 1702. The cess was originally calculated to raise £910/10/d. When levied and collected the parish actually raised £976/3/0d, but the sum of £26/10/0d was deducted to take into account the voluntary subscriptions made by the Attorney-General, Robert Rochford, and Mr Ludlow. The parish decided, where parishioners made already a voluntary contribution to the fund, to allow this to be deducted from their individual portion of the cess.
- (134) *JHC Ire.*, ii, Bk I, 21 October 1703, p343.
- (135) *ibid.*, 4 March 1703[/04], p414.
- (136) St Mary's VMs, i, 1699-1739, 3 October 1704. The Vestry was to meet on 11 October 1704 to make the £400 applotment. This was half the sum as the parish was entitled to raise £800.
- (137) *ibid.*, 7 December 1705. The sum was to be levied at 1½ times the yearly rate paid for Minister's Money.
- (138) *ibid.*, 28 July 1707; and *JHC Ire.*, ii, Bk I, 1707.
- (139) St Mary's VM, i, 1699-1739, 26 February 1710 [/11], 5 March 1710[/11]
- (140) *ibid.*, 23 January 1711[/12] Sir William Robinson had instituted legal proceedings in the High Court of Chancery against the parish for the recovery of £100 which he had lent towards the building of the church. The Vestry minutes do not say whether Robinson's debt was finally met.
- (141) *ibid.*, 23 December 1713, 5 March 1713[/14].

- (142) *ibid.*, 5 March 1713[/14].
- (143) *ibid.*
- (144) *ibid.*, 29 June 1722. The church wardens were to offer the Attorney-General a fee of two guineas. They were to ask him to study the Acts of Parliament and the Vestry minutes and to give an opinion as to how the parish might collect the outstanding debt, and whether the church wardens had the power to distrain.
- (145) *ibid.*, 10 October 1721.
- (146) *ibid.*, 13 November 1721.
- (147) *ibid.*
- (148) *ibid.*, 28 September 1722.
- (149) *ibid.*
- (150) *ibid.*, A collection fee of 9d in the £1 had been granted on 22 January, 1716, which raised £32/6/4½d.
- (151) *ibid.*, 28 September 1722.
- (152) *ibid.*, The Vestry reasoned that if Green's widow was entitled to £115 it should be used towards paying off her outstanding debt to the parish. The cess would be collected as if for Green's widow but given to Whinnery. The parish's overall debt to Whinnery was £273/6/2d.
- (153) *ibid.*, 4 November, 1726.
- (154) *JHC Ire.*, iii, Bk 1, 2 February 1727[/28] Thorne, another major creditor, had had difficulty extracting money from the parish. On 27 July, 1719, the parish had acknowledged it owed Thorne £468/16/7d. The following year, 1720, moves were made to repay Thorne £57/10/0d, but the Vestry minutes do not indicate when the major part of the debt was repaid.
- (155) *ibid.*, 15 February, 1727[/28] pp524-525. Under 1 Geo. II, c. 25, Section 20, Thorne's debt of £81/8/0d to William Camak, a Dublin merchant, was settled. The section states that Thorne had become bankrupt, but had then inherited money which had allowed him to repay all his debts apart from that owed to Camak. Camak had refused to allow the debt to be settled, but under the act was now obliged to accept repayment.
- (156) St Mary's VM 8 March, 1727[/28]; 2 May 1743.
- (157) Loeber, R. *A Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Ireland 1600-1720* (Dublin 1981) p36. Loeber states that Burgh began signing payments for the building of the church from 1716 onwards; also see St Werburgh's Miscellaneous Papers 27.3.173., 1720. Permission to rebuild had been granted in 1712 under 2 Geo. I, c.24
- (158) St Werburgh's Miscellaneous Papers 27.3. 96 The parish claimed to have received £5,254/12/7¾d. The parish, in stating the expected receipts, were following accepted accounting procedure. Accounts are made up on the expected receipts - the legal amount due such as the donation and the cess. Where the accounts differs from modern practice is that they record the anticipated sum to be made from subscriptions. In modern accountancy terms money not legally due, such as a subscription, would not be shown as a receivable in the accounts unless and until the money had actually been received.
- (159) *ibid.*, 27. 3.110. The king's donation, £2,000 was realised in full. This was raised by means of the sale of ground in Essex Street, the proceeds were then donated by the crown to St Werburgh's. The cess would appear to be a loose term

applied by the parish to both the quarter levy made on rents and to the cess levied in 1719. These had, apparently, raised £2,179/11/5¼d. Together this amounted to £4,179/11/5¼d, or 79.54% of the overall amount raised. A further £84/13/2½d was earned from the sale of materials taken from the old church, and a donation of £11/2/0d made by a judge of the Consistory Court. It had been hoped that subscriptions would raise a further £979/6/0d.

(160) TCD Ms 2062.

(161) St Werburgh's Miscellaneous Papers 27.3.110 1716. TCD Ms 2062. In both documents the full valuation returned, £9,416/14/0d, is identical. In 27.3.110 the sum struck off after complaint is £358/14/0d. In TCD Ms 2062 the struck off sum is £365/4/0d. The overall valuation recorded by TCD Ms 2062 is therefore £9,051/10/0d. For clarity of narrative I have chosen to quote the parochial source but it is impossible to be certain which of the two figures is correct.

(162) *ibid.*, 27.3.162.

(163) St Werburgh's VM, i, 1720-1780, This sum was not applotted until 24 April 1724.

(164) *ibid.*, Miscellaneous Papers 27.3.181, 7 September, 1720. The £1,000 cess had made between 3 July (the date quoted by the Vestry minutes) and 24 August, 1719 (the date quoted in this document), and after permission had been granted to raise the further £2,000. This had been made in June, 1719, therefore the £1,000 was not an additional sum the parish tried to raise but part of the grant made in June.

(165) *ibid.*, Total income £2,736/13/0d, arrears £795/6/0d.

(166) *ibid.*, Solvent arrears £337/11/6d, debts £916/13/11d.

(167) *ibid.*, 27.3.183.

(168) *ibid.*, 27.3.97. Four parishioners refused to pay. Rogerson's contribution had been fixed at £60, the other contributions were £10, £8, and £5, and the loss to the rebuilding fund was £83; see St Werburgh's VM, April 1724. Rogerson's contribution was nonetheless 'large' and in return the parish granted him a burial plot in the church yard.

(169) St Werburgh's Miscellaneous Papers 27.3.201. Among those listed were Mr George French £6, Mr Edward Lord £6/10/0d and Frederick Tench Esq. £4. These men were listed as solvent, no mention is made of the insolvent arrears the parish had been unable to collect. In 1720 these had stood at £184.

(170) *ibid.*, 27.3.192. The total number cessed is unknown.

(171) *ibid.*, The arrears were as follows:

Ward	Names	Arrears
St Werburgh Str	25	£76/8/0d
Skinner Row	32	£71/8/0d
Castle Str (N)	31	£40/8/10d
Castle Str (S)	37	£92/12/10½d
Copper Alley	51	£42/16/1½d
Cork Hill	17	£25/15/4d
Essex Str	43	£60/6/9½d.

(172) *ibid.*

(173) *ibid.*, 27.3.201: It is probable that the Roberts appointed to collect St Werburgh's debts was the same man appointed by St Mary's to fulfil similar duties



- (174) *ibid.*, 27.3.205: £618/17/4½d (62%) had been collected, £381/2/7½d was still outstanding.
- (175) *ibid.*, 27.3.213.
- (176) *ibid.*, 27.3.206 Undated. Greenway stated the materials for St Werburgh's had been bought fourteen months previously, and in order to carry on work he had been forced to borrow money. In c.1727, Greenway was owed an undisclosed sum of money plus £33. This was the remainder of a debt of £42 which had been owed by the parish on 9 May, 1726, when he had received £9.
- (177) *ibid.*, 27.3.192.
- (178) *ibid.*, 27.3.213.
- (179) *ibid.*
- (180) St Werburgh's VM, 14 June 1728.
- (181) Cullen, L.M. *An Economic History of Ireland since 1660* (London 1987) pp43-9.
- (182) *JHC Ire.*, iii, Bk I, pp96-8.
- (183) *ibid.*, The applotment levied by the parish was £250. Howe had refused to pay his cess of 50/-.
- (184) *ibid.*, Howe claimed the first Vestry was attended by the minister, Benjamin Hawkshaw, the church wardens and about nine parishioners. At the second Vestry there were eleven parishioners. Howe's care in enumerating those who attended the Vestries suggests he regarded these meetings as badly attended, certainly too small to truly reflect the general opinion within the parish.
- (185) *ibid.*
- (186) *ibid.*, There were several reasons for the tax's unpopularity. Firstly Howe claimed that the building accounts were faulty. He alleged that Anthony Whiteside, a plumber, had been paid £75/6/0d for lead although little or no lead had been used in the church. Secondly only the 'Landlords and Tenants of the several Houses ... who had not paid towards the rebuilding ... should be taxed for raising a sum not exceeding £600'. This direction was ignored when the tax was entered into the Vestry book. By privately Howe meant without the knowledge and consent of the majority of parishioners. When applotments were made it was the accepted practice to agree on the rate at which the applotment was to be levied at a Vestry meeting. Howe's house, set to Mary Bell at £19 *per annum*, was cessed for £5/5/9d. He claimed that he should not have been obliged to pay this as he had already pay his contribution on the £400 applotment.
- (187) *ibid.*, Howe claimed Hawkshaw made a 'pretended new valuation' which increased the old valuation by £35 *per annum* although there were only approximately 90 houses in the parish.
- (188) *ibid.*, In Howe's case the new valuation led to Mary Bell being distressed for non-payment. It was claimed that when the distresses taken were valued by the church wardens they were valued at less than their true worth. Later the distresses were sold for a higher value, but the difference was not returned to Bell. The tenant therefore quit the house which then remained empty for three years. The minister and church wardens, however, continued to distrain the tenant for several years for arrears.
- (189) *ibid.*, pp96-8. On 25 October, the minister and church wardens had pretended further money was required. Unhappy with the building accounts the majority

- of parishioners had refused to pass the Vestry 'act' which would have allowed an applotment of £250 to be levied on the parish.
- (190) *ibid.*, An 'act' of Vestry had been passed granting access to the accounts. The parish found that only one tax, the first tax of £488/10/0d had been entered into the accounts.
- (191) *ibid.*, Much of the money raised in 1714 was given to the church warden William Kane, the minister's manager, for his private use, and to pay off tavern debts. In 1716 the money raised was to pay Kane's widow and to settle further tavern arrears.
- (192) *JHC Ire.*, iii, Bk I, 19 September 1717, p133. The enquiry was headed by William Wall and Richard Tighe.
- (193) St Bride's VM, i, 1662-1742, 2 February 1679[/80].
- (194) *ibid.*, 8 April, 1682. The tax was required to raise £260. Half was to be raised immediately, the remainder by 1 September.
- (195) *ibid.*, 1 December 1685.
- (196) *ibid.*, 6 November, 1691: The parish, that is the minister and church wardens, had entered into a bond of £340 for payment of the £170 on 1 February, 1686. The individuals were not personally liable as the bond had been entered into on behalf of the parish. The Vestry declared them to be 'emdemprisied and saved harmeless by the said pish'.
- (197) *ibid.*, 9 December 1692.
- (198) St John's VM, i, 1660-1710, 24 May 1680, 13 April 1681.
- (199) There is no evidence in the Vestry minutes of financial problems connected with the church's rebuilding. Had such difficulties been experienced they would probably have been recorded. The parish's rent arrears were well documented.
- (200) St Peter's VM, i, 1686-1736, A List of Benefactors, 23 March 1686.
- (201) *ibid.*
- (202) Cullen *An Economic History ...* pp21-5.
- (203) St John's Applotment Book, i, 1659-1696, 14 presentments were levied between 1665-1684.
- (204) *CARD*, iv, p505.
- (205) St Bride's VM, i, 1662-1742, 2 August 1673, 5 November 1673, 18 November 1673, 28 November 1673, 1 January 1673[/74], 2 January 1673[/74], 30 January 1673[/74], 6 March 1673[/74], 13 March 1673[/74], 19 March 1673[/74], 9 May 1674, 23 May 1674, 13 June 1674.
- (206) *ibid.*, 19 April 1677.
- (207) *ibid.*, Although the preamble to the applotment states that 14 presentments were levied, St John's note only 13. The total sum levied was £247/17/7d. The parish claimed 7 presentments for the first warrant of £173, but only 6 are itemised and the sum they were required to raise was £173/17/7d. A further 7 presentments were made for a second warrant of £74.
- (208) St Michan's Applotment Book, i, 1711-1725.
- (209) St Michan's Applotment Book 1711-1725.
- (210) St Mary's VM, i, 1699-1739, 15 March 1724[/25].
- (211) *ibid.*, 9 October 1724.
- (212) St Bride's VM, i, 1662-1742, 29 May 1723. Arrears amounted to £5/1/6d.
- (213) St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754, Memorandum 1729.
- (214) Estimates of the contributions made by other parishes can be calculated from the figures in Table 3:10, p167.

- (215) St Paul's VM, i, 1698-1750, 16 December 1702.
- (216) Monck Mason, Vol. III/68.
- (217) St Nicholas Without Applotment Book, i, 1707-1725. St Peter's parish incorporated part of the Liberty of St Sepulchre. A similar distinction in valuation may therefore have operated in that parish.
- (218) TCD Ms 2062.
- (219) *ibid.*, The exact figure is impossible to calculate as the parish does not record its contribution for the £90 presentment.
- (220) Monck Mason Papers, Vol. III/69. St Werburgh's contribution to the presentment was £55/3/0d.
- (221) St John's Applotment Book, ii, 1696-1735. 16 warrants were levied on the parish.
- (222) *ibid.*, and TCD Ms 2062. In a presentment for £10 to buy a ducking stool, St Bride's paid 14/3½d, St John's 13/-.
- (223) St John's Applotment Book, ii, 1696-1735.
- (224) *ibid.*
- (225) St Michan's Applotment Book, i, 1711-1725, Presentments 1722[/23] and St John's Applotment Book, ii, 1696-1735, Presentments 1722[/23].
- (226) St Paul's VM, i, 1698-1750, 16 December 1702. The parish disputed the assessment of the parish's size because they claimed 'Channel Roe' had been made part of St Paul's. This was wrong according to the parish who stated Channel Row lay 'wholly' in St Michan's.
- (227) St Catherine's VM, ii, 1693-1730, 17 April 1716.
- (228) TCD Ms 2062, 'Extracts from St Andrew's Vestry minutes 1669-1754, 14 April 1726.
- (229) *ibid.*, 14 April 1726. There is no record of the outcome of the court case. The church wardens had also decided to co-operate on other matters and to try to improve street lighting and the cleanliness of the city streets.
- (230) St Michan's VM, i, 1724-1760, 7 December 1725.
- (231) *JHC Ire.*, ii, Bk I, 13 October 1703, p335.
- (232) *ibid.*, The enquiry had been prompted by the apparent misapplication of presentment money in Cork.
- (233) *ibid.*, 21 October 1703, 26 May 1705. Irish Statutes 4 Anne, c.6.
- (234) *JHC Ire.*, ii, Bk I, 22 December 1665.
- (235) *ibid.*, 31 July 1666.
- (236) *ibid.*, 26 January 1698[/99]. Irish Statutes 10 Will. III, c.3. Leinster's portion was £10,050 in every £30,000.
- (237) TCD Ms 2062 St Bride's charge was £85/7/3d. St John's Applotment Book, ii, 1696-1735.
- (238) Monck Mason Papers, Vol. I/62, pp191-2.
- (239) St Catherine's VM, i, 1657-1692, 7 July 1658 and St John's VM, i, 1660-1710, 21 April 1663.
- (240) St Catherine's VM, i, 1657-1692, Church Wardens' Accounts 1664, 1665. In 1664 a cess of £115/9/9d was levied to pay the minister a stipend of £100. The extra money applotted may have been to pay the collector. In some cases the parish stated a collector was to be paid a fee. On 18 April 1682 St Bride's appointed Stephen Jones collector and allowed him 6d in every £1 collected.
- (241) St Werburgh's Miscellaneous Papers 27.3.35; and 27.3.36.

- (242) TCD Ms 1473/62-108, St Bride's. Prior to the Restoration the minister, James Carey had been paid to preach in English and Irish. In 1655 his salary was £60 *per annum*. This was raised to £80 *per annum* in 1656. He was then sent to Cork.
- (243) Simms, J.G 'The Jacobite Parliament of 1689' in *War and Politics in Ireland 1649-1730* Hayton, D.W. and O'Brien, G. (eds.) ( London 1986) pp65-90, p77
- (244) St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754, 12 December 1689.
- (245) St Michan's Common Place Book.
- (246) While the provisions of the act are discussed here in relation to Dublin, the provisions applied to every corporate town in Ireland.
- (247) An explanation for the greater number of valuations in St Peter's may be the extent of new building which was being undertaken within the parish.
- (248) St Michan's Common Place Book: valuations in 1668; 1677; 1680; 1692; 169?; 1702; 1705; 1709; 1714; 1721 and 1725. and TCD Mss 2062 In a similar period of time, 1667-1724, St Bride's held 7 valuations. The total overall value was £6,245.
- (249) *ibid.*
- (250) St Michan's Common Place Book.
- (251) *ibid.*
- (252) St Michan's VM, i, 1724-1760, Everard served as church warden 1724-5. He had previously served as church warden of Finglas parish between 1711-13.
- (253) St Michan's Common Place Book. The warehouses were valued at £57/10/0d.
- (254) *ibid.*, Bayly's valuations amounted to £50.
- (255) *ibid.*, The thatched cabins were valued at £1 each. This was the minimum valuation given by all the parishes throughout the city.
- (256) *ibid.*, The total value for those houses excluded from the valuation was £271/10/0d. For the minister, this represented £13/11/6d in lost income. Five of the empty houses were valued at £18 each; one at £14. Two of these, built by Dr Martin were in Bull Lane; the remainder were in Ann Street.
- (257) *ibid.*, Valuations 101-104. No date is given for Martin's purchase of the house, however, the previous valuation had taken place in 1718. The location of the houses is not stated but they are said to be 'adjoining' the previously mentioned house, and since this was identified as being in Bull Lane it is presumed that Martin's houses were also located there.
- (258) *ibid.*, Notes had been made on the houses left out of the previous valuation. Valuation 94 stated an applotment had been collected on the property on 1 June 1725. Martin must have completed the work between 1718 and 1725.
- (259) St Catherine's VM, i, 1657-1692, 26 May 1667, and St Bride's VM, i, 1662-1742, 2 April 1667.
- (260) St Mary's VM, i, 1699-1739, 13 August 1723. There were also arrears in the Watch Account, the Poor Account and in parish cesses.
- (261) *ibid.*, 25 November 1695.
- (262) St Michan's Applotment Book 1711-1725.
- (263) See Chapter 1.
- (264) St Michan's Common Place Book. The entry shows that '...House money per bk [was] £174/16/9d...', 67.97% of the overall value of the prebend.
- (265) *ibid.*, Book dues were worth £20/3/11d; rents were worth £32; the vicar's dividend was worth £27/4/8d, and the salary from Christ Church was £3.

(266) *ibid.*, In 1721 these amounted to £15/6/9d. Therefore overall deductions amounted to £60.6.9d, or 23% of the original total of £257/4/4d. Although St John's deducted the salaries of the curate and reader from the value of the cure it was more normal practice include these salaries in the church wardens' expenses.

(267) See Chapter 7.

(268) In St Michael's between 1670-1711 the increase was approximately 250%.

#### Chapter 4: Notes to pages 163-212

(1) *CARD*, iv, p212.

(2) *ibid.*, vi, p90.

(3) Robins, J. *The Lost Children. A Study of Charity Children in Ireland, 1700-1900* (reprint Dublin 1987), p11.

(4) Whiteside, L. *A History of The King's Hospital* (Dublin 2nd edition 1985), p1. *CARD*, vi, p296.

(5) *CARD*, vii, Appendix p576.

(6) Dickson, D. 'In Search of the Old Irish Poor Law' *Economy and Society in Scotland and Ireland*. (Edinburgh 1988) pp149-59. An English act, 33 Hen. VIII, c.15 empowered magistrates and constables to register the impotent poor to beg within the boundaries of one parish. All beggars caught straying beyond the parish's limits were liable to punishment. All able-bodied beggars were liable to be detained in the stocks. The application of the legislation was inconsistent until the 1620s.

(7) *ibid.*, p149.

(8) *CARD*, ii, p390. Carie's petition had proposed the building of either a 'hospital' for the relief for sick and maimed soldiers as well as other poor, or a Bridewell, which would be used to punish 'idell and loose persons and badd livers'; and *CARD*, iii, p181, p225, p292. It would seem that this was the same house of correction as the one in use in the city during Strafford's time.

(9) Irish Statutes, 10 & 11 Chas. I, c. 4. Dickson, D. 'In Search of the Old Irish Poor Law' ... , p 149. Although attempts to extend such institutions to the provinces during the Commonwealth period were unsuccessful, the idea of engaging the idle poor in work was to survive into the Restoration.

(10) Irish Statutes, 17 & 18 Chas. II, c.7; and Dickson: 'In Search of the Old Irish Poor Law' ... , p150.

(11) *CARD*, iv, p459: A committee was formed to select an appropriate site upon which to build the hospital. The decision to raise building funds by public subscription may have been influenced by the fact that £200 had been contributed towards the scheme at the time the proposal was presented to the Assembly. Fund raising by means of public subscription was always a popular option, but the city may also have felt the scheme would be more sympathetically supported if it were not accompanied by obligatory taxation.

(12) *ibid.*, iv, p492. Also see Whiteside: *A History of The King's Hospital* p8. The method of funding its building did not change.

(13) English Statutes 13 & 14 Chas. II, c.12.

(14) Macfarlane, S. 'Social policy and the poor in the later seventeenth century' *The Making of the Metropolis, London 1500-1700*, (London 1986) pp252-277, p258. *Corporation instituted for the Relief of the Poor, and for punishing vagabonds and sturdy beggars in Dublin* (Dublin 1774) A Corporation for the

Relief of the Poor did not meet in Dublin until 3 August, 1772. The first meeting was held at the Tholsel and the parishes were very much involved. They formed a committee to ascertain those unable to maintain themselves. It was the efforts of the Corporation which led to the founding of the House of Industry, opened on Channel Row on 8 November, 1773.

- (15) St Bride's Church Wardens' Accounts 1663-1704, Church Wardens' Accounts 1681.
- (16) *CARD*, v, Appendix pp586-7.
- (17) *ibid.*,
- (18) *ibid.*, Any badged beggars found begging beyond the limits of their parish were to be similarly treated. A reward of 1/- for every beggar apprehended was offered.
- (19) *ibid.*, v, p282: In 1682 George Wattson and William Staples were each paid £10 *per annum* to act against the city's numerous beggars.
- (20) *ibid.*, v, p457.
- (21) *ibid.*, v, 31 May 1688, p477.
- (22) *ibid.*, v, p477 A committee was to be appointed to supervise the building.
- (23) Irish Statutes 10 & 11 Chas. I, c. 4.
- (24) *CARD*, v, 4 October, 1688, p486.
- (25) *ibid.*, v, p498 and vi, p179 and p218.
- (26) *ibid.*, vi, pp90.
- (27) *ibid.*
- (28) *ibid.*, v, pp90. The statutes the Corporation felt needed to be more strictly implemented were 33 Hen. VIII, c.15, and 10 & 11 Chas. I, c.4.
- (29) *JHC Ire.*, ii, Bk 1 1692-1713, 11 October 1695, p89.
- (30) St Catherine's VM, ii, 1693-1730, 20 December 1696. The parish was divided into 10 wards, with 4 assessors appointed to serve in each ward.
- (31) *JHC Ire.*, ii, Bk 1, 4 September 1697, p185.
- (32) *ibid.*, 7 August, 1697, p178.
- (33) *ibid.*, 24 and 25 September 1697, p209.
- (34) *ibid.*, 30 November 1697 p232; 21 October 1698, p253.
- (35) Moody, T.W., Martin, F.X., Byrne, F.J.(eds.) *A New History Of Ireland* (Oxford 1982), viii, William III was succeeded by Anne on 8 March, 1702. The first session of Anne's Parliament met between 21 September 1703 and 4 March 1704. *JHC Ire.*, ii, Bk I: 2 October 1703, p326; 21 October 1703, p343; 15 February 1703[/04], p395; 4 March 1703[/04], p414.
- (36) Macfarlane 'Social policy and the poor ...' p252.
- (37) *ibid.*, p260. Also Barnard, T.C. 'Reforming Irish Manners: The Religious Societies in Dublin During the 1690s' *THJ* 35, 4, 1992. This article shows how a similar movement developed in Dublin. The ideas behind the movement were brought back by Irish clerics who had fled the country for the safety of England during James II's reign.
- (38) Macfarlane 'Social policy and the poor ...' p261. The Board of Trade was formed in 1696. It considered ways to employ the poor and conducted a survey of poor rates. It also drafted proposals for legislation, but offered no recommendations for comprehensive reform. Instead it concentrated on the stricter enforcement of existing legislation.
- (39) *ibid.*, pp261-3. The newly established Corporation was founded on the 1662 statute.

- (40) *ibid.*, pp262-3. Among the other causes for the failure were the difficulties which arose when trying to persuade constables to enforce laws against begging and vagrancy.
- (41) *ibid.*, p263.
- (42) *ibid.*
- (43) Irish Statutes, 2 Anne, c.19. The right to erect a workhouse was confined to Dublin.
- (44) *ibid.*, section vi.
- (45) 'Hheads for proceeding to consult the Ministers of the Several parishes, to know what objections they have against a new Poor Bill, employing the Work-house under new regulations'. Many of these children were sheltered by relatives or friends who were in service. They provided shelter for the vagabonds, as they were called, in the cellars and stables. During the day the boys blacked shoes, or acted as porters or news criers.
- (46) Irish Statutes, 2 Anne, c.19, section iv.
- (47) Dickson, D.' In Search of the Old Irish Poor Law' ... pp149-159, p151. The cost quoted by Dickson is £9,000, however, in the *Workhouse Dublin: The Report of the Lord Mayor [Francis Stoyte] and the seven assistants of their proceedings for the year ending the fourth day of June 1705* (Dublin 1705) The cost of the workhouse is listed as follows: Charge for building for lodgings, workhouses and Great Hall £6,000; For Infirmary & apartment for lunatics £2,000; Necessary inside furniture, stock of hemp, flax, total £2,500. Total charge £10,500.
- (48) *The Report on the workhouse ... 1705*
- (49) TCD Ms 1995-2008, King Papers, 1995-2008/1161 Stoyte to King, 9 June 1705.
- (50) *ibid.*, 1995-2008/1164 Stoyte to King 19 June 1705.
- (51) 'Statement concerning admissions to the Work-house during the years 1706 to 1710'.
- (52) *ibid.*, Each parish was to obtain a set of rules concerning collection of poor money from the Tholsel. The rules were then to be entered into the Vestry Book, and all account books were to be submitted for examination. No church warden would be excused from his responsibilities for the poor money accounts until all the arrears which had accrued during his year of service had been collected. Finally, in future, church wardens were to collect poor money every month and pay it to the Receiver of workhouse money.
- (53) TCD Ms 750, King Papers, 750/3/2/138, King to Duchess of Ormond, 8 July 1707. King hoped that the Common Hall, which had been the 'most Expensive' to build, would be completed by the summer. Little progress, however, had been made on the two wings which fronted on to the street, and it would be some time before they were finished.
- (54) *ibid.*, the Treasurer had been paid £8,258/14/8d for the use of the workhouse. Some subscribers had not yet paid their subscription and funds were very hard to collect.
- (55) *ibid.*, 750/3/2/157-158, King to Duchess of Ormond, 8 November 1707.
- (56) 'Statement concerning ... Work-house ... 1706 to 1710', When the workhouse had first opened it had taken in 20 boys. In January 1706, 124 vagrants had been removed from the streets. On 25 September the church wardens had placed 180 poor in the workhouse from a total figure of 310.

- (57) St Mary's VM, i, 1699-1739, 1 February, 1709[/10]. Authority and the parishes were to remain at odds over the right of admission to the workhouse. St Mary's had stated that Jane Welsh 'one of three Poor Women disordered in their understanding & burdensome to their Neighbours in vain recommended by the Church Wardens to the Lord Mayor to be admitted into the Poor House'.
- (58) Accounts of the City Work-house AD 1710, Dublin, Seven parishes owed over £100. It was this type of double taxation which had aroused such discontent in London.
- (59) *JHC Ire.*, iii, Bk I, 21 December 1727, p490.
- (60) *ibid.*, iii, Bk 2 Appendix p. cccxxiii. The governors met at the Tholsel rather than the workhouse itself, so the poor were never thoroughly inspected. Those charged with the workhouse's general management had not met for eleven years, and Higgison, the master of the workhouse, had been appointed without giving any security and had absconded with £3,000 of the workhouse's money.
- (61) *ibid.*, There were 44 men, 69 women, 51 boys and 65 girls in the workhouse.
- (62) *ibid.*, From 1 May, 1704 to 11 June, 1725 total revenue £38,323/11/7¼d; total expenditure £38,226/6/0¼d.
- (63) 'A list of the poore in the City Workhouse from their several Parishes With their Age & Qualitys March 20th day 1725-6'.
- (64) *ibid.*, The workhouse housed 110 children, 93 of whom were described as 'sound'.
- (65) *ibid.*, St Anne's had 6 children in the workhouse, St Mary's had 15 children. A similar number, 15, had been placed in the workhouse on the orders of the Lord Mayor.
- (66) TCD Ms 750, King Papers, 750/8/96, King to Joseph Kane 10 May 1726.
- (67) *JHC Ire.*, iii, Bk1, 21 December 1727, p490.
- (68) *ibid.*, 6 May 1728, p570.
- (69) TCD Ms 750, King Papers, 750/9/41, King to Paul 19 January 1727[/28].
- (70) *ibid.*, This task, King suggested, should be undertaken by the ministers and church wardens who could return accounts of those registered on poor lists. King does not say how the categories should be drawn up, but does offer suggestions by listing those entitled to parish poor relief 'the superannuated, the lame, the blind, the disabled and the children.'
- (71) *ibid.*, King suggested that people might become more selective and choose who to help. Contributions might also become smaller.
- (72) *JHC Ire.*, iii, Bk1, 16 December 1729, p620.
- (73) *ibid.*, 3 January 1729, p108, pp115-6.
- (74) St Michan's Common Place Book. 349 were registered as resident in the workhouse on the 5 October, 1730. The residents were categorised as follows -
- |                   |     |       |     |       |     |
|-------------------|-----|-------|-----|-------|-----|
| Superannuated Men | 41, | Women | 56, | Total | 97  |
| At Work Men       | 24, | Women | 29, | Total | 6   |
| At Work Boys      | 51, | Girls | 50, | Total | 101 |
| At School Boys    | 55, | Girls | 33, | Total | 88. |
- (75) *ibid.*, p194 and p223. See Table 4:14 & 4:15. The numbers returned as resident on 20 March, 1730 were as follows -
- |                      |     |
|----------------------|-----|
| Superannuated        | 82  |
| Reduced Gentlewomen  | 5   |
| Watts Boys and Girls | 64  |
| In ye Kitchen        | 13  |
| Knitters             | 55  |
| Children at school   | 99. |



- (76) Irish Statutes 3 Geo. II, c.17, section vi.
- (77) *ibid.*, 5 Geo. II, c.14. New legislation was required as the earlier statute had expired.
- (78) *The Case of the Foundlings of the City of Dublin; humbly recommended to the Consideration of Parliament.* (Dublin 17-- ?)
- (79) *ibid.*
- (80) Swift, J. *A Proposal for Giving Badges to the Beggars in All the Parishes of Dublin*, (London 1737).
- (81) Dickson, 'In Search of the Old Irish Poor Law'... p151. As Chapter 2 shows the parishes did appoint overseers for the poor indicating some poor relief must have been given. Also Carlow VM, i, 1669-1762, no date is given for the collection made in 1686-87, but the entry appears on page 38 of the minutes. 11 April 1699, poor pensioners listed.
- (82) *CARD*, iv, p501.
- (83) *ibid.*, vi, p342. Grey also had to give security if good behaviour and promise not to keep a Catholic school in the future.
- (84) *ibid.*, vi, p361: Abraham was the son of John Eastwood the city's Lord Mayor in 1679-80.
- (85) *ibid.*, vii, p307.
- (86) *ibid.*, vii, p314.
- (87) *ibid.*, vii, p314.
- (88) St John's Applotment Book 1659-1696, 7 June 1684, July 1692.
- (89) There is no mention of either the 1684 or 1692 levies in either the *JHC* or *CARD*, but it would seem that the instigators were the City. *CARD*, vii, pp301; pp341; pp380; pp411; pp450. The highest expenditure was 1727 when £579 was spent on alms and gifts. The lowest was 1725 when £457/15/0d was spent on gifts and alms.
- (90) St Bride's VM, i, 1662-1742, 29 October 1672.
- (91) St John's VM, i, 1659-1710, 11 August 1687.
- (92) St Bride's Church Wardens' Accounts 1663-1704, Church Wardens' Accounts (John Pue and William Pleydell)1673-1674, p26. For a complete breakdown of how the money collected from the various collections was spent see pp30.
- (93) *ibid.*, Church Wardens' Accounts 1673-4
- (94) These very limited examples would appear to indicate that the parishes gave preference to the poor who were willing to conform. The lack of poor relief records for the seventeenth century means it is impossible to test the theory further. Records for the eighteenth century, however, give the impression that little had changed in the distribution of relief from the previous century. After 1700, the parishes start to note where relief has been given, particularly to converted Catholic priests. St Michan's Poor Accounts 22 April, 1726 Joseph O'Hara, converted priest 5/5d. St Paul's VM 14 January, 1705 Brian Dempsey and Thomas Rogers received a portion of £6/10/0d applotted on parishioners. Thereafter they and Mr Lawlor, James Michan and Patrick Kelly are recorded by St Paul's (from 1708[/09]) and St Peter's (from 1732) respectively, as receiving regular salaries of £10 *per annum* from money raised by public presentments. Perhaps it was hoped such public reward for conformity would encourage others to follow suit.
- (95) *ibid.*, 21 April 1671. Burne was fortunate, the loss of pension was only temporary, and later that year he was once more a recipient of parochial charity. On 23

June 1671 Burne along with fourteen other parish pensioners, the beadle had benefited from Lady Phillips' legacy. Burne remained a pensioner until Easter 1674.

- (96) *ibid.*, Poor List 17 December 1674.
- (97) *ibid.*, Poor List 21 December 1675.
- (98) *ibid.*, 24 April, 1685. The committee were to write their findings on the back of each petition. The findings would then be considered by the Vestry, who would then decide on the correct action to be taken.
- (99) Ferguson, J.A. *A Comparative Study of Urban Society in Edinburgh, Dublin and London in the late Seventeenth Century* Unpublished University of St Andrews PhD 1981, Chapter 5, St Bartholomew's.
- (100) Macfarlane 'Social policy and the poor ...' p253.
- (101) Ferguson *A Comparative Study ... Edinburgh ...*, Chapter 3, Canongate, pp151-3.
- (102) *ibid.*, p121.
- (103) *ibid.*, p169 In Canongate, the Scottish parish examined by Ferguson, the hiring out of the mortcloth at funerals proved very profitable. The cost varied according to status, but the usual charge was £1. The rich were, of course, charged a higher fee. Between November 1689 and November 1690 the cloth was used 91 times and raised £268/16/0d. Fasts were also organised as a means of raising money.
- (104) Vaisey, D. *The Diary of Thomas Turner 1754-1765* (Oxford 1985), p267.
- (105) Ferguson *A Comparative Study ... Edinburgh ...* p292 As in Canongate collections were taken at the door which meant it was difficult for parishioners to avoid making some contribution. Although not large, such collections were on a par with those received in Canongate. The funeral pall was rented out for not less than 10/-. Pew sales in both London and Edinburgh were not particularly profitable. Fines were a more reliable source of income. The minimum fine for non-service as a church warden was £11. In Dublin it was never more than £10.
- (106) St Catherine's VM, i, 1657-1692, 22 May 1665. 17 assessors were nominated, 5 plus the church wardens were required to serve. On 7 June, 1666, £50 was apportioned for the maintenance of the poor.
- (107) *CARD*, iii, p251; and iv, p19; and St John's Applotment Book, i, 1659-1696, Poor Cess 1662 .
- (108) St Catherine's VM, i, 1657-1692, 7 June 1666. The church wardens' accounts show payments were made to and for the poor. In 1678, the church wardens spent 14/6d burying several poor people who had died in the street. Unlike the parishes in Table 4:5 St Catherine's did not record the parish pensioners or their pensions.
- (109) St John's Applotment Book, i, 1659-1696, Poor Accounts 1669. A further £1/3/11d was earned by 'sundries'.
- (110) *ibid.*, The sums expended were as follows: on weekly allowances for poor pensioners £16/5/0d; on salaries £11; on nursing fees £7/13/0d; on incidentals £2/16/10d; to Jane Howell for butchers' stalls £4/10/0d. Total expenditure £42/4/10d. The parish was therefore in debt to the church wardens for £5/0/11d.
- (111) St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754, Church Wardens' Accounts 1680.
- (112) *ibid.*

- (113) St Bride's VM, i, 1662-1742, 24 & 25 October 1687.
- (114) St John's VM, i, 1660-1710, 4 December, 1688. A complaint made by several parishioners that the poor cess had been drawn up irregularly, and their refusal to pay their cesses is an example of how parishioners might try to evade the tax.
- (115) *ibid.*, Church Wardens' Accounts 1663, and St John's Applotment Book, i, 1659-1696, 29 April 1673 Arrears of £26/19/2d were recorded.
- (116) St Catherine's VM, i, 1657-1692, Church Wardens' Accounts 1676-1677.
- (117) St John's Applotment Book, i, 1659-1696, Poor Accounts 1679.
- (118) *ibid.*, Poor Accounts 1678. For further evidence of distraint see Chapter 3.
- (119) MacCaffery, W.T. *Exeter, 1540-1640: The Growth of an English Town*, (London 1975) p111. In 1536, under 27 Hen. VIII, c.25, alms were to be collected weekly by the church wardens and given to the impotent poor. This act was expanded in 1552 when, under 5 & 6 Edw. VI, c.2, two alms collectors were nominated for each parish. These collectors had to register the weekly recipients. All those who were reluctant to contribute were to be hauled before the bishop and reasoned with. In 1563 this provision was extended. All those who declined to be persuaded by the bishop were to be bound over to appear before a Justice of the Peace and were liable to imprisonment if they refused to be bound. The Justice could commit those who refused to pay their assessment to prison.
- (120) St Bride's VM, i, 1662-1742, 7 November 1692, The parish levied a poor cess of £45 to be spent on the poor 'above what is collected every Lords day for that purpose'.
- (121) St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754, Church Wardens' Accounts 1681.
- (122) St Werburgh's Miscellaneous Papers 27.3.40. 22 July 1660 - 17 February 1660[/61]
- (123) *ibid.*, Crean was one of the parishioners who had suffered from fire.
- (124) St Bride's Church Wardens' Accounts 1663-1704, Church Wardens' Accounts 1673-1674. Distribution of collections made by John Pue and William Playdell, Church Wardens' Accounts 1673-74, p28 and St Bride's VM, i, 1662-1742, 18 October, 1683.
- (125) *ibid.*, Church Wardens' Accounts 1673, opposite p29. In the entry described as 'Father'. He received a sickness benefit of 13/-. The shroud cost 5/4d.
- (126) St Catherine's VM, i, 1657-1692, 22 March, 1686. The seat had been occupied by Thomas and William Litchfield. In 1678 Robert Samms had paid £3/9/0d for the pew rights and £1/5/6d for the poor. The church wardens had spent £1/3/0d upon the poor and 2/6d remained in their hands for the use of the church wardens. See Church Wardens' Accounts 1679.
- (127) St Bride's VM, i, 1662-1742, 23 June 1671. The final outlay on 14 pensioners was 18/0¼d.
- (128) St John's Applotment Book, i, 1659-1696, Church Wardens' Accounts 1679.
- (129) St Bride's Church Wardens' Accounts, 1663-1704, 5 June, 1692. The cost of coal plus carriage was £3/4/0d, the parish having spent £2/17/0d on coal. The amount of coal each parishioners received varied, some received 2 barrels, some none. The majority received 1 barrel. Similarly the cash paid to each of the parishioners varied.
- (130) St Catherine's VM, i, 1657-1692, Church Wardens' Revenues 1677-80.
- (131) St Bride's VM, i, 1662-1742, 11 July 1678.

- (132) *ibid.*, 25 December 1681.
- (133) *ibid.*, 15 May 1681. 7 parishioners were registered as badged poor, 5 women and 2 men. The church wardens' accounts show the parish issued 16 badges in 1681.
- (134) *ibid.*, 6 December 1683.
- (135) St Bride's Church Wardens' Accounts 1663-1704, Church Wardens' Accounts 1683. The accounts show 3/- was spent for a Vestry meeting convened in 1672[/73] to discuss a poor house. No further reference to one appears in the Vestry minutes until 7 April 1683. The legacy was added to other legacies left to the parish for 'pious use'.
- (137) *ibid.*, 6 August 1683. St Bride's Church Wardens' Accounts 1663-1704, 10 December 1683. Mr Butler's legacy had been supplemented by another legacy of £20 and by 45 voluntary subscriptions which amounted to £56/1/1d. St Bride's VM, i, 9 December 1691. Barlow sued the parish for debt. He had been engaged in rebuilding the church and the debt was probably in relation to this rather than to the poor house. John Barlow's will shows that despite debts from the parish of St Bride's, he died a wealthy man. Apart from his occupation as a mason, he had brewing and property interests.
- (138) St Bride's Church Wardens' Accounts 1663-1704, Church Wardens' Accounts 1673-1674 respectively. St Bride's VM, i, 1662-1742, Poor Accounts 25 March 1676.
- (139) Finglas VM, i, 1657-1758, 1684. Jefferys had presented the parish with a letter signed by William King requesting the parish to provide her with assistance and adding that if the help were not forthcoming the woman might become a burden to the parish.
- (140) St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754, Church Wardens' Accounts 1680.
- (141) MacCaffrey *Exeter, 1540-1640 ...*, pp90-91: The fear of the stranger was long established. In 1560, no resident in Exeter was permitted to give dwelling space to a newcomer until the newcomer had been examined by the ward alderman. The alderman was to enquire into the purpose of the newcomer's visit and his reason for leaving his previous place of residence. Dyer, A.D. *The City of Worcester in the Sixteenth Century*, (Leicester 1973) p171, In 1562, in Worcester, the bailiff's permission was required before strangers could rent property worth 10/- or less. By 1573 regular reports had to be made by the ward constables to the bailiffs on all tenants of houses rented for less than 13/4d *per annum*.
- (142) St John's Applotment Book, i, 1659-1696, Poor Accounts 1675-76. St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754, Church Wardens' Accounts 1689.
- (143) St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754, Church Wardens' Accounts 1681, 1689.
- (144) St Bride's Church Wardens' Accounts 1663-1704, 1674, opposite p29.
- (145) St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754, Church Wardens' Accounts 1683, 1689.
- (146) *ibid.*, Church Wardens' Accounts 1688.
- (147) St Bride's VM, i, 1662-1742, 3 April 1671. Kelshall was to be paid 2/- a week for looking after the child who was to remain in her care until Easter; and St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754, Church Wardens' Accounts 1688-89. The Lord Mayor, Sir Thomas Hacket, forced the parish to assume responsibility for a child left on the parish. In 1688-89 the parish spent £3/15/0d on its maintenance.

- (148) St Bride's VM, i, 1662-1742, 9 April 1672. Mary Ollard another parish child received a pension of £2/10/0d.
- (149) *ibid.*, 3 April 1673. Nicholson's nurse was paid £2/10/0d. No payments were made after 1673.
- (150) St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754, 23 May 1678
- (151) *ibid.*, 17 April 1682. The parish gives no indication of the trades followed by William Peters and Rowland Taylor. Peters served as a sidesman in 1702-3 and as a church warden in 1705-6. In the case of Mary Connor, the parish added the proviso 'if alive' which underlines the fragility of infant life at that time.
- (152) St Werburgh's Miscellaneous Papers, 27 3.76. Indenture dated 6 April, 1686.
- (153) St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754, 21 April 1679.
- (154) St Bride's Church Wardens' Accounts 1663-1704, 8 June 1674. St Bride's VM, i, 1662-1742, 9 June, 1679. The parish's ploy failed. Davis continued to be maintained by the parish from Good Friday and Easter Sunday collections until 1679 when she was taken in by her friends.
- (155) St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754, Poor Accounts 1681.
- (156) St Bride's Church Wardens' Accounts 1663-1704, Church Wardens' Accounts 1680. The legal expenses included the taking out and serving of a warrant on a smith in George's Lane. Paying for coach travel to Ringsend for the offender, Alderman Reader and the church wardens. The parish had also paid for nursing care until the father had been found.
- (157) *ibid.*, Church Wardens' Accounts 1683. Travelling 'over the water' meant crossing the River Liffey. In 1683, 81% of the budget was spent on the poor.
- (158) The King's Hospital Ms 2, The Hospital & Free School of King Charles ye Second, Dublin, A Book of Lawes, Orders, etc.: The benefactors who nominated boys included Sir Francis Brewster, the City of Dublin, the Trinity Guild and the Corporations of Cordwainers and Coopers.
- (159) *ibid.*, St Michan's, St John's and St Andrew's each placed two boys. The remaining three parishes placed one boy each.
- (160) St John's Applotment Book, i, 1659-1696, Accounts of John Hyde and Thomas Simkin, 1675-76: The entry reads 'Paid for Entering in too boys to the Hospitall £6.'
- (161) Whiteside *A History of the King's Hospital*, pp1-23. Four girls were also admitted as pupils, but they remained in the school for only a brief period.
- (162) All the parishes named such children either by giving the name of the parish in which they were found, or by giving them the surname of the person who had found them, or the name of the street in which they had been found.
- (163) St Bride's VM, i, 1662-1742, 24 December 1667. Fitzgerald's wife was not named as a nurse, but she was employed in 1668. The poor list shows she was paid 10/- for keeping a child which subsequently died.
- (164) St John's Applotment Book, i, 1659-1696, Poor Accounts 1666.
- (165) *ibid.*, Poor Accounts 1669; 1673.
- (166) St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754, Poor Accounts 1671.
- (167) St John's VM, i, 1660-1710, 25 May 1680.
- (168) St Paul's VM, i, 1698-1750, *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers Vol. XXX, 1836, Appendix C, part ii*. In 1773 there were over 2,000 beggars in Dublin but only 970 were granted licences to beg, although this was later increased to 1,200. By 1801 licensed beggars totalled 1,727.
- (169) Irish Statutes 8 Geo. I, c.9.

- (170) *ibid.*
- (171) *ibid.*, 10 Geo. I, c.3, section vii.
- (172) The workhouse act was amended in 1728, 1729, 1731. In 1729, under 3 Geo. 2, c.17, the governor was entitled to punish vagabonds and to care for lunatics and foundlings.
- (173) In 1727, under 1 Geo. 2, c.27, the post of overseer for foundlings was made a statutory obligation and the parish was required to levy a cess to provide for the needs of its foundlings. Under the same act the City was given the right to apprehend all sturdy beggars.
- (174) St Michan's Poor Accounts, i, 1723-1734. Examples of relief provided by collections. 22 April, 1726, Joseph O'Hara a converted priest received 5/5d; 1 April, 1726, the wife of St Werburgh's beadle was paid £1 for discovering the parents of a foundling. Mary Whalley, the daughter of a reduced housekeeper was bound into apprenticeship at a cost of 14/5<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>d and clothed for 11/6d.
- (175) See Appendix 3
- (176) St Peter's VM, i, 1686-1736, 2 March, 1697[/98]; 11 April 1698; 11 April 1699. The parish purchased connecting plots of ground which adjoined St Stephen's churchyard. Each house was to contain four rooms.
- (177) St Werburgh's Miscellaneous Papers 27.3. 85. They left £50 and £20 respectively.
- (178) In some parishes the Vestry minutes show the cess was used regularly as a means of raising money; in other parishes the evidence is less clear although use was made of the cess from time to time. Although record keeping improved with the eighteenth century the improvement was only gradual. The impression gained from the Vestry minutes is that cesses were probably levied annually.
- (179) St John's Applotment Book, ii, 1696-1735, Parish Cess estimates 1701; 1702; 1703; 1712 and 1724.
- (180) St Nicholas Without Applotment Book, i, 1707-1725. One estimate was made at Easter and another in the late autumn.
- (181) *ibid.*, No reason is given for the change, but the practice of making two new estimates every year may have proved too troublesome.
- (182) St Catherine's VM, ii, 1693-1730, 19 January 1701; 11 October, 1703. With no surviving poor records for the parish it is impossible to say whether this precise sum was actually spent on poor maintenance.
- (183) *ibid.*, 22 April 1712.
- (184) *ibid.*, Church Wardens' Accounts 1709.
- (185) St Mary's VM i, 1699-1739, 9 May 1701, £30; 6 July 1703, £20.
- (186) TCD Ms 2062, St Andrew's In 1703 the total raised was £63/10/0d, £25 was spent on the poor, £38/10/0d was spent on salaries for the reader, clerk, sexton and beadle.
- (187) St Paul's VM, i, 1698-1750. Applotments were made annual between 1704 and 1729 with the exception of 1712 for which there is no entry. The first church wardens' accounts are dated 1731; and St Peter's VM, i, 1686-1736. Applotments were made annually from 1686-1718 and 1720-1729. 1719 is the exception. Then the applotment was levied at 4d in the 1/- of Minister's Money paid. The first church wardens' accounts are dated 1728
- (188) St Peter's VM, i, 1686-1736, Church Wardens' Accounts 1728-29. Total expenditure £122/1/9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d, nursing costs £35/18/5<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d.
- (189) St Werburgh's Miscellaneous Papers 27.3.213. c.1727.

- (190) *ibid.*, £91/9/6½d had been spent on the poor in general and £52/5/0½d had been paid to the parish nurses for nursing orphans. The total cost to the parish for the year was £162/15/11d.
- (191) *ibid.*, Additional expenditure included paying for mourning for the church; paying the Society of Church Wardens for the legal expenses incurred over a presentment made for mending Ormond Quay; curing the beadle's broken leg; raising the churchyard wall and gilding church branches - candle holders.
- (192) St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754, 30 August 1694; 1695.
- (193) St John's Poor Records, i, 1700-1720. In 1700 a small portion of the offertory collections were paid to church servants such as the beadle, sexton, clerk, schoolmaster, grave digger and organist.
- (194) St Paul's VM, i, 1699-1750. Visitation by Archbishop King in 1712.
- (195) St Catherine's VM, ii, 1693-1730, 22 April 1712.
- (196) St John's Poor Records, i, 1700-1720.
- (197) St John's Poor Records, ii, 1732-1748. In 1732 the parish had 3 weekly collections, Friday, Sunday morning and Sunday evening.
- (198) St John's Poor Records, i, 1700-1720.
- (199) St Bride's Church Wardens' Accounts 1663-1704. In St Bride's, the Vestry's difficulties in funding church repairs by means of the cess forced them, on occasion, to divert the money earned from collections away from the poor towards church repairs.
- (200) St Mary's VM, i, 1699-1739, 28 February 1722.
- (201) St Werburgh's Miscellaneous Papers 27.3.213. Collection made between 13 November 1726 - 29 October 1727.
- (202) St Michan's Poor Records, i, 1723-1734. Expenditure 1724; 1726; 1728.
- (203) Webb, E.A. *The Records of St Bartholomew's, Smithfield* (Oxford 1921), p519: In the London parish of St Bart's during the eighteenth century, 10 briefs were usually read per year, although in one year 15 were recorded. Briefs were very expensive to issue. The issue of one brief might amount to over £300 but the collection might raise hardly double that amount. They were a wasteful method of collecting money.
- (204) St Paul's VM, i, 1698-1750, Visitation 1712: The deacons and church wardens were to receive alms and other 'Devotions of the People' while the sentences were being read, rather than when a psalm was being sung. The offerings were to be placed by the minister on the offertory table before collecting the offertory. When the service was over this money was to be distributed by the minister and church wardens to those they deemed deserving. Therefore, if they should decide to give these offerings to the parish poor, no one could prevent them. The judgement of the visitation is also recorded in St Michan's Memorial Book indicating the dislike of briefs was shared by all the city's parishes.
- (205) St Michan's Poor Records, i, 1723-1734, 18 December 1726.
- (206) *ibid.*, 10 September 1727.
- (207) St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754, 7 January 1714. 5d and 6d was to be taken from the collection made every sacrament day and 3/- was to be taken from every monthly collection.
- (208) St Michan's Poor Records, i, 1723-1734, 21 June 1724. *Methods of erecting, supporting, and governing charity-schools; with an account of the charity-schools in Ireland, and some observations thereon.* (Dublin 1719) It was

estimated that a school with 20 boys cost £36 *per annum* to run. The cost per boy was estimated at £1/16/0d. Whitelaw, Rev J: *An Essay on the Population of Dublin being the result of an actual survey taken in 1798, with great care and precision* (Dublin 1805): By 1805 Whitelaw noted there were 17 parochial schools in Dublin; 141 boys and 188 girls were educated, clothed, maintained and lodged; 14 boys and 5 girls were given education only. Three parishes, St George's, St James' and St Luke's, did not have a school. The overall cost of salaries for masters/mistresses and their assistants, and the wages of servants amounted to £1,057/7/8d.

- (212) St Michan's Poor Records, 24 February, 1726[/27].
- (213) St Mary's VM, i, 1699-1739, 14 January 1711[/12].
- (214) These conditions were common and imposed by the parishes upon the poor throughout the city. St Werburgh's VM, i, 1720-1780, 20 December 1726. In 1726 St Werburgh's threatened to evict any one who did not wear his badge so that it might be properly seen.
- (215) St Mary's VM, i, 1699-1739, 29 January 1723. In the case of the old badges, the holders retained the original badge number. Some badges were therefore duplicated. The duplicated numbers were 4, 5, 11, 27 and 30. Only one badge, 58, remained unallocated. The list details the sex, age and place of residence of all those badged by the parish.
- (216) *ibid.*, 29 January 1723. 45 women and 19 men were badged.
- (217) *ibid.*, 23 January 1723. 46 were aged fifty or over. The age of one woman was not entered on the list, therefore she was not included in the calculation.
- (218) M'Cready, C.T. *Dublin Street Names* (Dublin reprint 1987) Housed all along Strand Street were 11 badged poor; Loftus Lane had 12 badged poor and was also known as Capel Street; Turnagain Lane had 9 badged poor and was later known as Bolton Street; Liffey Street had 7 badged poor and Drumcondra Lane 5 badged poor.
- (219) St Catherine's VM, ii, 1693-1730, Church Wardens' Accounts 1722; 1724.
- (220) St John's Poor Records, i, 1700-1720. The record does not specifically say there were 30 badged poor, but beside each name a letter 'B' is inscribed which would appear to indicate the person was badged. Those so described were as follows: the beadle, gravemaker, 2 church cleaners and bellows blower; 9 parish pensioners; 4 quarterly pensioners and 12 of the 'common poor'.
- (221) St Bride's Church Wardens' Accounts 1663-1704, Church Wardens' Accounts 1702; and St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754, 1708: The parish reduced the number of badged poor to 10 in 1724.
- (222) St Bride's Church Wardens' Accounts 1663-1704, Church Wardens' Accounts 1699
- (223) St Michan's Poor Records 1723-1734, 26 April, 1728. A nurse cared for more than one child at a time. Mary Humphries received £4 for the care of 10 children.
- (224) St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754, Church Wardens' Accounts 1692-1701. In 1692 Spicer St Michael paid 14/10d. The apprenticeship fee was £5, and the parish spent £2/3/0d on clothing.
- (225) The figure was calculated as follows:
- |  |          |
|--|----------|
| 1692 annual allowance for maintenance of a child | £2/10/0d |
| 1692 extra payment of 14/10d                     | 14/10d   |



1693 annual allowance for maintenance of a child	£2/10/0d
1694 Spicer St Michael named as 'parish poor', annual allowance	£3/18/0d
1695-1701, 7 years allowance at £3/18/0d pa	£27/6/0d
1701 Apprenticeship fees and clothing	£7/3/0d
Total cost to parish	£44/1/10d

- (226) *Whalley's Newsletter*, 23 May 1719: An affidavit had to be sworn by the discoverer to say they were not related to the child and that they had not received an earlier reward for the same child. The parish reprinted the advertisement on 19 June, 6 August, 23 September, 30 September 1719.
- (227) St Luke's Church Wardens' Accounts, i, 1716-1777, 26 June 1716. On 6 May, 1716, Munsey had removed another child from the parish. On that occasion he had been paid 1/1d. It is possible that, on this occasion, the beadle was guilty of 'lifting'. Balaam Dempsey, a church warden in St John's in 1729, declared at the Cavan Inquiry that an infant, formerly in the custody of St Luke's beadle, had been left on St John's.
- (228) St Michan's Church Wardens' Accounts, i, 1723-1761, 13 January 1725. Edward Waters was paid 10/10d for printing the advertisements.
- (229) *JHL Ire.*, iii, p108, and pp115-116. *The Case of the Foundlings of the City of Dublin ...*
- (230) *JHL Ire.*, p115.
- (231) *The Case of the Foundlings of the City of Dublin ...* The pamphlet claimed 28 had died within the year, but 68, the aggregate total for several years, were still living within the parish.
- (232) *JHL Ire.*, pp115-8. Hyland had looked after 27 foundlings for St John's; 7 had died in her keeping; 2 had been removed by their mothers; the remaining 18 were lifted. She had left 3 in St Paul's parish, at Mr Green's, a surgeon; Mr Tilson's, a clerk to the Commons and Mr Worthington's, a notary. The child left at Mr Worthington's had been returned to her by St Paul's nurse, and one of St John's church wardens, Charles Fisher, had advised her not to use the same parish too often so she had dumped the child in St Anne's.
- (233) *The Case of the Foundlings of Dublin ...* It was claimed that nurses were scarce because the salary was small, seldom more than 40/- *per annum*. The claim that every child had a nurse seems unlikely when examined against the evidence displayed in the parish records
- (234) St Michan's Common Place Book. Of those who survived, 16 were sent to the workhouse, 14 'taken off' (removed from the parish), 11 were badged, however there is no indication of what befell the remaining 17.
- (235) *The Report of the Committee Appointed to Inspect the Poor Rates and the Scavenger's Rates Within the Cities of London and Westminster, and the Weekly Bills of Mortality March 1715* (London 1715) Expenditure in 1712 £3,887/9/4d; expenditure in 1713 £3,883/10/4d; expenditure in 1714 £3,915/13/2d.
- (236) *ibid.*
- (237) *ibid.*, The report stated that the money earned by such beggars was spent in 'tipping houses' kept by the parish beadle, their friends or relations. The spirits sold in these houses was unwholesome' and killed multitudes every year.

Chapter 5: Notes to pages 213-246

- (1) The constables were appointed by the Lord Mayor to serve as guardians of law and order in the parish.
- (2) Irish Statutes 10 Geo. I, c.3.
- (3) It was not until 1786, under 26 Geo. III, c.24, that the city acquired a centralized police force.
- (4) For the duties of the parish officers see Chapter 2.
- (5) Irish Statutes 8 Geo. I, c.10.
- (6) *ibid.*, 10 Geo. I, c.3, section xvii.
- (7) *ibid.*, A fine could not exceed 10/-. The maximum period of confinement was forty-eight hours.
- (8) Webb, E. A. *The Records of St Bartholomew's, Smithfield* (Oxford 1921) i-iii, ii, p563: In 1771, the beadle duties included: setting the night Watch at 10 pm every night and waiting in the Watch house until it was visited by the constable on duty; keeping the parish in order and preventing beggars and vagabonds from lurking within the parish; preventing boys from disturbing the inhabitants with games; and attending church every Sunday morning and afternoon and stopping the children from playing and talking during the service. He was paid £20 *per annum* and given £5 expenses.
- (9) Fitzpatrick, B. *The Municipal Corporation of Dublin, 1603-40* Unpublished TCD PhD thesis 1984, p35; and *CARD*, i, p419, 1548. For an early reference to the alderman's role as a preserver and enforcer of law within the ward.
- (10) MacCaffrey, W.T. *Exeter, 1540-1640: The Growth of an English Town* (London 1975) pp90-1.
- (11) Pearl, V. 'Change and Stability in Seventeenth Century London', *The Tudor and Stuart Town 1530-1688* J. Barry, ed. (London 1990) pp152-165.
- (12) *ibid.*
- (13) MacCaffrey *Exeter, 1540-1640 ...* pp90-1.
- (14) Pearl 'Change and Stability ...' pp152-165.
- (15) Fitzpatrick *The Municipal Corporation of Dublin 1603-40*, p36 & p210. In the early seventeenth century the alderman frequently exercised his right to imprison offenders.
- (16) *ibid.*
- (17) *CARD*, iv, p95, 2 June 1656.
- (18) Irish Statutes, 5 Edw. IV, c.5, 1465 Under this legislation every 'English' town was to appoint a constable.
- (19) Irish Statutes 8 Geo. I, c.10. Under section iv, housekeepers were to be appointed constables. The church wardens and parishioners were to meet on the Tuesday of each Easter week to choose the number of constables required for each parish.
- (20) Fitzpatrick *The Municipal Corporation of Dublin ...*, pp214-5. The resentment of strangers was typical of the period.
- (21) Irish Statutes 10 & 11 Chas. I, c.4; and 17 & 18 Chas. II, c.18.
- (22) *ibid.*, 7 Will. III, c.5; and 7 Will. III, c.17.
- (23) *CARD*, iv, p511.
- (24) *ibid.*, v, p114.
- (25) St Werburgh's Miscellaneous Papers 27.3.70, 4 January 1676.
- (26) *CARD*, vi, p41.

- (27) Irish Statutes 2 Geo. I, c.5.
- (28) *ibid.*, 8 Geo. I, c.2.
- (29) *ibid.*, I Geo. II, c.13.
- (30) *ibid.*, 3 Geo. II, c.17: The Act imposed similar responsibilities on all beadles as well as private citizens.
- (31) *CARD*, iv, p532. v, p514.
- (32) *ibid.*, iii, p317,1635.
- (33) *ibid.*, v, p253.
- (34) *ibid.*
- (35) *ibid.*, vii, p159; *ibid.*, viii, p208. Speakman held the post until his death in 1737 when he was replaced by James Montgomery. The salary remained at £10 *per annum*.
- (36) *ibid.*, vii, p128.
- (37) *ibid.*, vii, p500.
- (38) Dublin City Hall, Records of the Court of Tholsel.
- (39) See Chapter 3.
- (40) Whistler, C. 'The Dublin Liberties' *DHR*, xxvii, 1, December 1973, pp2-9. The gallows stood on Harold's Cross Green.
- (41) NA Meath Papers, Cheney Letters, J/3/4 20 February 1682[/83].
- (42) Christ Church Cathedral Guard Book. There are a number of examples of attempts on the part of the Lord Mayor to exercise his authority within the Liberty.
- (43) *ibid.*
- (44) MR/36 Book of Accounts of the Corporation of the City of Dublin 1650-1717. p366
- (45) Leak, A. *The Liberty of St Peter of York, 1800-1838*. (Borthwick Papers 1990) The Liberties of York consisted of St Mary's Abbey, St Leonard's Hospital and St Peter's and came under the jurisdiction of the archbishop. During the Middle Ages the Liberties and the city of York clashed violently.
- (46) Newspaper advertisements reporting lost articles of value, absconded servants and army deserters illustrate another aspect of criminal activity within the city.
- (47) St Michan's VM, i, 1724-1760, 19 January 1724[/25].
- (48) St Bride's Church Wardens' Accounts 1663-1704, Church Wardens' Accounts 1675, 1682; and St Catherine's VM, 1693-1730 Church Wardens' Accounts 1701, 1702, 1707, 1712; and John's VM, i, 1660-1710, Church Wardens' Accounts 1674; and St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754, Church Wardens' Accounts 1675, 1682.
- (49) St Catherine's VM, ii, 1693-1730, Church Wardens' Accounts 1702.
- (50) *Dublin Gazette* 5 November 1706 - 2 April 1709, 27-30 March 1708[/9].
- (51) *Whalley's Newsletter* 26 February 1714[/15].
- (52) For further information, particularly on the Black Dog and Newgate prisons, see Gilbert, J.T. *A History of the City of Dublin* (Dublin 1861), i-iii, i, pp257. Starr, J. *The Enforcing of Law and Order in Eighteenth Century Ireland* TCD Unpublished PhD thesis, 1968 pp294-379.
- (53) St John's Applotment Book, i, 1659-1696; ii, 1696-1735, 1684,1699,1702, 1708.
- (54) Starr *The Enforcing of Law and Order ...* p459, One charitable organization designed to help poor prisoners, The Charitable Society of Dublin, was established in 1718. It raised money for relief by holding concerts.
- (55) Irish Statutes 3 Geo. II, c.5.

- (56) *Whalley's Newsletter*, 26 February 1714[/15]. Other examples executions near St Stephen's Green - *Dublin Intelligence* 13 December 1707; *Whalley's Newsletter* 4 June, 1715; *Dublin Gazette* 9 December-12 December, 1710.
- (57) *ibid.*, 5 November 1706 - 2 April 1709, 18 March-22 March 1706[/07].
- (58) Connolly, S.J. *Religion, Law and Power* (Oxford 1992) pp66.
- (59) *Dublin Intelligence* 27 May 1704.
- (60) *The Flying Post* 24 March, 1708. *The Dublin Gazette* 5 November 1706-1709: 27 March-30 March 1708, and 24 April-27 April, 1708.
- (61) *ibid.*, 20 August -23 August 1709; 23 August 1709; 10 September-13 September 1709. For more detailed account of the economic situation see Cullen, L.M. *An Economic History of Ireland since 1660* p43.
- (62) *Dublin Gazette* 19 August-22 August 1710; 22 August 1710.
- (63) Irish Statutes 8 Anne, c.8.
- (64) *CARD*, vi, p471.
- (65) *Dublin Intelligence* 25 November 1710.
- (66) *ibid.*, 9 December 1710. *Dublin Gazette* 9 December-12 December 1710: The three were executed near St Stephen's Green.
- (67) *Dublin Intelligence* 25 November 1710.
- (68) *ibid.*, 24 March 1710[/11]. It is interesting that the incident was ignored by the *Gazette*. The parish based system of law enforcement put the control of large scale mobs beyond the capabilities of the individual parish. The restoration of law and order would have almost certainly have involved the militia.
- (69) Fagan, P. 'The Population of Ireland in the eighteenth century with particular reference to the proportions of protestants and catholics', *Eighteenth Century Ireland* Harrison, A. & Campbell Ross, I, (eds.), vi, 1991, pp121-156, pp 152-3.
- (70) In the NLI there are a number of pamphlets discussing the mayoral elections all written in 1713.
- (71) TCD Ms 750, King Papers, 750/4/1/290, 25 May 1714, King to Molyneux.
- (72) *ibid.*, 750/4/2/31, 3 March 1714[/15] King to Spencer. For further observations see 750/4/2/2, 16 September 1714, King to Stanley.
- (73) *ibid.*, 750/4/1/288, 13 May 1714, King to Ashe.
- (74) Dickson, D. *New Foundations: Ireland 1660-1800* (Dublin 1987) p62.
- (75) *Dublin Gazette* 29 June 1714; 6 July 1714; 10-13 July 1714; 15-19 March 1714[/15].
- (76) Cullen, L.M. *An Economic History of Ireland ...* pp35-44.
- (77) *ibid.*, p44.
- (78) Kelly, J. 'Jonathan Swift and the Irish Economy in the 1720s' *Eighteenth Century Ireland*, vi, 1991, p7-36; and Kelly, P. 'Industry and Virtue versus Luxury and Corruption': Berkeley, Walpole, and the South Sea Bubble Crisis' *Eighteenth Century Ireland*, vii, 1992, pp57-74.
- (79) *Dublin Courant* 4 February 1720[/21].
- (80) Cullen *An Economic History ...* p45.
- (81) *JHC Ire.*, iii, Bk I, p222 7 October 1719.
- (82) *ibid.*, p251 15 September 1721.
- (83) *Whalley's Newsletter* 30 May 1721.
- (84) *ibid.*, 17 June 1721. For further examples of interest in the Watch see issues for 17 May 1721 and 21 June 1721.
- (85) Irish Statutes 8 Geo I, c.9.

- (86) Despite the conditions of service imposed upon the beadle when he was first appointed to office (see Chapter 2) the lasting impression is one of an aged incompetent.
- (87) Irish Statutes 8 Anne, c.8; and 8 Geo. I, c.9.
- (88) *Dublin Intelligence* 8 April 1712.
- (89) *CARD*, vii, p130.
- (90) St Michan's Poor Accounts, i, 1723-1734, 11 February 1725[/26]. The accounts do not say how the reward was distributed.
- (91) Dyer, A. *The City of Worcester in the Sixteenth Century* (Leicester 1973) p202.
- (92) MacCaffrey *Exeter, 1540-1640 ...* p91. A levy to pay for the Watch fell on all subsidy men listed on the last roll. Every three men who were rated at £1 in land, and every two men who were rated at £3 in goods were to find a watchman on pain of distress. Those rated higher paid proportionately.
- (93) Newton, R. *Eighteenth Century Exeter* (Exeter 1984) p101.
- (94) *CARD*, i, p223. The earliest recorded date for the Watch in 1305 when 12 constables were appointed.
- (95) Starr *The Enforcing Law and Order ...* p193.
- (96) *ibid.*, p 147, The decision to unite the individual watches was taken on 11 November, 1672.
- (97) *ibid.*, p213.
- (98) St Catherine's VM i, 1657-1692, 22 May 1678. The parish purchased 6 halberts at a cost of £1/6/0d. The church wardens' accounts, also for 1678, show another 6 halberts were bought at a cost of 18/-. In the list of church possessions for 1679, St Catherine's VM record that the parish owned 12 halberts. St John's Watch Accounts, i, 1724-1737. In 1730-31, the parish bought 10 whistles at a cost of 4/2d.
- (99) *Dublin Intelligence* 8 April 1712.
- (100) *ibid.*
- (101) *ibid.*
- (102) *JHC Ire.*, iii, Bk I, p44 10 December 1715.
- (103) *Whalley's Newsletter* 10-14 December 1715.
- (104) Irish Statutes 2 Geo. I, c.10, section x.
- (105) *Dublin Intelligence* 21 June 1716.
- (106) Irish Statutes 2 Geo. I, c.10.
- (107) *ibid.*, 6 Geo. I, c.10.
- (108) *ibid.*, 8 Geo. I, c.10, section iv.
- (109) *ibid.*, section iii.
- (110) St Paul's VM, i, 1698-1750, February, 1721[/22] ; and St Johns' Watch Accounts 1724-1737, 1732-33. In St John's the watch coats worn by the watchmen were blue, trimmed with red.
- (111) Irish Statutes 8 Geo. I, c.10, section vi: The tax fell due after 25 March 1722[/23] and was to be raised and levied by the church wardens in accordance with the regulations for Minister's Money as laid down in the 1665 St Andrew's Act.
- (112) *ibid.*, section x.
- (113) *ibid.*, section xi.
- (114) Irish Statutes 10 Geo. I, c.3, sections ii & iii.
- (115) *ibid.*, section viii.
- (116) *ibid.*, section xvi.

- (117) St Peter's VM, i, 1686-1736, 21 February, 1721[/22]; and St Paul's VM, i, 1698-1750, 21 February, 1721[/22]. Tighe was the grandson of Alderman Richard Tighe who had served as the city's mayor in 1651-52 and 1655-56. He was an active MP, a member of the Privy Council, a governor of the workhouse and a commissioner for Oyer and Terminer for the County and City of Dublin; and St Mary's VM, i, 1699-1739, 8 March, 1721[/22].
- (118) St Peter's VM, i, 1686-1736, 10 February 1723[/24].
- (119) *ibid.*, Watch directors 1722;1723;1724.
- (120) *ibid.*, Watch directors 1725-26 to 1730-31; and St Catherine's VM, ii, 1693-1730 Watch directors 1724-25 to 1730-31; and St Paul's VM, i, 1698-1750, Watch directors 1725-26 to 1728-29.
- (121) St Michan's VM, i, 1724-1760, February 1729[/30].
- (122) St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754, February, 1724[/25]. If the system worked each director could expect to serve one month in three, with a total of four months service throughout the year.
- (123) *CARD*, xi, pp527-533.
- (124) *ibid.*
- (125) *ibid.*
- (126) St Mary's VM, i, 1699-1739, 16 April 1723.
- (127) *ibid.*, 16 April 1723.
- (128) St Michan's VM, i, 1724-1760, February 1726[/27].- February 1729[/30].
- (129) St Mary's VM, i, 1699-1739, 7 April 1724.
- (130) *ibid.*, 7 April 1724. Mcanally was presumably fined because he was not qualified to serve, and had refused to find a deputy to take his place.
- (131) *ibid.*, 13 August 1726.
- (132) St Paul's VM, i, 1698-1750, 11 June 1729.
- (133) St Mary's VM, i, 1699-1739, 9 April 1722.
- (134) *ibid.*, 28 February 1722[/23]. The £3/15/0d appears to have been shared between the two deputy constables.
- (135) St Michan's Church Wardens' Accounts, i, 1723-1761, 1736
- (136) *CARD*, viii, p240.
- (137) St Peter's VM, i, 1686-1736, 21 February 1721[/22].
- (138) St Paul's VM, i, 1698-1750, February 1721[/22].
- (139) St John's Watch Accounts 1724-1737, December 1727.
- (140) *ibid.*, December 1729.
- (141) *ibid.*, 5 July 1727; 2 October 1727.
- (142) *ibid.* All three men were paid for service between June 1726 and December 1729.
- (143) St Peter's VM, i, 1686-1736, 24 December 1723; 10 February 1724. The capture of Carroll cost the parish £3/1/4<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>d; Reily's capture cost £2/9/3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d.
- (144) St Michael's VM, Watch Accounts 1722-23.
- (145) St John's Watch Accounts 1724-1737, 1737-38.
- (146) *Whalley's Newsletter* 24 April 1724.
- (147) *Dublin Gazette* 1-5 September 1724.
- (148) St Werburgh's VM, i, 1720-1780, 9 November 1726.
- (149) St Catherine's VM, ii, 1693-1730, 25 July 1731.
- (150) *ibid.*, 25 July 1731. Insolvencies amounted to £11/11/10<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d.
- (151) St Michan's Church Wardens' Accounts, i, 1723-1761, Watch Accounts 1729-30. Receipts up to the 25 September, 1729 were £127/14/2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d.

- (152) St John's Watch Accounts 1724-1737. The parish earned £83/10/8½d, in 1729, its highest yielding year. In 1728, the year when the parish income was at its lowest, the receipts amounted to £75/0/8d. A similar pattern emerges for the years 1730-37. Average income was £88/1/0¾d. 1733 produced the highest receipts, £93/1/5d, 1736 the lowest receipts, £79/10/9d.
- (153) *ibid.*, 1729. Kean's instalments were 10/10d; 9/8½d and £1/19/5½d. Caskin was paid £1/9/10d and £1/11/2d.
- (154) NLI Bolton Mss 15,926 Account of the Number of Watchmen employed in the Several Parishes in the County of the City of Dublin collected from the returns to Parliament: Watch Houses etc., 25 March, 1784.
- (155) *ibid.*
- (156) *ibid.*
- (157) *ibid.* This was the rate paid to watchmen during the winter. Those employed to watch in the summer received £3/10/0d.
- (158) *ibid.*
- (159) *ibid.*
- (160) This final figure is achieved by applying the percentage difference which occurs between the two sets of known wages paid by the parishes to the overall cost for watchmen's wages recorded by the Bolton Manuscript. Coal and candles have been excluded from the calculation because there is insufficient evidence upon which to draw for comparisons.
- (161) St Catherine's VM, ii, 1693-1730, 30 October 1711.
- (162) St Peter's VM, i, 1686-1736, 10 September 1722.
- (163) St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754, 18 July 1726.
- (164) St Bride's VM, i, 1662-1742, 29 March 1703[/04].
- (165) *CARD*, vi, p305.
- (166) St Bride's VM, i, 1662-1742, 17 April 1704. A parish committee consisting of the church wardens, Colonel Harman, Thomas Ashe, John Rotton and Matthew Pearson were appointed to inspect the watch house, to see what building work had been completed, and what remained to be finished.
- (167) *CARD*, vii, p354, p418, p453.
- (168) Irish Statutes 17 & 18 Geo. III, c.43, 1777-8.
- (169) McLynn, F. *Crime and Punishment in Eighteenth Century England* (Oxford 1991) p20.
- (170) *ibid.*

#### Chapter 6: Notes to pages 247-267

- (1) Irish Statutes 6 Anne, c.21, section xvii.
- (2) *CARD*, vi, p8.
- (3) *ibid.*, iii, pp128-9.
- (4) *ibid.*, iii, pp128-9.
- (5) Underdown, D. *Fire from Heaven, Life in an English Town in the Seventeenth Century* (Glasgow 1993) pp2-5.
- (6) *CARD*, iii, Preface p.ix.
- (7) *ibid.*, iv, p198.
- (8) HMC, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Ormonde*, New Series 7, (Hereford 1912) 1683-8, Earl of Arran to Ormond, 7 April, 1684, pp218.
- (9) *CARD*, v, p357.

- (10) *ibid.*, iv, p227. This measure was not introduced solely for the purpose of fire fighting, but to improve the supply of water to the areas residents, but an adequate supply of water was essential for fighting fires.
- (11) *CARD*, iv, p504.
- (12) *ibid.*, iii, pp128-9; pp160-1.
- (13) *ibid.*, iv, p504.
- (14) St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754, List of church possessions 1673, 1674.
- (15) St Bride's Church Wardens' Accounts 1663-1704, 1673-4.
- (16) St Bride's VM, 1662-1742, 10 August 1674.
- (17) *ibid.* 24 buckets cost £5/80d; the pole and hook cost £2/3/0d; pegs to hang the buckets on the wall cost 6/8d; pegs to hang the pole on cost 6/10d. The pole was painted, but the parish did not record how much this cost. The total bill for the buckets etc., including legal costs was £8/17/8d.
- (18) St Werburgh's Miscellaneous Papers 27.3.72. 12 March 1676.
- (19) St Bride's VM, i, 1662-1742, 19 April 1677,
- (20) St Catherine's VM, i, 1657-1692, List of church possessions 1679.
- (21) *CARD*, vi, pp347.
- (22) *ibid.*, One engine was to be bought in London, the other was to be made in Dublin.
- (23) *ibid.*
- (24) *ibid.*, p440.
- (25) *ibid.*, pp439-40.
- (26) Barlow, J. *The Lord Mayor to prevent the Calamities that may happen by Fire, has ordered Publick Notice to be given, ...!* (Dublin 1711)
- (27) *CARD*, vi, p465.
- (28) Irish Statutes 2 Geo. I, c.5, section iv.
- (29) *ibid.*, 6 Geo. I, c.15, section viii.
- (30) *ibid.*, section ix.
- (31) St Catherine's VM, ii, 1693-1730, Church Wardens' Accounts 1715; Church Wardens' Accounts 1718. In 1715 the parish had paid out 2/4d for the corner stone of the engine house.
- (32) St Nicholas Without Applotment Book, i, 1707-1725.
- (33) St John's VM, ii, 1711-1766, 1 March 1720[/21].
- (34) *ibid.*, Church Wardens' Accounts 1721.
- (35) St Mary's VM, i, 1699-1739, 23 March 1720[/21].
- (36) *ibid.*, 28 February 1722[/23] and Appendix 4.
- (37) *ibid.*
- (38) *ibid.*, 4 June, 1729: The parish allocated £51/2/0d to pay for the rebuilding of the Watch house and the construction of the fire engine house.
- (39) St Catherine's VM, ii, 1693-1730, 11 April, 1721; Church Wardens' Accounts 1725-26. In the accounts for 1725-26, after the salary of £2 has been deducted there remains £3/11/0d. Some money would have probably been spent on maintenance, although it may not have been as much as 11/-. If the engine remained the parish's only fire fighting appliance, then according to the law Molineux would have received £1 for each fire he attended. Although there is no suggestion of a second parish engine, the parish could have called upon other parishes for help. Molineux may therefore have not received £1 for each of his calls. Therefore the minimum number of calls he may have received would have been three, the maximum would have been seventeen.



- (40) *ibid.*, Church Wardens' Accounts 1727.
- (41) *ibid.*, 23 April, 1728: There is no indication in the Vestry minutes as to whether this new engine replaced the old engine, or was bought as a second parish engine because one was no longer adequate.
- (42) St Michan's Church Wardens' Accounts 1723-1761, i, 1727.
- (43) *ibid.*, 1729.
- (44) St Catherine's VM, ii, 1693-1730, 11 April 1721; and St John's VM, ii, 1711-1766, 1 March, 1720[/21]. In each parish the engine keeper received an annual salary of £2. As there is no evidence to suggest additional payments were made for a second engine it must be presumed that the annual salary was divided between Molineux and Tapplin.
- (45) *CARD*, viii, p208: John Bolton was assisted by Paul Bolton, brassfounder, freeman of the city, and also skilled in water engines. They were granted an annual salary of £20.
- (46) *Faulkner's Dublin Journal* 8 January 1726 - 12 June 1733. 13-16 December 1729, and in a number of editions thereafter.
- (47) Barlow *The Lord mayor ... to prevent ... Fire ...*
- (48) St Werburgh's VM, i, 1720-1780, 2 March 1720[/21].
- (49) *ibid.*, 3 January 1721[/22]. Hosser was appointed for one year he had been appointed beadle on 22 June 1720.
- (50) Barlow *The Lord Mayor ... to prevent ... Fire ...*
- (51) *Whalley's Newsletter* 17 June 1721.
- (52) *Faulkner's Dublin Journal* 8 January 1726 - 12 June 1733. The first fire, on 17 May 1726, was in Smithfield. The second fire, on 1 March 1726[/27], was in Trinity College.
- (53) Falkus, M. 'Lighting in the Dark Ages of English Economic History: Town Streets before the Industrial Revolution' : *Trade, Government and Economy in Pre-Industrial England* Coleman, D.C. & John, A.H. eds. (London 1976) pp248-252. The origin of the curfew is obscure, but its purpose was to ensure civil order at night-time; to reduced the opportunities which the cover of darkness offered for crime and disorder. Lighting regulations were introduced in the early fifteenth century, and their primarily purpose was to strengthen the forces of law and order.
- (54) *ibid.*, pp254-5.
- (55) *ibid.*, p252.
- (56) *ibid.*
- (57) Meehan, P. 'Early Dublin Public Lighting' *DHR*, 4-6, 1941-44, 5, pp130: The lamps were to remain lit for a fortnight after Candlemas.
- (58) Falkus 'Lighting in the Dark Ages ...' p252.
- (59) *CARD*, v, p452.
- (60) *ibid.*
- (61) *ibid.*, p457, 23 December 1687.
- (62) Falkus 'Lighting in the Dark Ages ...' p256.
- (63) *ibid.*, Lamps were to be lit from 6pm until 12am between Michaelmas and Lady's Day. A fine of 2/- was imposed for every default.
- (64) *CARD*, vi, pp180.
- (65) *ibid.*
- (66) Irish Statutes 9 Will. III, c.17, section vii.
- (67) *ibid.*, section i.

- (68) *ibid.*, If the posts were inappropriate, fixtures were to be attached to houses to secure the lamps.
- (69) *ibid.*
- (70) *ibid.*, section iii. The payments were to be made twice a year, at Christmas and on Lady's Day.
- (71) *CARD*, vi, Appendix pp575.
- (72) *JHC Ire.*, ii, Bk I, pp406, 29 February 1703[/04]
- (73) Cole, M. *To the Honourable Knights, Citizens and Burgesses at this time in Parliament Assembled.* (Dublin? c.1703?)
- (74) *ibid.*
- (75) *ibid.*
- (76) Meehan 'Early Dublin Public Lighting'
- (77) *CARD*, vii, p12.
- (78) *ibid.*, vii, p66: They were contracted to maintain 30 more lamps than Tininson.
- (79) Irish Statutes 6 Geo. I, c.18.
- (80) *ibid.*, 8 Geo. I, c.16. The actual lighting time remained the same, a half an hour after sunset until 2.00am, but the lamps were now to be lit from the 20 August until the 1 May.
- (81) *ibid.*, section ii.
- (82) *ibid.*, section iv. This measure had been introduced because lamps were frequently damaged.
- (83) The estimate for the number of houses is based on *CARD* figures quoted in Table 7:1, Chapter 7. The city may have been larger, but the economic uncertainties of the early 1720s did hamper urban expansion, see Table 7: 4, Chapter 7.
- (84) *For the Benefit of the Publick. An Agreement of the Church-Wardens of the several Parishes in the City and Suburbs of DUBLIN, at a Meeting on the 19th November, 1725.*' (Dublin 1725)
- (85) TCD Ms 2062, 'Extracts from St Andrew's Vestry minutes', 14 April 1726.
- (86) *ibid.*, 14 April 1726.
- (87) *ibid.*
- (88) *ibid.* The parish agreed to indemnify any parishioner distrained for refusing to pay the tax, and the church wardens were to defray all costs.
- (89) St Catherine's VM, ii, 1693-1730, Church Wardens' Accounts 1726.
- (90) St John's VM, ii, 1711-1766, Church Wardens' Accounts 1725.
- (91) St Michan's VM, i, 1724-1760, 7 December 1725.
- (92) St Mary's VM, i, 1699-1739, 23 January 1726.
- (93) *ibid.*, 24 November 1727.
- (94) Irish Statutes 3 Geo. II, c.22.
- (95) Meehan 'Early Dublin Public Lighting'.
- (96) *CARD*, iv, p198.
- (97) *ibid.*
- (98) *ibid.*, p265.
- (99) *ibid.*, p311, & pp313: Harvey was also accused of mismanaging the market toll which he had been receiving without the Corporation's permission, and he was banned from further toll receipts.
- (100) *ibid.*, pp313.
- (101) *ibid.*, v, p98.
- (102) NA M2751 Calendar of Pleas, Hilary Term, 22 & 23 Chas. II, plea no.48.
- (103) *ibid.*, Pleas 55; 58; 59.

- (104) *ibid.*, Plea 71.
- (105) *ibid.*, Plea 67.
- (106) *CARD*, v, p26: In 1673[/74] Richard Baker was employed to repair and maintain the streets.
- (107) *ibid.*, p32.
- (108) *ibid.*
- (109) *ibid.*, p459.
- (110) *ibid.*, Richard Baker employed the three Reyly brothers, all paviors, as his assistants.
- (111) *ibid.*, v, p479 & p493. In 1688 the scavengers were to be paid £210 for cleaning the city's streets for six months. Once more the city were slow to pay, and the scavengers complained late in 1688 that they had not been paid. An order was made to pay them the £210 owed.
- (112) *ibid.*, v, p524, p526.
- (113) *ibid.*, p526 Richard Allen, John King and Richard Gibbs were appointed and paid £13/11/0d for cleaning the streets from Michaelmas to 29 September.
- (114) *ibid.*, p541: Allen was to be paid £500 *per annum*.
- (115) *ibid.*, vi, pp79.
- (116) *ibid.*, pp255, p280.
- (117) *ibid.*, p280.
- (118) *ibid.*, vi, p280.
- (119) *ibid.*, p310.
- (120) *ibid.*, p414: Davis received £16 *per annum*, Thomson £8 *per annum*.
- (121) *ibid.*, vi, p441.
- (122) *ibid.*, p470: In 1712[/13] Allen retained his post but Davis quit claiming to have lost money because of the great number of streets recently developed around Oxmantown. He was replaced by Randall Donaldson.
- (123) *ibid.*, vi, pp553.
- (124) *ibid.*, vii, p18.
- (125) St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754, Church Wardens' Accounts 1670. 3/- for the removal of rubbish; 1700: 2/6d for removal of rubbish; 1725: 3/6d for the removal of rubbish.
- (126) *ibid.*, Church Wardens' Accounts 1681.
- (127) St Catherine's VM, ii, 1693-1730. Church Wardens' Accounts 1708, 1715, 1722.
- (128) *ibid.*, Church Wardens' estimates 1722.
- (129) *ibid.*, 26 July 1726.
- (130) *For the Benefit of the Public ...*
- (131) *ibid.*
- (132) *ibid.*
- (133) *ibid.*
- (134) TCD Ms 2062, Extracts ... St Andrew's Vestry minutes, 14 April 1726.
- (135) *ibid.*
- (136) Irish Statutes 3 Geo. II, c.13.
- (137) St Paul's VM, i, 1698-1750, printed advertisement.
- (138) *ibid.* The pavements were to be inspected in the first week of May, September, November and February.
- (139) St John's VM, i, 1660-1710, 28 November 1673.
- (140) St John's Applotment Book, i, 1659-1696, Cess c.1685.
- (141) *CARD*, vi, p331.

- (142) St Michan's Applotment Book, 1711-1725, March 1723.
- (143) St Paul's VM, i, 1698-1750. Return of parishioners with deficient pavements, September 1730. The offenders included Lord Kingston, Sir Richard Levening, Mrs Eleanor Westenra, Lady Middleton and William Hendrick.
- (144) *ibid.*, Pavement returns for February 1730[/31].
- (145) *ibid.*
- (146) St Michan's VM, i, 1724-1760, April 1729. The two overseers for streets were John Stockdill, a wigmaker of Smithfield, and John Weir, a victualler from Ormond Market.

Chapter 7: Notes to pages 268-310

- (1) Connolly, S.J. *Religion, Law and Power The Making of Protestant Ireland 1660-1760* (Oxford 1992) p75.
- (2) *ibid.* p77. Parliament met in 1692; 1695; 1697; 1699 and 1703. It was next summoned in 1705. Thereafter it meet again in 1707; 1709; 1710; 1711; and 1713. After 1715 it became standard practice to met every two years.
- (3) Beckett, J.C. *The making of Modern Ireland 1603-1923* (reprint London 1989) p151.
- (4) Dickson, D. *New Foundations: Ireland 1660-1800* (Dublin 1987) p42. Catholics were to be disarmed and prevented from joining the army. Children were banned from being educated abroad. The Catholic clergy were banished
- (5) *ibid.* p42.
- (6) Connolly *Religion, Law and Power ...* p77.
- (7) *ibid.* pp81-2.
- (8) Wall, M 'The Catholics of the Towns and the Quaterage Dispute of the Eighteenth Century' *Catholic Ireland in the Eighteenth Century* (Dublin 1989) O'Brien, G. (ed.) p62.
- (9) *CARD*, vi, pp7-8.
- (10) Irish Statutes 2 Anne, c.6.
- (11) Murphy, S. 'The Corporation of Dublin 1660-1760' *DHR*, 38, 1, December 1984, pp22-33.
- (12) *ibid.*, p26. Cooke was disenfranchised for his actions in February, 1715.
- (13) *ibid.*, p26.
- (14) *ibid.*, p26.
- (15) NA Meath Papers J/3/6 'Reasons agt restraining Trade to such only as shall serve 7 years Apprentiship Especially in places of ffree Trade'
- (16) Wall 'The Catholics of the Towns and the Quarterage Dispute ...' p61.
- (17) TCD Ms 750, King Papers, 750/6/171-4, King to Annesley, 24 December 1720.
- (18) *ibid.*, 750/6/205-6, King to Welbore Ellis, 11 March 1720[/21].
- (19) *ibid.*, 750/6/213-4, King to Annesley, 23 March 1720[/21].
- (20) Dickson, D. 'The Place of Dublin in the Eighteenth Century Irish Economy' *Ireland and Scotland 1600-1850* (Edinburgh 1983) Devine, T.M. and Dickson, D. (eds.) p179.
- (21) *ibid.*, p180.
- (22) *ibid.*, p178, p181. The overall growth rate between 1706-25 was 2.1%.
- (23) TCD Ms 750, King Papers, 2532/90, King to Dublin clergy, 20 December 1712.

- (24) In 1682 Petty estimated there were 6025 houses in Dublin. In 1695-6 South returned an estimate of 5999. Dublin had, therefore, decreased in size.
- (25) Irish Statutes 9 Will. III, c.16
- (26) Fagan, P. 'The Population of Dublin in the eighteenth century with particular reference to the proportion of protestants and catholics' *Eighteenth Century Ireland*, 1991, Harrison, A. and Campbell Ross, I, (eds.) pp121-156.
- (27) TCD Ms 1995-2008, King Papers, 1995-2008/2317, c.1695.
- (28) Dickson, D. 'The Demographic Implications of Dublin's Growth, 1650-1850' *Liverpool Studies in European Population, Urban Population Development in Western Europe from the Late Eighteenth Century to the Early Twentieth Century*, Lawton, R. and Lee, R. eds. (Liverpool 1989) pp178-189, p181.
- (29) Fagan 'The Population of Dublin ...' pp152-3. This date was suggested by Dr Dickson in light of the Oxenard incident reported by the *Dublin Intelligence* on 24 March, 1710/[11].
- (30) *CARD*, vii, preface, p.x.
- (31) The figure corresponds quite well the figures drawn from *CARD* 1718, Table 7:1. The population estimate is made by multiplying the number of houses by a mean household size of 8.
- (32) TCD Ms 750, King Papers, 750/9/125-7, Memorial to George II, 8 June 1728.
- (33) Craig, M. *Dublin 1660-1860* (reprint Dublin 1980) p179.
- (34) Monck Mason Vol. III/68 It was estimated that Conformists (Anglicans) represented one-third of the city's population. In 1733 their numbers were estimated to be 46,205<sup>1</sup>/<sub>3</sub>, therefore the city's overall population was 138,616.
- (35) *CARD*, vii, p577. 1,227 houses were built in this part of the city between 1701-18.
- (36) *ibid.*, St Andrew's saw the building of 391 houses between 1701-18.
- (37) Young, A. *A Tour in Ireland: With general Observations on the present State of that Kingdom* i-ii (Dublin 1780), ii, part 2, p114.
- (38) *CARD*, vi, p379.
- (39) King, W. *Instructions and Queries for the Clergy of the Diocese of Dublin, 1718* (Dublin 1718)
- (40) Monck Mason Papers, Vol. I-III, III/69.
- (41) St Michan's Memorial Book, Instructions by Archbishop of Dublin to his clergy, 23 February, 1722.
- (42) TCD Ms 750, King Papers, 750/8/212-214, King to Cartaret, 22 June 1727.
- (43) Dobbs, A. *An Essay on Trade and Improvement in Ireland, 1731.*(part II, Dublin 1731), pp9-10.
- (44) Connolly *Religion, Law and Power ...* p147 & note 9.
- (45) Monck Mason Papers Vol. I/62, p195. The Hearth Tax returns for 1731-33 show that Dublin city held 8,823 Protestant families and 4,119 Catholic families. In Dublin county there were 1,928 Protestant families to 6,336 Catholic families. The number of residents per house was given as 10.
- (46) Loeber *A Biographical Dictionary ...* p36.
- (47) *ibid.*, p54. Gallilei was a Florentine architect who went to England in 1714 and visited Ireland in 1718.
- (48) See Chapter 3.
- (49) Hughes, S.C. *The Church of St Werburgh's, Dublin* p28.

- (50) St Werburgh's VM, i, 1720-1780, 6 February 1728[/29]. Also see Gilbert, *A History of the City of Dublin* i-iii (Dublin 1861) i, p32 and Hughes *The Church of St Werburgh's ...* pp27-8.
- (51) Hughes *The Church of St Werburgh's ...* pp27-8.
- (52) Monck Mason Papers, III/69, p291.
- (53) NA M1368 and Burke, W.P. *Irish Priests in Penal Times* (Shannon 1969) p122  
He quotes the priest as resident in Mrs Groghans.
- (54) 'Report on the State of Popery in Ireland, 1731' *Arch Hib*, 4, 1915 pp131-176.
- (55) Hughes, S.C. *The Church of St John the Evangelist, Dublin* (Dublin 1889) pp9-10.
- (56) Gilbert, *A History ... of Dublin*, i, p52.
- (57) Wright, G.N. *A Historic Guide to Dublin* (London 1821) and Gilbert *A History ... of Dublin*, i, p52. For a photograph of the eighteenth century church see Craig and Wheeler *The Dublin City Churches* (Dublin 1948).
- (58) Gilbert *A History ... of Dublin*, i, p47.
- (59) *ibid.*, ii, p66. St John's Applotment Book, ii, 1696-1735. The street was renamed Orange Street in 1720. In 1830 it was renamed Essex Street West.
- (60) NA M1368.
- (61) 'Report on ... Popery ...' *Arch Hib*, 4, 1915. The parish did not have a masshouse in 1731. In 'An Abstract of ... able to bear Arms... in ... Dublin ...' *Eighteenth Century Ireland* p512, Appendix C, of the 1,015 parishioners able to bear arms, 279 were 'Papists', therefore Catholics formed just over 27% of St John's population although the actual number of Catholics within the parish was probably higher.
- (62) DPRS, *The Registers of the Church of St John The Evangelist, Dublin 1619 to 1699* (Dublin 1906)
- (63) Hylton, R.P. *The Huguenot Communities in Dublin 1662-1745* Unpublished UCD Ph.D. Thesis 1985, Chapter 5.
- (64) St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754. March, 1679; 19 January, 1679[/80]; 27 July 1696; 8 July 1708; 19 and 23 September 1712; 13 and 23 November 1712; 6 August 1716; 5 and 24 May 1722.
- (65) Gilbert *A History ... of Dublin*, i, p212.
- (66) St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754, Church Wardens' Accounts 1721, 1722. The parish prosecuted the 'bawds' in 1721 and more bawds were prosecuted again in 1722.
- (67) See 'An Abstract ...' *Eighteenth Century Ireland* pp152: Of the 544 inhabitants entitled to carry arms 270 were Catholic, 49.6%. If the fact that many Catholics would have been excluded from this qualification is borne in mind it seems entirely realistic to assume that Protestants were outnumbered by Catholics.
- (68) NA M1368.
- (69) Gilbert *A History ... of Dublin*, i, pp282-3, and Monck Mason Papers, III/69.
- (70) Monck Mason, Vol. III/69.
- (71) Burke *Irish Priests ...* p120. The priests are described as belonging to 'St Andrew's parrish', although the addresses indicate they lived in St Audeon's. There were also several lay brothers belonging to each of the Convents.
- (72) 'Report on ... Popery ...' *Arch Hib*, 4, 1915.
- (73) Monck Mason Papers, III/69, p237. The religious divide was Anglican 49; Presbyterian 20; Papist 18; Quaker 4. Three houses were empty.
- (74) Gilbert *A History ... of Dublin*, i, p184, and Monck Mason Papers, III/69.

- (75) *CARD*, vi, p363, p297. In 1707 the city had offered to contribute £100 towards the rebuilding of the church. £50 was to be donated when the foundation stone had been laid; and a further £50 when the seat appointed for the city had been completed. In 1709 another £50 was donated for an altar and pulpit.
- (76) Wright, G.N. *An Historic Guide to Dublin* (London 1821)
- (77) Gilbert *A History ... of Dublin*, i, p188.
- (78) NA M1368.
- (79) 'Report on ... Popery ...' *Arch Hib*, 4, 1915.
- (80) *CARD*, vi, pp41-2.
- (81) *ibid.*, p79.
- (82) *ibid.*, pp222-223.
- (83) *ibid.*, pp337-8. The passageway was only 8 feet wide with a 6 inch footpath. The carriageway was to be widened to 11 feet and the footpath to 4 feet. The policy of allowing private individuals to pay for improvements was a continuation of seventeenth-century Corporation policy.
- (84) *ibid.*, p422.
- (85) *ibid.*, pp83.
- (86) St John's Applotment Book, i, 1659-1696.
- (87) Monck Mason Papers, III/69.
- (88) *CARD*, vii, p577. In St John's the increase in houses between 1701-12 was 8, but in St Werburgh's for the same period 41 houses were built. St Nicholas Within acquired 13 new houses between 1701-12, but none between 1712-18.
- (89) St John's VM, ii, 1711-1766, Church Wardens' Accounts 1713-1727.
- (90) *ibid.*, 20 August 1724. Essex Bridge had 2 properties valued.
- (91) *ibid.*, 20 August 1724. Valuations as follows: Fishamble Street 9 houses - £30(1); £12(1); £10(1); £8(1); £7(3); £6(2). Orange Street 7 houses - £18(1); £16(2); £14(3); £6(1). Essex Bridge 2 houses - £24(1); £10(1). Blind Quay 2 houses - £5(2). Wood Quay 2 houses - £16(1); £8(1).
- (92) St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754, Church Wardens' Accounts 1719-29.
- (93) *ibid.*, 'Houses not previously valued', c.1726, p555.
- (94) *ibid.*, High Street 4 new houses - £10(4). Angel Alley 2 new houses - £5(2). 'Alley at the back of Mr Joseph Troy, ironmonger 4 new houses - £12(1); £7(1); £5(2). 'Alley at the back of Mr Joseph Haycock, shoemaker' 2 houses - £14(1); £10 (1). 'From the Salmon, High Street backwards 1 house - £12(1). 'At the back of the Red Lyon, High Street 2 new houses - £20(1); £10(1). Burr Court 5 new houses - £18(1); £16(1); £10(2); £3(1). St Michael's Lane 3 new houses - £20(3). Rosemary Lane 1 new house - £4(1). School House Lane with 3 new houses - £12(1); £6(1); £4(1) was not included in the valuation by the parish because they had already been valued for Minister's Money.
- (95) St Werburgh's Miscellaneous Papers 27.3.102.
- (96) Hughes *St Werburgh's ...* Other professions included 5 booksellers; 3 glovers; 2 vintners, apothecaries, and tailors; a jeweller, glazier, publisher, pewterer, laceman and mercer.
- (97) St John's Applotment Book, ii, 1696-1735. In his thesis *The Huguenot Communities in Dublin ...* Hylton suggested the Lappierre family had arrived in Dublin in 1702, the evidence supplied by St John's, however, suggests that this date should be revised to 1700.
- (98) St Michael's VM, i, 1667-1754.
- (99) Gilbert *A History ...*, i, pp161-207 and pp276-318.

- (100) *JHC Ire.*, iii., Bk I, p233, 8 October 1719. From time to time the minister would be requested to preach on a particular topic. On the above date Duke Tyrell was ordered to preach on the deliverance from the rebellion of 23 October 1641.
- (101) Irish Statutes 6 Anne, c.21. John Travers was still the minister of St Andrew's in 1726.
- (102) TCD Ms 2062, Cess 25 July 1709. Charlemont took an active part in parochial affairs. In the early 1690s he was active in the affairs of St Peter's. In 1700 he was active in St Paul's affairs. He then became involved St Andrew's parish, signing the Vestry minutes in 1720.
- (103) *ibid.*, Constantine Phipps was appointed as Lord Chancellor on 22 January 1711. He held the post until 1714.
- (104) NA M1368.
- (105) Burke *Irish Priests ...* p298.
- (106) 'Report on ... Popery ...' *Arch Hib*, 4, 1915, pp131-176.
- (107) Irish Statutes 6 Anne, c.21.
- (108) *ibid.*
- (109) *ibid.*, The streets taken from St Bride's were William Street, part of Chequer Lane, Grafton Street, part of King Street, Clarendon Market, the Square and all of Clarendon Street 'lying remote from the church of St Bridget's'. St Peter's lost King Street, the northern side of St Stephen's Green as far as Merrion Street and northwards to St Patrick's Well.
- (110) Poytnz, S.G. *St Ann's, The Church in the Heart of the City* (Dublin 1976), p10.
- (111) *CARD*, vii, p141.
- (112) TCD Ms 750, King Papers, 750/8/38-41, King to Temple, 8 October 1725.
- (113) 'Report on ... Popery' *Arch Hib*, Vol. 4, 1915, pp131-176.
- (114) St Peter's VM, i, 1686-1736, 1 October 1702; and St Catherine's VM, ii, 1693-1730, 21 September 1702. The parish of Kilmainham (St John's) was to plant 85 trees. Irish Statutes 10 Will, III, c.12 The act was passed in 1698, but stated that the trees were to be planted from 25 March, 1703. Under section iv, Dublin county was to plant 31,900 trees of which 21,500 were to be planted by the city. The tree varieties to be planted were oak, elm and fir.
- (115) St Bride's VM, i, 1662-1742, 26 October 1702.
- (116) *CARD*, vii, p577.
- (117) TCD Ms 2062.
- (118) St Bride's VM, i, 1662-1742, 9 April 1705: The church wardens were to construct the galleries at their own expense but were granted the liberty of disposing the pews as a means of reimbursing themselves. The Vestry ordered that the galleries were not to interfere with the church's existing pews.
- (119) Monck Mason Papers, III/69. pp340.
- (120) Hylton *The Huguenot Communities of Dublin ....* Chapter 6, The premises were rented from Councillor Thomas Whitshed for £14 *per annum*.
- (121) *ibid.*, The lease expired in 1709 and the new owner demanded an increase in rent. Subscriptions were collected and the non-conforming congregation used the money to build a church in Peter Street consecrated in December 1711.
- (122) Burke *Irish Priests ...* p303.
- (123) 'Report on ... Popery ...' *Arch Hib*, 4, 1915, pp131-176.



- (124) St Peter's VM, i, 1686-1736, 23 March 1685[86] A List of Benefactors 1686.  
The old church of St Peter's had stood on Aungier Street. In 1721 this site was used to build a charity school.
- (125) *ibid.*, 26 July 1693.
- (126) *ibid.*, 16 December 1708; 20 October 1713.
- (127) *ibid.*, 31 August 1724.
- (128) St Kevin's VM, 2 January 1698. The offer was never taken up.
- (129) TCD Ms 750, King Papers, 750/3/1/95-6, King to Samuel Syngé.
- (130) Irish Statutes 6 Anne, c.21.
- (131) Burke *Irish Priests ...* p122.
- (132) 'Report on ... Popery ...' *Arch Hib*, 4, 1915, pp131-176.
- (133) Irish Statutes 6 Anne, c.21.
- (134) MacCarty, R.B. *St Mark's, The History of a Dublin Parish* (Dublin 1971) pp11-12.
- (135) *ibid.*, p10. Dougatt served as vicar of St Peter's between 1720-8 and was also Archdeacon of Dublin.
- (136) Irish Statutes 6 Anne, c.21 The parish's boundaries were defined as '...eastward of College Lane,... eastward of Fleet-lane,... eastward of Fleet-alley... to the River Liffey'. Its southern boundary, dividing it from St Anne's, was formed by Patrick's Well Lane.
- (137) MacCarty *St Mark's ...* p7.
- (138) Monck Mason Papers, III/69, p355.
- (139) 'Report on ... Popery ...' *Arch Hib*, 4, 1915.
- (140) *CARD*, vii, p577. Total increases: Inner city parishes 341; western & south-western parishes 786; eastern & south-eastern parishes - i.e. St Andrew's, St Bride's & St Peter's - 824; northern parishes 1227.
- (141) McCullough, N. *Dublin, An Urban History* p37.
- (142) *CARD*, vi, p486.
- (143) McCullough: *Dublin ...* p37, and St Werburgh's Miscellaneous Papers 27.3.208. Will of Sir John Rogerson. Rogerson's property interests included houses on Wood Quay, Sheep Street, Francis Street, Brides Street, Golden Lane and Salutation Alley near Dames Street.
- (144) *CARD*, vii, p84.
- (145) *ibid.*, p223.
- (146) *ibid.*, pp229-232. Two of the new streets were 34 feet wide, but the street running east/west was 35 feet wide.
- (147) King's Hospital Ms 2 *The Hospital and Free School of Charles ye Second Dublin, A Book of Lawes and Orders* : Lovet was granted plots 9,10 and 16 South and 4 East.
- (148) *ibid.*, 25 March 1703[/04]; 5 May 1704.
- (149) *ibid.*, 5 May 1704.
- (150) *ibid.*, 5 May 1704. In 1729 James Wilkinson's annual rent for the same three plots was £8/14/6¾d. At this yearly rent, it would appear that Dillon had not paid any rent for the lease for approximately thirteen years.
- (151) *CARD*, vi, p301.
- (152) Registry of Deeds Lib 2; p 211; No 418: Two houses developed on the north west corner of the Green each had a frontage of approximately thirty foot. This was in keeping with the majority of seventeenth century plot sizes. Plots leased

- for development on the Aungier estate along Aungier Street, c.1680, were of a similar size, thirty-five feet -see N Burke 'An Early Modern Suburb: The Estate of Francis Aungier, Earl of Longford' *Irish Geography*, 6, 1972 pp365-385.
- (153) *ibid.*, Lib 2, p 576, No 642; Lib 29, p 517, No 18536; Lib 30, p 209, No 17259; Lib 32, p 370, No 20018.
- (154) Burke 'An early Modern Suburb ...' *Irish Geography* pp377-379.
- (155) *Irish Georgian Society Records of Eighteenth Century Domestic Architecture and Decoration in Dublin* Guinness, D. (ed.) (Shannon 1969), i-v, ii The property was rented from Abel Ram in 1702 who owned plot 30, north. Meath had first become a resident on the Green in 1692.
- (156) NLI Ms 5230: Kerry 's property was first valued in the MMVL, 1702, for £60. Also see *Irish Georgian Society*, ii, The Lords Castlecomer lived on the northside of the Green until 1751. Large house occupying plots 23 & 23 was the residence of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland from 1726-39. Shelburne left the northside of the Green c.1712.
- (157) Registry of Deeds Lib 1, p 50, No 28: 1709 Mitchell 1 northside; Lib 2, p 453, No 564: 1709 Wilkinson 1 eastside; Lib 14, p 464, No 6601: 1715 Shamburgh 2 westside; Lib 20, p 162, No 10157: 1717 Boyton 1 northside; Lib 25, p 83, No 13592 :1719 Poussin 1 northside; Lib 37, p 39, No 21338: 1721 Morris 1 southside; Lib 39, p 27, No 23781: 1723 Latouche 1 southside; Lib 41, p 332, No 26180: 1718 de Creissell 1 northside.
- (158) *ibid.*, Lib 1, p 50, No 28; Lib 1, p185, No112; Lib 12, p 17, No 4292; Lib 38, p325, No24429; Lib 40, p93, No24438. The first plot, situated at the southern end of Dawson Street, was leased in 1706. He contracted to return the building constructed there to Dawson for a payment of £150. The premises were mortgaged by Mitchell to Dawson in 1708. In 1713 the plot was re-leased to Mitchell and he finally relinquished his interest in the plot in 1723.
- (159) Irish Statutes 14 &15 Chas. II, c.3.
- (160) *ibid.*, 2 Will. & Mary, c.2. The primary purpose of this legislation was to ensure Protestant supremacy by preventing Catholic participation in government.
- (161) Hylton *The Dublin Huguenot Communities ...* Chapter 5.
- (162) St Peter's VM, i, 1686-1736, 2 January 1698[/99].
- (163) Hylton *The Dublin Huguenot Communities ...*, Chapter 5. Transactions 35 on the south, 19 on the west, 9 on the north, 8 on the east.
- (164) Registry of Deeds. Among the leases acquired by De Susy Boam were Lib 26, p 495, No 16533 plot 24 southside; Lib 30, p 209, No 17259 southside; Lib 32, p 370, No 20018 westside. de Susy Boam lived on this property until 1718; Lib 33, p 406, No 20712 southside; Lib 35, p 289, No 22494 plot 20 southside. A portion of this plot with a frontage of twenty-two feet had previously been leased by de Susy Boam in 1721 to Isaac Belloc; Lib 41, p 387, No 26454 southside.
- (165) Hylton *The Dublin Huguenot Communities ...* Chapter 5. For example in the 1723 when he acquired a plot on the south side of the Green. Lib 39, p 27, No 23781.
- (166) *ibid.*, Among the streets named in the transactions are Aungier street, Longford Street, Beaux Lane, Goat Alley, Love Lane and Longford Lane.
- (167) Burke 'An Early Modern Estate ...' *Irish Geography* p378.
- (168) Registry of Deeds Lib 2, p576, No642; Lib 29, p517, No18536.
- (169) *ibid.*, Lib 22, p255, No 11941; Lib 26, p262, No15403; Lib 32, p370, No 20018.

- (170) *ibid.*, Lib 32, p411, No20178; Lib 37, p40, No21361; Lib 37, p117, No21552.
- (171) *ibid.*, Lib 2, p453, No564.
- (172) *CARD*, vi, p164. In 1696[/97] the Assembly were faced with the prospect of spending £60 on repairs.
- (173) *ibid.*, p277.
- (174) *ibid.*, p405: It was decided the Green was not to be leased again and that the walks, walls, gates and watch house were to be repaired immediately.
- (175) *Day Letters from Georgian Ireland ...* p26.
- (176) Gilbert *A History of Dublin ...*, iii, p293. The land had originally been granted to Hugh Price in 1664.
- (177) Registry of Deeds Lib 1, p185, No 112.
- (178) *CARD*, vi, p472.
- (179) *ibid.*, p534.
- (180) Craig *Dublin 1660-1860* (Dublin 1980) p107.
- (181) *JHC Ire.*, iii, Bk I, p454, Private Bill, 8 March, 1725[/26]. The right to grant leases was given to John, Lord Viscount Molesworth, Richard Molesworth, and 'several other Persons'.
- (182) St Peter's VM, i, 1686-1736, 1693, and St Paul's VM, i, 1698-1750, 1700 and TCD Ms 2062.
- (183) St Peter's VM, i, 1686-1736, 23 March 1685. In lieu of money Evans 'paid in lime one hundred hogshead.'
- (184) Registry of Deeds Lib 23, p213, No13152.
- (185) St Peter's VM, i, 1686-1736, A list of Benefactors ...23 March 1685.
- (186) *ibid.*, Henry Monck gave £30. Robert Ware gave £20 to purchase 'cords'.
- (187) *ibid.*, Henry Ware signed Vestry minutes until 1715.
- (188) *ibid.*, Monck was elected to serve as church warden on 29 March 1687. On 5 October 1687 he pleaded privilege as a patentee and was excused service.
- (189) *ibid.*, 22 November 1717. On 21 February 1721[/22] George Monck was appointed to serve as an overseer of the Watch.
- (190) Hylton *The Dublin Huguenot Communities ...* Chapter 5.
- (191) St Bride's VM, i, 1662-1742. A total of four signed on an isolated occasion, in 1695, 1696, 1715, 1721. Adam de Glatigny signed twice in 1715 and once in 1721.
- (192) *ibid.*, 2 April 1711; 18 April 1715.
- (193) *ibid.*, 25 March 1706[/07]. There is no record of Chaigneau's election, but he signs the Vestry minutes on the above dates. For further evidence of Huguenots in St Bride's see *The Dublin Huguenot Communities ...* Chapter 5.
- (194) St Peter's VM, i, 1686-1736, 1713. Also see Lunham, T.A. 'Early French Refugees in Cork, Some Notices of.' *Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, Vol. 23-24, 1917-18, pp8-15.
- (195) Hylton *The Dublin Huguenot Communities ...* Chapter 5.
- (196) St Peter's VM, i, 1686-1736. It is not certain if the three Le Roux were related., or if all were members of St Patrick's, but as members of the conformist church, assimilation into the parish would have been easier.
- (197) St Bride's VM, i, 1662-1742. Seat holders listed in 1693. Lord Powerscourt held seat 70. Blundell and Southwell were joint holders of seat 71.
- (198) St Peter's VM, i, 1686-1736. The list of seat holders for 1693 is compiled from the Vestry minutes.
- (199) *Dublin Intelligence* 1 October 1709; *Whalley's Newsletter* May-December 1716.

- (200) Craig *Dublin 1660-1860* pp187-192.
- (201) Irish Statutes 6 Anne, c.21.
- (202) Malton, J. *A Picturesque & Descriptive View of the City of Dublin* (Dublin, reprint 1978) plate 23.
- (203) Loeber: *A Biographical Dictionary ...* p96. Robinson's other ecclesiastical works included St Brides 1679 and the design of the east window of St Mary's.
- (204) St Catherine's VM, iii, 1730-1767, 30 June 1740; 24 October 1740; 27 November 1740.
- (205) *ibid.*, 12 May 1742. The debt, £135/9/10d, was to be paid over two years, 1742-43, at an annual rate of £67/9/11d. The outstanding 10/- was probably paid for by contingency expenses in the annual cess.
- (206) *ibid.*, 18 November 1740.
- (207) Burke *Irish Priests ...* p122. Another priest and a Jesuit lived in St Catherine's.
- (208) 'Report on ... Popery ...' *Arch Hib*, 4, 1915, pp131-176.
- (209) Dufficy, M. 'The Story of St James' Church, James' Street, Dublin' *DHR*, xxix, 2, March 1976, pp66-9.
- (210) Hylton *The Dublin Huguenot Communities ...* Chapter 5.
- (211) Ffeary-Smyrl, S. 'Theatres of Worship': Dissenting meeting houses in Dublin, 1700-1750,' unpublished paper delivered at The Irish Dissenting Tradition: 1650-1750 held in Marsh's Library on 19 March 1994.
- (212) St James's Graveyard Project, *St James's Graveyard, Dublin ~ History and Associations*. (Dublin 1988) p13.
- (213) Murphy, S. ed. *Bully's Acre and the Royal Hospital Kilmainhan graveyards: history and inscriptions*. (Dublin 1989) pp6-7.
- (214) Monck Mason Papers, III/69, p263.
- (215) Murphy, S. ed. *Memorial Inscriptions from St Catherine's Church and Graveyard, Dublin*. (Dublin 1987) p3.
- (216) 'Report on ... Popery ...' *Arch Hib*, 4, 1915 pp131-176.
- (217) This assessment of the parish's possible Catholic population is made on the baptisms and burial figures for 1709-12 and the c.1710[/11] 'Abstract of citizens entitled to bear arms ...' printed on pp152-3 in *Eighteenth Century Ireland*, 1991.
- (218) NA M1368.
- (219) St Nicholas Without Applotment Book, i, 1707-1725, Church repairs cess November 1725.
- (220) 'Report on ... Popery ...' *Arch Hib*, 4, 1915, pp131-176.
- (221) Ffeary-Smyrl 'Theatres of Worship ...'
- (222) Thompson, J. 'The Irish Baptist Association in the Eighteenth Century' *Irish Baptist Historical Society Journal*, 17, 1984-85, pp18-31.
- (223) Ffeary-Smyrl 'Theatres of Worship...' also see St Nicholas Without Applotment Book, i, 1707-1725, Church repairs cess, November 1725.
- (224) *DPRS, The Register of St Nicholas Without, Dublin, 1694-1739*, (Dublin 1912) x, p106.
- (225) *ibid.*, p94.
- (226) Hyman, L. *The Jews of Ireland* (Shannon 1972) pp27-30.
- (227) Hylton *The Dublin Huguenot Communities ...* Chapter 5.
- (228) Irish Statutes 6 Anne, c.21.
- (229) TCD Ms 750, King Papers, 750/4/1/237-8, King to Meath, 15 December 1713.
- (230) *CARD*, vi, pp554-5.

- (231) Monck Mason Papers, III/69, p244.
- (232) 'Report on ... Popery ...' *Arch Hib*, 4, 1915, pp131-176.
- (233) MacLysaght, E. *Irish life in the Seventeenth Century* (Cork 1950) Appendix B, John Dunton's Letters, 6, Dublin, p385.
- (234) NA Meath Papers, A/2/106, Trustees of Meath to Richard Bowes, 1 November 1683.
- (235) *ibid*, Map Books G34; G35; maps 192 and 193.
- (236) McCullough *Dublin ...* p59. *CARD*, vii, p577.
- (237) *CARD*, vi, Appendix, p575. Despite the small percentage of substantial houses the average number of hearths per house had risen from 3.7 in 1682 to 4.4 in 1695 See RA Butlin 'Population of Dublin in the Late Seventeenth Century' *Irish Geography* 1965.
- (238) *Flying Post* 22 August 1709.
- (239) McCullough *Dublin ...* pp59-60.
- (240) NA Meath Papers, A/2/150, 5 March 1697.
- (241) *Dublin Intelligence* 23 August 1709.
- (242) *CARD*, vi, p575. There were 1,035 houses in the parish. St Michan's, with 1,101, was the only parish to exceed St Nicholas Without.
- (243) St Nicholas Without Applotment Book, i, 1707-1725, Church repairs cess 1715. In 1715 Francis Street ward had three constables, by 1725 there were four.
- (244) *ibid.*, Church repairs cesses 1711; 1725.
- (245) Harrington, J.P. ed. *The English Traveller in Ireland* (Dublin 1991) p168.
- (246) King, C.S. *A Great Archbishop of Dublin, William King D.D., 1650-1729* (London 1906) p305.
- (247) TCD Ms 750, King Papers, 750/9/125-7
- (248) NA Meath Papers J/3/6, 14 May 1712.
- (249) Clark, M. 'The Dublin City 'Roll of Quakers' Reconstructed' *The Irish Genealogist* 1989. St Catherine's VM, ii, 1693-1730, Easter 1695 Another Quaker, Joseph Deane signed the Vestry minutes in 1692.
- (250) St Catherine's VM, ii, 1693-1730, Easter 1696.
- (251) *ibid.*, 1705. Hylton *The Dublin Huguenot Communities ...* Chapter 5.
- (252) *ibid.*
- (253) St Catherine's VM, ii, 1693-1730, 1707-1734.
- (254) Freeman Rolls, franchise granted under 21 Chas II.
- (255) St Catherine's VM, ii, 1693-1730, Ransford was nominated as an auditor to the church wardens' accounts between 1686-88, and again in 1692.
- (256) Guinness, H.S. 'Dublin Trade Gilds' *JSAI*, 52-53, 1922-23, pp143-163.
- (257) Registry of Deeds Lib 4, p123, No781.
- (258) Stubbs, W.C. 'Weavers' Guild' *RSAI*, 48-49, 1918-19, pp60-88.
- (259) Craig *Dublin 1660-1860*, p96
- (260) Loeber *A Biographical Dictionary ...* p94.
- (261) Craig *Dublin 1660-1860*, p75.
- (262) *ibid.*, p98.
- (263) TCD Ms 750, King Papers, 750/1/79, King to Southwell, 19 July 1697. Cotton, H. *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae* i-iv, (Dublin 1850-59) ii (Dublin 1859) p74 and p295, John Pooley was St Michan's minister from 1673[/74] and was raised to the bishopric of Cloyne in 1697.
- (264) Irish Statutes 9 Will. III, c.16.
- (265) MacLysaght *Irish Life ...*, Appendix B, John Dunton's Letters, No 6, pp375-390.

- (266) Loeber *A Biographical Dictionary* ... p96. The church was altered in 1828.
- (267) Monck Mason Papers, III/68, p193.
- (268) Burke *Irish Priests* ... p121.
- (269) Fagan, P. *Dublin's Turbulent Priest, Cornelius Nary, 1658-1738* (Dublin 1991) p32, and pp46-8.
- (270) 'Report on ... Popery ...' *Arch Hib*, 4, 1915.
- (271) Hylton *The Dublin Huguenot Communities* ... Chapter 4.
- (272) *ibid.*
- (273) St Paul's VM, i, 1698-1750, Easter Monday 1701.
- (274) *CARD*, vi, p272. The 'instrument' granted by the Corporation was a right of passage, to the parishioners only, between the enclosed churchyard and King Street.
- (275) *ibid.*, The 'blew' boys were the pupils of the King's Hospital School.
- (276) Burke *Irish Priests* ... p302.
- (277) 'Report on ... Popery ...' *Arch Hib*, 4, 1915, note p132; note p133.
- (278) NLI Ms 100, Lyons, J.S. Notes for A History of Dublin City and County.
- (279) Loeber *A Biographical Dictionary* ... p95.
- (280) St Mary's VM, i, 1699-1739, 19 May 1701; 29 October 1701.
- (281) *ibid.*, 23 February 1701[02].
- (282) *ibid.*, 13 November 1721.
- (283) Monck Mason Papers, III/68, p187.
- (284) NA M1368.
- (285) Fagan *Dublin's Turbulent Priest* ... p32.
- (286) 'Report on ... Popery ...' *Arch Hib*, 4, 1915, note p132; note p133.
- (287) Hylton *The Dublin Huguenot Communities* ... Chapter 6.
- (288) Monck Mason Papers, III/68, p187.
- (289) MacLysaght *Irish Life* ... p388.
- (290) *ibid.*
- (291) *CARD*, vii, Appendix, p577. St Paul's 155; St Michan's 357; St Mary's 715.
- (292) Monck Mason Papers, III/68, p193.
- (293) *ibid.*
- (294) St Michan's Applotment Book, i, 1711-1725. 1711 In keeping with tradition parish applotments were made on solvent parishioners.
- (295) Monck Mason Papers, III/68, p193. *CARD*, vii, Appendix p577. The figure for 1712 is 987 houses. If the cess figure of 849 is added to Clayton's estimate for vacant houses, 96, the total number of houses within the parish was 945.
- (296) St Michan's Applotment Book, i, 1711-1725, 1714.
- (297) *ibid.*, 1723.
- (298) *ibid.* Church Repairs Cess, July, 1723 £56/2/11d: Waste and poor property were spread throughout the parish, but the poorest parish ward was ward 12. This comprised Church Street, Stirrap Lane and 'Glassnecongue' where fourteen of the seventeen registered as 'poor' lived.
- (299) St Mary's VM, i, 1699-1739, Applotment of Residents for St Mary's Church Building Fund, 1702. Capel Street, west, 51 cesses levied plus 3 tenements in Black Lion Court. Capel Street, east, 48 cesses levied. The majority of applotments are made for individuals, but occasionally two names are assessed for one sum. The applotment carefully distinguishes any 'tenements'. Therefore calculations are based on the assumption that each entry represents one house. Additional 'voluntary' subscriptions are not included. The applotment names 10

streets; 226 houses were cesses; 14 cabins and 21 tenements. For reference to Countess of Castlehaven, see introductory section on St Mary's parish.

- (300) *ibid.*, Applotment for Church Building Fund 1702.
- (301) *ibid.*
- (302) Registry of Deeds, Lib 2, p400, No531.
- (303) *ibid.*, Lib 3, p236, No881.
- (304) *ibid.*, Lib 2, p282, No455; Lib 2, p362, No502.
- (305) *ibid.*, Lib 1, p403, No245. The exact plot is not defined in the deed.
- (306) *ibid.*, Lib 1, p403, No245.
- (307) *ibid.*, Lib 5, p 267, No 1750; Lib 8, p 209, No 2623; Lib 9, p 49, No 3204; Lib 11, p 3, No 3356; Lib 11, p 344, No 4683; Lib 12, p 455, No 5770; Lib 15 p 278, No 7490; Lib 15, p 278, No 7491; Lib 20, p 328, No 10802.
- (308) St Mary's VM, i, 1699-1739, 19 September 1711.
- (309) *ibid.*, 17 October 1722.
- (310) St Michan's Applotment Book, i, 1711-1725.
- (311) St Mary's VM, i, 1699-1739, 17 October 1722.
- (312) St Paul's VM, i, 1698-1750, 12 March 1701[/02].
- (313) In 1713 Drogheda was nominated to serve on a committee in St Mary's but by 1716 the pew he had purchased was held by new occupants. Charlemont also left the parish settling in St Andrew's c.1709.
- (314) St Paul's VM, i, 1698-1750, Pew Register 1716. Middleton's pew, 52 was valued at £15; Henry Westenra held an interest in two pews, pew 8 which he shared with Lawrence Fitzpatrick, value £5 and pew 34, valued at £17 probably purchased for the use of his servants. Tighe held pew 41, valued at £10.
- (315) *ibid.*
- (316) *ibid.*, James senior purchased pew 3, valued at £9, in 1703. In 1716 he held pew 4, valued at £9. In 1702[/03] his son James held a gallery pew, 27, valued at £3. In 1716 he held gallery pew 28, valued at £3.
- (317) *ibid.*, 7 April 1702.
- (318) St Mary's VM, i, 1699-1739, Rochfort and Broderick held the office of church warden in 1700-1; 1701-2; 1702-3; 1703-4; 1704-5.
- (319) *ibid.*, 14 April 1707.
- (320) *ibid.*, 21 April 1712. As an MP, Savage could have pleaded privilege and avoided his term of office.
- (321) St Michan's VM, i, 1724-1760.
- (322) *CARD*, vii, Appendix, p577. The increase in houses between 1701-18 was 715.
- (323) TCD Ms 750, King Papers, 750/8/38-41, King to Temple, 8 October 1725.
- (324) St Mary's VM, i, 1699-1739. Among the Huguenots who signed the minutes were Roquier, sidesman in 1723-24, who signed the minutes, once, in 1724; Le Maistre and Faure each signed once, in 1709; Vareilles signed once in 1727; Delamain signed once in 1725 and once in 1726; Guizot signs three times, 1723, 1726 and 1729. The other Huguenots Alexander Faure, Peter Vatables, Thomas Ricard and Bernard Silbaud.
- (325) *Craig Dublin 1660-1860*, p102. This acquisition, made in 1712, was behind Sir John Rogerson Quay.
- (326) *ibid.* Henrietta Street was probably named after the Duchess of Grafton. It was begun in the early 1720s.
- (327) *ibid.*, pp102-3.

# Bibliography

<b>I</b>	<b>Manuscript Sources</b>	424
<b>II</b>	<b>Contemporary Printed Material</b>	426
	A    Records of Parliament	426
	B    Pamphlets	426
	C    Newspapers	427
	D    Maps	428
	E    Additional Documentary Material	428
<b>III</b>	<b>Primary Material Subsequently Printed</b>	428
	A    Historical Manuscripts Commission	428
	B    Irish Manuscripts Commission	429
	C    Record Publications	429
<b>IV</b>	<b>Later Printed Works</b>	429
<b>V</b>	<b>Unpublished Work</b>	434



## I. Manuscripts

### Dublin City Hall Archives

Ancient Revenue No 16, Transcript copy of the 'Amory Grant'.  
Book of Accounts of the Corporation of the City of Dublin 1650-1717, MR/36.  
Cess Book on City Loan to Colonel Jones, MR/15.  
Court of Tholsel  
Ferry Leases, No 490-492.  
Freeman Rolls for the City of Dublin  
'Old Bridge', Expired Leases 68-71.

### Gilbert Library, Pearse Street Public Library, Dublin

Monck Mason Papers I/62-III/69.

### King's Hospital School, Dublin

The Hospital and Free School of Charles ye Second, Dublin, A Book of Lawes and Orders, Ms 2.  
Rental and Maps C C, Ms 66.  
Rent Roll 1669-1683, Ms 68.

### Marsh's Library, Dublin

Archbishop Narcissus Marsh's Diary [no date] [typescript copy].  
'A List of the poore in the City Workhouse from their Several Parishes With their Age and Qualitys. March: 20th day 1725-6'.  
Accounts of the City Work-house A.D. 1710, Dublin.  
Copy of the Will of John Barlow, of St Patrick Street of the City of Dublin, Bricklayer, 8th Feb. 1688.  
'Heds for proceeding to consult the Ministers of the several parishes to know what objections they have against a new Poor Bill, employing the Work-house under new regulations' [no date]  
Order for collecting Poor-Money, 10 May 1706.  
'Reasons For a Further Contribution towards Supporting and Enlarging the Charitable Infirmary of the City of Dublin'.  
Statement concerning admissions to the Work-house during the years 1706 to 1710.  
'The present State of the Work-house, 6 April 1726'.

### National Archives, Dublin

A List of the Ecclesiastical Promotions in the Diocese of Dublin 1618-1807, M 2544  
A Particular Account of the Romish Clergy Secular and Regular in every parish of the Dioceses of Dublin, 1697, M 1368  
Calendar of Pleas, Hilary Term, 22 & 23 Charles II, M 2751.  
Extracts from St Kevin's Vestry Minutes, 1669-1674, Ms 5136.  
Forfeited Estates, 1689: A List of the Claims. M 2547-2548.

List of Lord Meath's Papers, parts I-II.  
Notes on the Poll Tax, 1696-1699, M 2469.

National Library of Ireland, Dublin

Bolton Papers, Mss 15,926, Account of the Number of Watchmen employed in the  
Several Parishes in the County of the City of Dublin collected from the  
returns to Parliament,

Extracts from St John's Vestry Minutes 1595-1603, Ms 1618

Lyons, J.S. Notes for a History of Dublin City and County, Mss 100.

Minister's Money Valuation Lists, St Peter's, Dublin 1667-1702, Ms 5230.

Ware, R. Notes taken from various sources on Churches in Dublin district by Sir  
James Ware in the seventeenth century and translated by Robert Ware, Ms  
13,311.

Registry of Deeds, Dublin

Transcripts of the Memorial of the Deeds, Dublin City, 1708-1738.

Representative Church Body Library, Dublin

Carlow Vestry Minutes 1669-1762.

Christ Church Cathedral Alms Book

\_\_\_\_\_ Guard Book

\_\_\_\_\_ Proctors Accounts

Finglas Vestry Minutes 1657-1758.

St Bride's Church Wardens' Accounts 1663-1704.

\_\_\_\_\_ Vestry Minutes 1662-1742.

St Catherine's Vestry Minutes, i-iii; i, 1657-1692; ii, 1693-1730; iii, 1730-1767.

St John's Applotment Books, i-ii; i, 1659-1696; ii, 1696-1735.

\_\_\_\_\_ Charity School 1697-1726

\_\_\_\_\_ Poor Book, i, 1700-1720.

\_\_\_\_\_ Vestry Minutes, i-ii; i, 1660-1710; ii, 1711-1766.

\_\_\_\_\_ Watch Account Book, i, 1724-1737.

St Luke's Church Wardens' Account Book, i, 1716-1777.

St Mark's Vestry Minutes, i, 1720-1829.

St Mary's Vestry Minutes, i, 1699-1739.

\_\_\_\_\_ Vestry Minutes, ii, 1739-1761.

\_\_\_\_\_ Church Wardens' Account Book 1699-1707.

St Michael's Vestry Minutes, i, 1667-1754.

St Michan's Applotment Book, i, 1711-1725.

\_\_\_\_\_ Church Wardens' Account Book, i, 1723-1761.

\_\_\_\_\_ Common Place Book.

\_\_\_\_\_ Pew Register, i, 1724-1767.

\_\_\_\_\_ Poor Book, i, 1723-1733.

St Michan's Vestry Minutes, i, 1724-1760.

St Nicholas Within, Baptisms, Marriages, Burials 1671-1788.

St Nicholas Without Applotment Book, i, 1707-1725.

St Paul's Vestry Minutes, i, 1698-1750.  
St Peter's Poor Book, i, 1737  
St Peter's Vestry Minutes, i, 1686-1736.  
St Werburgh's Miscellaneous Papers, 1659-1728.  
\_\_\_\_\_ Vestry Minutes, i, 1720-1780.  
Visitations 1703-1741, M.C.12.  
Visitations 1708-1718, M.C.19.

#### St Michan's Church, Dublin

A Memorial of certain Persons, Matters & Things relating to the Old and New Parishes of St Michan, Dublin, 1724.

#### Trinity College, Dublin

A List of such Protestants of Ireland as are lately Fled out of the Kingdom of Ireland for Safety of their Lives and the value of their Estates, 1689. Ms 743.  
Carroll, W.G. 'Old Dublin', [c.1880], Mss 1473  
Cook, J. Transcript of the diary of the Reverend John Cook, ca 1710, Mss 6448.  
Dopping, A. St Bridget's Charity School - Observations, Mss 2468a.  
Hutchison Papers, Mss 8556-8558.  
King Papers, Manuscript 750.  
\_\_\_\_\_ Manuscripts 1995-2008.  
Molyneux Papers, Mss 883.  
Monck Mason Papers, Extracts from the records of St Andrew's, St Bride's, Mss 2062; 2063.  
'A second collection of the progress of truth in the nation of Ireland beginning in the year 1701 [-1717], Ms 3178.

## **II. Contemporary Printed Material**

### A: Records of Parliament

*House of Commons Parliamentary Papers*, xxx, 1836, Appendix C., part ii.  
*The Journals of the House of Commons, of the Kingdom of Ireland*, i-iii, parts I and II, 1660-1730 (Dublin 1796)  
*The Journals of the House of Lords, of the Kingdom of Ireland*, iii, 1 Geo II, 1727 to 25 Geo II, 1752 (Dublin 1779)  
*Statutes at large passed in the Parliaments held in Ireland* (Dublin 1786)

### B: Pamphlets

*An Account of charity-schools lately erected in England, Wales and Ireland* (London 1706)  
*An Account of charity-schools in Ireland since 1721* (Dublin 1724)  
*A Description of the City of Dublin in Ireland* (Dublin 1732)

- A Report from the Committee Appointed to Enquire into the State of Goals in this Kingdom. 24 November 1729 (Dublin 1729)*
- Barlow, J. *The Lord Mayor; to prevent the Calamities that may happen by Fire, has Ordered Publick Notice to be given (Dublin 1711)*
- Cole, M. *To the Honorable the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses at this time in Parliament assembled [Dublin ? 1705 ?]*
- Corporation instituted for the Relief of the Poor, and for punishing vagabonds and sturdy beggars in Dublin: An Account of the proceedings and the state of the fund for the Corporation instituted for the Relief of the Poor (Dublin 1774)*
- For the Benefit of the Publick. An Agreement of the Church-Wardens of the several Parishes in the City and Suburbs of DUBLIN, at a Meeting on the 19th of November, 1725. (Dublin 1725)*
- King, W. *Instructions and Queries for the Clergy of the Diocese of Dublin, agreed to at the synod held in St Patrick's Church, Apr. 23, 1718 (Dublin 1718)*
- Marsh, N. *The Charge Given By Narcissus, Lord Archbishop of Dublin, to the Clergy of the Province of Leinster, at his Primary Triennial Visitation, Anno Dom 1694 (Dublin 1694)*
- Methods of erecting, supporting, and governing charity-schools; with an account of the charity-schools in Ireland, and some observations thereon (Dublin 1719)*
- The answer of several of the Commons of the City of Dublin to a scandalous libel entituled 'The Resolutions of the Common Council of the City of Dublin [Dublin n.d. 1713?]*
- The Case of the City of Dublin in relation to the election of the Lord-Mayor and Sheriffs of the said city [Dublin 1711?]*
- The Case of the City of Dublin in relation to the election of magistrates in the said city [Dublin n.d. 1713?]*
- The Case of the Foundlings of the City of Dublin; humbly recommended to the Consideration of Parliament (Dublin 17--?)*
- The Report of the Committee Appointed to Inspect the Poor Rates and the Scavenger's Rates within the Cities of London and Westminster, and the Weekly Bills of Mortality (London 1715)*
- The Resolutions of the Common Council of the City of Dublin for the maintaining the freedom of elections in the said city July 18, 1713 [Dublin] (1713)*
- Workhouse Dublin: The Report of the Lord Mayor (Francis Stoyte) and the seven assistants of their proceedings for the year ending this fourth day of June, 1705 (Dublin 1705)*

### C: Newspapers

- Dublin Courant, 1719-1721*
- Faulkner's Dublin Journal, 1726-1733.*
- The Dublin Intelligence, 1703-1712*
- The Dublin Gazette, 1706-1727*
- The Dublin Weekly Journal 1725-1731*
- The London Gazette, 1701*
- The Post Master, 1709*

*Whalley's Flying Post*, 1703-1709

*Whalley's Newsletter*, 1715-1722

### C: Maps

Faden, W. *A Plan of the City of Dublin ...* 1797.

Saint Bride's parish 1728 in Carroll, G.W. *Succession of Clergy in the Parishes of S  
Bride, S Michael Le Pole and S Stephen, Dublin* (Dublin 1884)

### E: Additional Documentary Material

Bolton, R.A. *A Justice of the Peace in Ireland* (Dublin 1638)

\_\_\_\_\_ *A Justice of the Peace in Ireland* (Dublin 1683)

Bullingbroke, E *Ecclesiastical Law or the Statutes, Constitutions, Canons, Rubricks and  
Articles of the Church of Ireland* (Dublin 1770)

Burn, R. *Ecclesiastical Law* (7th edition London 1809)

Dobbs, A. *An Essay on the Trade and Improvement of Ireland* (Part II, Dublin 1731)

Dunton, J. *The Dublin Scuffle* (London 1699)

King, W. *An Impartial Account of King James II's Behaviour* (London 1746)

\_\_\_\_\_ *The State of the Protestants of Ireland Under the Late King James's  
Government* (London 1691)

Petty, Sir W. *Observations upon the Dublin Bills of Mortality 1681, and the state of that  
city* (London 1683)

\_\_\_\_\_ *The Political Anatomy of Ireland* (London 1691)

\_\_\_\_\_ *Several Essays in Political Arithmetick: Further observations upon the  
Dublin bills, or accompts of the houses, hearths, baptisms and burials in  
that city* (3rd edition, London 1699)

Lodge, J. *The Peerage of Ireland*, i-vii (Dublin 1789)

*Memoirs of Ireland* (London 1716)

Routledge, F.J. (ed) *Calendar of Clarendon State Papers in the Bodleian Library, 1660-  
1726*, v, (Oxford 1970)

Swift, Dean J. *An Answer to a paper called a Memorial of the poor inhabitants,  
tradesmen, and labourers of the kingdom of Ireland* [anon] (Dublin 1728)

\_\_\_\_\_ *A proposal for giving badges to the beggars in all the parishes of Dublin*  
(Dublin 1737)

Whitelaw, Reverend J. *An Essay on the Population of Dublin, being the result of an  
actual survey taken in 1798, with great care and precision.* (Dublin 1805)

Young, A *A Tour of Ireland*, i-ii, (Dublin 1780)

## **III. Primary Material Subsequently Printed**

### A: Historical Manuscripts Commission

*Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Ormonde*, New Series, i-viii; (London  
1906-1920)

*Calendar of the Stuart Papers*, i, (London 1902)

*Diary of Viscount Percival, afterwards first Earl of Egmont, 1730-1733*, i, (London 1920)

*Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont 1661-1709*, ii, (Hereford 1909)

B: Irish Manuscripts Commission

Archbishop Bulkeley's Visitation of Dublin, 1630, *Archivium Hibernicum*, viii, 1941.

Clare, Reverend W. *Guide to Copies and Abstracts of Irish Wills* (Dublin 1930, reprinted 1972)

Eustace, P.B. and Goodbody, O.C. (eds) *Quaker Records, Dublin, Abstracts of Wills* (Dublin 1957)

Goodbody, O.C. *Guide to Irish Quaker Records, 1654-1800* (Dublin 1967)

Keane, E.; Phair, B.P. and Sadleir, T. (eds) *King's Inns Admission Papers 1607-1867* (Dublin 1982)

O'Byrne, E. *The Convert Rolls* (Dublin 1981)

Pender, S.(ed) *Census of Ireland, c.1659*. (Dublin 1939)

*Registry of Deeds Abstracts to Wills, i, 1708-1745* (Dublin 1956)

Report on the State of Popery in Ireland, 1731, *Archivium Hibernicum*, iv, 1915.

C: Record Publications

*Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, Domestic Series, 1660-1703-4*

*Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin*, i-viii, Gilbert, J.T. (ed) (Dublin 1889-1901)

*Parish Register Society, Dublin*, i-xii, (Dublin 1906-1915)

#### IV. Later printed works

Aalen, F.H.A. and Whelan, K. *Dublin City and County: From Prehistory to Present* (Dublin 1992)

Andrews, J.H. 'The Oldest Map of Dublin', *Proceedings of the Irish Academy*, Volume 83, C, Number 7, 1983.

Arnold, L.J. *The Restoration Land Settlement in County Dublin, 1660-1688* (Dublin 1993)

Ball, F.E. *A History of the County of Dublin*, i-vi (Dublin 1902-1920)

Barnard, T.C. 'Reforming Irish Manners: The Religious Societies in Dublin during the 1690s' *The Historical Journal*, xxxv, 4, 1992

Beckett, J.C. *The making of Modern Ireland 1603-1923* (London 1966)

——— 'The Government and the Church of Ireland under William III and Anne' *Irish Historical Studies*, xi, 1940-1941.

Beier, A.L. and Finlay, R. (eds) *The Making of the Metropolis, London 1500-1700* (London 1986)

Best, E.M. 'St Paul's Parish, Dublin' *Journal of Royal Society of Antiquaries, Ireland*, civ, 1974

Boydell, B. 'St Michan's Church, Dublin ~ the Installation of the Organ in 1725' *Dublin Historical Record*, xlvi, 2, 1993.

Burke, N.T. 'An Early Modern Dublin Suburb: The Estate of Francis Aungier, Earl of Longford' *Irish Geography*, vi, 1972.

- Burke, W.P. *The Irish Priests in the Penal Times (1660-1760)* (Shannon 1969)
- Butlin, R.A. 'The Population of Dublin in the late Seventeenth Century' *Irish Geography*, ii, 1965
- Carroll, Reverend W.G. *Succession of Clergy in the Parishes of S. Bride, S. Michael le Pole and S. Stephen, Dublin.* (Dublin 1884)
- \_\_\_\_\_ *The Lansdowne Estates and Sir William Petty* (Dublin 1881)
- Carpenter, A. 'William King and the threats to the Church of Ireland during the reign of James II.' *Irish Historical Studies*, xviii, 1972-1973.
- Clark, M. 'Dublin City Pipe Water Accounts, 1680' *The Irish Genealogist*, 1987.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 'The Dublin City 'Roll of Quakers' Reconstructed' *The Irish Genealogist*, 1989.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 'List of the Principal Inhabitants of the City of Dublin, 1684' *The Irish Genealogist*, 1990.
- Cotton, H. *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae*, i-iv, (Dublin 1850-1859)
- Corish, P.J. *The Catholic Community in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Dublin 1981)
- Connolly, S.J. *Religion, Law and Power, The Making of Protestant Ireland 1660-1760* (Oxford 1992)
- \_\_\_\_\_ 'The Church of Ireland: a critical bibliography, 1690-1800', part IV, *Irish Historical Studies*, xxviii, 112, 1993.
- Craig, M. and Wheeler *The Dublin City Churches of the Church of Ireland: an illustrated handbook* (Dublin 1948)
- \_\_\_\_\_ *Dublin 1660-1860* (Dublin 1980)
- Christmas, B.W. 'Some Protestant Settlers in Ireland 1662-1737' *The Irish Genealogist*, 1988.
- Cullen, L.M. *An Economic History of Ireland since 1660* (London, 2nd edition 1987)
- D'Alton, J. *The Memoirs of the Archbishops of Dublin* (Dublin 1838)
- \_\_\_\_\_ *The History of the County of Dublin* (Dublin 1838)
- Day, A. (ed) *Letters from Georgian Ireland* (Belfast 1991)
- Dickson, D. and Devine T.M. (eds) *Ireland and Scotland 1600-1850* (Glasgow 1983)
- \_\_\_\_\_ 'Large-scale developers and the growth of eighteenth century Irish cities' in Butel, P, and Cullen, L.M. (eds) *Cities and Merchants: French and Irish Perspectives on Urban Development, 1500-1900* (Dublin 1986)
- \_\_\_\_\_ *New Foundations: Ireland 1660-1800* (Dublin 1987)
- \_\_\_\_\_ *The Gorgeous Mask, Dublin 1700-1850* (Trinity History Workshop 1987)
- \_\_\_\_\_ 'In Search of the Old Irish Poor Law' in Mitchison, R. and Roebuck, P. *Economy and Society in Scotland and Ireland 1500-1939* (Edinburgh 1988)
- \_\_\_\_\_ 'The Demographic Implications of Dublin's Growth, 1650-1850' in Lawton, R and Lee, R. (eds) *Urban Population Development in Western Europe from the Late Eighteenth century to the Early Twentieth Century* (Liverpool 1989)
- \_\_\_\_\_ O'Grada, C. and Daultrey, S. 'Hearth Tax, Household Size and Irish Population Change 1672-1821' *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, lxxxii, C, No 6, 1982.
- Donnelly, Reverend N. *Short Histories of Dublin Parishes* (Dublin, 1906-1911).

- Dufficy, Reverend M. 'The Story of St James' Church, James' Street, Dublin *Dublin Historical Record*, xxix, 2, 1976.
- Dyer, A. *The City of Worcester in the Sixteenth Century* (Leicester University Press 1973)
- Earle, P. *The Making of the English Middle Class: Business, Society and Family Life in London 1660-1730* (London 1989)
- Fagan, P. *The Second City* (Dublin 1986)
- \_\_\_\_\_ *Dublin's Turbulent Priest, Cornelius Nary 1658-1738* (Dublin 1991)
- \_\_\_\_\_ 'The Population of Dublin in the eighteenth century with particular reference to the proportions of protestants and catholics.' *Eighteenth Century Ireland*, vi, 1991.
- Falkus, M. 'Lighting in the Dark Ages of English Economic History: Town Streets before the Industrial Revolution' in Coleman, D.C. and John, A.H. (eds) *Trade, Government and Economy in Pre-Industrial England* (London 1976)
- Ford, A. *The Protestant Reformation in Ireland, 1590-1641* (Frankfort 1987)
- Gilbert, J.T. *A History of the City of Dublin*, i-iii, (Dublin 1861)
- \_\_\_\_\_ *A Jacobite Narrative of the War in Ireland* (Dublin 1892)
- Gillespie, R. 'A Colonial Capital and its Hinterland: Dublin (1600-1700)' in Aerts, E. and Clark, P. (eds) *Metropolitan Cities and Their Hinterlands in Early Modern Europe* (Leuven University Press 1990)
- \_\_\_\_\_ 'Dublin 1600-1700: A Colonial Capital ?' Unpublished article.
- Goodbody, O. 'Anthony Sharp, A Quaker Merchant of the Liberties' *Dublin Historical Record*, xiv, 1955-1958.
- Guinness, D. (ed) *The Georgian Society Records of Eighteenth Century Domestic Architecture and Decoration in Dublin*, i-v (Shannon 1969)
- Guinness, H.S. 'Dublin Trade Gilds' *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* lii-liii, 1922-1923
- Halsbury's Laws of England*, i-xliii; iii, (Simonds edition, London 1952)
- Harrington, J.P. (ed) *The English Traveller in Ireland* (Dublin 1991)
- Harris, W. *The History and Antiquities of the City of Dublin* (Dublin 1766)
- Hughes, Reverend S.C. *St John the Evangelist, Dublin* (Dublin 1889)
- \_\_\_\_\_ *St Werburgh's Church, Dublin* (Dublin 1889)
- Hylton, R.P. 'Dublin's Huguenot Communities: Trials, Development, and Triumph, 1662-1701' *London Society of Huguenots' Proceedings* 1983-1988.
- Hyman, L. *The Jews in Ireland* (Shannon 1972)
- Johnston, P. 'Fire Fighting in Dublin to 1922' *Dublin Historical Record*, xl, 1, 1986
- Kelly, J. 'Jonathan Swift and the Irish Economy in the 1720s' *Eighteenth Century Ireland*, vi, 1991.
- Kelly, P. 'Industry and Virtue versus Luxury and Corruption': Berkeley, Walpole, and the South Sea Bubble Crisis.' *Eighteenth Century Ireland*, vii, 1992.
- Kenny, C. *King's Inns and the Kingdom of Ireland: The Irish 'Inn of Court' 1541-1800* (Dublin 1991)
- King, C.S. *A Great Archbishop of Dublin, William King D.D. 1650-1729* (London 1906)
- Lea, S.P. *The present state of the established church, or ecclesiastical registry of Ireland for 1814* (Dublin 1814)



- LaTouche, J.J. Digges (ed) *Registers of the French Conformed Churches of St Patrick and St Mary, Dublin* (Dublin 1893)
- Leak, A. *The Liberty of St Peter's York 1800-1838* (Borthwick Papers 1990)
- LeFanu, T.P. *Registers of the French Nonconformists Churches of Lucy Lane and Peter Street, Dublin.* (Aberdeen 1901)
- Lennon, C. *The Lords of Dublin in the Age of Reformation* (Dublin 1989)
- Leslie, Canon J.B. 'Calendar of leases and deeds of St Patrick's Cathedral' *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries, Ireland*, lxiv, 1934.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 'Calendar of leases and deeds of St Patrick's Cathedral' *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries, Ireland*, lxv, 1935.
- Loeber, R. *A Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Ireland 1600-1720* (London 1981)
- Lunham, T.A. 'Early French Refugees in Cork, Some Notices of.' *Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, xxiii-xxiv, 1917-1918.
- MacCaffrey, W.T. *Exeter, 1540-1640: The Growth of an English Town* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London 1975)
- MacCarthy, R.B. *Saint Mark's, the history of a Dublin parish* (Dublin 1971)
- MacSorley, C.M. *The Story of Our Parish, St Peter's Dublin.* (Dublin 1917)
- MacLysaght, E. *Irish life in the Seventeenth Century* (Cork 1950)
- \_\_\_\_\_ *The Surnames of Ireland* (6th edition Dublin 1985, reprinted 1989)
- McCarthy, M. *All Graduates and Gentlemen* (Dublin 1980)
- McCready, C.T. *Dublin Street Names, Dated and Explained* (Dublin 1892, reprinted 1987)
- McCullough, N. *Dublin, An Urban History* (Dublin 1989)
- McGuire, J.I. 'The Church of Ireland and the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688' *Studies in Irish History*, 1979
- \_\_\_\_\_ 'The Dublin convention, the protestant community and the emergence of an ecclesiastical settlement in 1660' *Irish Historical Studies*, xiv, 1981.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 'The Church of Ireland: a critical bibliography, 1641-1690', part III, *Irish Historical Studies*, xxviii, 112, 1993.
- McLynn, F. *Crime and Punishment in Eighteenth Century England* (Oxford 1991)
- McMinn, J. (ed) *Swift's Irish Pamphlets, An Introductory Selection* (Worcester 1991)
- Malton, J. *A Picturesque & Descriptive View of the City of Dublin* (Dublin 1978)
- Mant, R. *History of the Church of Ireland from the Reformation to the Revolution* (London 1840)
- Mason, Monck W. *The History and Antiquities of the Collegiate and Cathedral Church of St Patrick's near Dublin, from its foundation in 1190, to the year 1819* (Dublin 1819)
- Maxwell, C. *Dublin under the Georges 1714-1830* (London 1936, revised edition 1956)
- Meehan, P. 'Early Public Lighting' *Dublin Historical Record*, v, 1941-1944.
- Melvin, P. 'Sir Paul Rycout's Memoranda' *Analecta Hibernica*, xxvii, 1972.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 'Letters of Lord Longford and Others on Irish Affairs, 1689-1702' *Analecta Hibernica*, xxxii, 1985.
- Mitchell, B. *A Guide to Irish Parish Registers* (Baltimore 1988)
- Moody, T.W., Martin, F.X., and Byrne, F.J. (eds) *A New History of Ireland, iii, Early Modern Ireland 1534-1691.* (Oxford 1976)

- \_\_\_\_\_ *A New History of Ireland, viii, A Chronology of Irish History to 1976, A Companion to Irish History, Part I* (Oxford 1982)
- \_\_\_\_\_ *A New History of Ireland, ix, Maps, Genealogies, Lists: A Companion to Irish History, Part II* (Oxford 1984)
- Moore, D.F. 'St Peter's Church, Aungier Street' *Dublin Historical Record*, xiv, 1955-1958.
- Moylan, T.K. 'Vagabonds and Sturdy Beggars' parts I and II, *Dublin Historical Record*, i, Nos. 1-2, 1938-1939
- Murphy, S. 'The Corporation of Dublin 1660-1760' *Dublin Historical Record*, xxxviii, 1, 1984.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (ed) *Memorial Inscriptions from St Catherine's Church and Graveyard Dublin* (Dublin 1987)
- Newton, R. *Eighteenth Century Exeter* (University of Exeter 1984)
- O'Brien, G. (ed) *Catholic Ireland in the Eighteenth Century, Collected Essays of Maureen Wall* (Dublin 1989)
- Ohlmeyer, J. (ed) *Ireland From Independence to Occupation 1641-1660* (Cambridge 1995)
- Parkinson, D *Huguenot Cemetery, 1693* (Dublin 1988)
- Pearl, V. 'Change and Stability in Seventeenth Century London' in Barry, J. (ed) *The Tudor and Stuart Town 1530-1688* (London 1990)
- Phillips, W.A. (ed) *A History of the Church of Ireland from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, i-iii, (London 1933)
- Poyntz, S.G. *St Ann's, The Church in the Heart of the City* (Dublin 1976)
- Robins, J. *The Lost Children: A Study of Charity Children in Ireland 1700-1900* (Dublin 1980, reprinted 1987)
- St James's Graveyard Project *St James's Graveyard, Dublin ~ History and Associations* (Dublin 1988)
- Shaw, W.A. (ed) *Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalisation for Aliens in England and Ireland 1603-1700* (Lymington 1911)
- Shepherd, R. *Ireland's Fate The Boyne and After* (London 1990)
- Simms, J.G. *War and Politics in Ireland, 1649-1730* (London 1986)
- Stokes, G.T. *Some Worthies of the Irish Church* (London 1900)
- Stubbs, W.C. 'Weavers' Guild' *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 48 and 49, 1918-1919.
- Tate, W.E. *The Parish Chest* (Cambridge University Publications 1969)
- Thompson, J. 'The Irish Baptist Association in the Eighteenth Century' *Irish Baptist Historical Society*, xvii, 1984-1985.
- Todd, J.H. *A Catalogue of Graduates who have proceeded to degrees in the University of Dublin from the earliest recorded commencements to July 1866, with Supplement to December 16, 1868* (Dublin 1869)
- Tutty, M.J. 'Bridges over the Liffey' *Dublin Historical Record*, xxxv, 1, 1981.
- Underdown, D. *Fire from Heaven, Life in an English Town in the Seventeenth Century* (London 1993)
- Vaisey, D. (ed) *The Diary of Thomas Turner 1754-1765* (Oxford 1985)

- Vaughan, W.E. and Moody, T.W. (eds) *A New History of Ireland, iv, Eighteenth Century Ireland 1696-1800*. (Oxford 1986)
- Webb, E.A. *The Records of St Bartholomew's, Smithfield*, i-ii, (Oxford 1921)
- Webb, S. and B. *English Local Government from the Revolution to the Municipal Corporations Act: The Parish and the County* (London 1906)
- Whiteside, L. *A History of the King's Hospital* (Maynooth University Press 1975, 2nd edition 1985)
- Whistler, C. 'The Dublin Liberties' *Dublin Historical Record*, xxvii, 1, 1973.
- Wright, G.N. *An Historical Guide to Dublin* (London 1821)
- Wyse Jackson, R. *Scenes from Irish Clerical Life in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Limerick 1941)
- Young, E.J. 'St Michan's Parish in the Eighteenth Century' *Dublin Historical Record*, III, No 1, 1940.

### V. Unpublished Dissertations and Theses

- Burke, N.T. 'Dublin 1600-1800: A Study in Urban Morphogenesis' (Trinity College, Dublin Ph.D. 1972)
- Ferguson, J.A. 'A Comparative Study of Urban Society in Edinburgh, Dublin and London in the late Seventeenth Century' (University of St Andrew's Ph.D. 1981)
- Fitzpatrick, B. 'The Municipal Corporation of Dublin, 1603-1640' (Trinity College, Dublin Ph.D. 1984)
- Hylton, R.P. 'The Huguenot Communities of Dublin 1662-1745' (National University of Ireland, University College, Dublin, Ph.D. 1985)
- Kennedy, R.T. 'The Administration of the Diocese of Dublin and Glendalough in the Eighteenth Century' (Trinity College, Dublin. M.Litt. 1968)
- Starr, J.P. 'The Enforcing of Law and Order in Eighteenth century Ireland' (Trinity College, Dublin Ph.D. 1968)





