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A  
BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY  
OF THE  
MEMBERSHIP  
OF THE  
IRISH HOUSE OF COMMONS,  
1640-1641

Volume 2



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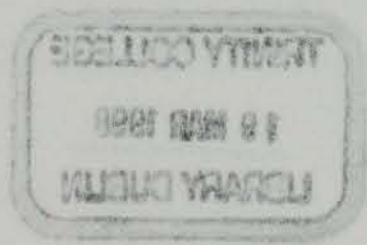




VOLUME TWO

A  
APPENDICES

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1640-1641



BRID MCGRATH  
B.A. Mod., M. Litt., D.L.I.S.

A Thesis submitted to the School of History  
in the University of Dublin for the  
Degree of *Philosophae Doctor*.

September 1997



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## VOLUME TWO

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JOHN HAMILTON (1587+-1639), Down County

4 s. Rev. Hans Hamilton and Janet Denholm, Ayrshire; m. Sarah, d. 1633, da. Captain Anthony Brabazon, Balinasloe, Co. Galway, and Ursula, da. Sir Nicholas Malby and either \_\_\_\_\_ Lambe, or Honora da. Ulick Burke, Lord Clanricarde, and Margaret de. Lord Arundell; Ursula rem. Sir Thomas Burke, 2 s. Ulick, Lord Clanricarde; 4s. 4 da.;

d. 16 December 1639; bur. Mullaghbrack Church, Co. Armagh.

M.P. Killyleagh 1613, Down County 1634.<sup>1</sup>

John died before taking his seat, and was replaced by Edward Trevor\*. He came to Ireland in 1587 with his brother James, later Lord Clandeboy. He was John\* and James\* Hamiltons' uncle. His marriage connected him to another important settler family, based largely in Connaught and Leinster.<sup>2</sup> Most of his parliamentary connections were in the house of Lords, through the Clandeboys and the Brabazons' relatives Lords Meath, Clanmorris and Clanricarde. He is described as of Monela (Moneylea, Cavan), and lived on his property at Hamilton's Bawn in Armagh and Coronary, Cavan, although he also held lands in Down from his brother. He was j.p. for Armagh in 1624 and sheriff in 1627, when he was also a commissioner to raise money for the army in Armagh and Cavan.

McGrath, 1613. p. 109; G. Hamilton, *The House of Hamilton*, pp 968-9,983; *Hamilton Manuscripts*, pp 63,159-62; *Irish Memorials of the Dead*, X, p. 4; H.M.C. *Hastings*, IV, p. 164; *Marsh's MS. Z3.2.6*, f. 209; T.C.D. MS. 672, f. 186r; Hill, *Montgomery Manuscripts*, p. 305; H.M.C. *Laing*, I, pp 132-5; *Cal.S.P.Ire.*, 1625-32, p. 254; ?*Rawdon Papers*, pp 16-7.

JOHN KARNES (CAIRNS, CAIRNES) (1597-1651-2) Augher  
e.s. Alexander Cairnes (c. 1580-c1635), Wigton, Scotland, and \_\_\_\_\_ Scott;  
m. 1) \_\_\_\_\_, 2s., 2 da.; 2) Martha, da. William Holland, Drumbonacher, Monaghan; 2 s., 2 da; she rem. \_\_\_\_\_ Ley.

Karnes was returned in February 1640 but replaced in a second election.

<sup>1</sup> He was returned for both Killyleagh and Down County.

<sup>2</sup> John's brothers-in-law Edward and Malby Brabazon represented the Hamilton borough of Bangor in 1613 and 1634 respectively. McGrath, 1613. p.110.



Alexander Cairnes was a cousin of the settler families of McClelland, Murray and McCulloch. In Scotland he was a middleman to John Murray. He was not a good manager of money at that time and came to Ireland in 1610, to mend his fortune, bringing his family with him; he acted as general agent of the Scottish planters in the Rosses, Donegal. John leased lands in Donegal from William Stewart\* in 1617. By 1621 he was also leasing one ballyboe at Sianson in Tyrone from Edward Kingswell, and he lived at Parsonstown (Clogher Barony), as Sir William Parsons's\* tenant on lands worth £30 *per annum*. Other members of his family also settled in Donegal and Tyrone and he received letters of denization in 1633. By 1640 he was sufficiently prosperous to be able to pay £1,222 for the manor of Kilfadda (Tyrone), with 1,500 acres, worth £160 annually. His deposition claimed that he lost this land and the profits from the offices of clerk of the crown in Donegal, and feodary of Donegal and Antrim (worth £30 p.a.) through the rebellion; his annual income would, therefore, have been roughly £220.<sup>3</sup> He also claimed the loss of goods worth £1,367 10s. With Tarleton\*, he was an agent from Londonderry to the lords justice, and from them to the lord lieutenant in 1642. He was reported to have "*lost much ... by this rebellion*",<sup>4</sup> and to have raised 40 horse at his own charge to suppress it. He was listed as a '49 Officer.

H.C. Lawlor, *A History of the family of Cairnes or Cairns and its connections*. (London, 1906). pp 67-82; N.L.I. MS. 23,309, pp 48-9; Hill, *Plantation*, p. 454; Hogan, *Letters and papers*, pp 1,18; *Civil Survey, Tyrone*, pp 315-327; Shaw, *Denization*, p. 334; T.C.D. MS. 839, ff 5r-v; *Chancel. Inq. Ultonia, Tyrone, Car. I, (17,49)*; *Irish Memorials of the Dead*, XII, pp 296-299;

#### THEODORE SCHOUT (SCOUT)

s. \_\_\_\_\_; m. 1) Susanna \_\_\_\_\_;<sup>5</sup> 2), 1643, Jane, da. Sir William Piers and Martha, da., Sir James Ware, Dublin, and Mary Briden, Bury St. Edmunds; w. Captain Thomas Price; she rem. Lieut. Col. William Arnopp, Dunmanway, Co. Cork.

d. June-December 1647.

3 Deposition of John Cairnes, 14 April 1642, T.C.D. MS. 839, f. 5.

4 Hogan, *Letters and papers*, pp 1,18.

5 Susannah and their son Cornelius were buried in St. Andrew's Church, Dublin.



Schout became a member of the Commons before 21 June 1642, when he took the oath of Supremacy, although his constituency is unknown. He was a wealthy Dutch merchant who settled in Dublin, being admitted a freeman of the city in 1639, having received his denization in the previous year, and later an alderman; a bill for his naturalisation was passed by the Commons in October 1640. Like his uncles Daniel and Peter Wybrandts, also settled as merchants in Dublin, he was a zealous protestant; through his second marriage he became nephew of the Wares\*, who provided links with Dudley Loftus\* and Reynolds\*. He became a soldier, with the rank of captain in 1642 and was described as one of the "*chief protestant commanders in Ireland*"<sup>6</sup> who relieved Borris in that year. His connections as a merchant, especially with the London-based merchant Anthony Tierens, were important in obtaining provisions for the army, from Amsterdam and other places, to at least 1644. He was also employed by Ormond in transacting bills of exchange in London in 1647 and was in England on business of the Irish parliament in April-May of that year; he continued to attend the Commons until that June.

Shaw, *Denization*, p. 336; Lodge, *Peerage*, II, p. 202; T.C.D. MSS 809, f. 216r; N.L.I. MS. 2308, p. 51; 30th Report of the Deputy Keeper, Appendix, pp 763,765; \_\_\_\_\_, *The Most blessed and truest newes from Ireland ...* (London, 1642). pp 1,4; P.R.O.L. Prob. 11/212/100; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1633-47. pp 385,605,607,686-7,766; Gilbert, *Confederation*, III, pp 171-2; Gilbert, *Cal. ancient records of Dublin*, III, p. 364; H.M.C. Egmont, I, pp 171-2; H.M.C. Ormond, N.S., I, p. 89; II, pp 177,244,227,258, 322; G.O. MSS 112, f. 20; 475, P. 86; ; C.J.(I.), 22 October 1640, 24 October 1640, 24 May 1647, 2 June 1647, 11 June 1647; J. Ainsworth, Abstracts of 17th. century Irish wills in the prerogative court of Canterbury. *J.R.S.A.I.*, LXXVIII(1), (July 1948). pp 24-37.

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<sup>6</sup> \_\_\_\_\_, *The Most blessed and truest Newes from Ireland ...* (London, 1642). pp 1,4.



## CONSTITUENCY PROFILES LEINSTER

Leinster was the province with the greatest parliamentary tradition; this is unsurprising as it had for many centuries been the principal seat of the administration and the bastion of colonised Ireland. The counties with the strongest traditions of parliamentary representation were those of the Pale - the counties closest to the capital, Dublin, Kildare, Meath and Louth - but the 16th. century saw the administration's control expand and a number of new shires and boroughs were created, increasing the numbers attending parliament. By 1560, 9 of the 20 counties entitled to send knights to the parliament were from Leinster (although only 10, 7 from Leinster, are listed as having done so), and 16 of the 29 boroughs were from that province. Even by 1585, these numbers had altered to 13 of the 27 counties (Fernes and Wexford were separate counties) and 20 of the 36 boroughs.

Leinster's numerical advantage continued to decline and by 1613 it returned 12 of the 33 counties and 41 of the 84 boroughs. Final adjustments led to a decrease of one in the number of counties and an increase of 10 in the total number of boroughs, leaving Leinster with 12 counties and 40 of the total number of 94 boroughs by 1640. Despite this, and, equally significantly, despite the administration's growing influence on parliamentary returns, Leinster continued to return a substantial number of old English catholic m.p.s, who formed the backbone of the opposition to the crown's policies in Ireland. While its numerical importance declined, therefore, its members' role in representing their co-religionists became ever more significant.

CARLOW was not formally planted, although its proximity to King's and Queen's counties and the general process of informal colonisation which occurred in the second half of the previous century, meant that it had its fair share of settlers, including the Bagnals, who inherited Sir George Carew's estates there. Even so, by 1640, 32% of its land remained in the hands of the old English, and it also had a large gaelic population, as its county membership shows, although, as in so many other counties, the new English influence was sufficient to ensure the return of members of their community for borough seats. The situation here was confused by religious affiliations which crossed ethnic boundaries, so that one old English county member, Thomas Butler\*, was a protestant, and another new English knight, Bagnall, and a burgess, Harpole\*, were catholic. In general, Carlow's returns show a considerable level of adjustment on the part of both communities and an agreement to compromise in the returns, although the influence of the Mountgarrett Butlers\* is also to be seen. The two boroughs were Carlow, incorporated in 1613 and Old Leighlin, which was granted its charter in the following decade.

The 1560 and 1585 county members came from rather different camps, with the old English Sir Edmund Butler, a younger son of the Earl of Ormond, being joined by the chief governor, Sir William Fitzwilliam, in the first



parliament and both 1585 knights, Sir Henry Wallop and Geoffrey Fenton, being administration officials who later settled in other parts of the country.<sup>1</sup>

The 1613 knights, Sir Morgan Cavanagh, and George Bagnall, appear to be a mixed pair, but in fact both were catholic, and their returns also show the influence of the Butlers: both were Mountgarrett's sons-in-law and Bagnall also had Ormond connections.<sup>2</sup>

Cavanagh appears again in 1634 but his election was overturned and Thomas Butler\*, protestant son of the 1560 knight, replaced him, joining his catholic cousin, James Butler of Tinnehinch, Lord Mountgarrett's younger son.<sup>3</sup> 1640 also saw a mixed return, with Thomas\* accompanying the local old English catholic landholder, Oliver Eustace\*.

Carlow borough was a garrison town, and its first members, the officials Sir Robert Jacob and Sir John Beare, were both complete outsiders. The nomination presumably belonged to Lord Thomond as constable of Carlow castle, and it is curious that no member of a local new English family should have been named, although Jacob and Beare may have been unsuccessful candidates for other seats, as Carlow's incorporation was very late.<sup>4</sup> By 1634, however, the borough was more established and began to return burgesses with stronger local connections, like the 1634 member, Sir Barnabas Bryan, constable of the castle. He was also returned for Ennis and Clare, and was replaced for Carlow in early 1635 by Edward Harman, brother of the 1640 burgess, Thomas\*, and a member of a local settler family; as sheriff of the county in 1633-4, Edward would have made the county's returns and would not himself have been legally eligible for election in the previous year. The other 1634 burgess, the official James Rowson, had no known local connections.<sup>5</sup>

The 1640 members show a greater ability or concern to return local men, as the new English catholic Harpole\* was returned with Thomas Harman\*. Harman was also returned for Coleraine but opted to represent Carlow.

Despite its recent enfranchisement, catholics had become influential in Old Leighlin, with 8 of its 18 burgessing of that religion by 1640. This explains its tendency to make mixed returns. Its 1634 members were both old English officials - the catholic James Cusack\* and the protestant Richard Fitzgerald\*. Fitzgerald\* was also returned for Strabane, which he chose to represent, and he was replaced by the new English Sir Thomas Meredith, a soldier and younger brother of Robert\* and son of a former Bishop of Leighlin; both had rather tenuous links with the borough. Another list names Pierce Fitzgerald as burgess

1 Fitzwilliam was chief governor at various times between 1560 and 1588, and Wallop also held that position between 1582 and 1584. Fenton held a variety of posts, including secretary of state.

2 McGrath, 1613. pp 44-5.

3 James held substantial property in Carlow and Wexford, partly with Ormond. He was sheriff of the county in 1626, and arbitrated the dispute between Thomas Butler\* and Ormond.

4 McGrath, 1613. p. 45.

5 Rowson was joint clerk of the peace for Kildare, King's and Queen's Counties, Westmeath, Dublin, Louth and Longford before 1630. N.A. MS. 2445, ff 89-90.



for Old Leighlin; he was apparently a member of a local old English family, later to be an active supporter of the Confederation. The pattern of a mixed return was also followed in 1640, when Cusack\* was returned with the local new Englishman, Brereton\*; Cusack chose to sit for Ballyshannon and was replaced by Davills\*, like Harpole\* a member of a local new English catholic family.

DUBLIN COUNTY remained unplanted, but it had always been subject to strong crown influence and its knights were all members of the old English gentry families which had held property in the county for centuries, and which, even in 1640, still controlled 67% of its land. Prosperous and influential, the administration had little chance of reducing their control of the county seats, but its influence on some of the boroughs was stronger.

Two boroughs - Dublin and Swords - returned members from 1585 or before, but Newcastle-juxta-Lyons and Trinity College were granted their charters in 1613 in anticipation of that year's parliament. Trinity's franchise was a privilege also granted to Oxford and Cambridge Universities. The new Dublin boroughs were intended, like those elsewhere in the country, to provide a civilising (i.e. protestantising) influence in their local areas, to improve trade and to provide a permanent protestant majority in the Commons. In this regard, the history of Newcastle is instructive, as only in 1613 did it return protestants to the House. Swords's burgesses were solidly old English.

The county members were all from prominent old English families of the county and while their surnames may have varied, their class of origin and personal wealth did not. The 1560 knights, Thomas Fitzwilliam of Holmpatrick and Patrick Finglas of Waspelstoun were major landowners in the county and influential members of their community; Finglas was also chief baron of the exchequer.<sup>6</sup> The precise identity of the 1569 members is uncertain, but it seems probable that Sir Christopher Barnwall of Turvey was one of them, and he was certainly an active member of the opposition in the House.<sup>7</sup> Two men of very similar background, the lawyers Richard Netterville and Henry Burnell of Castleknock, provided the 1585 knights. Burnell was a justice of the King's Bench, and both were heavily involved in the anti-cess campaigns.<sup>8</sup>

The membership pattern did not alter in the seventeenth century. Sir Christopher Plunkett of Dunsoghly was elected in 1613 with Thomas Luttrell of Luttrellstown,<sup>9</sup> also the county's choice in 1634, when the second member was Nicholas Barnwall\*. Luttrell died during the course of that parliament and was

<sup>6</sup> S. Ellis, *Tudor Ireland: crown, community and the conflict of cultures, 1470-1603*. (London, 1985), pp 30,123,127.

<sup>7</sup> John Hooker's journal, January 17 to February 23, 1568-69. in C.L. Falkiner, *Essays relating to Ireland, biographical, historical and topographical*. (London, 1909, repr. London, 1970). p. 237.

<sup>8</sup> S. Ellis, *op. cit.* pp 273,285-6; their political stance is examined by C. Brady, *Conservative subversives: the community of the Pale and the Dublin administration, 1556-86*. in P.J. Corish (ed.), *Radicals, rebels & establishments: historical studies XV, papers read before the Irish conference of historians, Maynooth, 16-19 June 1983*. (Belfast, 1985). pp 11-32.

<sup>9</sup> McGrath, 1613. pp 45-6.



replaced by Peter Barnwall\*, who, with Nicholas\* was also the county member in 1640. The returns of Dublin knights throughout the parliaments in this survey present an unbroken picture of the repeated selection of the same type of wealthy, self-confident old English catholic gentry of the Pale.

Dublin City was one of the oldest constituencies, and both a commercial centre and the administrative headquarters of the crown. Despite its wealthy and independent-minded merchant population, the fact that it was also the centre of government meant that the administration was able to influence its elections, and while it was generally represented by its aldermen and recorder, these were, after 1613, all protestant. One recorder, James Stanihurst, represented the city in 1557, 1560 and 1569, and was speaker of the Commons on all these occasions.<sup>10</sup> His fellow citizens in 1557 and 1569 are unknown, but he was accompanied in 1560 by Alderman Robert Golding, mayor in 1558-9. Stanihurst was dead by 1585, when the citizens were both from noted Dublin merchant families, George Taylor and Alderman Nicholas Ball (mayor in 1582-3).<sup>11</sup>

1613 saw a tough contest for the seats, with two protestants, the new English recorder Richard Bolton joining with the old English alderman Richard Barry\* to defeat their fellow townsmen the catholic aldermen Francis Taylor and Thomas Allen.<sup>12</sup> Allen was also the catholic citizens' choice in 1628 (with Alderman Gough); despite their numerical majority, it is not clear from the account of the election whether they were returned or their protestant opponents, Barry\* and the recorder, Nathaniel Catlin.<sup>13</sup> The catholics obviously made another strong attempt on the seats in 1634, as Barry\* and Catlin were only returned after the catholic sherrif Christopher Brice was swiftly censured in the Star Chamber "for his undue proceedings the day before in election of citizens for the Parliat." and replaced in his office by a protestant.<sup>14</sup> Barry was again returned in 1640, this time with Catlin's successor John Byssse\*.

Newcastle was incorporated in 1613 when it duly returned two new English protestants, William Parsons\* and William Rolles.<sup>15</sup> Despite the

<sup>10</sup> C.L. Falkiner, *op. cit.* pp 228-231; further information on James's life may be found in his son's biography, C. Lennon, *Richard Stanihurst the Dubliner, 1547-1618.* (Dublin, 1981). pp13-23.

<sup>11</sup> Several other members of the Ball family were aldermen and served as mayors, including Bartholomew (1553-4), Walter (1580-1) and Robert (1604-5 and 1609-10).

<sup>12</sup> McGrath, 1613. p. 46; Taylor was mayor in 1595-6 and died in prison in 1621. He was beatified as a catholic martyr in 1991. J. Molanus, *Idea togatae constantiae.* (Paris, 1629).

<sup>13</sup> Ware's account of the election estimates protestant support at 1,000 and the catholics at 1,400 but that the recusants were "most very poor men as porters &c." *Gilbert MS. 169*, pp 193-4.

<sup>14</sup> Ware refers to his being censured in the Star Chamber. This should presumably have been the Castle Chamber. *Gilbert MS. 169*, p 212 and *C.A.R.*, III, p. 291. Catlin (d. 1637) was a "ringleader in the city's refusall to contribute longer to the discharge of the souldiers." Falkland to Cork, 11 January 1630. *N.A. MS. M 2445*, p. 33, but Falkland also defended Catlin. See also Ware's diary, *Gilbert MS. 169*, p. 199. Catlin was Speaker of the 1634 Commons.

<sup>15</sup> Neither had then any remarkable connection with the borough, although Parsons\* later became seneschall of the liberty. Rolles, receiver of fines for the commission of ecclesiastical causes, often acted as Parsons's deputy in his offices. He lived in Dublin, and married a daughter of the old English merchant, Patrick Luttrell, and was a member of the 1624-5 commission of the peace for the county. McGrath, 1613. pp 47-8; *T.C.D. MS. 672*, f. 174; *Some funeral entries from Ireland.* p. 128.



administration's care in selecting protestant burgesses and issuing a charter requiring all burgesses to take the oath of uniformity, it was electing catholic m.p.s by 1634, Dongan\*, also its burgess in 1640, and Patrick Sherlock of Rathcredan,<sup>16</sup> and, although it was disfranchised by 1640, both Dongan\* and his brother-in-law Talbot\* were returned in January 1641. Dongan\*, Sherlock and Talbot\* were all local catholic gentry, but Newcastle is on the Dublin / Kildare borders and they tended to have greater property interests in the latter county.

Dublin University's electorate was restricted to its provost, fellows and scholars. The provost was the returning officer, and although William Temple had felt free to return himself in 1613,<sup>17</sup> along with the College's vice-chancellor, Dr. Charles Dunne,<sup>18</sup> in later years it proved more susceptible to official suggestions, although its members were still usually men with College connections. The College again returned its provost, William Bedell, in 1628, together with "our lawyer" James Donnellan, although Bedell refused the position, and was replaced by a Mr. Fitzgerald.<sup>19</sup> Wentworth's nominees, two Trinity graduates, James Ware\* and Donnellan, were returned in 1634; the ease with which they were elected may have been assisted by Wentworth's assurance that they would serve without wages.<sup>20</sup> Wentworth may also have suggested Ware\* in 1640, together with his fellow m.p., William Gilbert\*. Unusually for a Trinity member, Gilbert is not known to have had any ties with the College. The Commons issued an order for his replacement (probably Sir William Stewart\*) on 5 March 1641.

Swords was a market town in the north of the county and first gained prominence in the 13th. century, when the Archbishop of Dublin built an impressive castle there. Some Dublin merchant families whose wealth allowed them to acquire estates outside the capital settled in north County Dublin and south Louth in the 16th. century and exercised influence there. It was, perhaps, due to their pressure that Swords was granted its charter between 1560 and 1585, when its first recorded members, Thomas Taylor of Swords and Walter Fitzsimons of Ballimadroucht, were returned. Both were members of Dublin families settled in the area, and they were succeeded in 1613 by William Blakeney and John Fitzsimons; the latter died during the course of the parliament, to be replaced by another local man, Richard Caddell.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Sherlock was Sutton's\* father-in-law and an active supporter of the rebellion. *T.C.D. MS. 809*, f. 264r.

<sup>17</sup> *T.C.D. MS. MUN. P/1/51*; Temple's notes on the propriety of such an election.

<sup>18</sup> McGrath, 1613. p. 47; Dunne was a member of the Gaelic O Doyne family of Hy-Regan, but a staunch protestant, as were other members of that clan. He was a fellow of Trinity College from 1593, and the first to receive its doctorate in laws. see note under John Piggott\*.

<sup>19</sup> H.J. Monck Mason, *Life of Bedell*. (London, 1843). pp 156-7; the reasons for Bedell's withdrawal are unclear, but it may have been because, as the College noted at the time of his election, he was in orders, and therefore technically ineligible for membership of parliament.

<sup>20</sup> H.J. Monck-Mason, *op.cit.*, pp 156-7; Wentworth to the Provost and Fellow of Trinity College Dublin, 30 May 1634, J.W. Stubbs, *History of the University of Dublin*. (Dublin, 1889). p. 68; *Gilbert MS. 169*, p. 212; Donnellan was a younger son of the Archbishop Nehemiah Donnellan of Tuam, a graduate of Trinity College and a noted lawyer. He was also Richard Barry's\* son-in-law .

<sup>21</sup> McGrath, 1613. pp 46-7.



1634 saw a distinct change in Swords's representation, when Richard Barnwell and Lucas Netterville were returned, the sons of Patrick Barnwall\* of Kilbrew and Lord Netterville, although Richard's return was presumably also assisted by his position as Lord Louth's son-in-law. Both were old English catholics, but their election was in contrast to the other returns for the borough, as they came from families with rather more than local influence.

Netterville was expelled in July 1634 for reasons that are unclear, and was said to have been replaced by the new English protestant official, Sir William Anderson, who was based in Dublin, although he had some interests in Sligo, with Crowe\*.<sup>22</sup> If he did replace Netterville, his return for Swords can only be ascribed to official pressure. The borough's 1640 members, Blakeney\* and Taylor\*, were descendants of previous burgesses and quite typical of their 1585 and 1613 predecessors; they represent a return to the previous type of m.p.

KILDARE was another county of the Pale, which adhered to the crown's rule over the centuries. The old English influence remained strong and they still held 76% of its lands in 1640, but the altered religious allegiance of its premier peer, Lord Kildare, the presence of the protestant bishop in Kildare town and Strafford's acquisition of Gigginstown introduced new political influences. Two of the three boroughs, Naas and Kildare, were old-established towns which had returned burgesses before 1560, and while the former continued its pattern of returning local old English catholic representatives (apart from 1560), Kildare began to favour new English protestants. The third borough, Athy, on the Carlow borders, incorporated shortly before the 1613 parliament, steadfastly returned protestant m.p.s.

Kildare's county members between 1560 and 1640 all came from local old English families, only one being protestant. 1560 saw the return of Nicholas Eustace of Craddockstown and James Flattisbury of Johnstown. Both were from old-established local gentry families, as were their successors in 1585, William Sutton of Tipper and Thomas Fitzmorris. The 1613 knights, Sutton's son, John, and his neighbour and fellow-lawyer, Sir William Talbot of Carton, were both wealthy local landowners, prominent in the opposition in that parliament.<sup>23</sup> The 1634 county members were also local landowners, Sir Nicholas Whyte,<sup>24</sup> father of the 1640 m.p. for Kildare borough, and Maurice Fitzgerald\*, the latter being returned also in 1640, when the first protestant, Maurice Eustace\*, who represented Athy in the previous parliament, succeeded in obtaining a county seat; he too was a local man.

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<sup>22</sup> He was also returned for Jamestown, and sat on the committee on grievances on 21 July 1634, whereas Netterville was not expelled until the following month. It is probable, therefore, that he was not Netterville's replacement. Ferneley's list of 1634 m.p.s places him as burgess for Jamestown.

<sup>23</sup> Talbot was a former recorder of Dublin, deprived of his office for recusancy. He was the father of Sir Robert Talbot, m.p. for Wicklow County in 1634. McGrath, 1613. pp 48-9.

<sup>24</sup> Whyte lived at Leixlip, and, although a catholic, managed to remain on good terms with his protestant contemporaries even during the 1650s. For further information, see his son Nicholas\*.



and the Athy was a new borough, incorporated in 1613, and due to its position on the Carlow border, subject to some influences from that county. All its burgesses had strong local connections. Its 1613 burgesses, Walter Weldon, St. John's Bower, Athy, and Robert Digby, Woodstock, Athy, were both new English protestants, settled locally;<sup>25</sup> their successors in 1634, Maurice Eustace\* and Edward Blount, a tenant of Lord Kildare,<sup>26</sup> were also locally-based protestants, and the 1640 m.p.s, Stephens\* and Meredith\* had local ties, Stephens\* through his wife's family, and Meredith\* through his residence in the county.

Kildare was an episcopal town, so its returns might be expected to show the influence of the bishop and Kildare's principal landholder, the Earl of Kildare. Little is known of its 1560 representatives, John Abells and John Moore, but the 1585 burgesses, John Wesley and William Shirgold were both local old English. 1613 saw a strong contest between the local catholics and the official nominees, which the protestants, William Colley and Gilbert Domville, initially won, but on appeal they were unseated in favour of Thomas Farbeck, Moyglare, and Walter Fitzgerald of Walterstown and Kildangan, despite the fact that both Colley and Domville had close ties with the constituency.<sup>27</sup>

The local protestant powers were strengthened by 1634, and from that date onwards the protestants found their returns for the borough rather easier; the burgesses for that parliament were the bishop's son, Philip Pilsworth, a former sheriff of the county,<sup>28</sup> and Christopher Wandesford\*, also returned in 1640, with Wentworth\*. Both Wandesford\* and Wentworth\* were replaced by the local catholic landowners Nicholas Whyte\*, son of the 1634 county member, and Patrick Sarsfield\*.

Unlike Kildare, Naas was within the Pale and became the county's administrative centre during the upheavals of the 15th. and 16th. centuries.<sup>29</sup> Naas's m.p.s always included a member of the local merchant family of Sherlock,

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<sup>25</sup> McGrath, 1613. p. 50.

<sup>26</sup> Blount was the father of the 1634 m.p. for Coleraine, and a relative of Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy. He acquired lands at Mountjoy in Tyrone, but in 1632 settled at Bolton Castle, Kilyan, Kildare, on his second marriage, to Eleanor, daughter of Ensign Henry Burrows, a connection of Dixon\* and Maurice Eustace\*. He leased the Bolton property from Lord Kildare, Blount to Lord Kildare, 4 June 1632, *Leinster Papers, 16th. Earl's letter book*, p. 66; Sadleir, *Kildare members*, pp 113-4; *Some Funeral entries from Ireland*. pp 54-5; Hill, *Plantation*, p. 270. He was also a connection of Blayney\* and Clotworthy, Lodge, *Peerage*, VI, p. 303.

<sup>27</sup> McGrath, 1613. p. 49; Domville was 1634 m.p. for Donegal.

<sup>28</sup> Pilsworth (d. 1638) lived near Athy, and was married to a member of the Tecroghan Fitzgerald\* family, and thus linked to Sir Lucas\*. Philip was nominated for the post of sovereign of Kildare by Lord Kildare in 1632, although the townsmen's reluctance of to act on this recommendation is instructive: "Your honour's request shall be fulfilled. But we know if it do stand with your honour's liking that one that intrudes upon your land continually is not the fittest man to bear that office and that he keeps no residence amongst us and hath no freehold or dwelling upon any part of your land and that he is a contentious neighbour to part of your tenants." Thomas Walsh, Soueraigne, Patrick Fitzsimmons and William Lalor to Lord Kildare, 22 September 1632. *Leinster Papers, 16th. Earl's letter book*, p. 65; Sadleir, *Kildare members*, p. 102.

<sup>29</sup> J.H. Andrews, 'Kildare.' in A. Simms and J.H. Andrews (eds.), *More Irish country towns*. (Dublin, Cork, 1995). pp 20-31.



and the same man, Christopher Sherlock\*, was returned in every parliament between 1613 and 1640.<sup>30</sup> The second 1560 m.p., the new English settler Henry Dracott, was the chancellor of the exchequer,<sup>31</sup> but the 1585 member, Walter Lewes, was apparently a local man. Christopher Sherlock was joined in 1613 and 1634 by members of local families of equal importance, William Lattin of Morristown Lattin<sup>32</sup> and the lawyer, William Archbold of Timolin. Archbold was a brother-in-law of his fellow m.p.s, Piers Butler, Lucas Netterville and Christopher Sherlock\*, and became a strong supporter of the Confederation.<sup>33</sup> Sutton\*, the second burgess in 1640, was the grandson and great-grandson of the the 1585 and 1613 county members and inherited their Kildare estates.

Given the Wentworths' increasing power in Kildare and especially their acquisition of Gigginstown, Naas's disfranchisement may indicate its inhabitants reluctance to yield to their influence. Sherlock\* and Sutton\* would presumably not have been returned had elections taken place in early 1640.

KILKENNY COUNTY was the principal home and sphere of influence of the Butlers, especially the Ormonds, and, while it contained a number of long-established, prosperous trading towns, the years from 1560 to 1640 saw major changes in these towns' parliamentary representatives, many of which must be ascribed to the Ormonds' altered role and influence. At the beginning of this period, Thomas Ormond was a powerful magnate but after his death in 1614 the title and estates passed to his catholic cousin, Walter "of the beads and rosaries", m.p. for Tipperary County, 1613, and the Ormond lordship went into decline. Walter's successor, his grandson James, restored the family's power; he was able to do so because, as a canny politician no less than as a conforming protestant, he built up close working friendships with Wandesford\* and other members of the new administration.<sup>34</sup> The 1634 and 1640 returns reflect his more interventionist style in local affairs, as well as the local influence that Wandesford\* was able to exercise after acquiring the Brennans' territory of Idrone. While the county seats remained the bailiwick of the local old English (who held 63.7% of its land) and Gaelic gentry, who remained mainly catholic, the boroughs began to return a very different type of m.p., and these returns are clearly linked to the local influence of Ormond and Wandesford\*; Ormond's favoured candidates tended not to be members of his own family, most of whom

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30 The other Sherlocks were John (1560) and James (1585).

31 From Derbyshire, he came to Ireland in the 1540s as a soldier, and, as a close associate of St. Leger, prospered in Ireland, acquiring estates in Meath, and attaining the position of master of the rolls. He died in 1571. H. Coburn-Walshe, 'Responses to the protestant reformation in sixteenth century Meath.' *Riocht na Midhe*, VII(1), (1987), pp 101-3.

32 McGrath, 1613. pp 49-50.

33 He was also descended from the Eustace\* family through his mother. Lodge, *Peerage*, IV, p. 214; *T.C.D. MS. 1217*, f. 141r.

34 For Thomas Ormond, see C. Brady, 'Thomas Butler, earl of Ormond (1531-1614), and reform in Tudor Ireland.' in C. Brady (ed.), *Worsted in the game: losers in Irish history*. (Dublin, 1989), pp 49-60; for Walter see *Peerage*, and McGrath, 1613. p. 80, and for James Ormond see T. Carte, *Life of James, first Duke of Ormonde*. 3 vols. (London, 1735-6, Oxford, 6 vols., 1851). and J.C. Beckett, *The Cavalier duke: a life of James Butler - 1st. Duke of Ormond, 1610-1688*. (Belfast, 1990).



remained catholic, but his catholic agents, friends and protestant political confederates or his wife's relatives, whereas Wandesford tended to be responsible for the return of members of his own family.

In 1560, the county returned two knights and burgesses from only two boroughs, Kilkenny and Thomastown. Inistiogue and Callan first sent representatives in 1585 and Gowran in 1613, having received its charter in 1608. No new boroughs were incorporated after that date, evidence both of the already high level of representation and of the fact that the county was not planted, or, until Wandesford's\* advent, subject to significant informal colonisation.

The 1560 county members, Sir Nicholas White, master of the rolls, and Walter Gall, were both from local old English families with substantial property in the area,<sup>35</sup> and the 1585 knights, Gerald Blanchville, Mountgarrett's son-in-law, and Robert Rothe, were from similar backgrounds.<sup>36</sup> 1613 saw the return of another Mountgarrett son-in-law, the wealthy merchant Alderman Lucas Shee, and his nephew, Robert Grace, Baron of Courtown,<sup>37</sup> who was also the county member in 1634, when he was joined by Blanchville's grandson, Edmund Butler of Polestown, m.p. for Cross Tipperary in 1613.<sup>38</sup>

The 1640 knights, Pierce Butler\* and Walter Walsh\* were important members of the higher gentry, closely connected by family ties to Ormond.

Callan's returns show clear evidence of Ormond's influence, especially in 1634 and 1640. Its 1585 members, local landowners Edward Brennan and Gerald Comerford, were sufficiently prominent locally to be entirely fitting representatives, especially since Comerford was also a judge.<sup>39</sup> The 1613 members, the merchant William Rothe (a relative of the 1585 burgesses) and local landowner Pierce Hayden, came from similar backgrounds to Comerford and Brennan, as did Rothe's replacement, Richard Fristall (Forrestal), brother-in-law of the county member Lucas Shee),<sup>40</sup> but after this date the borough began to return mixed pairs of burgesses, and Ormond's hand is apparent in the return of his friend Lord Maltravers in 1634,<sup>41</sup> when his fellow m.p. was Comerford\*, a catholic, former sovrein of the town and relative of the 1585 member, elected despite his religion, because he was Ormond's agent. He was also the burgess in 1640, when the borough made another mixed return, including Wharton\*.

<sup>35</sup> White, the ancestor of Nicholas Whyte\*, was from Knocktopher, and Gall, of Gallstown, was sheriff of Wexford in 1562 and Kilkenny in 1572. Burtchaell, *Kilkenny members*, pp 6-9.

<sup>36</sup> Blanchville lived at Blanchvillestown. E. Curtis, (ed.), *Calendar of Ormond Deeds*. (Dublin, 1970). VI, pp 15, 96, 101,121f,126; Rothe was a member of an important merchant family from Kilkenny, who also acquired landed interests in the county. *ibid.*, passim.

<sup>37</sup> McGrath, 1613. pp 50-1; S. Grace, *Memoir of the Graces*. (London, 1823).

<sup>38</sup> McGrath, 1613. p. 81; Burtchaell, *Kilkenny members*, p. 27.

<sup>39</sup> Ball, *Judges*, pp 221-3,226,313.

<sup>40</sup> McGrath, 1613. p. 52.

<sup>41</sup> Maltravers was the eldest son of Lord Arundell, and was in Ireland to pursue his father's claims to lands in Leinster. Ormond arranged for his election to Parliament, but Maltravers had returned to England, and resigned his seat. *Peerage*; Burtchaell, *Kilkenny members*, p. 30; for his relationship with Ormond, *N.L.I. MSS 2304*, pp 189,207,229,235; *2305*, pp 105,241,249,267,305; *2306*, p. 65.



Wharton's election was apparently also due to Ormond's interest, and on his resignation he was replaced by Bellings\*, another catholic with strong ties to Ormond.

Gowran's first m.p.s, John Swayne and Thomas Stanton, were named as original burgesses in the town's 1608 charter and came from families long established in the town.<sup>42</sup> The 1634 members, John Hackett and James Kealy were from similar backgrounds, but the town made a mixed return in 1640, when Lady Ormond's cousin Wemys\* accompanied the local landholder, Peter Butler\*; Butler\* resigned his seat and was replaced by Piers Crosbie\*, who had no local links and ambiguous religious affiliations.

Inistiogue's tradition of returning local catholics as its burgesses survived from 1585 to 1634 and all the m.p.s for that period, David Power and Robert Archdeacon (1585), William Murphy (1613), Griffen Murphy (1613 and 1634), and James Dulan (1634) were catholics with interests in or near the town.<sup>43</sup>

The picture changed dramatically in 1640, when Robert Loftus\* and John Wandesford\* were returned. As neither was locally based, their election can only be explained by pressure from Ormond and Christopher Wandesford\* - a presumption confirmed by their replacements, Maude\* and Fitzgerald\*, both of whom had links with one or other of these magnates. The final m.p., Dennis\*, was, like Fitzgerald\*, a catholic, but unlike him, had a solid local base.

Kilkenny was a wealthy commercial town whose m.p.s were all from its important catholic merchant families, especially the Shees, Archers\* and Rothes\*, and there was no change in the type of representatives sent to Dublin over this period. There was a very high level of intermarriage between the main families of the town, and while the surnames of the members varied, their religion and social background did not. The 1560 burgesses, Robert Shee and Walter Archer, were identical in background and religion to the 1640 m.p.s, Archer\* and Rothe\*. Those elected in the intervening years, the brothers-in-law John Rothe (father of Pierce Rothe\*) and Ellice Shee (1585),<sup>44</sup> Patrick Archer and Nicholas Langton (1613),<sup>45</sup> and Robert Shee (son of Lucas) and David Rothe (1634),<sup>46</sup> were all aldermen and mayors, many of whom had legal training.

Thomastown's pattern of representation altered over the period, as its 1560 burgesses were new English settlers, Francis Cosby, ancestor of the 1640 m.p. of that name, and Henry Colley, ancestor of William Colley,<sup>47</sup> but by 1585 the

<sup>42</sup> McGrath, 1613. p. 52.

<sup>43</sup> Dulan was port-reeve in 1615, *H.M.C. Egmont*, I, pp 45-6. Burtchaell, *Kilkenny members*, p. 25; McGrath, 1613. p. 52.

<sup>44</sup> Shee was the son of the 1560 county member. Burtchaell, *Kilkenny members*, p.18.

<sup>45</sup> McGrath, 1613. pp 51-2.

<sup>46</sup> Burtchaell, *Kilkenny members*, pp 28-30.

<sup>47</sup> Cosby was a soldier, based in Kildare; Burtchaell, *Kilkenny members*, pp 11-2; Colley (Cowley) was also a soldier, based in Kildare, where his grandfather, an Englishman who came to Ireland as counsel for the Earl of Kildare, had settled; the family later settled in King's County. Colley was to become a privy councillor. Burtchaell, *Kilkenny members*, pp 12-3.



local old English merchants had reasserted their influence and its members were Walter Sherlock, and Robert Porter, a wine merchant, who was one of the borough's members in 1613, when his pair was Nicholas Robucke, also a local man.<sup>48</sup> 1634 saw the return of Patrick Sherlock, son of the 1585 member, and Jacob Walsh, both locally important catholic landowners, but the 1640 members, Gibson\* and Michael or Nicholas Wandesford\* were clearly nominees of Ormond and Christopher Wandesford\*, (especially given the confusion over Wandesford's christian name) and show both their increasing interest in controlling local returns and their enhanced influence in the area.

KING'S COUNTY was created in 1556, when it was planted with new English settlers, and Philipstown was incorporated. All its county members were new English until 1634, although the local gaelic families, most notably the McCoughlans, were not transplanted, as happened in neighbouring Queen's County. Repeated attempts by the Gaelic families proved successful in 1634 and 1640, when the county seats were shared between the settlers and the original inhabitants. The identity of its 1560 knights is unknown; no burgesses are recorded as being returned for Philipstown until 1585. A patent of 1620 permitted Birr (Parsonstown) to become a parliamentary borough, but this was never implemented, possibly because there were too few local protestants available to become burgesses. Banagher was incorporated in 1628.

One of the the 1585 knights, Sir George Bouchier, son of the Earl of Bath, was more noted for his interests in other parts of Ireland, as he later received grants of land in the Munster plantation. Waringe was locally based, at least by the time of his death in 1608.<sup>49</sup> The 1613 knights, Sir Adam Loftus (later Lord Chancellor and related by marriage to Waringe) and Sir Francis Rushe were also settlers, and privy councillors, but with King's County links. They were opposed by Sir John McCoughlan and Callough O'Molloy, both locals with strong records of loyalty to the crown, but as catholics their adherence was decreasingly acceptable as proof of conformity.<sup>50</sup> Sir John's relative, Terence Coughlan, and grandson and namesake were returned as county members in 1634 and 1640 respectively, when they were accompanied by the local settlers Sir William Colley (m.p. for Kildare in 1613, and step-son of Sir Adam Loftus, the 1613 county member) and William Parsons\* of Birr.<sup>51</sup>

Banagher was a garrison town of considerable strategic importance. It had a market from 1612 and a school by 1628.<sup>52</sup> It was the nearest crossing point of the Shannon below Athlone - the river remained navigable until the 19th.

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48 McGrath, 1613. p. 52.

49 MacCarthy-Morrogh, *Munster plantation*, pp 54-5; for Waringe see note under Warren\*.

50 McGrath, 1613. pp 52-3.

51 McGrath, 1613. p. 49; Terence Coughlan was an anglicised member of the family, based at Kilcolgan and Dublin, and an original burgess of Banagher; this suggests that he may have been conforming at the time of his election, though he later supported the Confederation.

52 T.L. Cooke, *The Early history of the town of Birr or Parsonstown*. (Dublin, 1875). pp 46-7, 318; R. Loeber, 'Civilisation through plantation: the projects of Mathew de Renzi.' in H. Murtagh (ed.), *Irish Midland studies: essays in commemoration of N.E. English*. (Athlone, 1980). pp 121-135.



century Shannon Scheme; Banagher's importance until that date is underlined by the construction there early in that century of Ireland's only inland Martello tower, to protect the centre of Ireland from attack by Napoleon. In 1654 it was the designated crossing point for those transplanted to Connaught.

Banagher was controlled by members of local settler families, and one of its strongest influences was the Moore\* family, whose castle at Croghan was only a few miles from the town. The Moores\* had sufficient influence to ensure their own election for Philipstown; Banagher's returns indicate that it was very much open to official nominations, and it generally returned placemen. Its 1634 members were a mixed pair, the local Robert Pigott (John's\* brother and Thomas's\* uncle) and Philip Mainwaring\* and, on his double return for Clonakilty, by Roger Mainwaring, clearly an official nominee, as he was also returned for Lifford and nominated for Dingle; the lists also include the official, Sir Edward Bagshawe, who likewise had no local connections.<sup>53</sup>

Its 1640 burgesses included the placeman, Thomas Little\* and a soldier, Lovell\*, who had no known local ties but a possible army connection with the garrison. Little's\* expulsion created space for a replacement, apparently Robert Smith\*, who lived near the town and may have been related to Lieut. Arthur Smith, an original burgesses; equally significantly, Robert was connected to the Moores'\* relative, Lord Cork.

Philipstown seems always to have returned local men as its burgesses. Its first m.p.s, John Frehan and Edward Williams, were, presumably, new English and its 1613 members, Colley Philips and Robert Leicester (also returned in 1634) came from that community and had strong local ties.<sup>54</sup> Leicester had many links with Cheshire and may have been responsible for the Mainwarings' election for neighbouring Banagher; his own fellow burgess in 1634 was his neighbour Thomas Moore, whose son John\* succeeded him as m.p. with his relative, Digby\*, the younger son of another important local new English family.

LONGFORD was the traditional home of the O'Farrells\* and the old English Dillon\* and Nugent\* families. It was shired in the late 16th. century and was first represented, in the 1585 parliament by two Farrells. This pattern continued in 1613 and 1634, and even in 1640, one knight was a Farrell. This record is remarkable, given the fact that the county was planted in the years after 1619, when 72% of the land was confiscated; even in 1640, only 18% of the land was in the hands of the old English. It remained largely rural and its only borough, Johnstown, incorporated in 1628, owed its existence to the Wares\*, who received substantial grants of land in the plantation.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Bagshaw was probably from Derbyshire and held lands in Cavan by 1622; his other property was in Wexford, Monaghan and Dublin. He was register of the commission on wards from 1617.

<sup>54</sup> McGrath, 1613. pp 53-4.

<sup>55</sup> W.F.T. Butler, *Confiscation in Irish history*. (London, 1919; repr. 1970), pp 76-82; A. Clarke, with R. Dudley Edwards, *Pacification, plantation, and the catholic question, 1603-23*. *N.H.I.*, III, pp 219-223; Clarke, *Old English*, pp 236-7; B. Mac Cuarta, *Newcomers in the Irish midlands 1540-1640*. (M.A. Thesis, University College Galway, 1980).



The 1640 county membership was evenly divided between the old English, but protestant, Sir James Dillon\*, and the Gaelic, catholic, Farrell\*.

Johnstown's representation was very much a matter for the Ware\* family,<sup>56</sup> and John Ware\* was burgess in 1634 and 1640; his fellow members were Edmund Beaghan (1634), an official of the exchequer<sup>57</sup> and John's brother-in-law Dudley Loftus\* (1640).

LOUTH was another unplanted county in which the influence of the old English remained strong. It had been subject to informal colonisation, but even in 1641 the old English retained 81% of Louth's property and this concentration of power was evident in the return of county members, all of whom came from a small, cohesive group of families. Louth's four boroughs had long held the right to parliamentary representation and no new boroughs were created during this period.

The towns were all significant trading centres, especially the old establishments of Drogheda and Dundalk, which had powerful, self-sufficient merchant communities. Ardee's new charter of 1607 left the old English merchants in control, but also indicates the influence of the local peer, Lord Louth, within the borough. The exception was Carlingford, which had more in common with the frontier towns of Ulster than with the settled conditions of the older trading centres. Trade had also been important to Carlingford, which had an annual fair from 1227 and walls from 1326, but its status as a garrison town since the early 13th. century was critical to its prosperity, as, even in times of crisis it could be well-supported from the sea, so its tradition of returning soldiers is understandable. Paradoxically, the settlement of Ulster, opening up the inland road from Dundalk to Newry, reduced Carlingford's significance, and its strategic and commercial importance declined markedly in the early 17th. century. Its 1619 charter also shows local settlers' increasing power and the Moores\*, Fortescues\*, Trevors\* and Whitechurches were named as burgesses in preference to the old established merchant families.

The county members from 1560 to 1640 were all from important local old English families; the 1560 knights were Nicholas Taaffe of Ballebragane and Edward Dowdall of Glaspistal who were succeeded in 1585 by Roger Gerlone (Garland) and William Moore of Barmeath, and in 1613 by Richard Gernon, presumably a relative of Roger, and Sir Christopher Verdon, all from families established in the area for many centuries.<sup>58</sup> 1634 and 1640 saw no change in this pattern, as Christopher Bellew\* was elected, accompanied on the first occasion by

<sup>56</sup> James Ware\* was taking the oaths of the burgesses of Johnstown on 4 August 1632. *Gilbert MS. 169*, p. 208.

<sup>57</sup> Beaghan was the son of Nicholas Beaghan, keeper of the council chamber; he was admitted to the King's Inns in 1627 as an attorney. The family's origins are unclear, but both were protestant. *T.C.D.MS. 672*, ff 114, 219r.

<sup>58</sup> Moore should not be confused with the settler family of the same name, as Moores had been settled at Barmeath since 1330 at least, *Dowdal Deeds*, no. 105; McGrath, 1613. pp 54-5.



Christopher Dowdall and on the second by his cousin John Bellew\*, all from similar backgrounds.

Ardee remained a town controlled for most of this period by the old English merchants, who were either from junior branches of Louth's wealthy old English families or from merchant families of strictly local importance. Its burgesses from 1560 to 1634 invariably included one member of the Dowdall family, joined by their fellow townsmen, Walter Babe (1560), Richard Barnwall (1585), Barnabas Matthew (1613) and Thomas Cappock (1634).<sup>59</sup> The picture altered dramatically in 1640, when only one burgess, Henry Moore\*, a member of the local settler family, was returned on his own. Writs for a second election were regularly moved in the Commons and the other member was probably Boyle\* as the Moores and Boyles were linked by marriage.

Carlingford's 1560 and 1585 burgesses were mixed pairs, with the local merchant family of Neill providing one member and the other m.p. being an official. The 1560 burgess, Sir Henry Radcliffe had no local connections, but was constable of Maryborough, and Rice ap Hugh, who succeeded him, was the provost-marshall general from 1583 and presumably related to Richard Ap Hugh, constable of Ardee in 1582.<sup>60</sup> 1613 also saw the return of a soldier, Sir Roger Hope, apparently without local ties; the second member, Marmaduke Whitechurch, lived in Carlingford and had other interests in the county; both were opposed by members of local old English families, the Whites and Merrimans, but their return was not overturned on appeal.<sup>61</sup>

After that date, the new charter transferred control of Carlingford to the settler families and there was no question of a mixed return, although the practice of electing men connected with the army continued, and Carpenter\*, commissary of victuals for the army, was returned for both parliaments, accompanied by John Trevor\*, one of the new burgesses named in the charter, on the first occasion, and by Saunders\*, probably a locally-based soldier, on the second. Chichester Fortescue\* replaced Carpenter\*, and his return was due to the Trevors'\* interest in the town and his father's influence in the county. He, too, was a soldier.

Drogheda's members were apparently all members of its corporation or the town's clerks or recorders, and many were members of old English gentry families from neighbouring counties, especially north Dublin, who settled in

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<sup>59</sup> The Dowdalls were Walter (1560), John (1585), Patrick (1613), and John (1634). The Babes and Mathews remained important in Ardee's government, as their inclusion in Ardee's 1607 charter indicates, *R.I.A. MS. 24.Q.8*; McGrath, 1613. pp 55-6; Cappock's name is also spelt Keppock. J.T. Dolan, 'Ardee Corporation.' *County Louth Archaeological Journal*. ii(2), (1909). pp 193-7.

<sup>60</sup> Hughes.

<sup>61</sup> Hope may have been Welsh, from Flintshire, and was apparently not a member of the Westmeath old English family; this corrects a statement made in McGrath, 1613. p. 57; Whites and Merrimans were among the burgesses in the 14th. and 15th. centuries, P. Gosling, *Carlingford town: an antiquarian's guide*. (Carlingford, 1992), p. 6; Whitestown is two or three miles from Carlingford. McGrath, 1613. pp 56-7. For more general information on Carlingford, see C. Gleeson, 'Carlingford', in A. Simms and J.H. Andrews (eds.) *More Irish country towns*. pp 32-43.



Drogheda as merchants; there was no change in the type of members elected and catholics retained control of returns over this period.

Its 1560 m.p.s, John Weston and Robert Burnell were apparently both local merchants, but from families originally from Dublin; Burnell was presumably a member of the north Dublin family, usually based at Castleknock, but even in 1640, Michael Burnell\* had interests in Louth. They were succeeded in 1585 by two merchants, John Barnwall and Peter Nugent, members of old English gentry families settled in the town. The 1613 members, were Ald. John Blakeney, apparently related to the Blakeney\* of Swords, and Roger Bealling, the town clerk,<sup>62</sup> and the same two aldermen, Brice\* and Peppard\* were returned in both 1634 and 1640. Peppard\* died during the course of the parliament, and was replaced by his fellow alderman, Stanley\*; given the older practice, common in other constituencies, of returning the town's recorder, the electors must have been very determined to ensure that they were represented by their fellow catholics, as Robert Bysse\* had to look for a seat in Roscommon, although the *Commons Journals* regularly refer to him as Recorder of Drogheda.

Dundalk's catholics also retained sufficient control over the elections to be able to ensure that its burgesses to 1634 were all of that religion and even in 1640 they were able to arrange a mixed return. Its 1560 m.p.s, Christopher Moore and Patrick Stanley, were succeeded by Richard Bellew, Thomas Bathe and John Moore, all from local merchant families. 1613 saw the return of William Cashell and Richard Ellis, both Dundalk residents,<sup>63</sup> and Oliver Cashell\*, presumably related to William, and also a local landowner, and a lawyer, represented the borough in the last two parliaments, being joined in 1634 by Peter Clinton of Dowdstown,<sup>64</sup> whose background was similar to his own, and in 1640 by his fellow townsman, the protestant, if old English, Nicholas Smith\*.

MEATH was one of the old counties of the Pale, with a strong parliamentary tradition, and all its boroughs had long been represented in the Commons - no new boroughs were created in the county between 1560 and 1640. Until 1542, it had also included the territory of what then became Westmeath. The old English community's influence remained strong and even in 1640, they held over 85% of Meath's land. The county's parliamentary representation reflected this, with the county seats dominated by the local catholic gentry and the boroughs partly influenced by those families, but also by their own merchants. The only exception to Meath's tradition of returning catholics was in the borough of Trim, where some new English settlers had gained influence, and where the old English Dillons\* also held some sway, and its present head, Robert Dillon\*, found his parliamentary niche. All the protestant members came from locally-based families, however, and there is no evidence of the boroughs being

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62 McGrath, 1613. p. 55.

63 McGrath, 1613. p. 56.

64 Clinton was an active supporter of the Confederation, D. Cregan, 'Some members of the Confederation of Kilkenny', in S. O'Brien (ed.), *Measgra i gCuimhne Mhichil Ui Chleirigh*. (Dublin, 1944), pp 39-40.



open to official influence.<sup>65</sup> All the county members came from important local old English families, with the Barnwalls providing one knight on every occasion except 1634; while the surnames of the other members may have varied, however, the high level of intermarriage between these families points to a community of considerable cohesion, and they were, without exception, well-endowed with wealth and well-connected with their fellow gentry and local peers.

The 1560 knights, Sir Christopher Cheevers and Patrick Barnwall of Crickstown, were both members of the local commission for musters and important landowners in the county; Cheevers was one of the leaders of the anti-cess campaign. Barnwall's son was the m.p. (and leader of the opposition) in 1569<sup>66</sup> and 1585, when he was accompanied by John Netterville of Dowth, another opponent of the cess, whose son was later ennobled as Lord Netterville. Another Barnwall, this time of Robertstown, was knight in 1613, when his fellow member was Patrick Hussey, Baron of Galtrim,<sup>67</sup> who also represented the county in 1634, when the second county member was Nicholas Plunkett\*. The Crickstown Barnwalls reappear in the parliamentary lists in 1640, when Richard Barnwall\* was returned with Nicholas Plunkett\*.

Athboy was an old market town and its most prominent families, the Brownes\*, Moores and Tyrells, provided members for all the parliaments in this period. James Blake, a cousin of the Galway Blakes\*, and Michael Moore, and William Browne and Patrick Tyrell, burgesses in 1560 and 1585 respectively, were all local merchants. Richard Browne\*, the m.p. between 1613 and 1640, Melchior Moore, son of the 1560 burgess, his companion in 1613,<sup>68</sup> the lawyer, Peter Tyrell, who was active in opposing the proposed plantation of Connaught in 1634, and Walter Dowdall\* also fitted this classification, all owning property in or near the town and carrying on commercial activities there.

Kells was another important old market town whose members were all locally-based, but the ones in earlier parliaments seem to have had a fairly limited local importance, whereas the m.p.s in later parliaments tended to come from more prominent local land owning and legal families. The 1560 burgesses, Thomas Shurle and Nicholas Ledwich were from families influential only within the Kells Barony. Their successors, Thomas Fleming, a member of Lord Slane's family, and his partner, Nicholas Drake of Drakerath, sovereign of Kells in 1578, were also local men, as was their replacement, Patrick Plunkett,<sup>69</sup> the 1613 burgesses, Gerald Balfe and Oliver Plunkett, also fell into this category.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>65</sup> More detailed biographical information on the m.p.s between 1560 and 1613 may be found in B. McGrath, 'County Meath members of parliament, 1560-1613.' *Riocht na Midhe*, IX(2), (1996). pp 60-72.

<sup>66</sup> The role of the Meath members is emphasised by John Hooker in his diary or journal, January 17 to February 23, 1568-69. in C.L. Falkiner, *op.cit.* p. 238.

<sup>67</sup> McGrath, 1613. pp 57-8.

<sup>68</sup> McGrath, 1613. p. 58.

<sup>69</sup> J. Healy, *Historical guide to Kells (Ceanannas Mor), County Meath.* (Dublin, 1930), p. 22; *Irish Memorials of the Dead*, III (1895-7). pp 324-5; IV, (1898-1900). pp 455-6.

<sup>70</sup> McGrath, 1613. p. 59.



The 1634 m.p.s, the lawyer Adam Cusack\* and Walter Evers were well-connected local landowners, with Evers being a cousin of Sir William Taaffe. The 1640 members, Patrick Barnwall\*, Robert Cusack\* and Oliver Plunkett\* were also well-connected landholders, rather than Kells merchants.

Navan's representation in the first three parliaments was dominated by the local Warren or Waring family, with Patrick (1560), Thomas (1585) and the lawyer John (1613) sitting for the borough. The other 1560 burgess was the new English settler, John Wakeley, who acquired lands near the town by 1547 and married Lord Louth's daughter; John's son, Thomas (-1549-1623) was the town's m.p. in 1585. Like his father, Thomas also had many interests in King's County, although his wives were members of Dublin merchant families.<sup>71</sup> John Warren's fellow burgess in 1613 was Patrick Begg of Boranstown, a member of a well-established local family.<sup>72</sup> The 1634 members, were rather different, with Laurence Dowdall of Athlumney, from an important family in north Meath / Louth and Lord Fingall's son-in-law, who lived near the town, being joined by Darcy\*, who had no known local connections. Darcy was the only catholic returned to the 1634 Commons who is not known to have had links with his constituency. 1640 saw a resumption of a more traditional return, when the local merchant Manning\* and the landholder, Nangle\*, represented Navan.

Trim had a habit of returning mixed pairs, like the local merchant, Patrick Martell and the English master of the rolls, John Parker, in 1560, and the (possibly protestant) Laurence Hamon, searcher of Dublin, but who held the manor of Trim,<sup>73</sup> and the clearly catholic local man, Thomas Gwyre in 1585. Its 1613 members were however, both locally-based new English, Sir Thomas Ashe and Sir Roger Jones, and their return was opposed by two catholic townsmen, Henry Gorry and Anthony Cusack.<sup>74</sup> After that date it lapsed into its old pattern of returning mixed pairs, and the protestant Robert Dillon\* was elected in both 1634 and 1640, accompanied firstly by the local catholic landowner, Valerian Weasley<sup>75</sup> and secondly by Patrick Barnwall\* of Kilbrew.

QUEEN'S COUNTY was created in 1556 when it was planted with new English settlers and Maryborough was incorporated. Its m.p.s were all new English, as the local gaelic families were transplanted at that time, partly through the private enterprise of Piers Cosbie's\* father.<sup>76</sup> Its 1560 members are unknown, and only from 1585 do we have a list of its representatives; a second borough, Ballinakill, was incorporated in 1613.

71 *Some funeral entries from Ireland.* pp 110,162-3; E. Hickey, 'The Wakelys of Navan and Ballyburly.' *Riocht na Midhe*, V, (1974), pp 3-19.

72 McGrath, 1613. pp 58-9.

73 Hamons continued to be prominent in Trim: Robert was portreeve in 1599. R. Butler, *Some notices of the castle and of the ecclesiastical buildings of Trim.* 4th. ed. (Dublin, 1861). p. 118.

74 McGrath, 1613. pp 59-60.

75 Weasley was Hollywood's\* father-in-law. see note under Forth\*; Lodge, *Peerage*, III, p. 68.

76 W.F.T. Butler, *op. cit.*, pp 76-82; A. Clarke, 'Sir Piers Cosby, 1590-1646: Wentworth's 'tawney ribbon', *I.H.S.*, XXVI, (102), (Nov. 1988), pp 142-160.



The 1585 knights, Warham St. Leger and Robert Harpole were both members of families settled in the area, although the St. Legers\* later became more influential in Munster than in the midlands; the Harpoles\* remained in the area, but later inclined to catholicism; both families were also represented in the 1640 parliament.

St. Leger and Harpole were succeeded as knights in 1613 by St. Leger's son-in-law, another local settler, Sir Robert Piggott, father of John\*, county member in 1634 and 1640, and Sir Henry Power, also a local landowner and privy councillor, and a former governor of the county and its major fort, Maryborough.<sup>77</sup> The second 1634 county member was Piers Cosbie\*, who had a strong link with the county, as his ancestors had held property there and garnered crown approval by transporting their countrymen to settle in Kerry, leaving Queen's County free for easier settlement than King's County.

The Piggots'\* control of one county seat was not disturbed in 1640, when John\* was accompanied by another settler, Coote\* sr., who had also acquired substantial property in that county, (and several others) although his Queen's County lands came through his marriage. He represented Jamestown in 1634, although he was then *custos rotullorum* of Queen's County.

Ballinakill was originally controlled by the Ridgeway family, which held lands around the town, and its first burgesses, Sir Thomas Ridgeway and his son Robert, were natural representatives, although they also held considerable property in Ulster. Thomas was also returned for Tyrone County, and was replaced for Ballinakill by Arthur Brereton, a member of another local settler family.<sup>78</sup> The Ridgeways sold many of their Irish interests, (although Thomas, ennobled as Lord Londonderry, died in Ballinakill in 1631)<sup>79</sup> and the borough's membership seemed more open to other influences after that date; its 1634 members, John Ingersoll and Richard Blacknall, were both locally-based and involved in the Mountrath ironworks, giving them both a clear link with the Cootes\*.<sup>80</sup> The 1640 returns were more obviously subject to outside influence, as the local Alford\* was joined by the official nominee, William Wandesford\* (a double return for Lifford), and both were replaced by the placeman Fanshaw\* and, somewhat less probably, by the local catholic, Dempsie\*.

Queen's County's older borough Maryborough was a garrison town whose members generally had local links: one was invariably constable of the fort, the other from a local settler family. Its 1585 burgesses, Robert Gale, Thomas Lambyne and the constable, George Harvey were all apparently from the

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77 McGrath, 1613. pp 60-1.

78 McGrath, 1613. p. 61.

79 *Gilbert MS.* 169, p. 206.

80 Ingersoll (d. 1637-9) was English; J. Ainsworth, 'Abstracts of 17th. century Irish wills in the prerogative court of Canterbury.' *J.R.S.A.I.*, LXXVIII (1), (July 1948), pp 24-37; Blacknall (d. 1635) is best remembered for his protracted dispute with Boyle, whose ironworks he also managed and who accused him of embezzlement. *Lismore Papers*, 1st. ser., II, passim;



borough.<sup>81</sup> Its 1613 members were the constable Sir Adam Loftus\*, whose main interests were in Dublin and Wexford, and Alexander Barrington, a member of a local settler family and brother-in-law of the Ballinakill m.p., Brereton.<sup>82</sup> The pattern was followed in 1634, when the members were the constable Gilbert\*, who also represented the borough in 1640, and Walter Cosbie,<sup>83</sup> brother of the county member and a member of an indigenous Gaelic family with an ambiguous record of religious conformity and 1640, when White\* joined Gilbert\*.

WESTMEATH was established in 1542, when County Meath was split into East and Westmeath. Westmeath was part of Leinster, but the influence of the Connaught presidency was also evident, especially in Athlone, the seat of the president - indeed, the 1613 returns for that borough were transmitted to the sheriffs of both Westmeath and Roscommon. After that date, the returns were rather better organised and the borough was clearly included in Westmeath.

The county was unplanted and even in 1640, the old English still retained possession of nearly 70% of its land - a reality reflected in the return of catholics as both county members in every parliament except 1560. Mullingar was incorporated by 1560 and returned burgesses to all the parliaments. Athlone was enfranchised in 1606, Kilbeggan in 1613, and Fore in the 1620s.

The 1560 county members were the mixed pair of the old English Sir Thomas Nugent and the new English Sir George Stanley<sup>84</sup> but thereafter the power of the old English, especially the Nugents and Dillons who were the most prominent in the area, revived; the 1585 members were both called Ed. Nugent, living at Dysert and Morton within the county. Their successors in 1613 were Sir Thomas's son, Sir Christopher and his cousin, Edward Nugent of Portloman; on the latter's death he was replaced by yet another Nugent, Edmund of Roconnell.<sup>85</sup> After that parliament, the Nugents moved down from the county seat and had to be content with representing their borough of Fore. They were replaced as county members by the Dillon family\*, and two James Dillons\* were the knights in 1634, and one, accompanied by Sir Lucas Fitzgerald (who graduated from a borough seat in the previous parliament) in 1640.<sup>86</sup>

Athlone was a place of considerable commercial and strategic influence, as the most important crossing place of the Shannon, providing the bridge between Leinster and Connaught; this importance is underlined by the fact that it was not one of the new boroughs incorporated expressly for the 1613 parliament. Its charter listed local catholic merchants as its founding burgesses

<sup>81</sup> J. O'Hanlon, *History of the Queen's County*. (Dublin, 1914, repr. Kilkenny, 1981). pp 466, 785.

<sup>82</sup> McGrath, 1613. p. 61.

<sup>83</sup> For Walter Cosbie, see note under David Crosbie\*.

<sup>84</sup> Marshall of the army (1553) and commissioner for ecclesiastical causes (1562). Hughes.

<sup>85</sup> McGrath, 1613. pp 61-2.

<sup>86</sup> Some authorities give Sir Lucas\* as the second county member in 1634, but the clerk's list of the parliament places him as burgess of Fore.



and it returned a mixed pair in 1613, when the local merchant, landowner and original burgess, Walter Nugent, and Richard St. George, nephew of Sir Oliver St. John, vice-president of Connaught and m.p. for Roscommon in the same parliament, were returned.<sup>87</sup> The pattern of a mixed return continued in 1634, when the local catholic merchant John Comyn accompanied Edward Brabazon, later Lord Meath. Brabazon normally resided in Dublin and his main interests were there and in Wicklow, although he did hold 129 acres in Athlone Barony, near the town, and had some local links through his cousin, Malby Brabazon (m.p. for Bangor in this parliament), a landowner in county Roscommon, normally resident at Ballinasloe in Galway, and another cousin who married into Lord Lambert's family, based at Kilbeggan.<sup>88</sup>

After that date, however, the president's influence asserted itself and both 1640 burgesses were protestants with clear links to the provincial administration. Summers\*, the president's secretary and client, frequently resided at Athlone and Jones\* was also associated with the town.

Fore was recently incorporated, and, unlike most new boroughs, clearly under catholic, and, more specifically, Nugent\*, control. Its 1634 members, Lucas Fitzgerald\* and Thomas Nugent, were members of important old English families with strong local bases and Nugent's replacement on his death in November 1634<sup>89</sup> was his cousin, John Nugent\*, also Fore's representative in 1640, when there was confusion over its franchise. The Commons decided in favour of its franchise and repeatedly called for the issuing of a writ for the election of burgesses.<sup>90</sup> Adam Cusack\*, son-in-law of the Donore Nugents and cousin of the Dillons, was probably the second member.

The garrison town of Kilbeggan was incorporated in 1613; it was controlled by the recently ennobled Lambert family, which sat in the lords. Its representatives were invariably protestants with slight, or non-existent, local links; in short, they were all placemen.

The 1613 burgesses, the father and son, Robert and Beverly Newcomen, had no known Kilbeggan connections and were clearly official nominees, returned at Sir Oliver Lambert's behest.<sup>91</sup> They were succeeded in 1634 by the old English but protestant administrator Edward Keating and the apparently new English Robert Birley. While Keating had no known ties with Westmeath, Birley may have been a soldier linked to the Kilbeggan garrison, although there is no evidence to support this proposition.<sup>92</sup>

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87 McGrath, 1613. p. 63; St. George, whose name was given as St. John, was also a gunner based in Athlone, and the brother of George St. George\*.

88 *Peerage*; Edward became a privy councillor some time before 1642.

89 Thomas was the fourth son of Christopher Nugent, 9th. Lord Delvin, and Mary da. Lord Kildare. He lived at Dunfert, Kildare but held property in Westmeath. Lodge, *Peerage*, I, pp 134-141.

90 See chapter one.

91 For the Newcomens, see McGrath, 1613. pp 62-3, and note under Tralee. For their genealogy, see Playfair, V, pp clxiii-v ; and *G.O. MS. 112*, pp 138-45.

92 Keating was deputy chamberlain in the exchequer and comptroller of the pipe. Birley is described as 'Esq.', but does not appear in the English visitations published by the Harleian Society.



Its 1640 members were also clearly official nominees. Forth\*'s closest connection was through his mother's second marriage to a member of the Nugent family; his death in 1626 and her remarriage to Valerian Weasley suggests that this link was rather tenuous. Warren\* had local family ties, but both were based outside Westmeath.

All Mullingar's representatives were local catholic merchants, often from the Casey family, which provided its burgesses in 1560 (Nicholas), 1585 (Richard) and 1613 (Nicholas). The other members in those parliaments, James Reling, Redmond Pettit and John Hammond, respectively, were all from commercial families of equivalent local importance.<sup>93</sup> The 1634 and 1640 m.p.s were from rather more important families, and Pettit\* (returned for both parliaments) was joined by the local merchant and future portreeve, James Christall on the first occasion, and Hope\* on the second.

WEXFORD was the county through which the Normans entered Ireland and the influence of their descendants remained strong in the area; even in 1641, despite informal colonisation in the 16th. century and official plantation in the second decade of the 17th. century, the old English still held 50.6% of its property. Wexford had long been represented in parliament, and, although the northern half of the county was shired as Ferns in 1578, it was reunited with the southern part twelve years later and so only in the 1585 parliament were there separate representations from both counties. Two boroughs, Wexford and New Ross, were entitled to send burgesses to the 1560 and 1585 parliaments and two more (Enniscorthy and Fethard) were incorporated during the course of the elections to the 1613 parliament. After the county's plantation, a further four boroughs, Bannow, Clonmines, Newborough (Gorey) and Taghmon, were also granted charters which permitted parliamentary representation; curiously, all except Newborough returned catholics in 1634, presumably the reason that their franchise was disputed in 1640. The Commons made repeated orders for elections in those and other boroughs<sup>94</sup> and as a number of men of clear Wexford origin are later named as members of the House, these elections were evidently held and the boroughs were again represented in the House. The difficulty is to match the men with their constituencies, and while suggestions are made in the main text and the following profiles, few certain conclusions can be drawn.

Another curious feature of Wexford boroughs is that they provide the only known examples, apart from Darcy\*'s return for Navan in 1634 and his and Martin\*'s by-election returns, of catholics being returned for constituencies in areas in which they were not resident. Until 1640, the county representation, apart from one m.p. for Ferns in 1585, was retained exclusively by the local old English families, and it was only in 1640 that the new English settlers managed to wrest the county seats from their catholic neighbours.

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93 McGrath, 1613. p. 62.

94 See chapter one.



The 1560 knights, William Hore of Harperstown and Richard Synnott of Ballybrennane, were among the county's major landholders and Synnot was again returned (for Ferns) in 1585, and his son Walter for the county in 1613. The other Ferns m.p. was the settler Thomas Masterson, originally from Cheshire who was appointed constable of Wexford in 1573 and of Ferns ten years later. He settled in Ferns and married into local families. The 1585 Wexford knights, Matthew FitzHenry and Robert Codd, of Garrilough, were members of other important local families, with the FitzHenrys based largely in New Ross. They were succeeded in 1613 by Thomas Wadding of Ballycogley and James Furlong of Horetown, both from very similar backgrounds; Furlong died and was replaced by Walter Synnott.<sup>95</sup> The names of the county members altered again in 1634 but their religion and background did not, and William Esmond of Johnstown and Marcus Cheevers were as appropriate representatives of their community as their predecessors.<sup>96</sup> The settlers made their first breakthrough in 1640, when Arthur and Nicholas Loftus\* moved up from borough seats to represent the county.

Bannow was a new borough, and, like Clonmines and Taghmon, returned catholic members in 1634, when Pierce Neville, from a local family of Norman origin, and Walter Furlong were elected. Like Taghmon, its right to elect m.p.s to the 1640 parliament was disputed, although Cheevers\* and Hollywood\* were recorded as being returned. Of Bannow's four known burgesses, three had clear local connections, and it is presumed that Hollywood\* must have had some personal link with the area to ensure his return, although there is no firm evidence for this.

Clonmines returned James Brien\* and the local John Cullen in 1634. Although, like Bannow and Taghmon, its right to representation was disputed in 1640, and, unlike them, no return was recorded, Brien's\* name appears again in the Commons as a member of the House from 10 June 1641. He was presumably again returned for this borough and it is his partner's identity (possibly Duff\* or Browne\*) that is open to speculation.

Enniscorthy was incorporated during the course of the 1613 elections, but it had long felt the influence of the new English, as the area had been affected by the informal colonisation of the area by the Wallops, who still controlled it. In 1613 it returned Wallop's agent, Richard Perkins, together with the old English but protestant Sir Edward Fisher, who had already been granted 2,000 acres near the town, and as a commissioner for the plantation was in a position to benefit further from the disposition of property in the county.<sup>97</sup>

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95 McGrath, 1613. p. 64.

96 William Esmond was a cousin of Sir Thomas Esmond\*, and Cheevers, a lawyer, j.p. and future chief justice of the Confederation, was a cousin of Garrett Cheevers\*.

97 McGrath, 1613. p. 65.



Wallop offered the nomination of the 1634 members to Wentworth<sup>98</sup> and that year's burgesses were clearly official nominees, although one, Arthur Loftus\*, had sufficient local influence to have been able to arrange his own return. The second burgess, Thomas Newcomen, also came from a family of administration officials and held the posts of foreign opposer of the exchequer, joint clerk of the pipe and auditor of the court of wards. Newcomen was based in Dublin, but as a cousin of the Loftuses\* and colleague of Parsons\* in the court of wards, his return is understandable.<sup>99</sup>

Wallop's influence is again apparent in the 1640 return of his agent, Swanton\* and Waddington's\* election underlines one of the intriguing aspects of the Wexford plantation - the tendency of Englishmen with catholic leanings to settle in the county. Enniscorthy's ambivalence in matters of religious conformity is seen in his return and that of his replacement, Esmond\*.

Fethard was also one of the 1613 boroughs, when it returned Nicholas Loftus\* and Richard Pemberton.<sup>100</sup> Fethard was the seat of the bishops of Ferns from the 15th. century, although they moved back to Ferns at the end of the following century and Loftus\* had already gained some local interests partly by exchanging lands in north west Wexford for the bishops's property near Fethard, where he lived; he acquired further property in the county through the plantation. His return for the borough in 1634, and thereafter for the county seat, is, therefore, unsurprising. Pemberton was based in Dublin, but seems to have had some personal connections with the area. The second 1634 m.p. was Richard Parsons\*, Nicholas's nephew by marriage, and the son of another beneficiary of the Wexford plantation. Both Parsons\* and Loftus\* had other constituencies in 1640, when Fethard's return altered dramatically, as the local catholics, Rochford\* and Strafford\* were elected. Given Loftus's\* apparently firm control over the borough, this return is inexplicable.

New Ross was a significant trading centre, sited on a strategic point on the Bannow river, downstream from Kilkenny - the importance of its location was indicated in its older name of Rossespoint (pont), and its financial strength shown by its being granted a new charter in 1621 (when the catholic burgesses were not replaced by protestants) and a merchant staple.<sup>101</sup> It is no surprise, therefore, that its m.p.s tended to be local merchants. Its 1560 and 1585 burgesses, Nicholas Heron and William Dormer, and Jasper Duff and William Bennett, respectively, were apparently all from this community, and their 1613 successors, Matthew Shee (son of Robert, m.p. for Kilkenny in 1560 and a member of the Archer family which was based in Ross) and James Fitzhenry were also typical

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<sup>98</sup> Wallop to Wentworth, 21 May 1634, and Wallop to his agent, same date, *Strafford MSS*, 14, ff 81-2. Perhaps the most curious aspect of this transaction was the trouble the administration went to to ensure Wallop's steward, Roger Mainwaring's return for another seat. See note under Donegal.

<sup>99</sup> For the Newcomens, see note under Tralee.

<sup>100</sup> McGrath, 1613. p. 65.

<sup>101</sup> New Ross was an important trade centre from at least the late 13th. century. P. Somerville-Large, *The Irish country house: a social history*. (London, 1995). p. 18.



merchants from the town.<sup>102</sup> The town's recorder Dormer\* was returned in 1634 (with his fellow merchant Peter Rothe) and in 1640, with another alderman, Brook\*.

Newborough was incorporated in 1619, when one of its original burgesses was Sir Francis Annesley, later Lord Mountnorris, who had been granted 20,000 acres near the town. The appearance of his son-in-law, the Welshman, Roger Lort,<sup>103</sup> as one of the town's m.p.s in 1634, is, therefore unremarkable; his fellow-burgess was Adam Loftus\*, the privy councillor with significant local interests, and the town's m.p. in 1640. Mountnorris's dispute with Wentworth explains his lack of influence in that election, when the second burgess was the old English protestant official, William Plunkett\*, another original burgess of Newborough, who had also obtained property in Wexford.

Taghmon was also one of the new boroughs, but returned catholic m.p.s in 1634, notably David Hore of Harperstown, a member of the family which had supplied one of the 1560 county members;<sup>104</sup> Hore's mother was a Cheevers\* and he was also Esmond's\* cousin. His fellow member, Thomas Roche, sheriff of Wexford in 1631, also came from a noted local family based in New Ross.

The borough's franchise was disputed in 1640, although Richard Barnwall's\* return was recorded; as the borough apparently received a second m.p. some time between October 1640 and June 1641, the identity of his fellow burgess is unestablished, but given Taghmon's proximity to New Ross and the fact that one of its 1634 members was from that borough, Duff\* may well have been the second member.

Wexford was an important trading centre long before the Normans arrived in Ireland, and its burgesses seem to have been part of its strong merchant community, and all were active in its government. The local Talbot family provided one burgess in each of the first three parliaments in this period, and they were joined by other members of the town's oligarchy, John Hassane (1560), Patrick Furlong (1585), John Turner (1613);<sup>105</sup> the Turners provided another m.p. (Patrick) in 1634, when the second member, the former mayor, Richard Cheevers, was replaced on his death by John Furlong\*, who was also returned in 1640, with his fellow merchant, Patrick French\*.

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102 The local importance of the FitzHenrys may be judged from the fact that three of the new burgesses listed in the 1621 charter were from that family, including the then mayor, James. *R.I.A. MS. 24.Q.15*; The family name was also given as FitzHarris, and they were cousins of Sir Edward\*. McGrath, 1613. p. 64.

103 Lort (c1608-1662?), was educated at Oxford and the Middle Temple. His will was proved in 1663, *P.R.O. London Prob. 11/315/143*; his poetry, published as *Epigramatum Liber Primus* (London, 1646), is justly neglected.

104 *G.O. MSS 47*, f. 9; 93, f. 23.

105 The Talbots were Richard (1560), Patrick (1585) and Robert (1613); McGrath, 1613. p. 64.



WICKLOW's ethnic and political composition had altered greatly over the preceding eighty years and its returns show one of the biggest changes of all the Leinster counties over this period. Shired in 1577, its first returns were made in 1585, although its borders were not finally settled until 1606 and, despite its proximity to Dublin, it was still the haunt of the Gaelic Byrne clan until they were dispossessed in the 1620s and 1630s.<sup>106</sup> Gradually, the administration, and, more specifically, Parsons\* and Strafford, came to control large parts of the county and while one of its boroughs, Wicklow, was already an established town, it received a new charter just before the elections for the 1613 parliament, depriving the catholic sovereign of his office and instituting a new, protestant one, to ensure returns acceptable to the administration. The second borough, Carysfort, named after Falkland, was only granted its charter in 1628, by which time control of the county had begun to pass decisively out the Byrnes' hands.

The first county members were two new English settlers, Edward Brabazon and Sir Henry Harrington, both of whom had some local interests. By 1600, however, the Byrnes had accepted a surrender and regrant agreement and begun to participate in local government, and by 1613 were able to secure both county seats, for Phelim MacFeagh and Gerald Byrne. They also sought to exert some influence over the borough's returns, although with rather less success.<sup>107</sup> Despite the moves against the Byrnes, they were still able to arrange for the return of one county member in 1634, when the second knight was Sir Robert Talbot, a member of an old English family normally based in Dublin and Kildare (which his father represented in 1613), but with some interests in Wicklow, both on his own behalf and through his in-laws, the Nettervilles; his return is also evidence of the power of the local old English, who held 22% of the county's property in 1640. Talbot was expelled from the Commons<sup>108</sup> and the other member, Brian Byrne, son of Phelim, one of the 1613 knights, was ordered to justify his return, as he was an outlaw at the time of his election. The 1640 knights were clearly much more acceptable to the administration and also indicate how power had transferred within the county. While William Parsons\* had acquired his extensive property there within the last decade, William Ussher's\* family had long had interests in Wicklow, but had previously only been able to aspire to a borough seat.

Carysfort's founding charter named Sir William Parsons\* and a number of administration men or members of their families as burgesses<sup>109</sup> and the town was clearly open to official nominees as m.p.s. The first burgesses, elected in 1634, were Wentworth's secretary, Guildford Slingsby and John Hoey\*; while Hoey\* had some local connections and was a not improbable burgess for Wicklow, Slingsby's ties were confined to his association with Wentworth.<sup>110</sup> The 1640 m.p.s had even fewer links with the constituency and were clearly all

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106 The process by which this happened is traced in H. Kearney, *Strafford in Ireland*, pp 173-6.

107 McGrath, 1613. pp 65-7.

108 There is, however, no record of a writ for his replacement and his expulsion may have been temporary.

109 *Rot. Pat. Car.*, pp 417-422.

110 Guildford was a nephew of Sir Francis Slingsby\*.



official nominees. There was, on this occasion, no need to scout around for a constituency for Mainwaring\* who accompanied Walter Loftus\*, a double return for Roscommon, who opted to represent Carysfort. Francis Cosbie\* is also listed a Carysfort m.p., presumably replacing Mainwaring\*. He, too, had no particular local links, although he had some family connections with Walter Loftus\* and Guildford Slingsby. The final replacement was apparently Arthur Hill\*, a Parsons\* connection.

Wicklow's first parliamentary representation was in 1613, when the merchant John Wolverston,<sup>111</sup> son-in-law of the county member Phelim Byrne, arranged for his own return, together with Patrick Barnwall. This return was overturned in favour of Sir William Ussher, clerk of the privy council, father of the 1634 member, and his colleague in the administration, Sir Laurence, later Lord Esmond, one of Carysfort's original burgesses.<sup>112</sup> Ussher was constable of Wicklow fort from 1604, but his return was due in greater part to his son's appointment as port-reeve of the town immediately before the election.

The second 1634 burgess, James Byrne, was brother of the county member and one of the burgesses named in the town's new charter of 1613. His return is evidence that his family, and other local catholics, were still able to have some influence in the borough. This situation had changed by the next elections, and the 1640 m.p.s, Hoey\*, who switched from Carysfort, and Richard Parsons\*, were both representatives of the new landholders in the county.

## ULSTER

The changes in Ulster's parliamentary representation were comparable to those seen in Connaught since 1560, but of more recent date. While counties Antrim, Ardes (Armagh) and Down were included in the lists of members of the 1560 parliament, they were actually shired in 1570 and the names of the knights are blank. The other counties were gradually shired, with Cavan (1579-83), Donegal (1585), Monaghan (1587), Fermanagh (1588), Tyrone (1591), and Coleraine (1603) being added to the number of Ulster counties. Coleraine returned knights in 1613, but a final reorganisation led to its incorporation in the new shire of Londonderry and the familiar county system which remains today. The imposition of the new system of local government was more apparent than real, and the new order probably only began to work effectively throughout the province after the plantation.

Only three counties, Antrim, Down and Cavan, returned knights to the 1585 parliament. Before 1613, Downpatrick and Carrickfergus were the only franchised towns and these outposts of "*civilitie*" were isolated in an almost

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111 Wolverston was apparently also a lawyer who represented Falkland in 1630. *N.A. MS. M.2445*, p. 73. His name does not, however, appear in the published registers of King's Inns.

112 McGrath, 1613. pp 66-7. For Esmond, see under his son Sir Thomas\*.



entirely Gaelic landscape. The province was then subject both to informal colonisation by Scots in the eastern counties of Antrim and Down and to a formal plantation of a further 6 counties in the first dozen years of the next century. This new structure of local government and the development of a number of plantation towns, together with a considerable alteration in the ethnic composition of the province, produced a completely new electorate in 9 counties and 22 new boroughs, a couple incorporated early in the century and the vast majority in 1612-3, in readiness for the new parliament.

As so much of the population of Ulster was relatively recently settled there, only three counties and two boroughs could boast long-standing parliamentary traditions. Most new boroughs were controlled by the families which developed them and their returns reflect this, being composed of members of those families or their connections and / or official nominees.

While different constituencies show very individual patterns of returns, the relatively low level of Scottish membership is noteworthy and best explained by the distribution of the new boroughs within the planted counties, which were generally incorporated in precincts allocated to English settlers. The obvious exception is County Down, where informal settlement by Scots produced an ethnic concentration which is reflected in the returns from the county and borough seats.

ANTRIM was officially unplanted, but it had been gradually colonised by English settlers over the preceding fifty years and also included Carrickfergus, one of the only two ancient boroughs. Both county seats and these boroughs,<sup>113</sup> were subject to considerable influence from the Chichester\* family, whose Irish founder, the former lord deputy, established estates there and in Tyrone and they continued to be responsible for many of the returns from those areas. There is no evidence that the powerful catholic MacDonells sought to influence the county returns, although they took an interest in some boroughs.

The 1585 knights were a mixed pair, the settler Edward Berkeley of Edenduff and the native Shane McBrien O'Neill of Shanescastle; O'Neill was the only native or catholic m.p. the county returned in this period. In 1613 the county returned two settlers (Sir Fulke Conway and Sir Moses Hill),<sup>114</sup> and this set the pattern for future elections, when members of the same class, if different families, consistently supplied its knights. Arthur Chichester\* was county member in the next two parliaments, joined on the first occasion by his brother-in-law Sir John Clotworthy<sup>115</sup> and in 1640, by Clotworthy's cousin Langford\*, both possessors of considerable estates in Antrim.

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113 Coleraine was part of Antrim in 1613, but a subsequent reorganisation of the province placed the town in Londonderry, and it is therefore considered under that county here.

114 McGrath, 1613. p. 96.

115 Keeler, *Long Parliament*, p.136; see also note under Chichester\*.



Belfast was a Chichester\* borough, and its 1613 member, George Trevelyan, was the Deputy's nephew;<sup>116</sup> the deputy's influence is also seen in the election of Trevelyan's fellow burgess, Sir John Blenerhasset, a baron of the exchequer and settler in Fermanagh, with no known Antrim links<sup>117</sup> and the 1634 return of the soldier Sir Charles Price.<sup>118</sup> The other 1634 member, Bramston, was disqualified, as sovereign of the town at the time of his election; he may have been replaced by Arthur Hill\*, son of the 1613 county member.<sup>119</sup>

The Chichester\* connection in 1640 was Arthur's\* brother-in-law, Wray\*, but the Conways also had a say in the borough's returns. Fulke Conway's nephew and successor, Lord Conway, had a seat in the Lords and his agent, Rawdon\*, represented their interests in the Commons. The 1640 Belfast returns, like Hill's\* putative election in 1634, also show the influence of the MacDonells of Antrim in the parliamentary returns, as the link between Wray\* and his replacement, Wenman\*, was their family connection with the Duchess of Buckingham, Lord Antrim's wife.

Carrickfergus was an old borough, and while it tended to return its own townsmen as burgesses, the Chichesters'\* hand is also evident in the m.p.s returned from 1613. Its 1560 m.p.s were both settlers, the soldier and constable of Dublin Castle, Jacques Wingfield and Humphrey Warren. Another settler, the official Sir Edward Waterhouse,<sup>120</sup> was returned in 1585, together with the local man, Thomas Stevenson, sometime mayor of Carrickfergus. Stevenson's son-in-law, Thomas Hibbotts, Chichester's steward, was the member in 1613, when his fellow burgess was the local alderman and former mayor and agent for the town, Humphrey Johnson.<sup>121</sup> Hibbotts was also Carrickfergus's recorder and chancellor of the exchequer from 1618 and thus had both local and national reasons for his re-election in 1634, although he then lived in Kildare. His fellow burgess Johnson, may also have been elected in 1634, but died before taking his seat and Hibbotts was accompanied to the parliament by the local landowner, Henry Upton. Upton settled in Antrim in the early 17th. century, where he purchased the estate of Castle Norton; he was the Chichesters'\* cousin and Clotworthy's

116 McGrath, 1613. p. 97; see also note under Rowley\*.

117 McGrath, 1613. p. 97; see also under Moncke\*.

118 Price was an officer in the standing Irish army from 1625 but he had no known local links, and was sufficiently close to Wentworth to be used by him as a confidential messenger and to be returned as m.p. for Radnorshire in the Long Parliament. While he was Welsh, and his election for Radnorshire was not unexpected, his return for that parliament when he was still based in Ireland may also be an indication that Wentworth needed his support there. Keeler, *Long Parliament*, pp 313-4; P.D. Price, 'Price of Pilleth: four wills.' *Trans. Radnorshire Society*, XLIV, (1974), pp 53-7; J.K. Gruenfelder, 'Radnorshire's parliamentary elections, 1604-1640.' *Trans. Radnorshire Society*, XLVII, (1977), pp 25-31. Price's Irish connection was through the Blayneys, Lodge, *Peerage*, VI, p. 302.

119 This was one of the few occasions when Lord Chichester was not serving as sovereign of the town. Kearney, *Strafford*, p. 250, states that Bramston was replaced by John Ingersoll; Ingersoll was, however, elected for Ballinakill and was appointed to committees while Bramston was still a member of the Commons. It seems more probable that Hill\* was the replacement, as suggested in *N.A. M. 611* (unpaginated), especially given his links with Lord Antrim.

120 Waterhouse was clerk of the Castle Chamber, and held a number of other state offices, including chancellor of the exchequer from 1586. Hughes.

121 McGrath, 1613. p. 97. Hibbotts was also Hoey's\* step-father.



brother-in-law, and acted as steward to the lord deputy, whose will he witnessed. Upton had apparently also been the town's choice in 1628.<sup>122</sup>

The 1640 elections followed this pattern, with the local merchant and town official, Alderman John Davies\* pairing the solicitor general, Sambach\*, Hibbots's successor as recorder.

ARMAGH was a planted county, first represented in 1613, and its quota of m.p.s, two county and four borough members, did not alter after that date. Perhaps the most curious aspect of its returns is the almost total lack of Scottish m.p.s, although both Scottish and English planters had been allocated lands there.

Only one of the 1613 knights, Sir Toby Caulfield, was a local settler; his fellow county member, Sir John Bouchier, was also a new English official, but one whose own interests were in King's County; Bouchier died during the course of the parliament and was replaced by Sir Francis Annesley, later Lord Mountnorris, a man with a clear local link as commander of Mountnorris Fort. Caulfield and Bouchier were opposed by two local gaelic chiefs, Sir Tirlagh Mac Henry O'Neill and Henry McShane O'Neill, but this was apparently the only occasion on which the local catholics were able to mount a credible electoral challenge to the settlers and officials.<sup>123</sup>

No less than three men, Faithful Fortescue\*, Arthur Moore and Sir William Parsons\*, were included in the clerk's official list of returns for the county seat in 1634; at least two of them also contested other seats, Parsons\* successfully for Athlone, and Fortescue\* unsuccessfully, for Dundalk. Parsons\* had no local connections, and while Fortescue\* was a tenant on the archbishop's property, his principal interests were in the neighbouring counties of Louth, Down and Antrim and his main local connections were through his in-laws, the Moores\*, who provided the alternative knight. Arthur lived at Drumbanagher in the county, and was the only m.p. with strong local connections as his father was a local landowner. Further confusion is provided in some lists which give George Radcliffe\* as m.p. for Armagh county and borough, as well as Tralee. It was always assumed that he opted to represent the county, but the clerk's list only records his return for the two boroughs, although the appearance of a third name on the lists for the borough lends credence to the possibility of Radcliffe's\* also being a county member. This uncertainty is difficult to clarify and may be evidence of more tricky returns than the administration would have hoped for. The 1640 returns were rather more orthodox, with the local settler Brownlow\*, who owned considerable property within the county and was active in local administration, being elected with Faithful Fortescue\*.

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122 Upton's older brother John was a member of the Long Parliament and Pym's brother-in-law. Keeler, *Long Parliament*, pp 368-9.

123 McGrath, 1613. pp 98-9; Annesley was previously elected for Lismore, one of the boroughs whose returns were disallowed. *ibid.* p. 83. For Mountnorris and Caulfield, see also *Peerage*.



Armagh was an episcopal seat, and the archbishop's hand is evident in the return of m.p.s for the borough, although never again as clearly as in 1613, when the prelate's son, Marcus Ussher, the town's first sovereign, was elected with his brother-in-law, Christopher Conway.<sup>124</sup> The episcopal link remained clear in 1634 and 1640, when the m.p.s were, respectively, the judge, William Hilton, (also the archbishop's brother-in-law), and the son of another archbishop, Archibald Hamilton\*, apparently the only Scotsman returned for the county in any of the three parliaments. Hilton's fellow burgess was George Radcliffe\*, but he was a double return, replaced by a local settler, John Dillon.<sup>125</sup> Hamilton\* was paired with William Dixon\*, whose return for two seats with which he had no ties, can only be explained by his general usefulness to the administration, presumably supported by his brother-in-law Maurice Eustace\*. It is unclear which seat he opted to represent, but he was apparently replaced by Edgeworth\*, Thomas Hill\* or Carleton\*.

Charlemont was a garrison town controlled by Lord Caulfield and its m.p.s invariably included one soldier, with Faithful\* Fortescue and his son Chichester\* coming into that category in 1613 and 1634, and Brome\* in 1640. Faithful's\* brother-in-law Edward Moore, brother of the putative 1634 knight, Arthur, was his pair in 1613<sup>126</sup> and Chichester's\* fellow burgess, John Bysse\*, had no known links with the borough. It is not clear who replaced Chichester\* on his resignation in February 1635. John Martin's\* return, as a local settler and the Caulfields'\* cousin, is more easily explained than the others for Charlemont.

CAVAN COUNTY was shired between 1579 and 1583 and first appears on the list of members of the 1585 parliament. Its county town, Cavan, was incorporated in 1610 and, unusually for a borough first represented in 1613, all but three of its original burgesses were catholic. Despite this, the local protestant settlers gained control and were sufficiently numerous even in 1613 to be able to return two of their co-religionists, although the return was disputed and eventually overturned in favour of two catholic m.p.s from the local merchant Brady family.<sup>127</sup> After that date, both Cavan and Belturbet, incorporated in 1613 and described by Bedell jr. in 1630 as being much larger than Cavan town, returned protestant burgesses.

Cavan's county membership altered significantly over the years from 1585, when it had returned two members of its ruling clan, the O'Reillys. A fiercely contested battle in 1613 resulted in the election of the privy councillor Sir Oliver Lambert and the local settler, Sir John Fishe, who were strenuously opposed by two old English settlers in Cavan, Capt. Richard Tyrell and Walter Talbot, whose campaign was organised by another member of that community,

124 McGrath, 1613. p. 99.

125 Dillon was not connected with the old English family of the same name, but was a settler, originally from Staffordshire. He died in 1637. Hill, *Plantation*, p. 405.

126 McGrath, 1613. p. 99.

127 McGrath, 1613. pp 101-2. Walter and Thomas Brady were the m.p.s, and the mis-returns were in favour of Sir Hugh Culme, father of Culme\*, and Sir George Sexton, a Limerickman, but a protestant, and secretary to Chichester. For Sexton, see note under R. Cusack\*.



Captain Garrett Fleming.<sup>128</sup> Thereafter, however, its returns were evenly divided between catholic and protestant, with the settler Sir Stephen Butler and the old English catholic Lucas Dillon<sup>129</sup> being returned in 1634, and another settler, this time probably of Scottish origin, Bailey\* being elected with O'Reilly\* in 1640. All six knights had strong local connections, even Lambert, who held lands in the area before the plantation and who chose the title Lord Cavan when he was ennobled in 1617.

Belturbet was originally controlled by the planter Sir Richard Waldron, on whose lands the town was built and its returns show a pattern of mixed burgesses, with one local man and a placeman. The 1613 burgesses were the local settler, Sir Hugh Wirrall, and the official, George Grimesditch, the latter having no known local connections with the area.<sup>130</sup> Control passed to another settler, Sir Stephen Butler, county member in 1634, and under his influence the town returned the attorney general Sir William Ryves, whose connection with the area was through his second wife, Dorothy Waldron, and Sir Arthur Blundell,<sup>131</sup> in that year. The following parliament saw the local Ashe\*, and Borlase\*, the outsider and master of the ordnance, elected.

Cavan's election of catholic burgesses in 1613 was not to be repeated, and its 1634 and 1640 returns were more conventional. The local settler, Brockhall Taylor of Ballyhayes, accompanied Cooke\* in 1634 and after Taylor's death in 1636,<sup>132</sup> Cooke's\* fellow burgess was the official Lake\*, who had no local links and whose return was clearly due to official intervention. On his expulsion, his most likely replacement was Moynes\* who held lands in the area, and was the son of the former bishop. Cooke\* had strong local connections and local and administration interests were served by the returns from this borough.

DONEGAL COUNTY was planted with Scottish and English settlers, although most of the boroughs were established in the English precincts. Its county membership was very stable, with the same men returned in both 1613 and 1634, but the boroughs developed a tradition of returning a majority of outsiders, generally officials with no local links. The only exception to this pattern was Killybegs, the most recently incorporated borough, which returned one local member in both 1634 and 1640.

<sup>128</sup> McGrath, 1613. pp 99-101.

<sup>129</sup> For Butler, (d. 1638), see note under Ashe\*, and Hill, *Plantation*, pp 281,465-6. Dillon should not be confused with his namesake and cousin, Sir Lucas\*. This Lucas was the brother of Robert\* and James\* sr., and uncle of James\* jr., and lived at Trinity Island in Cavan. His son-in-law, Bailey\*, was the 1640 county member.

<sup>130</sup> McGrath, 1613. p.102.

<sup>131</sup> Arthur was George Blundell's\* uncle, and came to Ireland with his brother, Francis, later Buckingham's agent. A soldier, he was granted some lands in the plantation of Leitrim and was a member of the council of war which condemned Mountnorris. His return for Belturbet is surprising, as his main links were with King's County, where he held lands and was an original burgess of Banagher. He was, however, originally from Bedfordshire and this may have provided a connection with other Cavan settlers, like Fishe and Butler, who were also from that county.

<sup>132</sup> Taylor was the son of the energetic planter, John Taylor, who came to Cavan from Kent and Suffolk when he was granted 1,500 acres. Taylor's father-in-law Waldron controlled Belturbet.



The county members in the first two parliaments both came to Ireland as soldiers and benefited from the Ulster plantation. They were the Welshman Sir John Vaughan and the Scotsman Sir William Stewart, who held extensive property in the area and had close connections with the Montgomerys\* and Newcomens.<sup>133</sup> Both were still alive in 1640, so it is perhaps surprising that neither was an m.p. in that year. Instead, Paul Davys\* and Gore\* were the county members, both having good local connections, including substantial property in Donegal, and family connections, with Gore\* being the son of the 1613 m.p. for Ballyshannon and Davys\* being William Stewart's\* nephew by marriage.

Ballyshannon was a garrison town, controlled in 1613 by Sir Henry Folliott. Of its 8 burgesses, only two, Paul Gore (1613), and James Dillon\* (1634), had any connection with the constituency. Two of the three 1613 m.p.s, Edward Cherry and his replacement Arthur Savage, were outsiders, based in Leinster but with close connections with the administration.<sup>134</sup> Both 1634 members, Thomas Leake, and Michael Stanhope, were Dublin-based officials with no local ties; Leake resigned his seat in November and his replacement, James Dillon's\*, step-mother was Lady Folliott whose family still controlled the borough.<sup>135</sup> Curiously, both 1640 burgesses were double returns, James Cusack\* being returned also for Old Leighlin and Meredith\* for Athy, which he opted to represent; his replacement is unidentified. Cusack\* was like his fellow burgess in being a crown official, but differed from him in religion.

Of Donegal's burgesses between 1613 and 1640, only Willson\* was locally based. William Crofton was m.p. in both 1613 and 1634, although his closest connection was through his residence at Temple House, Ballymote, in neighbouring Sligo. He was accompanied in 1613 by the old English protestant official, William White and in 1634 by the new English official, Gilbert Domville, both of whom were based in the Pale.<sup>136</sup> Domville was originally from Cheshire, which points to the hand of Sir Basil Brooke in his return, as Brooke had Cheshire connections. Dixon's\* return is inexplicable, unless his brother-in-law, Eustace\*, had a role in his nominations for Armagh and this seat.

Killybegs was the most recently incorporated borough in Donegal and it tended to return a mixed pair of a local and a placeman, although the placeman, Tallis\*, was the same on both occasions. He was accompanied in 1634 by Galbraith\*, who lived near Raphoe, and in 1640 by Tarleton\*, a former sheriff of the county.

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133 McGrath, 1613. pp 103-4.

134 McGrath, 1613. pp 105-6.

135 For Stanhope see note under Lake\*; Leake was not related to Lake\*, but was the natural son of Thomas Leake of East Leake, Nottinghamshire, who "*bangled away his estate and died an old man in prison*". S.P. Potter, *History of East Leake*. (Nottingham, 1903), p. 91. He was a witness at Strafford's trial, Rushworth, *Trial*, p. 180.

136 McGrath, 1613. pp 106, 49; White, who represented Killyleagh in 1634, was Bryan Jones's\* father-in-law, and Domville, who represented Kildare in 1613, was Doppings's\* father-in-law.



Lifford had long been a place of settlement and had become a well-established town. It is, therefore, surprising that it should never have returned a local man as an m.p. All of its burgesses from 1613 were outsiders and clearly official nominees.

Its first representatives, the Lincolnshire settler William Disney and Sir Francis Blundell, had no known local ties, although Blundell subsequently became influential in Irish affairs.<sup>137</sup> The 1634 burgesses, the judge Jerome Alexander, and Roger and Matthew Mainwaring were all new English crown officials and, apart from Matthew, had no local connections; indeed, Roger had been Wentworth's nominee for Dingle. His return for Lifford may be explained by the importance of the Brooke family, which also had connections with the Mainwarings through the Leicesters, settlers in King's County, who may have been able to arrange Roger's and Philip Mainwaring's\* returns for Banagher. When Roger was also returned for Banagher, he was replaced by Matthew, constable of Dublin Castle and usher of the Court of Wards, but a man with some local link through his tenure of the office of customer of Londonderry, Coleraine, Loughfoyle, Swilly and Ballyshannon, 1618-22.<sup>138</sup>

The 1640 members were even more obviously official candidates; holding no crown posts, neither Robert Nettleton nor William Wandesford could have had any closer connections with the administration - indeed, their very dependence on their brothers indicates how weak were their claims to membership of the parliament.

DOWN had not been formally planted but it had experienced informal colonisation, especially by the Scottish Montgomeries\* and Hamiltons\*<sup>139</sup> and the new English Trevor\*, Cromwell and Bagnal families, whose main base was at Newry. The county was one of only two in Ulster which had boroughs incorporated before 1613 and its representation rose from two knights and two burgesses to two knights and 10 burgesses by 1613.

The county representation was largely dominated by the two Scottish families, and the boroughs were divided between them and the Trevors\*; it was only on John Hamilton's\* death that he was replaced as knight by Edward Trevor\* for the 1640 parliament. All the other county members between 1613 and 1640 were Scotsmen and the borough returns indicate that the local division was between English and Scottish settlers.

The 1585 knights, the marshall, Sir Nicholas Bagnal and the important local landowner, Sir Hugh Magennis of Iveagh, represented both sections of

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137 McGrath, 1613. p.105; for Blundell, see his son George\* and the *Peerage*.

138 For Alexander, who was normally based in Dublin and Meath, see note under Richard Fitzgerald\*. Both Mainwarings were members of the Nantwich branch of the family, although Matthew was settled in Ireland by 1618. Roger Mainwaring (d. 1637) settled in Ireland by 1612, as constable of Wexford, and steward of Wallop's property. Given this position, and Wallop's offer of the nominations of Enniscorthy to Wentworth, it seems strange that he should not have been returned for that seat.

139 Perceval-Maxwell, *Scottish migration*.



Down society at the time; ironically, they were linked by the marriage of Nicholas's sister Mabel to Magennis's brother-in-law, Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, but, given Bagnal's opposition to the match, they were more likely to be united by Magennis's anglicised habits than this family tie.<sup>140</sup> Hugh's son Art's attempt at the county seat in 1613 (with his running-mate the local old English Rowland Savage) was unsuccessful, although the settlers did not display complete unity in their campaign for the seat. On that occasion, Chichester nominated Sir Richard Wingfield (nephew of the 1560 m.p. for Carrickfergus) and Sir Hugh Montgomery, but the electorate returned Montgomery and his fellow Scot, Sir James Hamilton; Wingfield had to resort to Downpatrick.<sup>141</sup> The Scottish families also supplied the 1634 knights, John Hamilton\* (brother of the 1613 county member), and James Montgomery (son of the 1613 knight, when he had represented Strabane), who were also returned in 1639, when Hamilton's\* death between his election and the parliament's meeting allowed Edward Trevor\* to move up to the county seat. There must have been some concern about the returns for the county seat in 1634, as Hamilton\* had also been returned for Killyleagh in that year.

Bangor returned new English settlers in both 1613 and 1634, but its control was clearly in the hands of the Hamiltons\* who developed the decayed mediaeval town which had 80 British households by 1612 and 500 adult males in the parish by 1630 and other facilities of a thriving town including a bowling green and a custom house.<sup>142</sup> Unsurprisingly, given its developers' ethnic origins, it was a centre of Presbyterianism. Two Hamiltons were elected in 1640 and one of the members in each of the earlier parliaments was a brother-in-law of the Hamiltons\*.<sup>143</sup> The other m.p.s in 1613 and 1634 respectively were the local new English settler, John Dalway and the official nominee, Arthur Bassett, m.p. for Newry in 1613.<sup>144</sup>

Downpatrick was incorporated before 1585 but the lists of m.p.s for that parliament omit its burgesses' names so its first known representatives are its 1613 m.p.s, Sir Richard Wingfield and Richard West, both old soldiers with local connections, although neither appears to have been a townsman.<sup>145</sup> West was presumably nominated by his old commander and landlord, Lord Cromwell, and the borough clearly remained open to official influence, as Billingsley\*, whose return was apparently due to his links to the administration, was returned in both 1634 and 1640. On the first occasion he was accompanied by Francis Kinaston, a member of a local settler family originally from Shropshire, and on the second, by Marcus Trevor\*. The Trevors\* appear to be the link between these

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140 Magennis (d. 1596) was described as "*the civilest of all the Irish in those parts*", who wore English garments on Sundays and festival days. H. O'Sullivan, *The Trevors of Rostrevor: a British colonial family in seventeenth-century Ireland*. (M. Litt. Thesis, University of Dublin, 1985). p. 30.

141 McGrath, 1613. pp 106-8.

142 P. Robinson, 'Bangor', in A. Simms and J.H. Andrews (eds.) *More Irish country towns*. pp 44-57.

143 These were the new English Brabazons, see note under John Hamilton.

144 McGrath, 1613. pp 110,108.

145 McGrath, 1613. p.108; for Wingfield, uncle of Wingfield\*, and later Lord Powerscourt, see also *Peerage*.



returns, as Billingsley's local tie, through Mainwaring\*, was with the Trevors,\* who were also cousins of the Kinastons.<sup>146</sup>

Killyleagh was incorporated in 1613 and remained under the Hamiltons'\* control. It tended to return a mixed pair of one new English, one Scottish m.p., and only in 1613 did the English burgess have local links. Its m.p.s then were John Hamilton\* and Edward Trevor\* but after that date the Scottish Paul Reynolds\* was its m.p., accompanied by Walter White (m.p. for Donegal in 1613), who replaced John Hamilton\* who was doubly returned for the borough and the county seat. Reynolds's\* fellow-burgess in 1640, George Nettleton\*, was very clearly an official nominee with no local connections.<sup>147</sup> Nettleton died in July 1640 and his replacement was probably the Gaelic protestant Byran O'Neill.\*

Newry had long been a place of settlement and its role as a garrison town, the general settlement of Ulster, and more particularly, the opening up of the inland roads system had allowed it to flourish, so that by the time of its incorporation in 1612 it had 300 buildings and was a growing trade centre. It was still controlled by its original burgesses, as its representation shows.

Its 1613 members, Chichester's nephew Arthur Bassett and Captain John Leigh, were both soldiers and official nominees, and Bassett's cousin Fortescue's\* close associates Trevor\*, Poyntz and Whitechurch were among the original burgesses.<sup>148</sup> While its 1634 burgesses, Sir Arthur Tyrningham and Robert Loftus\*, had clear connections with the administration, they also had local links. Tyrningham was a soldier, who came to Ireland c1625 and married into the Bagnall / Trevor\* families, and Loftus\* was also a Bagnall connection, through his uncle Dudley Loftus's marriage to Anne Bagnall.

The 1640 m.p.s, Poyntz\* and Reading\* both lived locally, and Poyntz's\* father and uncle were original burgesses. Both resigned their seats and were replaced by Stanihurst\*, who, as a catholic, was atypical of all previous burgesses, despite being a soldier. He did, however, also have some local links but his return is still something of a mystery in a town which was clearly dominated by protestant electors. The identity of the second replacement remains unknown.

Newtownards was another of the Down boroughs controlled by the Scottish settlers, but its ethnically mixed membership alternated between parliaments, so that its 1613 and 1640 burgesses were Scottish, and its 1634 members (Edward Trevor\* and Robert\* Meredith's brother Thomas) were both English.<sup>149</sup>

While both men originally returned in 1640 were Montgomeries\*, their replacements, Melvin\* and John Trevor\*, were of mixed origin. Trevor's\*

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146 For Kinaston, see Harleian Society, *Visitation of Shropshire CHECK & 1623*. p. 299.

147 McGrath, 1613. p.109.

148 McGrath, 1613. pp 108-9; see also note under Fortescue\*.

149 The 1613 burgesses were James Cathcart and George Cunningham. McGrath, 1613. p. 109. Meredith was a double return for Old Leighlin.



return is explained by his general local connections and by his family's history of parliamentary representation in the county and the borough.

FERMANAGH, the ancient territory of the Maguires, was shired in 1588 but since the plantation that family had had little success in being elected to parliament, despite having contested the 1613 county seats, when Conor Roe and Donnell Maguire were defeated by the local settlers and officials, Sir Henry (later Lord) Folliott and Sir John Davies.<sup>150</sup> Conor's son, Brian, was later created Lord Maguire of Enniskillen and his sons Connor and Rory\* both sat in the 1640 Parliament, Conor in the Lords, and Rory\* in the Commons.

Given the number of Scottish settlers in the county - two of the four precincts allocated to undertakers were reserved for Scotsmen - it is noteworthy that only one, Sir John Hume of Tully Castle,<sup>151</sup> should have represented any Fermanagh seat in this period. Hume was one of the 1634 knights, when the other was his fellow settler, Cole\*. Hume died in 1639 and the Maguires finally achieved their goal of a county seat in the following year, when Rory\* Maguire and Cole\* were elected. Maguire's\* election was presumably assisted by his relationship with the settler community which culminated in his marriage to Mervyn's\* sister.

Enniskillen was a garrison town, largely controlled by Cole\* and it invariably returned one soldier to the parliament. In 1613, the year of its incorporation, its members were the local settler, Lieutenant Roger Atkinson and Humphrey Farnham.<sup>152</sup> Atkinson was one of Enniskillen's original burgesses and he remained in the area, serving as sheriff several times, including 1634, when, as returning officer, his non-appearance in parliament is understandable. He finally sold his estate to Champion\*, with an agreement that he and his wife could continue to live there. His fellow burgess, Farnham, became an official of the exchequer in 1616 but had no known local connection.

1634 saw the election of the soldier Borlace\* sr., and Paul Davies\*, with only Davies having some local connections, through his family. A third soldier, Borlace\*'s son, joined the by now locally-based Champion\* in 1640 and the coherence of the returns of one soldier, one local, in all three parliaments is remarkable.

LONDONDERRY COUNTY was formerly known as Coleraine, but had assumed its present name and form by 1634. It had been planted by the London companies and its returns reflect this and the importance of the Philips\* family. Three towns were incorporated as part of the plantation process, although Coleraine was originally part of county Antrim, and Londonderry, included in

<sup>150</sup> McGrath, 1613. pp 113-4.

<sup>151</sup> Hume was granted 2,000 acres in Fermanagh, and acquired a further 2,500 acres by purchase, making his one of the largest estates in the county. He was commended to Wentworth by Lord Carlisle in 1633, although it is unclear whether this might have affected his election.

<sup>152</sup> McGrath, 1613. pp 111-2.



Donegal in 1613, received its original charter in 1604, some time before the plantation; uniquely among the new boroughs, it was given the status of a city. Londonderry's 1613 knights were both connected with the London Society, with the Society's agent, John Rowley, and the soldier and local undertaker John Baker, then constable of Culmore Fort, being returned.<sup>153</sup> Both were dead by 1634 when the county was represented by two settlers, George Cary, recorder of Londonderry, which he represented in 1613, and his father-in-law and fellow settler, Tristram Beresford. Edward Rowley\* moved up to the county seat in 1640 when his fellow knight was another settler, Conway\*. All the county members had connections with the London Society, as its servants, agents or tenants.

Coleraine returned a mixed pair of members from 1613, always electing someone with very clear local ties and one semi-outsider. The 1613 burgesses were Barnabas Bryan, a gaelic protestant, later Lord Thomond, and the town's recorder, John Wilkinson.<sup>154</sup> The next parliament saw the local Rowley\*, son of the 1613 county member, and George Blount<sup>155</sup> returned; their successors in 1640 were Coleraine's alderman Cossens\* and the soldier Thomas Harman\*, a double return who was replaced by Moncke\*, linked with Coleraine through his work in the customs farm.

Perhaps the most intriguing aspect of the town's returns was the link with Carlow: one of each set of burgesses had a connection with that county; Bryan was constable of Carlow Castle from 1610, Blount's father was the 1634 m.p. for Athy, on the Carlow borders, and Harman\* a member of a settler family based in Carlow, for which he was also returned in 1640, and which he opted to represent, although he also had a base in Coleraine.

Limavady was largely controlled by the Philips\* family which founded it, as its returns show. 1613 saw the election of two complete outsiders, the administration officials, Christopher Sibthorpe and Roger Downton, but after that date all the members had connections with the family or town.<sup>156</sup> The 1634 members were the local settler, George Downing, and Arthur Newcomen, nephew of Lady Philips.<sup>157</sup> Downing was a tenant of the Fishmongers' Company, and held 3,000 acres in the county, which he served as sheriff in the 1620s.

By 1640, the first member of the Philips\* family was returned to represent their own borough, with his cousin, John Ussher\*, another nephew of Lady Philips. The identity of Philips's\* replacement remains unknown.

Londonderry was part of Donegal County in 1613, when its members had been the local settlers and lawyers Thomas Crewe and the city's recorder,

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153 McGrath, 1613. pp 102-3.

154 McGrath, 1613. p. 98.

155 A connection of Blayney and Clotworthy. Lodge, *Peerage*, VI, p. 303.

156 McGrath, 1613. p. 103; for Downton, see also note under his step-son Hoey\* and Mac Cuarta, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

157 for Newcomen, see note under John Ussher\*.



George Cary, who progressed to the major seat in 1634.<sup>158</sup> In 1634 and 1640 a new pattern developed, with one townsman being accompanied by a soldier from outside the area. The earlier parliament saw Ald. Robert Goodwin and Wentworth's protege, the Dublin-based Sir Robert Ferrar, as the city's m.p.s, although Ferrar had a local link through his relative, William Ferrar, m.p. for Clogher in 1613.<sup>159</sup> The 1640 soldier, Francis Butler\*, had no local ties, and his fellow citizen, Stewart\* was governor of Derry and Culmore Fort, and linked to Philips\* by marriage. Butler's\* replacement's identity remains unknown.

MONAGHAN was shired in 1587 but its major reorganisation came four years later as the solution to a long-running dispute within the ruling MacMahon clan and it was not included in the subsequent plantation. Its county membership altered considerably over the course of the three parliaments, with a mixed pair being returned in 1613, two Gaelic catholics twenty years later and two local protestants in 1640.

It was unique among Ulster counties in returning a catholic knight in 1613, when its representatives were Sir Bryan MacMahon and the privy councillor Sir Edward (later Lord) Blayney.<sup>160</sup> MacMahon's return is especially remarkable as he had supported his father-in-law Tyrone in the Nine Years' War. His son Art was one of the two MacMahons who were county members also in 1634, the other being his nephew by marriage Coll Brian, later one of the main plotters of the 1641 rebellion.<sup>161</sup> The MacMahon influence did not, however, prevent Richard Blayney's\* replacing Art on his death in January 1635.

The Blayneys' influence in the county increased over the years as they built up their estates and developed networks with other settlers. Lord Blayney's annual rent-roll in Monaghan was estimated at £1,150 in 1641,<sup>162</sup> and they also had a connection with Lord Essex, another major landholder, albeit an absentee. While the head of the family sat in the House of Lords, his cousin and seneschal Richard Blayney\* was returned as one of the county members in 1640, having sat for the borough in the previous commons. He was joined as knight by his neighbour, Sympson\*. Both had considerable local influence and property, and are unsurprising choices for the county seats.

Monaghan town was incorporated in 1613 and on that occasion its burgesses were Edward Blayney's step-son, Henry Colley, and the placeman, Thomas Ryves, brother of the 1634 burgess for Belturbet.<sup>163</sup> The Blayneys took both borough seats in 1634, when Richard\* and his cousin Arthur, a brother of the then baron, were returned. Richard's election for the county seat in 1640 led

158 McGrath, 1613. p.104.

159 McGrath, 1613. p.115; for William Farrer see below under Clogher.

160 McGrath, 1613. p.112.

161 He was also O'Reilly's\* brother-in-law, and Phelim O'Neill's\* nephew by marriage. Coll was a member of the 1642-3 and 1645 Supreme Councils. For his examination in 1641-2, see note under Bryan O'Neill\*.

162 *T.C.D. MS. 834*, f. 75r.

163 McGrath, 1613. p 112-3.



to a resumption to the 1613 pattern of a mixed return, of the local settler, Culme\* and the official nominee, Wentworth's secretary Cadogan\*

TYRONE had been O'Neills' country and was one of the planted counties; it had been divided into five precincts, two each for Scottish and English undertakers, but the Scottish were, again, rather under-represented in its parliamentary returns. Part of the county had been granted to the Chichester\* and Caulfield\* families who continued to be influential in the area, but there had been substantial changes in its landholdings, with many estates being sold to newer settlers. All its county members were substantial local landholders and the Tyrone proprietors exercised clear influence in the returns for the four new boroughs. As two boroughs (Augher and Dungannon) were also garrisons, the election of a number of soldiers is unsurprising.

Tyrone's 1613 knights were the privy councillor Sir Thomas Ridgeway (later Lord Londonderry) and the old soldier, Sir Francis Roe, constable of Mountjoy fort. Roe was unopposed but Captain Tirlagh MacAirt O'Neill stood unsuccessfully against Ridgeway.<sup>164</sup>

Ridgeway sold his estate to the Scottish Sir James Erskine, who was one of the 1634 county members, along with another local landowner and soldier, Sir Henry Tichbourne.<sup>165</sup> The 1640 knights, Caulfield\* and Mervyn\* were both very much in this class of settlers, having inherited considerable property in the area. Caulfield's\* other family property was in Armagh, which his great-uncle represented in 1613. Toby succeeded to the family title in 1640 and was apparently replaced by Darcy\*, aided by Mervyn\* and despite the sheriff's opposition.

Augher's control changed with the altered pattern of landholding in the area. It was a garrison town and in 1613 it was controlled by the Ridgeway family and returned the comptroller of musters, Ralph Birchenshaw, and an Edward Skory, about whom little is known.<sup>166</sup> By 1634 control passed to the Scottish Erskines who provided the county member and one of Augher's burgesses (James Erskine) and the administration official, Meredith\*. Sir James Erskine died in 1637 and his eldest son, Archibald, a clergyman, did not fill the same place in the administration as his privy councillor father. 1640 saw a further change in the borough, with the return of a soldier, Byron\*, whose link

<sup>164</sup> Ridgeway's main interests were in King's County. McGrath, 1613. pp 113-4.

<sup>165</sup> Erskine was a cousin of the Earl of Mar and an old soldier who had seen service in the Low Countries with St. Leger\* before settling in Ireland in the 1620s, buying the estate which was created into the manor of Favour Royal. His eldest son, Archibald, was a clergyman (and Gore's\* brother-in-law), so it was the second son, James, who was m.p. for Augher in 1634. Tichbourne (1581-5-1667) was a soldier from Hampshire who acquired the manor of Mountful, Tyrone, in 1620s and was a member of the county's commission of the peace in 1624-5; other local connections were through his wife, Jane Newcomen, whose family held property in Tyrone. Henry was a staunch protestant, in contrast to many in his family. J. Morris (ed.), *The Troubles of our catholic forefathers, related by themselves*. (London, 1872), I, pp 413-23. He was commander of the defence of Drogheda in 1641-2, and made a privy councillor in 1642.

<sup>166</sup> McGrath, 1613. p.114.



was apparently through his commanding officer, Tichbourne, who held property in Tyrone. Byron\* was originally accompanied by the local settler, Karnes, but a later return saw Peisley\* elected as the second burgess. This transaction appears to be traceable to Parsons\* who also held property locally and who would have been anxious to facilitate the return of an administration man, especially one with close connections to Wentworth. Peisley's\* expulsion left the way open for his replacement by Martin\* whose election for this otherwise completely protestant borough can only be explained by an overwhelming consensus amongst the opposition on the need for his presence in the Commons, rather than by any links with the constituency. The process by which he was returned cannot be reconstructed although Mervyn\* presumably played a major role.

Clogher was an episcopal town and the bishop's influence is evident in the returns in 1634 and 1640, although it was less clear in 1613 when George Watkins (about whom little is known) and William Farrer were its burgesses. Farrer was a Lincolnshireman, settled in Donegal, where he was a j.p. and sheriff in 1634 and married Lady Cooche, but he is not known to have had any Tyrone connections.<sup>167</sup> Both were presumably officially approved nominees and the burgesses elected for the following parliaments were a mixed pair of placemen and local men with close links to the bishop.

Its 1634 members were the lawyer, Edward Ayscough, attorney general of Ulster (1638-47),<sup>168</sup> and Sir Henry Spottswood, son of the Scottish bishop of Clogher (1621-44)<sup>169</sup> who was also a local landowner. The pattern was repeated in 1640, with Henry Manning\*, chancellor of the diocese and Bishop Spottswood's tenant (and Bishop Heygate's son-in-law) being returned with Christopher Wandesford's\* son George\*.

The Chichester family is clearly the key to the returns for Dungannon, as one burgess in each parliament was closely connected with the former lord deputy's family. Chichester's brother-in-law, Sir Hugh Pollard, his nephew Faithful Fortescue\* and grand-nephew John Chichester\* were returned to successive parliaments. They were accompanied on the first two occasions by men with strong local connections, Sir Garrett Moore,<sup>170</sup> Fortescue's\* father-in-law, who had substantial local property although his main interests were elsewhere, and Captain John Perkins, who had lived in the area for many years and was provost-marshall of Ulster from 1629. This pattern was broken in 1640, when the Dublin-based official Madden\* was returned, although he too seemed to have some local family connections. On his death, he was replaced by Phelim O'Neill\*. Dungannon was one of the ancient O'Neill strongholds but it is unlikely that many of the family's old adherents were voters in the town at the time and Mervyn's\* influence probably contributed strongly to the return.

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167 McGrath, 1613. p.115.

168 Ayscough was the younger son of Sir Edward Ayscough, Kelsey, Lincolnshire. *Lincolnshire Archive Offices, Misc. Dep. 16/11, F.L. Deeds 1373-4.*

169 A.B., (ed.), *A Breefe memorial of the lyfe and death of Dr. James Spottswood.* (Edinburgh, 1811), passim.

170 McGrath, 1613. p.115.



Strabane's parliamentary representation is characterised by the return of official nominees with relatively few local ties. Its 1613 burgesses, Daniel Molyneux and James Montgomery, were both placemen who clearly owed their return to official nominations.<sup>171</sup> Their successors Richard Fitzgerald\* (doubly-returned for Old Leighlin, and m.p. for Strabane in 1640) and Moncke\* fell into the same category, although both had some connections with their constituency through their crown offices which regularly brought them into Ulster, although not specifically to Strabane. Fitzgerald\* is not known to have had strong local links, and Moncke's\* lack of ties with Strabane is illustrated by his return for a completely different constituency in 1640, when his place in Strabane was taken by Galbraith\*, 1634 m.p. for Killybegs, whose links were much stronger with Donegal than with Tyrone, although Strabane's location on the border of the two counties may help explain his return.

## MUNSTER

Munster's representation increased from 6 counties and 9 boroughs in 1560 to 6 counties and 21 boroughs in 1640. The number of counties remained the same, but this figure masks the substantial changes made by the creation of Clare in 1570 and the amalgamation of the two counties of Tipperary and Cross Tipperary in July 1637.<sup>172</sup> Between 1585 and 1634, both Tipperaries returned county members. While Clare is now part of Munster, its history in the early modern period is more typical of Connaught, as it was not part of the Desmond lordship and therefore not included in the plantation of that province, but in the composition of Connaught. Its new English population arrived as part of an informal process and there was no organised redistribution of landholding.

While the 1560 returns are incomplete, the names of county members for Waterford and Tipperary and the burgesses for most cities and boroughs indicate that local old English were elected. Only Kinsale and Dungarvan returned "foreigners" in that year. 1585 saw the first return of new English as county members, although all the boroughs returned their own burgesses. From that date on, however, the new English made an increasingly obvious impact at both county and borough level.

Many of the older boroughs, Cork, Kinsale, Youghal, Limerick, Kilmallock, Cashel, Clonmel, Fethard, Dingle, Dungarvan and Waterford, were the old trading towns of the Desmond and Ormond lordships; all except Cashel and Dingle had returned burgesses or citizens to parliament for more than a century and those two boroughs were represented from 1585.<sup>173</sup> All the other new boroughs except Ardfert were created in 1613, partly in response to the increasing growth of these smaller towns, fostered in many cases by the new land owning class which developed after the plantation of the province in the late 16th. century. While there may have been an independent case for the

171 McGrath, 1613. pp 115-6.

172 *Gilbert MS. 169*, p. 217.

173 No information is available on their possible representation in 1570.



incorporation of some of these towns, it is clear that their charters were drawn up and granted to facilitate the creation of a parliamentary majority for the administration and their returns from 1613 reflect that political reality.<sup>174</sup>

The nature of Munster's parliamentary representation changed along with its numerical strength and the alterations in the province's ethnic profile, brought about by its plantation in the wake of the Desmond rebellion and the subsequent influx of English settlers who were granted substantial property.<sup>175</sup> The failure to implement the proposed plantations of Ormond and Clare saved those areas from further engineered changes in the 1630s although the parliamentary returns indicate a much stronger influence from the administration in the local areas by 1640.

CLARE was shired in 1570 but remained in many respects basically the old lordship of Thomond and the county's parliamentary representation remained in the hands of Lord Thomond and his O'Brien\* family. The list of members of the 1560 parliament includes Clare, but not the names of its m.p.s and hard information on the county's representation is available only from 1585. Ennis was incorporated in 1613 and while the county members were consistently O'Briens\* and their clients and agents the Clancies, the nature of the town's members altered from two of its own burgesses to a combination of townsmen and placemen with no obvious local connections.

The 1585 m.p.s, Sir Turlough O'Brien of Corcumroe and Boetius Clancy were both local landholders with close connections to Thomond's family. Turlough, a relative of the then Earl, was himself a substantial landowner in the area, a fact which was recognised in the 1585 composition of Connaught where he was accorded special privileges.<sup>176</sup> The Clancies were hereditary brehons of Thomond but they had accommodated themselves to the new dispensation and frequently served as sheriffs of Clare, Boetius holding that office in 1588. He seems to have been a protestant and, while the Clancys were Thomond's clients, they were also sufficiently important in their own right to merit special consideration in the Composition of Connaught.<sup>177</sup> Clare was represented in both 1613 and 1634 by Sir Daniel O'Brien and another Boetius Clancy, nephew or cousin of the 1585 member.<sup>178</sup> Both were important catholic landowners, active in the administration of the county. Sir Daniel was not the first choice as knight in 1634 but was elected in November of that year to replace his nephew Sir

174 MacCarthy-Morrogh's figures (*Munster plantation*, pp 260-7) for the increased representation of Munster are different because he excludes Clare from the Munster figures.

175 MacCarthy-Morrogh estimates that the English settlement in Munster had produced a population of 22,000 English in the province by 1641. *ibid.*, p. 260.

176 B. Cunningham, 'The Composition of Connaught in the lordships of Clanricard and Thomond, 1577-1641.' *I.H.S.* XXIV (93), (1984). p. 4.

177 J. Frost, *The History and topography of County Clare*, (Dublin, 1893), pp 95-8; *N.L.I. MS. G.1.130*; Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

178 McGrath, 1613. p. 70. He was also remembered in the 4th. Lord Thomond's will. B. O Dalaigh, 'A Comparative study of the wills of the first and fourth Earls of Thomond.' *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, XXXIV, (1992), pp 48-63.



Barnabas.<sup>179</sup> The 1640 county members were both O'Briens\*, but, again, both were catholic, and one, Donnough, had replaced Kingsmill\* (or Bettsworth) as m.p. for Mallow in the previous parliament.

Ennis's 1613 m.p.s the local settlers Edmund Blood and John Thornton were both original burgesses named in the borough's charter<sup>180</sup> although Thornton's election was technically illegal as he was also sheriff at the time. 1634 saw the only O'Brien\* to be returned for the borough, but as Barnabas was also returned as county member and for Carlow, he was replaced by Francis Windebank, Wentworth's secretary and the son of the English secretary of state.<sup>181</sup> Barnabas was a staunch protestant and the Thomond family was influential in Clare generally and in Ennis, where Barnabas's father had bequeathed money to build and support an almshouse.<sup>182</sup> The other m.p. in that year was Richard Southwell, a member of a local settler family, based at Rathkeale in Limerick and south Clare; he was a j.p. in both counties in 1624-5. Southwell was Rotherham\*'s brother-in-law and had family connections with Waller\*; he was a close business associate of Perceval.<sup>183</sup>

1640 saw the return of another mixed pair, the burgess Simon Thoroughgood\* and the placeman, Ralph Leventhorpe\*; the latter had no obvious local connections and his election must have been due to official intervention. Thoroughgood's\* replacement, Casey\*, was certainly an administration man, but he may also have had local family links.

CORK COUNTY's representation had grown substantially since 1560, when the county, Cork City, Kinsale and Youghal were the only constituencies. Since then, the increased population of new English settlers had altered the composition of the county and the numbers of boroughs had increased by four, as Baltimore, Bandonbridge, Clonakilty and Mallow all received charters allowing them to be represented in parliament; the timing of the charters, all issued in 1613, was no coincidence, but their privileges were valid also in 1634 and 1640.

The county membership was also changing and while the older boroughs of Cork, Youghal and Kinsale continued to return their old families of burgesses throughout this period, the growing power of the administration, exercised principally through the president of Munster, based initially at Mallow and later in Cork, is seen in the nature and process of the elections and in the return of the

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179 Barnabas succeeded his brother as Lord Thomond in 1639. *Peerage*; McGrath, 1613. p. 98.

180 McGrath, 1613. pp 70-1.

181 Windebank stayed less than two years in Ireland and was travelling the continent in 1636. His return to England was due to an unsuitable romantic involvement in Ireland. C. V. Wedgewood, *Thomas Wentworth, first Earl of Strafford, 1593-1641: a revaluation*. (London, 1964). pp 204-5. He became a royalist commander in the civil war and was court-martialled and shot for surrendering his garrison at Bletchington to Cromwell. Newman, *Royalist officers.*, no.1591; J. Burke, 'The New Model Army and the problems of siege warfare, 1648-51.' *I.H.S.*, XXVII (105), (1990). pp 1-29.

182 O Dalaigh, *op. cit.*

183 *Baronetage*, III, p. 318; *T.C.D. MSS 1216*, f. 63r, 1217, f. 123v; The family history is also traced in a tombstone in St. Multoses's Church, Kinsale.



presidents themselves, as occurred in 1585, 1634 and 1640 (all as county members) and / or their sons or other members of their families, as occurred in 1585 (with Thomas Norris being returned for Limerick) and 1634 and 1640 (when St. Leger\* jr., Kingsmill\* and Ogle\* were returned for boroughs in the province).<sup>184</sup> St. Leger's\* role in the elections may be judged partly through the return of a number of his own family and clients and partly through the glimpses afforded in other letters, such as that from William Wiseman, Boyle's nominee for Bandonbridge, which notes

*"much ado for I find that the business is already in agitation in the country, though there be a course taken by several letters from [St. Leger\*] to the chief gentlemen, not to stir therein by parading of voices till the day of election."*<sup>185</sup>

The president, John Norris, was accompanied by William Cogan and John FitzEdmond [?Fitzgerald] in 1585, both presumably old English, and 1613 saw the election of Dermot McCarthy and Andrew Barrett, of mixed ethnic origin, but both catholics;<sup>186</sup> their families continued to provide Cork m.p.s. The identity of the knights in 1634 and 1640 would have remained unchanged, with McCarthy\* and the president, St. Leger\*, occupying both seats, had not McCarthy\* succeeded his father as Lord Muskerry during the second parliament; his replacement was his nephew Redmond Roche\*, from another local noble family and, although a catholic, connected with new English settlers like Waller\*.

The settler Sir Thomas Crooke established Baltimore in 1606 and it received its charter in 1613, when Crooke was one of its m.p.s. He had been joined by Chichester's secretary, Henry Pierce,<sup>187</sup> and the pattern of electing one local and one placeman was followed also in 1634, when St. Leger's\* secretary Lott Peere and the locals James Travers and Edward Skipwith were returned,<sup>188</sup> and 1640, when the official Brian Jones\* accompanied St. Leger's\* servant Kniveton\*.

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<sup>184</sup> 1613 provided a slight exception, as the then president, Henry Danvers, Baron Danvers, was absent in England, and the administration of the province was largely left to its vice-president, Moryson, m.p. for Bandonbridge, who may have failed to take the county seat, despite his position.

<sup>185</sup> Wiseman to Boyle, 4 June, 1634, *N.L.I. MS. 13237* (20), quoted MacCarthy-Morrogh, *Munster Plantation*. p. 263.

<sup>186</sup> McGrath, 1613. p. 71.

<sup>187</sup> McGrath, 1613. p. 74.

<sup>188</sup> Peere, from Surrey, settled in Ireland before 1620 (*N.L.I. MS. 13237*), and was secretary to the president of Munster and a regular signatory to St. Leger\* deeds in the 1630s. Donneraile Papers, *An. Hib.*, XX, pp 64-72; he resigned his seat in December 1634 and was back in England surveying crown lands in Surrey, Kent and Middlesex by February 1644. *C.U.L. MS. Ee.3.42*, ff 53-8; he died at Audley End in 1652. His replacement Travers was presumably related to Travers\*, Skipwiths were prominent in Munster in the early 17th. century, MacCarthy-Morrogh, *Munster plantation*. pp 151n, 217, but this was probably the "Young Skipwith" commended to Wentworth by Lord Danby in September 1634 who was proposed as a possible husband of Wentworth's kinswoman, Mrs. Trappes. Danby to Wentworth, 17 September 1634, Lord Lindsey to Wentworth, 4 September 1634, 11 October 1634. Wentworth-Woodhouse Papers, *N.L.I. P. 3585*.



Bandon was also incorporated in 1613, although the mass issuing of charters then suggests a haste and uniformity in their drafting which was belied by the care taken with Bandon's charter.<sup>189</sup> Its burgesses in that year, the vice-president of Munster, Sir Richard Moryson and the Dublin-based official, William Crowe, were clearly placemen, although Moryson's office would explain his desire to be returned for a borough in the province.<sup>190</sup> Boyle arranged for its returns in 1634 also and thus his "cozen and dear ffrend" the local settler and escheator of Munster, William Wiseman, and Wentworth\*, the official nominee were returned.<sup>191</sup> Cork's influence over the 1640 elections was presumably as strong, and again one local settler Slingsby\* and one placeman, Dopping\* were returned. Bandon had prospered under the Boyles and its population had grown to an estimated 2,300 in 1641, most of whom were new English.<sup>192</sup>

Clonakilty was another borough in which Boyle's interest was clearly exercised. Mainwaring\* was returned on Wentworth's nomination in 1634,<sup>193</sup> but all its other m.p.s were locally-based. The 1613 burgesses, Edward Fitzharris and Henry Gosnold were both judges of the Munster presidency<sup>194</sup> and Robert Travers\* was returned in both 1634 and 1640, when he was joined by another local settler, Bannister\*, who was also Boyle's tenant.

Cork City returned members of its old ruling families throughout the period, with John Miagh sitting in 1560 and 1585 and Stephen Coppinger and Thomas Sarsfield accompanying him on those occasions. Two members of the Tirry family supplied the members in 1613<sup>195</sup> and 1634 saw another Coppinger returned, together with Sir William Sarsfield, the catholic son of the conforming Lord Kilmallock, and a nephew of the catholic bishop of Cork. The major change in 1640 was not in the ethnic origins of the city's m.p.s, as both Dominick Roche\* and Barrett\* were old English and came from families long settled in the area, but that Barrett\* came from the gentry rather than a merchant family and that he had been brought up a protestant and married into the Boyle\* family, although he was apparently a catholic.

Kinsale's representation remained utterly unchanged throughout the 80 years covered by this survey apart from 1560, when it returned two complete outsiders, Sir John Allen and Francis Agarde.<sup>196</sup> Most of its other burgesses came

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189 *Bodl. Carte MS. 62, ff 77-125.*

190 McGrath, 1613. pp 72-3. Crowe was father of Stephen Crowe\*.

191 Wentworth's nomination, *Lismore Papers*, 1st. ser., IV, p. 30; Wiseman (d. 1636) was also a connection of the Spencer family and Cork's nephew by marriage (his second wife was Alice Smyth, who later married Redmond Roche\*). "The Corporacon of Bandonbridge, vppon my commendacons, elected Sir Georg Wentworth to be one of the Burgesses for that Town, & Mr. Wm. Wiseman for thother." 22 June 1634. *Lismore Papers*, 1st. ser., IV, p. 33.

192 MacCarthy-Morrogh, *Munster plantation.*, p. 31.

193 *Lismore Papers*, 1st. ser., IV, p. 30.

194 McGrath, 1613. pp 74-5. Fitzharris was Munster's chief justice and father of Sir Thomas Harris, m.p. for Kerry in 1634 and Denny's\* step-father. Gosnold was also a judge of the Munster presidency.

195 McGrath, 1613. pp 71-2.

196 Allen held a number of crown offices, including lord chancellor and Agarde was constable of Ferns and Wexford Castle, and commissioner for ecclesiastical causes; Hughes.



from one family, the Roches, who supplied one member in 1585 and 1634 and both in 1613 and 1640. The other m.p.s in 1585 and 1634 came from the noted local family of Galway, which had considerable wealth and influence in the town.<sup>197</sup> The Roche members were also largely from the same family, with Philip, m.p. in 1585, his sons James (1613 and 1634) and Patrick\* and Philip\* (1640) all representing the borough, as well as Dominic in 1613.<sup>198</sup>

Mallow first came to prominence as the home of lord president Norris and was still controlled by his heirs, the Jephsons, who lived in England but whose Irish interests were well guarded by their cousins and agents in Munster. Mallow was incorporated in 1613, when it returned two officials with no local links, Samuel Molyneux and Sir James Ware sr.<sup>199</sup> Thereafter, its members generally had some link with the Jephsons; their cousin Kingsmill\* was returned in both 1634 and 1640. On the former occasion he was accompanied by another local settler, the Jephsons's cousin and agent, Thomas Bettsworth<sup>200</sup> and on their resignations during the parliament, they were replaced by Donough O'Brien\* and the privy councillor Thomas Wenman,<sup>201</sup> Philip Wenman's\* uncle, who held a number of important offices under the Munster presidency. O'Brien's return is explained by the marriage connections between the Kingsmills\* and the O'Briens\*. Mallow also prospered and by 1641 its population was estimated at 1660, half of whom were new English.<sup>202</sup>

In 1640 Kingsmill\* was joined by Thomas Piggot\*, a connection by marriage of the Jephson family. Kingsmill again vacated his seat, but the identity of his replacement is unknown.

Youghal's unchanging representation was unique amongst Cork boroughs: its m.p.s were all from its old-established merchant families and while their names may have changed, their religion, and their importance in the borough, did not vary over the 80 years. John Walsh and John Portingal (1560), Thomas Coppinger and James Collen (1585),<sup>203</sup> Edmund Coppinger and John Forrest (1613),<sup>204</sup> were all equally distinguished citizens of the borough, as were the burgesses elected for the 1634 and 1640 Commons, Gough\* and Ronane\*.

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197 Part of its wealth may be judged from the surviving family tombstones in St. Multose's Church, Kinsale and from the Galwey chapel which they added to that church.

198 McGrath, 1613. p. 72.

199 McGrath, 1613. pp 73-4.

200 Bettsworth arrived in Ireland before 1611, when he had a lease of a house and 300 acres at Mallow, *N.A. MS. RC 4/2*, p. 230ff, and was Jephson's agent by 1616, *Lismore Papers*, 1st. ser., I, pp 98,103,107,115,118,124,132; he made a deposition on behalf of Capt. William Jephson, *T.C.D. MS. 823*, f. 19r, and on his own behalf *T.C.D. MS. 825*, f. 261, claiming losses of £3,414.

201 Wenman was governor of Cork in 1628 and a member of the provincial council and provost marshal of Munster from 1629; he was a privy councillor by August 1634.

202 MacCarthy-Morrogh, *Munster plantation*, p. 31.

203 Lodge, *Lib. Mun. Hib.*, adds Francis Anyas Esq. All the m.p.s elected in 1613 and after were aldermen of the borough.

204 Both were aldermen and former mayors, they were elected with large majorities, despite Boyle's support for his friend, the local official Gosnold who was later returned for Clonakilty, and also despite Youghal's majority new English population. McGrath, 1613. p. 72.



KERRY's representation grew from two county members and two burgesses in 1585, when Dingle was the only borough, to two knights and six burgesses, as Tralee was incorporated in 1613 and Ardfert in the 1620s. The 1634 and 1640 returns show the strong influence of Denny\* and his connections in the county and borough seats.

The county members in 1585 (John Fitzgerald and Thomas Spring) and 1634 were of mixed ethnic origin and religion, although the returns in the latter year were confused, when the sheriff, Denny\*, returned his prospective step-father, Sir Thomas Harris, and the new English catholic Sir Valentine Browne; this election was appealed and Harris was unseated in favour of John Fitzgerald\*, who also appeared in 1640 as m.p. for Inistioge. Browne died in 1635 and it was his son and namesake who was the knight in 1640. On his death later that year he was replaced by his co-religionist, the old English Maurice Fitzgerald\*, who joined Denny\* in the parliament. This pattern of mixed membership, was in stark contrast to 1613, when, despite the vice-president Moryson's optimistic hopes of returning protestant knights, the county elected Daniel O'Sullivan Beare and Stephen Rice of Ballinruddell. Moryson had considered Rice as a protestant, as some members of his family certainly were, but his nomination, together with O'Sullivan, from the pulpit by Archbishop David Kearney, makes it clear that this was a mistake.<sup>205</sup>

Ardfert was an episcopal seat and David Crosbie's\* return in both 1634 and 1640 demonstrates the bishop's influence. His fellow burgesses in those parliaments were very different, however, changing from the local catholic James FitzJames Pierce in 1634<sup>206</sup> to Stoughton\*, an administration official whose family had been settled in the area for some decades. Given the nature of the new boroughs incorporated after 1612, it is Pierce's return which is atypical, rather than Stoughton's\*.

The composition of Dingle's burgesses also altered considerably after its incorporation in 1585. Two local men, Thomas and James Trant, both apparently catholic, were elected in that year and Thomas was also returned in 1613 when his fellow parliament-man was another local, Michael Hussey, whose religion is unclear, but he may well have been a protestant;<sup>207</sup> if so, he was Dingle's only protestant m.p. before 1640, as both 1634 burgesses, the Rice brothers, sons of the 1613 county member, were apparently catholic also, and the townsmen and / or Boyle ignored Wentworth's nomination of Roger Mainwaring, who was returned for another constituency.<sup>208</sup>

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205 McGrath, 1613. pp 75-6.

206 Pierce FitzJames Peirce of Ardfert, gent., was a rebel, besieging Tralee in 1641-2, *T.C.D. MS. 828*, f. 124v.

207 McGrath, 1613. p. 76. The Hussey family members embraced both religions but, despite Moody's classification of him as a recusant, it is more probable that he conformed.

208 Kearney accepts Moryson's view of their father's religion and states that James and Dominick were protestant. *Strafford*, pp 245-6; Mainwaring's nomination, *Lismore Papers*, 1st. ser., IV, p. 30.



1640 saw a great change in the nature of the town's elected representatives, as only one, Roper\*, had strong local connections, all with the new settler community, and Blundell\* was clearly an official nominee, whose connections, if any, with Dingle were apparently through his work as a commissioner for customs and excise. The closest seignory established by the Munster plantation was Ballymacdonnell, which had passed to Boyle in the early 17th. century, and it is possible that he attempted to exert some influence over the town and its returns after 1634.

Tralee was incorporated in 1612, although it had a long history as a Fitzgerald town from the 13th. century and had a corporation from at least 1298. It was burnt during the Desmond rebellion<sup>209</sup> and after that date was controlled by the Dennys\*, whose estates were close to the town, and they clearly arranged its elections for parliament. It's first m.p.s, Henry Dethick and Robert Blennerhassett, were both included as original burgesses in its first charter and settled in the area.<sup>210</sup>

Tralee's messy returns in 1634 indicate a process of management closely tied to the administration's electoral strategy, with no fewer than four names included in various lists of the borough's members. All except one were administration officials; the local man Robert Blennerhassett was from a new English settler family with strong connections to Denny\*. The other three names (George Radcliffe, and Beverly and Robert Newcomen) all speak of Tralee's being seen as a pocket borough, ready to return placemen and to alter its returns as necessary.<sup>211</sup> Radcliffe was also returned for Armagh county and borough, and chose the county seat, so his replacement was apparently Blennerhassett.<sup>212</sup> While the names of both Newcomen brothers are included in lists of Tralee's returns, it was Sir Beverly who actually sat for the borough, as he appears as a member of a committee in the commons. His return for Tralee is surprising, if his membership of the Commons is not, as he was an important administration official (admiral of the navy) and had parliamentary experience as m.p. for Kilbeggan in 1613.<sup>213</sup>

The 1640 returns of Maule\* and Henry Osbourne\* are unambiguous, although Osbourne's replacement on his resignation in 1641 remains unidentified. Both were clearly official placemen and while Osbourne\* had

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209 J. Bradley, 'Tralee.' in A. Simms and J.H. Andrews (eds.) *More Irish country towns.* pp 168-78.

210 McGrath, 1613. pp 76-7.

211 The most probable explanation is the use of blank returns by Denny\*.

212 Blennerhassett was a son of the 1613 m.p. and a cousin of the Conways. He was connected to Denny\* through business and personal ties, including as godfather to one of Denny's children. His activities during the 1640s were viewed with considerable suspicion by his fellow protestants, as he seems to have been at the very least sympathetic to the rebels, if not to have actively aided them.

213 He was the Usshers'\* brother-in-law; he and his son Arthur were drowned in Waterford harbour in 1637. His brothers Thomas and Robert remained in Ireland but are curiously absent from the 1640 parliament, although two Newcomens sat in 1613 and four in 1634, none represented Longford, the area in which they settled. McGrath, 1613. p. 62-3. *Baronetage*, I, p. 254. *Gilbert MS.* 169, p. 217.



some Munster connections (although none with Kerry), Maule's\* return can only be explained by his work in the customs administration, in the collection of which Tralee, as the county town, played a role.

LIMERICK had also been included in the plantation and its parliamentary representation reflects this. Two of its three boroughs were old towns which continued to return local catholics as m.p.s, although the new English infiltration is clear from Kilmallock's election of St. Leger\* in 1640. Until that date, Askeaton provided the county's only protestant burgesses.

Limerick's county membership suggests an earlier and greater level of control by the new English community in its affairs than is evident in other counties and a considerable political awareness among both original residents and new English settlers. In 1585 and 1640 the two communities shared representation but in the intervening parliaments one community secured advantage over the other.

The identity of the 1560 knights is unknown but the 1585 returns indicate a local compromise, with Richard Bourke from a local old English family being elected with Thomas Norris, son of the president of Munster and brother of the m.p. for Cork County. Thomas became vice-president two years later and a lord justice in the following decade.<sup>214</sup> Limerick bucked the trend in 1613 to return the province's only two protestant knights, Sir Francis Berkeley of Askeaton and Sir Thomas Browne of Hospital.<sup>215</sup> Both were local settlers with strong family connections and substantial landholdings in the area, but even so they were only elected after a divisive election, in which they were opposed by two local catholic landowners, Sir Geoffrey Galway<sup>216</sup> and Sir Edward Fitzharris\*. Both were elected in 1634, Fitzharris\* for the county seat, when he was joined by Richard Stephenson, and Galway for Limerick City. Stephenson was a member of a new English settler family, based at Ballyvoghane, Tipperary, although he was a catholic, and later became a supporter of the Confederation.<sup>217</sup> Fitzharris\* retained the county seat in 1640, when he was joined by his fellow property-owner Waller\* in a clear example of a local compromise which allowed both communities representation. Fitzharris died during this parliament and was apparently replaced by Stephenson's son Oliver\*.

Askeaton was on the site of an impressive Desmond castle and an old monastery and had long been a place of settlement. It was one of the Limerick seignories which was regarded as successfully planted but the borough was only incorporated in 1613 and was largely controlled by the Berkeley family which

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214 M. Jephson, *An Anglo-Irish miscellany*. (Dublin, 1964). Hughes.

215 McGrath, 1613. pp 77-8.

216 Galway was a lawyer and represented the catholic landholders in Wexford in their opposition to the plantation of that county. He died in 1636. McGrath, 1613. p. 78.

217 T. Pierce, *op. cit.*



settled there during the Munster Plantation.<sup>218</sup> Its returns reflected their importance and its susceptibility to official pressure, as its 1613 m.p.s included one local burgess, Roger Rice, and an administration official, Anthony Stoughton, whose principal interests were in Kerry.<sup>219</sup> Other influences were also at work, however, and Wentworth believed that Lord Cork had some say in its nominations for parliament and requested him to have Williams\* returned in 1634.<sup>220</sup> Boyle was certainly extending his interests around the borough at the time, having purchased three quarters of the seignory from Berkeley's heirs and bought other neighbouring lands in 1635, and Williams\* was duly elected, together with the owner of the neighbouring estate of Castletown, Waller\*.<sup>221</sup> 1640 also saw a mixed return, with Berkeley's son-in-law Crofton\* being accompanied by Williams\*, presumably again an official nominee. Perceval's brother-in-law William Dobbins\* was elected on Williams's resignation.

Kilmallock's 1560 parliament men are unknown but its representation changed little from 1585 to 1634, consistently returning local landowners from old English catholic families. Patrick Kearney was one of the few men returned to both the 1585 (for Cashel) and 1613 parliaments and he was successively joined by members of the local Hurley and Verdon families.<sup>222</sup> Both 1634 burgesses were also from local families, with John Fox holding lands in and around the town with an annual rental of £112 there and additional income from other property amounting to £250 annually. He was connected by marriage to Waller\* and Redmond Roche\*.<sup>223</sup> Simon Haley was a member of another important local family which was also prominent in Cashel; he held lands in the area and was also Perceval's tenant.

The big change came in 1640, when John Power\*, who was rather more important than his predecessor m.p.s, was joined by William St. Leger\* jr., the first protestant burgess the town had returned. His election was certainly due to his father's influence as president and as the owner of some property in the area. Power\* was a double return, and he was possibly replaced by Edgeworth\*, Thomas Hill\* or Carleton\*.

Limerick City consistently chose aldermen as m.p.s and from 1560 the names Fanning, Arthur, White\*, Galway and Creagh\* appear in its list of burgesses. All were wealthy, prominent citizens, aldermen and mayors who might have been expected to represent their city in Parliament. The Arthur family was especially important, providing m.p.s in 1560, 1585 and 1613, and the Galways and Whites\* were represented in 1613 and 1634, and 1585 and 1640

218 MacCarthy-Morrogh, *Munster plantation*. p. 174.

219 McGrath, 1613. p.79. Stoughton was Anthony's\* father and clerk of the Castle Chamber. *G.O. MS. 44*, f. 46r.

220 *Lismore Papers*, 1st. ser., IV, p. 30.

221 MacCarthy-Morrogh, *Munster plantation*. p. 245

222 Thomas Hurley and John Verdon were the m.p.s in 1585, and Henry Verdon was the other 1613 burgess. McGrath, 1613. p. 79.

223 *H.M.C. Egmont*, I, pp 104-5,110; *B.L. MS. Add. 19843*, f. 49v; *Civil Survey, Limerick*, pp 124, 165,170,172-3,176-81,183-6,192-4,196-9,209,212,215-6,219-20,240,419,483.



respectively.<sup>224</sup> Creagh\* and White\* were very much representative of the type of m.p.s the city had returned to parliament over the previous eighty years and Limerick was more typical of one of the old Leinster constituencies than Munster ones in the unchanging nature of its representation.

TIPPERARY was the only area in Ireland to have reduced its parliamentary representation between 1585 and 1640. No new boroughs were created and it lost two county seats when the county of Cross Tipperary (the church lands in the county) was abolished c.1636 and its boroughs, Cashel and Fethard were included in Tipperary County. The ancient liberty was part of the Ormond lordship and the Butlers and other wealthy old English families connected with them continued to dominate its county membership and must have influenced the burgesses elected for its boroughs, although there is direct evidence for this only in Clonmel's 1640 returns. The boroughs continued to return members of their own merchant families, who had only local importance, although Cashel began to return what was clearly an official nominee in 1634, when its second member was still from the older local clans. The nature of Fethard's representation remained utterly unchanged and the process by which Clonmel came to return two placemen is uniquely clearly documented.

The county membership remained constant in type, if reduced in numbers. The old Norman families of Sherlock, Grace, Everarde, Archbold, Purcell, Laffan, Mockler, Gough, Tobin and Prendergast supplemented the Butlers\*, whose junior branches dominated the lists of knights. All were members of local gentry families, settled around Kilkenny, Tipperary and Waterford in the Ormond liberty for many centuries, and were both wealthy in their own right and well-connected with the Butlers\* as well, often holding office in the liberty as seneschal or other positions.<sup>225</sup> Of all the families, however, it is the Butlers\* whose names reappear on the lists, as knights in 1585, 1613 (when they were represented by Edward of Cloghully, and Walter, who succeeded to the earldom of Ormond during the parliament),<sup>226</sup> 1634, when Thomas Butler represented Tipperary County, and 1640, when they supplied both knights. Nor was their representation confined to Tipperary, as they also supplied members for Kilkenny, Waterford and Carlow.

The Everardes, father and son, Redmond and John, also provided members in 1585 and 1613, although even in that case, there was also a family connection with the Butlers\*.<sup>227</sup> The other county members, Tobin, Laffan and Purcell were also marriage connections of the various branches of the Butler

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224 Edward (1560), Thomas (1585), and Nicholas Arthur (1613), the father and son James and Geoffrey Galway (1613 and 1634) and Stephen White (1585). For Nicholas Arthur and the Galways, see McGrath, 1613. pp 78-9. The Galways were a Kinsale family and had also represented that borough in Parliament. James's father John had migrated to Limerick in the sixteenth century, although they retained some interests in Kinsale. *Baronetage*, I, p. 258.

225 A. McClintock, 'The Earls of Ormond & Tipperary's role in the governing of Ireland. (1603-1641).' *Tipperary Historical Journal*. (1988). pp 159-172.

226 *Peerage*; McGrath, 1613. p. 80.

227 *T.C.D. MS. 654*, f. 51v; and McGrath, 1613. p. 80.



family.<sup>228</sup> Not all the connections were provided by the Ormonds - the fecund Mountgarrett family had links with gentry and merchant families in Tipperary, Kilkenny and Wexford, and the Dunboynes were also active builders of networks in south Leinster and east Munster. James Butler\* succeeded as Lord Dunboyne and the name of his replacement is unknown.

Cashel was a town with an impressive history as an episcopal site and a trading town.<sup>229</sup> Its members in 1585 and 1613 were from local catholic merchant families, with Denis Conway and Patrick Kearney (1585) being replaced by John Sale (1613) and members of the local legal family of Haley (1613 onwards).<sup>230</sup> Dr. John Haley sat in that parliament and the next but by then the official influence had begun to make itself felt in the town and he was joined by Thomas Little\* who had no local connections and whose return must have been due to outside pressure, presumably from Ormond. Patrick Boyton\*, a member of another local family, was returned in 1640 with Little\* but the latter's expulsion resulted in the return of the town's recorder, another Haley\*.

Clonmel was a well-established old borough on the borders of Tipperary and Waterford, which had returned m.p.s from before 1560. It had a well-developed system of local government, and, although Boyle attempted to exert some influence over the town in the late 1610s, it was largely controlled by its own merchant families under the eye of Lords Cahir and until 1640 its members had always been from those local merchant families, many of whom had also held office in the Ormond liberty.<sup>231</sup>

The important White family provided burgesses in every parliament between 1560 and 1634,<sup>232</sup> and their prominence in the town's government and commercial life makes this unsurprising. Other merchants, John Striche (1560), John Bray (1585 and 1613)<sup>233</sup> and Geoffrey Barron (1634), provided the remaining m.p.s.

1640 marked a major change in the town's representation; the alteration was signalled in the previous year when the mayor, Henry White, invited Ormond to attend the town's election of officers and, by implication, to

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228 For Tobin, who replaced Walter Ormond on his accession to the title, see McGrath, 1613. pp 80-1; Laffan, m.p. for Cross Tipperary, 1613, *ibid* p. 81; Purcell, Baron of Loughmoe, who married into the Ormond family, Lodge, *Peerage*, VI, pp 224-5.

229 T. O'Keeffe, 'Cashel.' in A. Simms and J.H. Andrews (eds.) *More Irish country towns*. pp 156-167; J.D. White, *Cashel of the kings*. 2nd. ed. (Cashel, 1876).

230 Kearney, who may have been a brother of the catholic Archbishop of Cashel, was returned for Kilmallock in 1613. McGrath, 1613. pp 79, 82.

231 Clonmel town book, *N.L.I. MS. 19,171*, *passim*.

232 Henry, 1560, Geoffrey, 1585, Nicholas 1613, and his son Henry 1628 and 1634, James White FitzRichard, 1628. The Clonmel town book listed the members of its council every year, and the Whites are invariably well represented among the group; 25 members of the family were sovereigns between 1439 and 1600. *N.L.I. MS. 19171*, *passim*; f. 147 for the 1628 election.

233 Striche was, in fact, a name more usually associated with Cork than Clonmel; for Nicholas White and John Bray (who married a member of the White family) see McGrath, 1613. p. 81; for Geoffrey Baron, see note under John Walsh\* and *D.N.B.*



have a hand in selecting them.<sup>234</sup> In this context, Clonmel's subsequent return of his secretary, William Smyth\* and of St. Leger's\* servant Gethings\*, and their later admission as freemen, is unsurprising.<sup>235</sup>

Fethard was one of the constituencies which experienced no change in the type of burgesses it sent to the Commons during this period. The town was largely under the protection of the local Everarde family, which supplied county members for Tipperary in 1585 and 1613, and a burgess for Fethard in 1613 and 1634, and built the local almshouse; 6 of the 9 chief burgesses of the town in 1608 came from this family.<sup>236</sup> Its representatives from 1560 to 1640 were all members of families of strictly local significance. The earlier parliaments saw men from the old English merchant families of Hackett, Nash, Wale and Everarde, all of whom had been settled in the town for centuries.<sup>237</sup> Hennes\*, m.p. in 1634 and 1640, and Vynes\* were both entirely typical of their fellow burgesses. Fethard was not sufficiently important or strong to have resisted the sort of pressure which was clearly exerted on other old catholic boroughs and it must be assumed that no serious attempt was made to influence its returns.

WATERFORD county had experienced a major change in its population composition over the previous 80 years, not least through the plantation of part of its territory by new English planters and, more specifically, by the settlement there of Richard Boyle, first Earl of Cork. The new settlers were granted lands in the west of the county but the old English retained nearly 44% of its land area in 1640.<sup>238</sup> Cork was an efficient acquirer of property and influence and his hand is clearly seen in many of the returns for the county from 1613 onwards. The county membership showed the gradual growth of influence of new English settlers, although the old English retained considerable property and power in the area.

The old constituencies of Dungarvan and Waterford were joined in 1613 by two new boroughs, Lismore and Tallow, both situated in the planted areas in the west of the county, and controlled by Boyle, as their returns indicate, and while Waterford in the east of the shire remained under the sway of its old English catholic merchant families, Boyle's influence was extended to Dungarvan (which was in the middle of the county, and subject to influence

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234 White was a member of the common council from 1624, recorder, m.p. in 1628 and 1634, mayor in 1625 and 1639, and one of the borough's most valued lawyers. *N.L.I. MSS 19171*, ff 98ff; White to Ormond, 23 September 1639, *N.L.I. MS. 2306*, p. 215.

235 *N.L.I. MS. 19171*, f. 319.

236 Edward Everarde (1613) and Thomas (1634). The alms house, beside the entrance to the parish church, is still standing, but now used as a library and fire station. Nicholas Hackett (1560), and Redmond (1613), McGrath, 1613. p. 82. Theo. and William Nash (1560, 1585), and Da. Wale (1585) were the other m.p.s for the borough.

237 Hackets were prominent in Fethard (*Irish memorials of the Dead*, V, p. 451; VI, p. 602; IX, p. 87), but also in Gowran (see above), and Cashel, where a number of fine effigies of members of the family also survive. These are clearly from the 15th. century and four of them are currently set in the town walls beside the cathedral of St. John and the Rock.

238 MacCarthy-Morrogh, *Munster plantation*. pp 290-2; Clarke, *Old English*, p. 236-7.



from the planted areas which were on all sides of the town; Boyle chose Dungarvan as his son's title), and it returned his nephew and godson respectively in 1634 and 1640, together with one of its own catholic inhabitants.

The county members from 1560 to 1634 were all from local old English families and 1640 saw the first appearance of a man from the new English community, Sir Richard Osbourne\*, as knight of the shire. Osbourne\* had acquired the lands of Knockmoan originally granted to Sir Christopher Hatton and was a prominent landowner and an active member of the local administration, so, apart from his religion, his election was unsurprising.

The previous knights were from the local old English Walsh\*, Power\*, Alyward, Gough\* and Sherlock families who were the major landholders in the area. Of these families, the most prominent were the Powers (represented in every parliament except 1585), Walshes and the Sherlocks of Gracedieu, who both provided m.p.s for Waterford City.<sup>239</sup>

Dungarvan first returned burgesses in 1560 when it was represented by two new English with no local connections, Henry Gifford and John Challenor.<sup>240</sup> The townsmen reasserted their own interests after that date and while there apparently were no returns in 1585, its 1613 members, Thomas Fitzharris and Peter Roe<sup>241</sup> were both local recusants, and in 1634 and 1640 its burgesses were a mixed pair, Hore\* (who sat twice) and was accompanied by Boyle's nephew, Sir Piercey Smith of Ballinatray and Richard Osbourne\* jr. respectively. Smith was reluctant to sit in 1640, when he was suggested for Tallow<sup>242</sup> and Osbourne\* was the son of the county member, a connection of the Smiths and Boyle's godson; his family estates were situated near the town. These returns indicate Boyle's growing influence in Dungarvan.<sup>243</sup>

Lismore was closely controlled by the Boyles who made it their principal seat. It was incorporated at Boyle's suggestion in 1613, when it returned Boyle and his associate, Francis Annesley, later Strafford's enemy Mountnorris<sup>244</sup> and it continued to return burgesses from his family or on his nomination. Both 1634 burgesses, Crowe\* and James Barry were his nominees, Crowe\*, who was also his nephew by marriage and m.p. in 1640, was easily controlled by him, and Barry was an official nominee, the son of Richard\*, although this must have required some negotiation, as Wentworth had requested Boyle to have Little\* returned and it would have been awkward to have substituted another man for

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239 The knights were Thomas Power and Peter Aylward (1560), Richard Alyward and James Sherlock (1585), John Power and James Gough (1613), and Jacob Walsh and John Power (1634). for the 1613 members, see McGrath, 1613. p. 82.

240 Challenor was secretary of state from 1576. Hughes.

241 McGrath, 1613. p. 83.

242 Smith to Boyle, "I am like to be chosen a burgess this week for the Parliament for the town of Tallow, but I hope they will have more wit and think of a graver servant." quoted MacCarthy-Morrogh, *Munster plantation*. p. 266.

243 Further evidence is supplied by the letter from the Sovereign, James Ragged, and 10 burgesses to Boyle, 19 May 1623. *N.L.I. MS. 13,237 (3)*; four of the burgesses were called Hore.

244 McGrath, 1613. pp 83-4; *Peerage*.



the deputy's secretary unless Little\* was already returned for Cashel.<sup>245</sup> The other 1640 burgess was Boyle's nephew, John Browne\*.

Tallow was increasing in importance under the Boyles' patronage and was an assize town for Waterford in 1621.<sup>246</sup> It returned a combination of burgesses, both protestant, but one local member and another clearly nominated by Boyle. This pattern was followed in 1634 and 1640, when the local burgesses were the tanner Thomas Elwall<sup>247</sup> and the landholder John Barry\* respectively, and the placemen were Boyle's brother-in-law William Fenton and St. Leger's\* nephew Ogle.\* In 1613 its burgesses were not local, but were Boyle's close associates, Gerald Lowther and Laurence Parsons,<sup>248</sup> but Boyle's desire both to support the local town and to retain influence in the Commons were neatly combined in the later returns, although he did not arrange for the election of Wentworth's nominee, Bartholomew Peisley.<sup>249</sup>

Waterford consistently returned members of its own old English catholic merchant families to parliament, especially from the Walsh family, which supplied both m.p.s in 1585 (including the speaker, Nicholas Walshe)<sup>250</sup> and one in 1640. Other citizens came from the Wise (1560), Strong / Strange (1560, 1634), Sherlock and Wadding (1613) and Dobbins (1634) families, all of which were active in the government and commercial life of the city and also had other property in the county and surrounding areas; many of them were also lawyers.<sup>251</sup> Richard Butler\* and John Walsh\* were quite typical of this category of members, and the city's representation remained unchanged throughout the 80 years surveyed here.

## CONNAUGHT

Connaught's transformation from a remote, Gaelic stronghold, largely outside the crown's control and with two outposts of anglicised "civilite" in the

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<sup>245</sup> *Lismore Papers*, 1st. ser., IV, p. 30; "This day Mr Walley sent me two blancks under the officers hands, & townes seals of Tallagh & Lismoor, with power to insert suche 4 Burgesses names as I should think to serv his Maty in the next parliament; 22 June 1634. *Lismore Papers*, 1st. ser., IV, p. 33; for Barry, see under Richard Barry\*.

<sup>246</sup> *Lismore Papers*, 1st. ser., II, p. 9 (8 March 1621) and p. 22 (16 August 1621).

<sup>247</sup> Elwall was a settler from Suffolk and a tanner in Tallow and apparently also had a role as clerk of the town's market. He was active in taking depositions in Carlow, Kildare and Wexford in 1642-3. *T.C.D. MSS 812*, ff 142-3; *813*, f. 98r; *818*, f. 128v; *820*, f. 318r; He was not always on good terms with Boyle, who reproved him for disloyal words. *Lismore Papers*, 1st. ser., II, p. 59; IV, p. 80.

<sup>248</sup> McGrath, 1613. pp 84-5.

<sup>249</sup> *Lismore Papers*, 1st. ser., IV, p. 30; Peisley was the only one of Wentworth's nominees to Boyle not to be returned to the Commons.

<sup>250</sup> Walshe was second justice of the king's bench, and a former justice of the Munster presidency. For an account of his work, see C.L. Falkiner, *op. cit.* pp 231-232.

<sup>251</sup> For the 1613 members, see McGrath, 1613. p. 83. Richard Strange (1634) was based at Dunkitt in Kilkenny but had many interests in Waterford; William Dobbins (who should not be confused with his namesake the 1640 m.p. for Askeaton), was also a merchant of the town.



towns of Athenry and Galway,<sup>252</sup> to a relatively well-regulated, quiet area with a functioning local government system and a string of towns, fostering trade and providing seats for the administration of justice and for standing garrisons, is reflected in its increasing parliamentary representation. The type of m.p.s returned by the province is also indicative of the way in which the area changed; while Athenry and Galway continued to elect members of their traditional ruling merchant families up to 1640, the county membership altered considerably and the burgesses returned by the new boroughs were almost exclusively from the new settler and / or administrative class.

The province was a single large shire until 1570, when it was divided into a number of smaller counties (Galway, Mayo, Roscommon and Sligo); Leitrim was shired only in 1583. Between 1560 and 1585, therefore, its parliamentary representation rose from one to five counties, although there was no change in the number of boroughs until after 1612, when 7 new boroughs were incorporated.<sup>253</sup> These were designed to ensure that the local protestant communities were also able to send representatives to parliament and their returns reflect that intention.<sup>254</sup> In every case except Roscommon the county members returned in 1613 were from local catholic families, whereas those in the previous parliament had all been protestant settlers. Leitrim returned protestant knights from 1634, but Galway's county members were solidly catholic and in the other counties the representation was shared between local catholics or protestant members of local families, and new protestant settlers.

**GALWAY** The identity of the 1560 knights from Connaught is unknown, but both 1585 Galway county members, Francis Shaen and his father-in-law Thomas Le Strange, were conformists and well regarded by the administration. Shaen was apparently Irish and reputed to be of low birth, but he was a protestant and Le Strange was English, but settled in Galway and Roscommon.<sup>255</sup>

The nature of county m.p.s altered radically after this date, and all knights of the shire between 1613 and 1640 were important local catholic landowners. The 1613 members John Moore of Brizes and William McShane Burke were both active in the opposition in that parliament<sup>256</sup> and while the 1634 returns are confused, all the men included in the various lists were from

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252 These two boroughs returned members to Irish parliaments from 1484.

253 K.W. Nicholls, 'Map of counties, 1542-1613, and maps of parliamentary constituencies, 1560-1800.' *N.H.I.*, IX, pp 45,47.

254 McGrath, 1613. pp 27-32,215-6.

255 Le Strange, who was a captain in Athlone by 1558, was originally from Norfolk. He married a member of the old English Bathe family and their daughters married Francis Shaen and Thomas Dillon, both m.p.s in 1585. Le Strange died in 1589 but Shaen was still alive in 1613, when the administration considered him as a possible m.p. Dillon Papers, *An. Hib.*, XX, pp 17-8; *Burke's Irish Families*, Hughes.

256 McGrath, 1613. p. 87.



the Lynch and Blake families, except Sir Roger O'Shaughnessy,<sup>257</sup> and this pattern continued in 1640.

The Browne family controlled Athenry and supplied its burgesses in every parliament between 1560 and 1640.<sup>258</sup> The other burgesses, Nicholas Lynch (1585), Ludovic Bodkin (1613),<sup>259</sup> Richard Martin\* (1634) and John Blake\*, were members of other important Galway merchant families; since its partial destruction in the upheavals of the 16th. century, Athenry's government was largely carried out from Galway, so the presence of men normally resident in the latter town, such as Martin\* and Blake\*, is understandable. The only obvious outsider, Thomas Cusack who was returned in 1560, was the Lord Chancellor and it is more surprising that he was returned for a seat outside his own home area of Meath than that he represented Athenry. Sir William Parsons\* was granted the market rights to Athenry in 1629 but does not appear to have exercised significant influence in the town.<sup>260</sup>

Galway town was one of the constituencies whose representation changed least over the 80 years before 1640. All the burgesses were aldermen of the city, and both m.p.s in 1560, 1585 and 1634 were supplied by the Lynch family; Lynches also appeared in the 1613 and 1640 parliaments, although on those occasions they were accompanied by members of the Blake\* family.<sup>261</sup>

Tuam was an ecclesiastical seat from 1111 and the only new borough in the county.<sup>262</sup> It was incorporated in 1613 and all its members except one were locally-based protestants. Rotherham\* was returned in all three parliaments and his colleagues in 1613 and 1640 were the local officials, Damien Pecke, the province's attorney general and Bringhurst.\*<sup>263</sup> Valentine Blake\* was the second m.p. in 1634; this return is extraordinary as he was a catholic, although he was also a prominent local landowner.

LEITRIM was included in Perrott's settlement of Connaught in the 1580s, but was the last county in the province to be shired (1583); no m.p.s appear in the 1585 list and it was first represented in parliament in 1613, the year in which Carrick-on-Shannon was incorporated. The county's history in the early 17th. century is neatly summarised by its transition from a largely Gaelic, rural

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<sup>257</sup> The lists name Sir Henry Lynch, Sir Valentine Blake and O'Shaughnessy. Kearney, *Strafford*, p. 247. Lynch, Clanricarde's man of business, was Robuck's father; Blake was also an m.p. in 1613, and Valentine's\* grandfather, McGrath, 1613. pp 87-8. *Baronetage*, I, p. 244; Sir Valentine died in 1634, and was replaced by his son, Sir Thomas. For O'Shaughnessy, see notes under Darcy\* and Richard Martin\*.

<sup>258</sup> 1560, Andrew, 1585, William, 1613 Stephen, 1634 Dominic.

<sup>259</sup> McGrath, 1613. p. 88.

<sup>260</sup> E. Rynne, 'Athenry' in A. Simms and J.H. Andrews (eds.), *More Irish country towns*. pp 106-18.

<sup>261</sup> McGrath, 1613. pp 87-8.

<sup>262</sup> R.J. Kelly, 'The Old borough of Tuam: its laws, privileges and constitution.' *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, IV, (1906). pp 233-9.; P. Gosling, 'Tuam.' in A. Simms and J.H. Andrews (eds.) *More Irish country towns*. pp 119-131.

<sup>263</sup> McGrath, 1613. p.89.



one, represented by two catholics, to a newly planted one, represented by protestant county members and burgesses in its two new boroughs.

In 1613, its major landholders were the O'Rourkes and the Reynolds, the latter an anglicised Gaelic family.<sup>264</sup> The O'Rourkes never entered parliament, but the Reynolds consistently provided county members for Leitrim. The 1613 member, William Reynolds, was a catholic but many members of his family embraced the new religion and both Charles (m.p. in 1634) and his brother Humphrey\* were protestant. The second member in 1613 was a member of the Nugent\* family, which was more important in neighbouring Westmeath.

Leitrim was planted in the years after 1619 and 68% of the land was confiscated, and even the old English held less than 5% of the lands there by 1640.<sup>265</sup> Instead, the Cootes\* became the dominant local family and they shared the county representation with the Reynoldses in 1640, although another local settler family, the Croftons\*, had provided one of the knights in 1634.

The Cootes\* were responsible for the establishment of Jamestown (named after the king) in 1625, and its incorporation; they built the town walls and endowed a school.<sup>266</sup> Charles Coote jr. had been returned in 1634 with Sir William Anderson<sup>267</sup> and both 1640 burgesses (Gifford\* and Hamilton\*) were Coote\* family connections, whose own principal interests were in neighbouring counties. Jamestown was in an important location on the Shannon, but its incorporation is somewhat surprising as it was less than four miles by road from Carrick-on-Shannon and its prosperity might have been expected to endanger that of its sister-borough, which was so recently incorporated.

Carrick-on-Shannon (Carrickdrumruske) was incorporated in March 1613, just in time to be eligible for representation in the parliament of that year. It was an important garrison town in a strategic location on the Shannon and it invariably returned soldiers and administration officials. St. George\* and Jackson\* were both soldiers, and Johnson\* an official. Jackson\* had been joined in 1634 by the master gunner Thomas Cave (d. 1637), who was connected with St. George\* both by marriage and through his military work, and, perhaps also with the Cootes\* who were developing their ironworks in Leitrim at that time.<sup>268</sup> The 1613 burgesses were both soldiers, the Welshman Captain Maurice Griffith, constable of the garrison and port-reeve of the town, and Thomas Bellott, who

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264 MacCuarta, *op. cit.* pp 11-12.

265 W.F.T. Butler, *op. cit.* pp 82-87; A. Clarke, with R. Dudley Edwards, 'Pacification, plantation, and the catholic question, 1603-23.' *N.H.I.*, III, pp 219-223; Clarke, *Old English*, pp 236-7.  
MacCuarta, *op. cit.*; *passim*.

266 The town walls remain standing, and the town was the scene of significant battles in the 1640s and 1690s. A meeting of the catholic clergy held there in 1650 issued the Jamestown declaration, denouncing Ormond.

267 Anderson was based in Dublin and his closest connections with Carrick were through the Sligo lands he leased from Boyle; he was Mountgarrett's father-in-law, and by his second marriage was Crowe's\* and Maule's\* step-father and step-father-in-law respectively. *Lismore Papers*, 1st. ser., III, p. 9. He was also said to have been returned as replacement m.p. for Swords in the same parliament.

268 Cave's first wife was a cousin of Lord Deputy Oliver St. John, St. George's\* uncle.



had no discernible connection with the borough, unless it was through his military profession.<sup>269</sup>

MAYO's first m.p.s, returned in 1585, Thomas Williams and John Browne of the Neale, were both protestants. Browne was an Englishman, settled in Mayo, but he was a recent arrival, and even by 1585, was familiar with only part of the county.<sup>270</sup> Williams was muster-master general at the time of his election and was probably based outside the county. From that date, however, its representation reflected the power of the indigenous local families, with Burkes\* being returned as county members and the borough of Castlebar returning a mixed pair, one member of its controlling family, the Bingham, descendants of the former President of Connaught, and one protestant with close links to the administration, and no local connections.

The five Burkes\* who were knights of the shire were from different branches of the family, but in each parliament one of them was from the branch ennobled as Viscount Mayo. Tibbot ne Long, the first Viscount, was returned in 1613,<sup>271</sup> his son David in 1634 and grandson Theobald\* in 1640; the family's religion changed under Tibbot's son Myles, and Theobald was conforming, at least at the time of his election, although his uncle David had been a catholic. The other Burke county members were Sir Thomas of Ballyloughmaske (1613 and 1634),<sup>272</sup> and Clanricarde's nephew Thomas\*.

Castlebar was incorporated in March 1613, just in time for the parliament of that year, and while one member was invariably a Bingham, the second burgess was clearly an official nominee. Thomas Peyton, its 1613 burgess, does not appear to have held office, but had clear links to the administration<sup>273</sup> and the second members in 1634 and 1640, Thomas Edmunds and Carr\* were both Yorkshiremen and secretaries to Wentworth. Peyton, Edmundes and Carr\* were all based in Dublin.

ROSCOMMON's first knights, Sir Richard Bingham and Thomas Dillon of Clonbrock were both administration officials, Bingham being president of Connaught, and Dillon (d. 1606), who was based in Galway, was the province's chief justice and Thomas Le Strange's son-in-law.<sup>274</sup> It was the only county in

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269 McGrath, 1613. pp 89-90; MacCuarta, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

270 Browne's map of the county, drawn up that year, is a very partial one; his descendants later became Earls of Sligo, and Marquesses of Altamont. The changing nature of Mayo's population, and the natives' adjustment to it, is traced in B. Cunningham, 'Natives and newcomers in Mayo, 1560-1603'. in R. Gillespie and G. Moran (eds.), *'A Various country': essays in Mayo history, 1500-1900.* (Westport, 1987.) pp 24-43.

271 McGrath, 1613. p. 90; A. Chambers, *Chieftain to knight: Tibbot-ne-Long Bourke, 1567-1629.* (Dublin, 1983).

272 McGrath, 1613. p. 90.

273 McGrath, 1613. p. 91.

274 Dillon Papers, *An. Hib.*, XX, pp 17,31-2; Hughes. For the process of informal colonisation, see T. Cronin, 'The Elizabethan colony in Co. Roscommon.' in H. Murtagh (ed), *op. cit.*, pp 107-120.



Connaught to return protestant members in 1613, due, presumably, to the presence of Sir Oliver St. John as deputy president of the province, during Clanricarde's absence. St. John was returned unopposed and another local protestant, Sir John King, successfully fought off a challenge from two local catholic landowners, at least one of whom had a strong record of loyalty to the crown.<sup>275</sup> The Dillon\* family regained its influence in the county in future parliaments, and one of the 1634 m.p.s and all three 1640 members came from that family.<sup>276</sup> The second 1634 knight, Arthur Jones, was also returned for Sligo but his return was certainly due to his father's position as president of Connaught, in which capacity he was based at Athlone.

Both boroughs were incorporated in 1613, and were firmly under the control of the local protestant settlers, especially the King\* family.

Boyle was controlled by the Kings\* and tended to return their family members and connections, or official nominees. Both 1613 burgesses fell into the latter category: John Cusack was an alderman of Dublin<sup>277</sup> and his fellow burgess Meredith\* was returned in all three parliaments, but being doubly returned in 1634 and 1640, for Augher and Athy respectively, had opted to sit for his other seats. Neither had any known connection with Roscommon. Meredith\* was replaced in 1634 by the placeman Richard Scott<sup>278</sup> and in 1640 by King's\* connection, Wingfield\*. Robert King\*, son of the 1613 county member, was returned in both 1634 and 1640 but resigned his seat in the following year, and was replaced by a Dillon\* connection, Burnell\*.

Roscommon also returned mere placemen. All the early seventeenth century returns fell into this category; Maurice Smith and William Marwood, (1613) were clearly both official nominees with no local connections.<sup>279</sup> The 1634 members were Carr\* and Edward Deane; Carr\* owed his return to his closeness to Wentworth and although there were men called Deane in Roscommon at the time, none can be positively identified with this man and it is more probable that he was the man of that name who was settled near Wentworth's property at Aughrim and Tinahely in Wicklow, and part of the Yorkshire coteries that surrounded the administration at this time.<sup>280</sup> Of the 1640 members, Robert Bysse\* did have some family connections with the county but Walter Loftus\*

<sup>275</sup> McGrath, 1613. pp 91-2.

<sup>276</sup> Lucas\* was m.p. in both parliaments, and Geoffrey\* and Henry\* were returned in 1640. There was a dispute about the legality of Henry's\* return and he was replaced, with his own agreement, by Geoffrey\*.

<sup>277</sup> McGrath, 1613. p. 83. Cusack was the father of Robert\*.

<sup>278</sup> Scott was a Yorkshireman, and lived in Dublin. He was presumably a connection of the Wentworth\* / Wandesford\* / Radcliffe\* network but he held no crown office. He was knighted in 1635 and died three years later. Whittaker, *Radcliffe letters*, p. 248; *N.L.I. MS. D. 25, 189*; Harleian Society, *Familiae minorum gentium*, IV, p. 1303; *Gray's Inns Register, Vicars, Wills*.

<sup>279</sup> McGrath, 1613. p. 92.

<sup>280</sup> Deposition of Edward Deane of Aughrim, Wicklow, 7 February 1642. *T.C.D. MS. 811*, f. 40v. His losses were a mere £500 and although the claim was made early in the rebellion, it suggests that Deane was heavily dependent on Wentworth for patronage and advancement. The *Commons Journals* recorded Deane's death and the order for a writ for his replacement. *C.J.(I.)*, 26 November 1634. There is, however, no other evidence of his death.



(who was also returned for Carysfort, which he apparently opted to represent) had none. His most probable replacement, Parke\*, was settled relatively close to Roscommon and a cousin by marriage of another important local settler.<sup>281</sup>

SLIGO first sent m.p.s to the 1585 parliament, when it was entirely represented by men from the new settler community, Sir Valentine Browne (grandfather of John\* and Valentine\*), James Crofton (ancestor of Crofton\*) and John Marbury; Browne was based in Kerry, Crofton in Roscommon and Marbury's address is unknown.<sup>282</sup> Sligo was never planted but it was unofficially colonised by a number of new English who settled there in the 16th. century when even one old English family, the Taaffes\*, acquired property there. There were six prominent indigenous old Gaelic families - the different branches of the McDonaghs, O'Haras, O'Connors and O'Dowds - and the informal nature of the new English infiltration left the county without an obvious protestant county representation.<sup>283</sup> The alterations in its parliamentary representation, from entirely Gaelic catholic families in the county, and protestants with, at best, tenuous local connections, in the borough, to a mixture of old English catholic migrants, and Wentworth's henchman as knights, and gaelic and Yorkshire protestants as burgesses, is unprecedented in an unplanted county.

The 1613 county members, Brian McDonagh and Thady O'Hara, had both been members of prominent local Gaelic families,<sup>284</sup> and the 1634 knights, Farrell (Fergal) O'Gara and Tadgh O'Connor Sligo were also in that tradition; O'Gara was a patron of Michael O Cleirigh and his colleagues, and the *Annals of the Four Masters* proudly noted his membership of the parliament.<sup>285</sup> O'Connor Sligo was chief of his name, and the owner of very extensive property in the county.<sup>286</sup> The 1640 knights of the shire were very much a mixed pair - Taaffe\* the old English catholic settler, related to Brian McDonagh and Farrell O'Gara, and the Yorkshireman George Radcliffe\*, whose local ties were all of very recent duration. Radcliffe was replaced in April 1641 by a local man, Patrick Casey\*.

Sligo was incorporated in 1613 and had a strong merchant community, of mixed Gaelic and new English origin and its own merchant staple. It seems strange that its townsmen should not have supplied any members of any of the parliaments between 1613 and 1640, beside Sir Roger Jones, a Welsh settler, a soldier and former sheriff of the county and constable and provost of the town,

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281 For Ridge see note under James Dillon\*.

282 Wood-Martin, *History of Sligo*. III, p.429; The Croftons extended their interests into Roscommon after the 1570s, MacCuarta, *op. cit.* pp 17-8.

283 W.G. Wood-Martin, *op. cit.*; T. O'Rorke, *History of Sligo, town and county*. 2 vols. (Dublin, 1989). M. O'Dowd, *Power, politics and land: early modern Sligo, 1568-1688*. (Belfast, 1991).

284 McGrath, 1613. p. 93.

285 B. Jennings, *Michael O Cleirigh, chief of the four masters and his associates*. (Dublin, Cork, 1936). pp 125-31, 142-148; Wood-Martin, *op. cit.*, II, pp 20-1.

286 Wood-Martin, *op. cit.* II, pp 141-7.



and uncle of Parke\*.<sup>287</sup> Its 1613 members, Henry Andrews and Edward Southworth, were both new English settlers. Southworth had some lands in the county although his major interests were in other parts of the country and he later settled in Athlone, which he represented in 1634, (although he was also elected for Sligo) but Andrews was an official with no local links.<sup>288</sup>

Sligo town's representation in 1634 was entirely protestant, but a mixture of rather messy returns: with Jones, Southworth, Maule\* (whose links with the area were chiefly through the property interests of his in-laws the Crowes\*) and Arthur Jones (future Earl of Ranelagh, a man with no apparent local connections, and unrelated to Roger)<sup>289</sup> all being named in returns. Southworth and Arthur Jones were both doubly returned, so it appears that Sligo's actual representatives were Jones and Maule\*.

Sligo's 1640 m.p.s were both protestant, but again from very different backgrounds, with the Gaelic O'Hara\* and the English Thomas Radcliffe\* sharing membership. Radcliffe\* owed his return to his father's influence, but he was expelled. The identity of his replacement remains unknown.

287 He died in 1637, *B.L. MS. Add. 4820*, f. 5r; Wood-Martin, *op. cit.* II, pp 24, 144,149,161-2, 166, 177, 182; O'Rourke,*op. cit.*, I, pp 301-4,461.

288 McGrath, 1613. p. 94; Andrews was Stephens's\* uncle by marriage.

289 He was later a member of the Long Parliament. *Peerage*, Keeler, *op. cit.* pp 238-9.



## ETHNIC ORIGINS

M.P.s' ethnic origins and the length of their connection with Ireland might be expected to have some influence on their returns, and, especially, on the type of constituency they were to represent. Formal and informal plantation and the influence of individual settlers had altered the ethnic composition of the country, especially, of some specific areas, notably Ulster.

Ethnic origin is generally decided on the basis of m.p.s' surnames (i.e. their fathers' origins), but it should be noted that many m.p.s were of mixed race - e.g. Bryan Jones, Cadogan, Ogle and St. Leger jr. While m.p.s' political or religious beliefs were influenced by their backgrounds, including their racial origins, not all protestants were settlers, nor were all catholics old English or Gaelic in origin. Valentine Browne and Stephenson were new English Catholics and there were several old English and Gaelic protestants.

The 1634 Commons included 47 protestants (10 county members and 37 burgesses) who are classed as "second generation" (i.e. men whose fathers, uncles or grandfathers had also settled in Ireland). These do not include men of old English or Gaelic origin, but the term is somewhat misleading, as a number of m.p.s' families were settled in Ireland for more than two generations (e.g. Hamiltons, Montgomeries, Loftuses, St. Leger, Wingfield and Moores), and others who are counted as second generation, although they were born in England or Scotland, but came to Ireland with their fathers (e.g. Borlase, Little, Osborne, Radcliffe, Wandesford). Over half of the second generation members sat for Leinster or Ulster boroughs, indicating their local connections, and the government's influence in Leinster and the effects of the plantation in Ulster. Six of the 10 county seats held by these members were in Ulster.

The number and proportion of second generation m.p.s who sat in 1640 rose substantially to 84, with 18 knights of the shire and 66 burgesses.

10 of the protestant m.p.s in 1634 were old English and 7 were of Gaelic origin. The 1640 numbers were almost identical - 11 old English and 8 Gaelic. Interestingly, 40% of the old English and 25% of the Gaelic protestants were

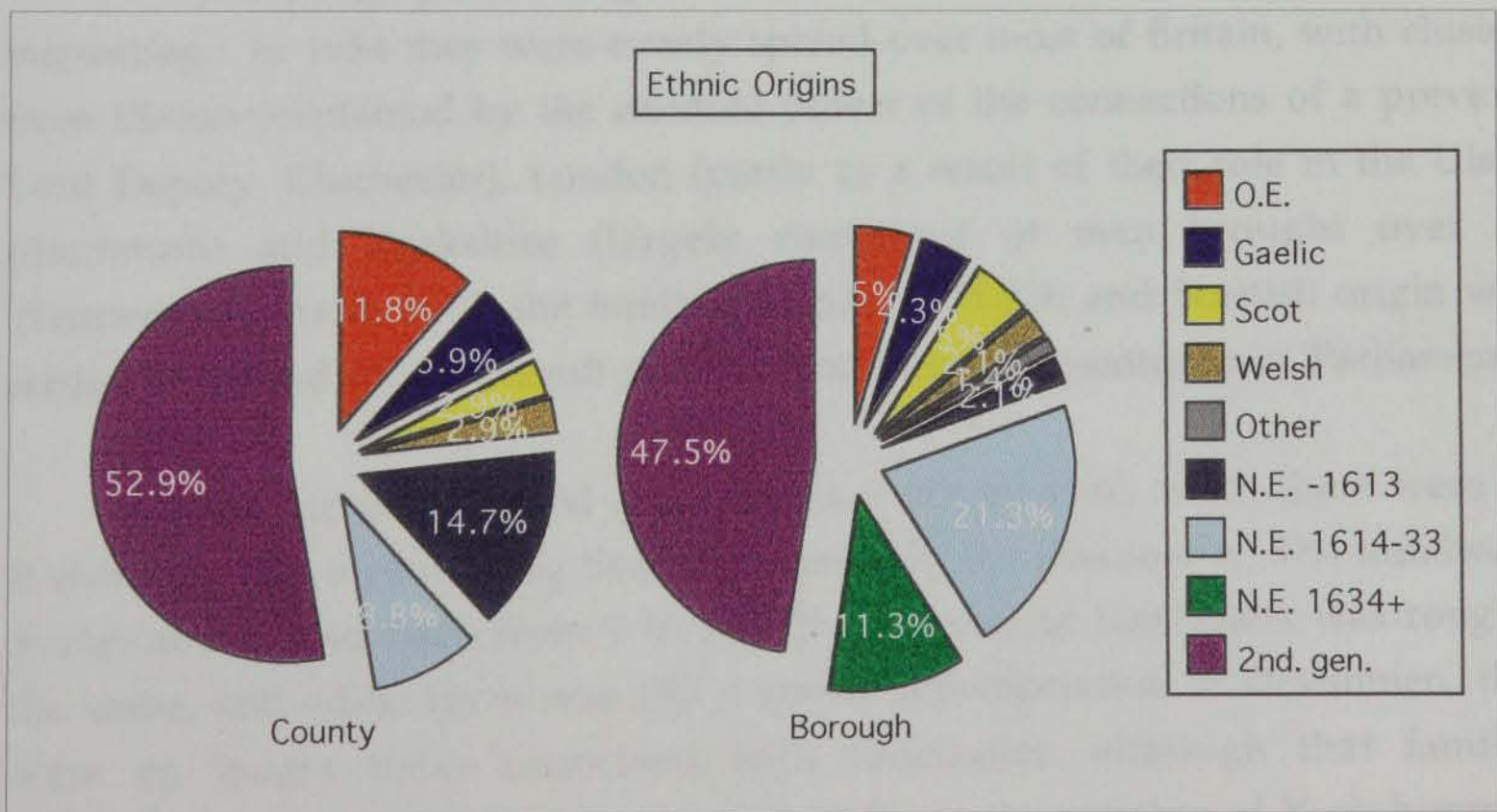


county members. There was a strong correlation between the length of members' connections with Ireland and county seats. All the county members arrived in Ireland before 1633, and only 3 (Radcliffe, Nicholas Sympson and Waller and possibly Bailey) arrived after 1613.

### ORIGINS OF PROTESTANT MEMBERS

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
1		O.E.	Gaelic	Scot	Welsh	Other	N.E. -1613	N.E. 1614-33	N.E. 1634+	2nd. gen.
2	County	4	2	1	1		5	3		18
3	Borough	7	6	7	3	2	3	30	16	67
4	Total	11	8	8	4	2	8	33	16	85

Roughly half the protestants were at least second generation settlers, with county members slightly more likely to fall into this category (53%, compared to 48% for burgesses). A further 12% of the county members were old English in origin, and 6% were of Gaelic origin. The corresponding figures for the burgesses were roughly 4% for both categories.



Nearly 15% of the remaining county members were new English who came to Ireland before 1613. By contrast, 1 in 5 of the burgesses were new English



who came to Ireland between 1614 and 1633, and 12% arrived after 1634. These figures are distorted by the presence of a number of burgesses who were the young sons of recently arrived officials who are classed as 'second generation'; these include Little, Borlace, Radcliffe and Wandesford and if they were classified by the date of their arrival, the figures for those who arrived after 1634 would have been higher. The 16 burgesses who arrived after 1634 were generally closely connected to the administration (Nettletons, John and William Wandesford, Maude, Lake, Mainwaring, Fanshaw, and the soldiers Borlace, Francis Butler, Byron, Gibson and possibly Lovell). Those who arrived before 1633 include other adherents of Strafford, like Billingsley, Carpenter, Little, Williams and Wentworth who arrived in that year.

The number of Scots and Welsh is relatively low, but an analysis of the ethnic origin of the second generation settlers (Table 2) indicates that this is partly a result of the length of time since the plantation, as the first generation of Scottish settlers had died and / or been ennobled; other Scots had come to Ireland for reasons unconnected with the plantations, e.g. Maule and Wemys. Rather more surprisingly, almost all those of Scottish origin represented boroughs.

The geographical origins of those first generation settlers are also interesting. In 1634 they were evenly spread over most of Britain, with clusters from Devon (explained by the residual power of the connections of a previous Lord Deputy, Chichester), London (partly as a result of their role in the Ulster plantation) and Yorkshire (largely composed of men brought over by Wentworth). As in 1613, the number of men of Welsh and Scottish origin who settled in Ireland did not result in a proportionate representation in Parliament.

The picture changed quite dramatically by 1640, when there were six Welsh men and a continuing Scottish element in the Commons. The number of Yorkshiremen had risen from 9 to 16. The number of Londoners was roughly the same, and while there was still a strong representation of Devonmen, they were no longer those connected with Chichester, although that family's influence remained.<sup>1</sup> The change, especially in the number of Yorkshiremen, testifies to the increased power of Strafford throughout Ireland. It does not, however, explain the cluster of men from Gloucestershire. There were also at

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<sup>1</sup> in the Chichesters, Fortescues and Wray.

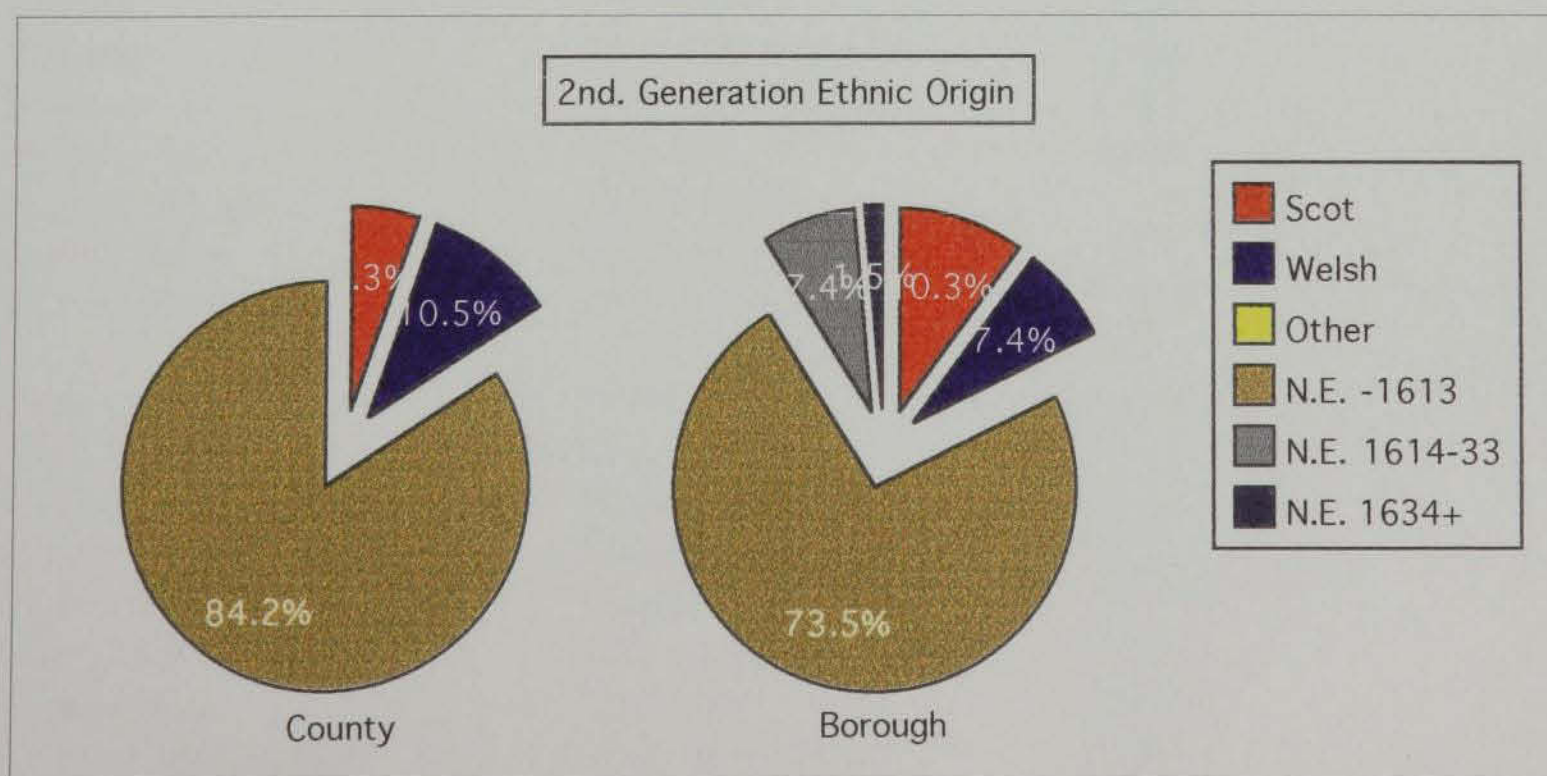


least three men with connections by birth or up-bringing in the Low Countries (Bannister, Ogle and St. Leger jr.), compared to one (James Erskine, m.p. for Augher) in 1634.

### ETHNIC ORIGIN OF SECOND-GENERATION PROTESTANTS

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
1		Scot	Welsh	Other	N.E. -1613	N.E. 1614-33	N.E. 1634+
2	County	1	2		16		
3	Borough	7	5		50	5	1
4	Unknown			1			
5	Total	8	7	1	66	5	1

The second generation m.p.s' origins confirm the prevalence of new English and the importance of the length of Irish connections: 84% of county members and 74% of burgesses came from new English families settled in Ireland before 1613. 11% and 5% of county members had Welsh and Scottish blood respectively; the corresponding figures for burgesses were 7.5% and 10% respectively (principally through the Hamiltons and Montgomeries, and Trevors and Blayney).<sup>2</sup> No county member came from a family settled in Ireland after 1613, but 7.5% of burgesses' families settled between 1614 and 1633; less than 2% had arrived within the previous six years.



<sup>2</sup> These figures include Meredith and Bryan and Oliver Jones  
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## ORIGINS OF PROTESTANT MEMBERS

(Dates indicate the date of arrival in Ireland of the m.p., or, in the case of second generation members, of their families).

Name	Origin	Arrival
Alford	2nd. generation	c1548
Ashe	2nd. generation	-1589
Bailey	Scotland	-1628 <sup>4</sup>
Bannister	Holland	-1614
Barry	old English	
Billingsley	Cheshire	-1633
Bingham	2nd. generation	1560s
Byron	Nottinghamshire	1638
Blayney	2nd. generation	1598
Blundell	2nd. generation	1603-10
Borlase sr.	Cornwall/London	1634
Borlase jr.	2nd. generation	1634
Bourke	Gaelic	
Boyle	2nd. generation	1588
Brereton	2nd. generation	1560s
Brice	2nd. generation	?1580s
Bringhurst	?Wales	-1615
Brome	?Scottish	-1640
Browne	2nd. generation	-1585
Brownlow	2nd. generation	1610
Butler, Francis	Hants.	-1636
Butler, Thomas	old English	
Bysse, John	2nd. generation	-1597
Bysse, Robert	2nd. generation	-1597
Cadogan	Wales	1630
Carleton	Oxfordshire	1631
Carpenter	Dorset	?1633
Carr	Yorkshire	1633
Casey, Robert	Gaelic	
Caulfield	2nd. generation	1598
Champion	England	?1618
Chichester, Arthur	2nd. generation	1599
Chichester, John	2nd. generation	1599

<sup>4</sup> May have been 2nd. generation, and his family may have arrived as early as 1610.



Cole	London	-1600
Conway	2nd. generation	1598
Cooke	Sussex?	-1622
Coote sr.	Norfolk	1600
Coote jr.	2nd. generation	1600
Cosbie, Francis	2nd. generation	1558
Cossens	?	-1640
Crofton	2nd. generation	1565
Crosbie, David	Gaelic	
Crosbie, Pierce	Gaelic	
Crowe	2nd. generation	-1597
Culme	2nd. generation	-1606
Davies, John	2nd. generation	-1530
Davies, Paul	2nd. generation	?
Denny	2nd. generation	-1581
de Renzy	2nd. generation	1606
Digby	2nd. generation	-1598
Dillon, James,	old English	
Dillon, Robert	old English	
Dixon	2nd. generation	?
Dobbins	Gloucestershire	-1639
Dopping	Gloucestershire	1626
Edgeworth	2nd. generation	-1585
Esmond	old English	
Eustace	old English	
Fanshaw	Hertfordshire	1638-9
Fitzgerald	old English	
Fortescue, Chichester	2nd. generation	1598?
Fortescue, Faithful	Devon	1598?
Forth	2nd. generation	-1579
Galbraith	Scotland	1609
Gethings	Wales/Hertforshshire	-1630
Gibson	Scotland	-1640
Gifford	2nd. generation	-1578
Gilbert sr.	Derbyshire	c1622
Gilbert jr.	2nd. generation	c1622
Gore	2nd. generation	-1609
Hamilton, Archibald	2nd. generation	-1615
Hamilton, Francis	2nd. generation	-1610
Hamilton, James	2nd. generation	1587
Hamilton, John	2nd. generation	1587
Harman	2nd. generation	-1603
Hoye	gaelic	



Jackson	Yorks? Northumberland	1633
Johnson	Wales	-1632
Jones, Bryan	2nd. generation	-1551
Jones, Oliver	2nd. generation	-1595
King	2nd. generation	-1585
Kingsmill	2nd. generation	1590's
Knyveton	Derbyshire?	-1630
Lake	Lincolnshire	1639
Langford	2nd. generation	-1576
Leventhorpe	Herts	-1614
Little jr.	2nd. generation	1633
Little sr.	Yorkshire	1633
Loftus, Adam	2nd. generation	c1560
Loftus, Arthur	2nd. generation	c1560
Loftus, Dudley	2nd. generation	c1560
Loftus, Nicholas	2nd. generation	c1560
Loftus, Robert	2nd. generation	c1560
Loftus, Walter	2nd. generation	c1560
Lovell	Scotland?	-1637
Madden	Oxfordshire	-1635
Mainwaring	Cheshire	1634
Manning, Henry	?	-1637
Martin, John	Worcestershire	-1624 <sup>5</sup>
Maude	Yorkshire	-1640
Maule	Scotland	-1624
Melvin	2nd. generation	-1610
Meredith	2nd. generation	-1589
Mervyn	2nd. generation	
Monke	Bucks./Devon	1609
Montgomery, George	2nd. generation	1605
Montgomery, Hugh	2nd. generation	1605
Montgomery, James	2nd. generation	1605
Moore, Henry	2nd. generation	1560s
Moore, John	2nd. generation	1560s
Moynes	2nd. generation	1604
Nettleton, George	Yorkshire	?1633
Nettleton, Robert	Yorkshire	?1633
Ogle	Lincs. / Low Countries	1633-1640 <sup>6</sup>
O'Hara	Gaelic	
O'Neill	Gaelic	
Osbourne, Henry	Devon	-1616

5 As a cousin of Lord Caulfield, he had family connections with Charlemont from 1598.

6 He also had a family connection with the St. Legers, whose Irish links extended back to 1540.



Osbourne, Richard sr.	Devon	1606-14
Osbourne, Richard jr.	2nd. generation	1606-14
Parke	2nd. generation	-1602
Parsons, Richard	2nd. generation	-1602
Parsons, William jr.	2nd. generation	-1602
Parsons, William sr.	Leicestershire	-1602
Peisley	2nd. generation	
Philips	2nd. generation	1598
Piggott, John	2nd. generation	1563
Piggott, Thomas	2nd. generation	1563
Plunkett	old English	
Poyntz	2nd. generation	-1613
Radcliffe, George	Yorkshire	1633
Radcliffe, Thomas	2nd. generation	1633
Rawdon	Yorkshire	1633
Reading		
Reynolds, Humphrey	Gaelic	
Reynolds, Paul	Scottish	-1631
Roper	2nd. generation	-1601
Rotherham	2nd. generation	1596
Rowley	2nd. generation	1611
St. George	London	1605
St. Leger	2nd. generation	1540
St. Leger	2nd. generation	1540
Sambach	Gloucestershire	-1630
Saunders		
Slingsby	Yorkshire	-1599
Smith, Nicholas	old English	
Smith, Robert		-1611
Smith, William	Somerset	1634
Stephens	2nd. generation	-1624
Stewart, Robert	Scottish	1608
Stewart, William	Scottish	1608
Stoughton	2nd. generation	1586
Summers		-1621
Swanton	London	1617+
Sympson	?Lincolnshire	-1627
Talles	?Oxfordshire	-1630
Tarleton	?Lancashire	-1628
Thoroughgood		-1612
Travers	2nd. generation	-1580
Trevor, Edward	Wales	-1608
Trevor, John	2nd. generation	-1608
Trevor, Marcus	2nd. generation	-1608



Usher, John	old English	
Usher, William	old English	
Waddington	England	-1620
Waller	Kent	1629
Wandesford, Christopher	Yorkshire	1633
Wandesford, George	2nd. generation	1633
Wandesford John	Yorkshire	?1633 <sup>7</sup>
Wandesford, <sup>8</sup> Michael	?	
Wandesford, William	Yorkshire	1638
Ware, James	2nd. generation	1588
Ware, John	2nd. generation	1588
Warren	old English	
Wemys	Scottish	1619
Wenman	Oxford	1625
Wentworth	Yorkshire	1633
Wharton	Yorkshire	-1633
White, Nicholas	2nd. generation	-1589
Williams	London	1633
Willson	2nd. generation	?1611
Wingfield	2nd. generation	?1560s
Wray	Cornwall	1625

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7 John's family connections extend to 1633, but it is unclear whether he ever visited Ireland.

8 It has not proved possible to identify this member of the Wandesford family.



## AGES AND PLACE IN FAMILY OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

Membership of parliament was, like membership of a commission of the peace or serving as mayor or sheriff, both a social and public obligation and a matter of some prestige. Where members were returned by a substantial local electorate, it may be presumed that they or their connections were men of some local or national importance, who had the confidence of, or at least the power to induce compliance or acquiescence in, their electorate.

While there was no precise rule on minimum ages for m.p.s, there was a general feeling that very young men should not be returned, and the numbers of minors returned to any parliament was relatively small.<sup>1</sup> There was a practical reason for this: m.p.s' decisions affected their constituencies and it was in the interest of those responsible for their return that the election would benefit, or at the very least not harm, the local community.

Members with strong local connections were also likely to serve as sheriffs, mayors or other magistrates, j.p.s and commissioners, offices which included responsibility for implementing parliament's decisions at local level. These considerations suggest that successful candidates should be men of some social standing and personal maturity, able to resist pressure to agree to measures that would adversely affect their constituencies.

Given the high cost of living in Dublin, especially for those not normally resident there, the time spent away from other business and the low wages paid, only the relatively prosperous could afford to represent their constituency.<sup>2</sup> The exceptions to this rule were those whose election was in the interests of their masters, whose personal interests were unlikely to suffer as a result of their membership of the house.

In a society in which social standing was linked to the status of the family and the possession, usually by inheritance, of property, age and place in one's family could be a clear indication of the individual's own status. This

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<sup>1</sup> McGrath, 1613. p. 138; the issue was also raised in the Commons, *C.J. (I.)*, 4 February 1641.

<sup>2</sup> and, indeed, the fact that wages were not always collected - a significant commitment given by Wentworth when he sought to ensure the return of his nominees for Trinity College in 1634.



presumption held more true for members of the aristocracy and gentry, whose property was passed down to the oldest son,<sup>3</sup> than for lawyers and merchants, who tended to make their own way in the world after their education or apprenticeship; many Irish merchants' wills indicate a desire to provide well for all their children.<sup>4</sup> Many Irish boroughs tended to return prosperous townsmen and their place in family appears to have been less significant than for members of landed families; thus both Roches, m.p.s for Kinsale, were younger sons of their father's second marriages, and Creagh was his father's 16th. son. It is noteworthy also that the place in family of many of the merchants (e.g. Peppard, Rothe) is simply not known.

Younger sons being unlikely to inherit the family's landed property, were expected to make their own living as lawyers, merchants or officials. There were exceptions to this rule, like Humphrey Reynolds, who inherited his younger brother's property, as his nephew was mentally handicapped.<sup>5</sup> Due to the high mortality rate, some members (e.g. Francis Butler, Francis Cosby, Mervyn and O'Hara) who might not have expected to inherit the family estates did so; in their cases the original place in family is not particularly relevant, except in so far as it may explain their earlier life choices (e.g. coming to Ireland to seek their fortune, as Fanshawe and Butler did). Other younger sons were fortunate enough to marry heiresses, e.g. Thomas Piggott, Wentworth or Roper. These were exceptions and most younger sons had to rely on their own talents. M.P.s of British birth were therefore likely to be younger sons, seeking their fortune in another country by acquiring possessions and / or profits from crown office. In many cases, however, it is impossible to know members' place in their family - a fact which suggests that they were not eldest sons.

It was not, however, only younger sons who came to Ireland - impoverished or less prosperous Scots, like Maule, or those like Parsons and the Nettletons, who hoped to benefit from well placed connections, also settled.

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<sup>3</sup> for questions of marriage and family property, see L. Stone, *The Crisis of the aristocracy, 1558-1641*. abridged ed. (Oxford, 1967). esp. chapter XI, Marriage and the family. pp 269-302.

<sup>4</sup> e.g. wills of Robert Shee of Kilkenny, (1556), which made provision for his three sons, J.F. Ainsworth and E. MacLysaght (eds.), *Power O'Shee papers*, *An. Hib.*, XX, (1958), pp 218-226, and of Robert Blake of Galway, who left a fine stone house in Galway to his widow and each of his seven sons. M. Blake, *Blake family records, 1600 to 1700*. (London, 1905). pp 247-260.

<sup>5</sup> It is possible that some incapacity also explains the question about the number of sons George Radcliffe had (see note 6 under Thomas Radcliffe).



The following tables and lists indicate members' ages and place in family. Precise dates are given where known, but the lack of clear records means that in many other cases it has been necessary to make a presumption of age, and this is indicated in the lists. It has not been possible to establish many members' dates of death; this was a time of considerable social and political upheaval and the lack of a central collection of wills for Ireland and the number of members who left Ireland for the continent compounds this deficiency in the records.

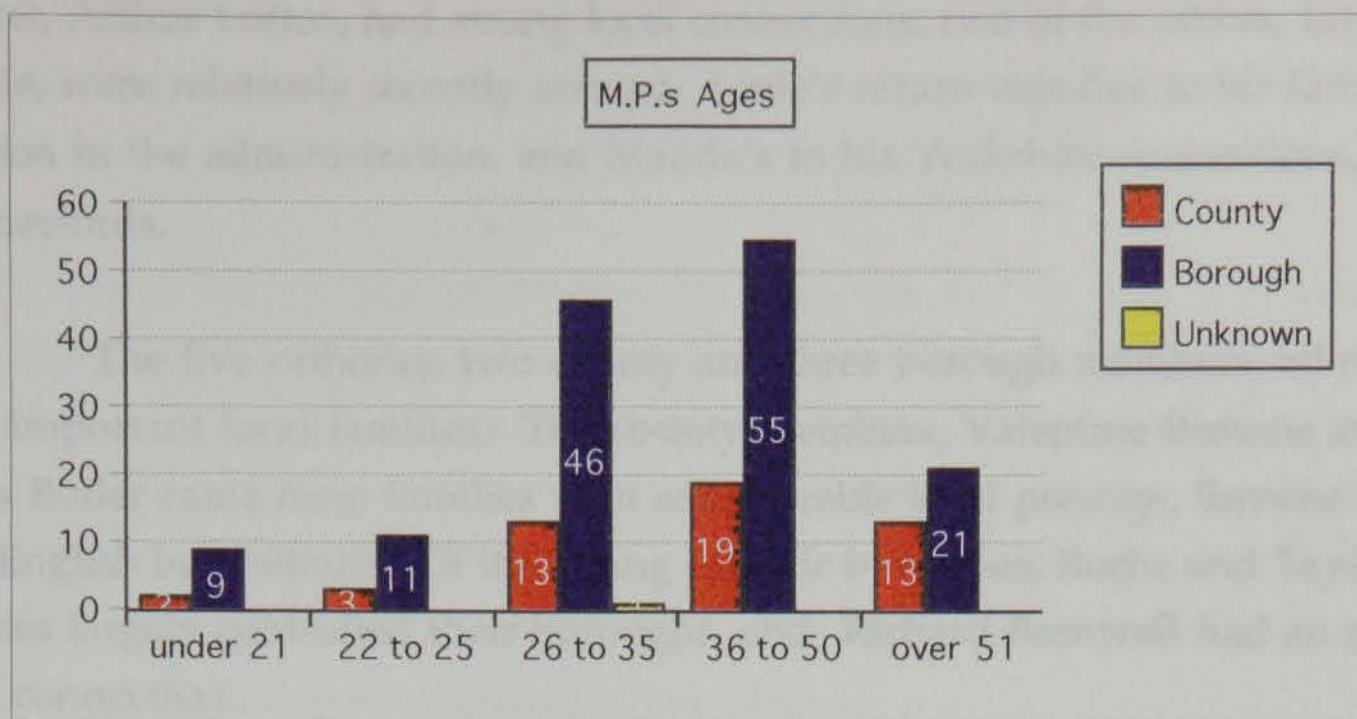
### Members' Ages

Presumptions of age are based on known facts, such as the date of their parents' marriage(s), ages of siblings or their own children, place in family, &c. An age of 16 has been assumed for m.p.s entering the Inns of Court and a minimum of 21 for other events, such as admission as freeman of boroughs or cities, grants of crown office, leasing lands or witnessing documents, and for oldest sons on their father's death, if there is no record of wardship. Some presumptions are based on a combination of circumstances, presuming that a man would not be younger than the minimum age for events. These rules of thumb are not invariably accurate (e.g. Thomas Radcliffe witnessed a deed at 14 years of age, and some may have attended inns or university at a slightly younger or much older age); inaccuracies are minimised by using ranges of ages in the tables. Where possible ages cross ranges, m.p.s have been excluded from the tables. Many members' ages are unknown, and all collations must be regarded as minimum figures, and treated with some caution.

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
1	Ages	under 21	22 to 25	26 to 35	36 to 50	over 51	Total
2	County	2	3	13	19	13	50
3	Borough	9	11	46	55	21	142
4	Unknown			1			
5	Total	11	14	60	74	34	192

The majority of those whose age is known were aged over 35, with the largest group aged 36 to 50. County members tended to be older than burgesses.





Few minors were returned - only 11 (5.7%) of those whose ages are known, fit this category, and only two were county members - Maguire, the only catholic, and Caulfield whose returns are explained by the importance of their families within the counties. The other nine protestant burgesses were all sons of important settlers; Thomas Radcliffe and George Wandesford, were the sons of significant administration figures, both relatively recently arrived in Ireland, and, in Wandesford's case, returned for a borough with no known family connections. The other young burgesses, Loftus, Montgomery, Moore and Trevor, were all returned for boroughs controlled by their families.<sup>6</sup>

The entry in the Commons *Journals* implies that Thomas Radcliffe was expelled for being under-age, but it seems more likely that his father's position was the reason, and his age the excuse, as none of the other m.p.s aged under 21 years was expelled at the same time.<sup>7</sup>

14 (7.3%) other m.p.s were aged under 25. Nine were protestant, 8 being second generation new English. The only protestant county member in this age

<sup>6</sup> Loftus chose to sit for Carysfort, a Wicklow borough, where his father had influence. His double return for Roscommon confirms that borough's tendency to return placemen.

<sup>7</sup> The *Journals* note Peisley's expulsion, and then the ruling that "none hereafter, under the age of twenty years, shall be elected or returned, or shall be admitted a member of this house, to serve in Parliament". *C.J. (I.)*, 27 May 1641. They then record directions to the sheriff of Sligo to order the replacement for Radcliffe as burgess for Sligo. This juxtaposition misled Mountmorres, who concluded that Peisley was expelled for being under-age. *The History of the principal transactions of the Irish Parliament from the year 1634 to 1666*. (London, 1792, repr. Shannon, 1971). II, p. 66.



bracket, Arthur Loftus, had strong local connections; two of the others, Little and Maude, were relatively recently arrived. Little's return was due to his father's position in the administration, and Maude's to his Yorkshire connections, the Wandesfords.

The five catholics, two county and three borough members, all came from important local families. The county members, Valentine Browne and James Butler came from families with considerable local prestige, Browne's being new English but catholic. Of the young catholic burgesses, Roche and Taylor's families largely controlled their boroughs, and Richard Barnwall had an obvious local connection.

60 (31.1%) members were known to be aged between 26 and 35. 40 were protestant, representing 9 counties, and 27 boroughs; de Renzi's constituency is unknown. Three other protestants (Ashe, Byron and Wharton) may also fit this category. Of the county members, only Bourke had a gaelicised background. Dillon, Paul Davies and William Ussher were old English, and Coote, Chichester, Denny, Gore, Langford and William Parsons jr. were second generation new English. Most of the burgesses were second generation new English also, but a number of recent arrivals, e.g. Fanshaw, Nettleton, William Wandesford, Wenman, Wentworth and Wharton, owed their return to their connections with the administration.

22 Catholics were aged between 26 and 35. Four were county members, Bellew, Coughlan, Plunkett and Redmond Roche, two being eldest sons of important gentry families, and two younger sons of noble old English families. Many of the others were merchants or lawyers; only Coughlan and O'Neill were from Gaelic families. William Browne's constituency was presumably a Wexford borough. Perhaps the most interesting was Creagh, the 16th. son of a Limerick merchant, who was already making his fortune in that city.

74 (38.5%) of the members were aged between 36 and 50. These included 31 catholics and 43 protestants. 11 of the catholics represented counties, and 20 boroughs. Half the county members represented Leinster constituencies, three came from Connaught and one each from Munster and Ulster. 8 were old



English (Nicholas and Richard Barnwall, Christopher Bellew, Richard Blake, Ulick Bourke, Maurice Fitzgerald, Taaffe and Walter Walsh), and McCarthy and O'Reilly were Gaelic in origin. All the catholic burgesses were old English.

8 of the protestants were county members, and 36 were burgesses. All the county members held considerable property in their constituencies; even Radcliffe was beginning to acquire property in his. Of the others, only Waller was a newcomer, albeit well-connected; two of the others, Eustace and H. Reynolds were old English or Gaelic in origin, and the remaining four, Nicholas Loftus, Mervyn, James Montgomery and Rowley were all at least second generation settlers from well-established families.

Four of the burgesses were old English, (R. Dillon, Plunkett and the Wares); 15 (John Browne, Crofton, Forth, Gifford, A. Hamilton, A. Hill, Oliver Jones, King, Dudley and Robert Loftus, Meredith, R. Parsons, Stoughton, Travers and J. Trevor) were second generation new English, and 14 (F. Butler, Cadogan, Dopping, Gethings, Gilbert sr., Lake, Little sr., R. Nettleton, Ogle, Sambach, W. Smith, Summers, Christopher and John Wandesford) were administration officials or associates.

Swanton and Rawdon were agents to significant absentee landlords; Rawdon was unusual in being recently arrived and, despite his Yorkshire birth, not directly associated with the administration. Wray's return was due to his connections with the Chichesters and Waddington was well established in Enniscorthy.

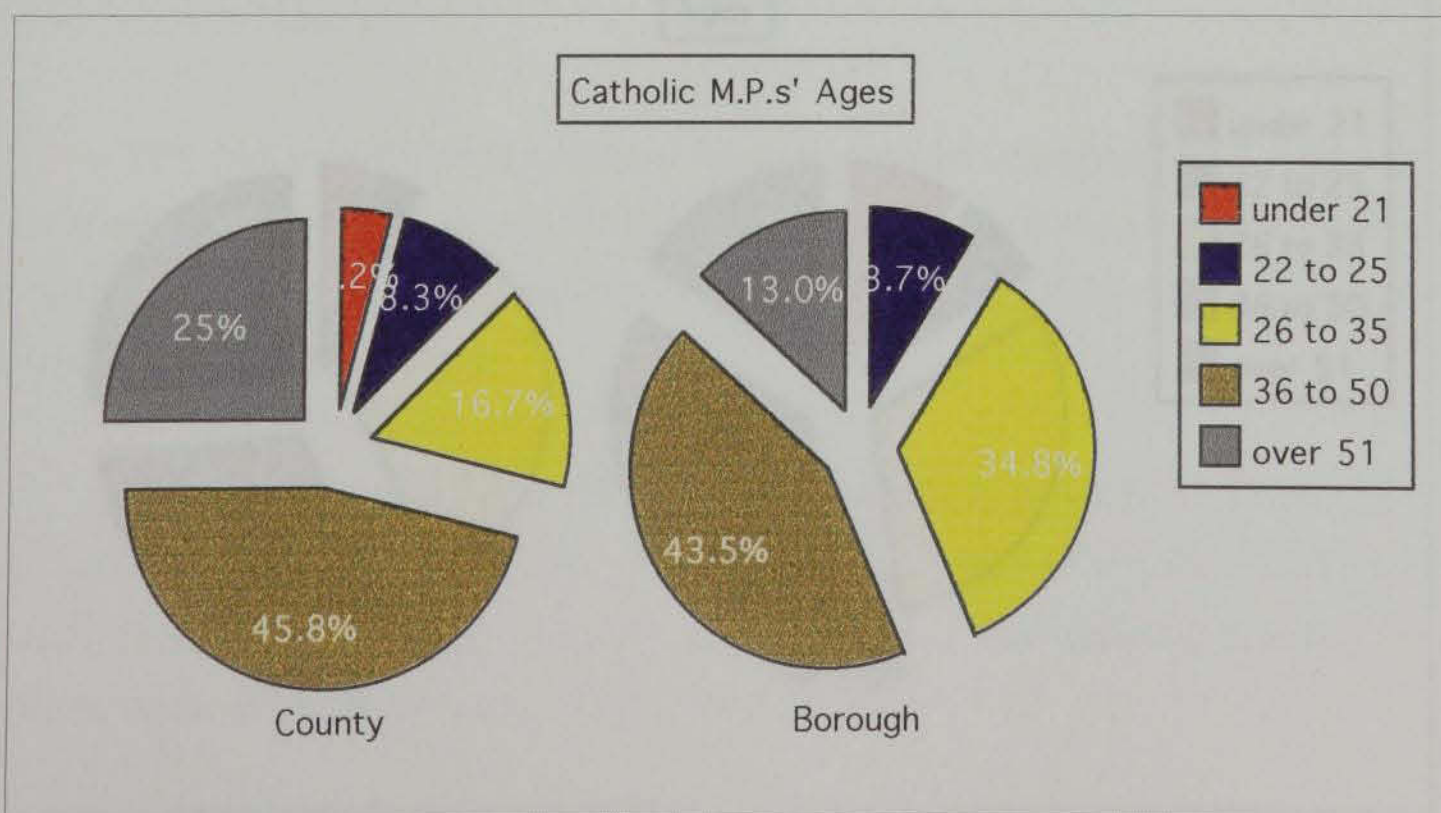
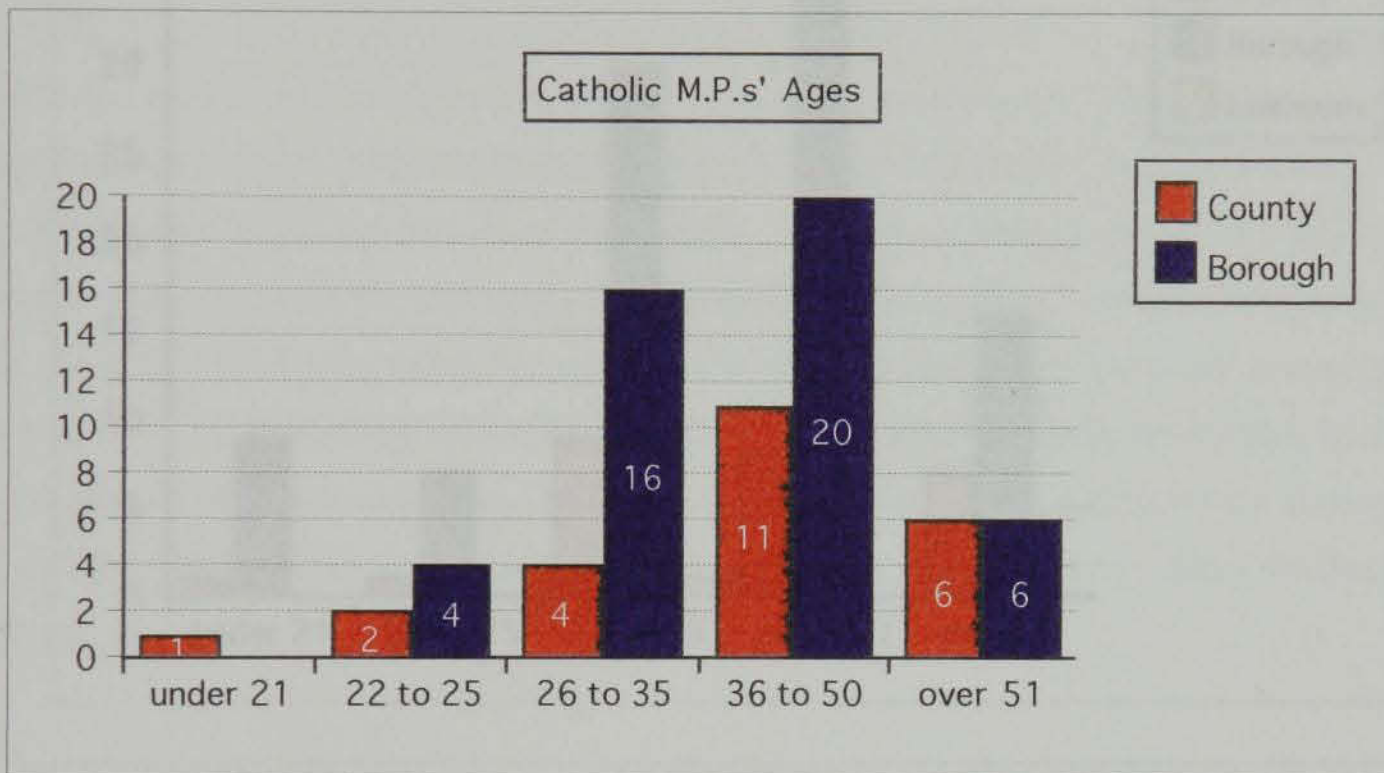
34 (17.7%) M.P.s were aged over 50. 12 were catholics and 23 protestants. 6 Catholics were county members, (Peter Barnwall, Henry, James and Lucas Dillon, L. Fitzgerald and Donnough O'Brien), all members of noble families. Three of the 6 burgesses were merchants (Richard Browne, Dormer and Sherlock) and Richard Butler was a lawyer. The other two, Patrick Barnwall and Nangle, were important landowners with considerable influence in their constituencies.

7 of the protestants represented county seats, all the knights were second generation settlers or resident in Ireland for at least 30 years.



Most of the 16 burgesses also had long-standing connections with Ireland, dating back at least 15 years; only the administration men Borlace sr., Carpenter, Mainwaring and Williams, had arrived within the preceding 6 years. All the others, except the four recent arrivals, had strong connections with their constituencies.

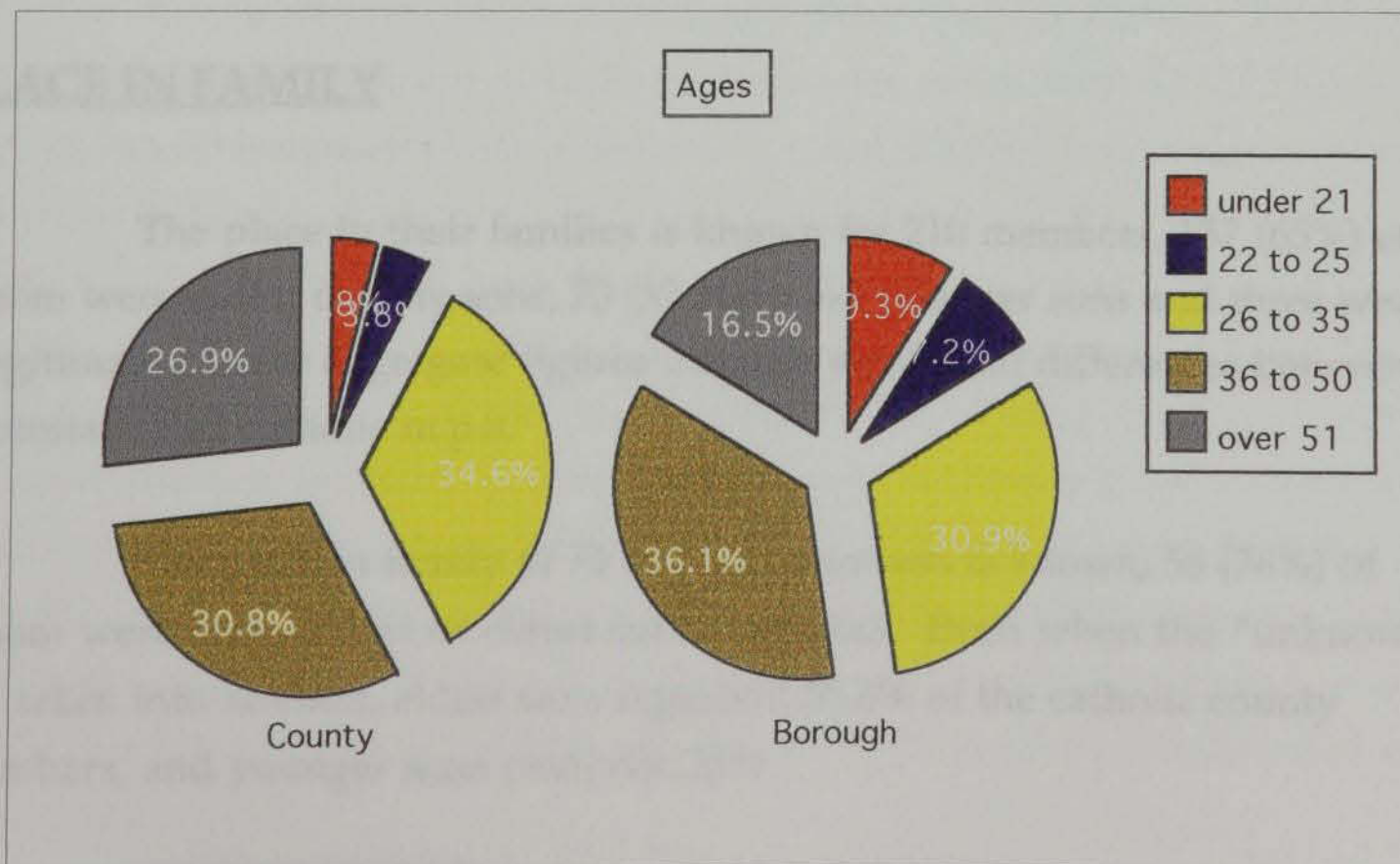
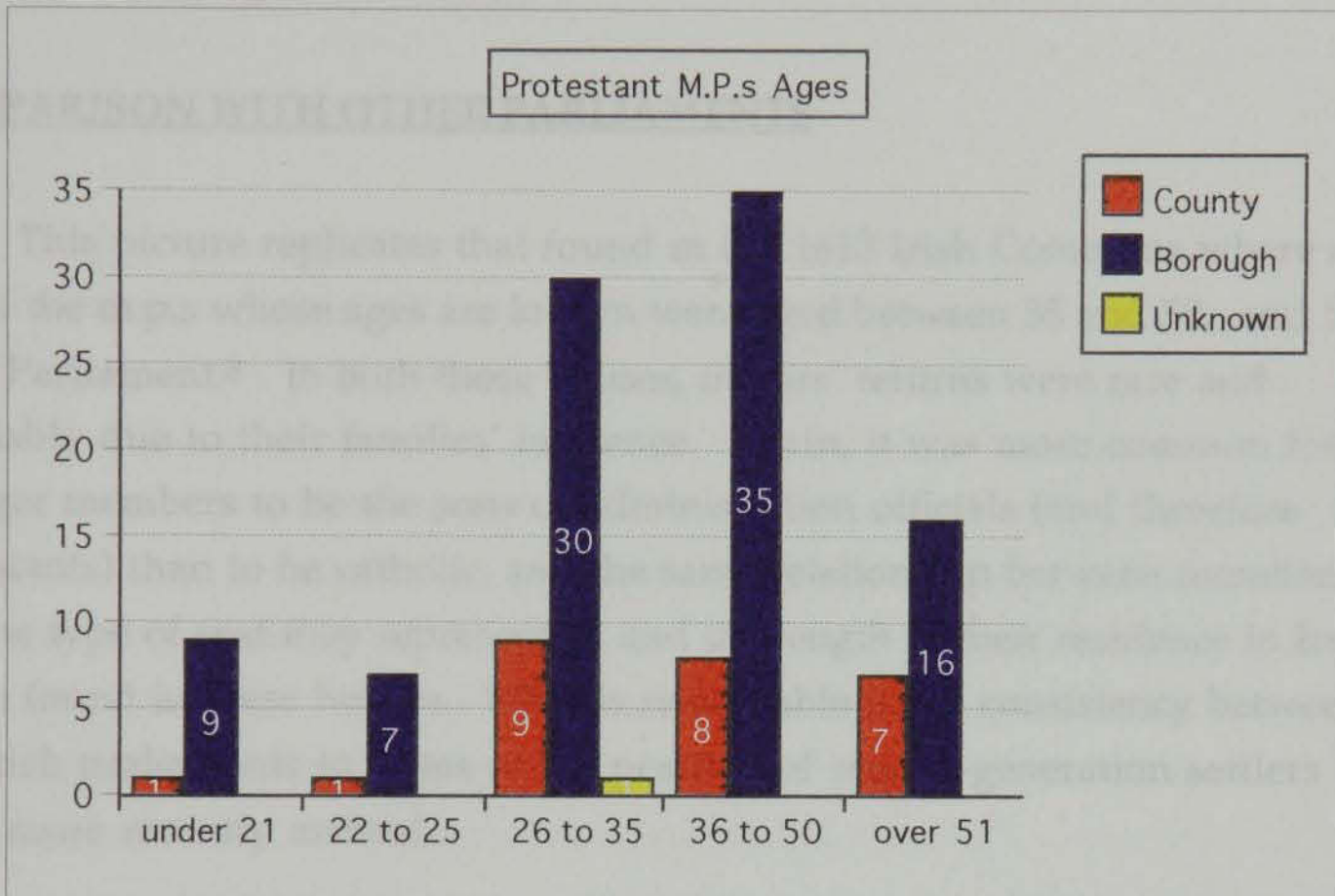
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
1	Ages	under 21	22 to 25	26 to 35	36 to 50	over 51	Total
2	County	1	2	4	11	6	24
3	Borough		4	16	20	6	46
4	Total	1	6	20	31	12	70





## PROTESTANT MEMBERS' AGES

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
1	Ages	under 21	22 to 25	26 to 35	36 to 50	over 51	Total
2	County	1	1	9	8	7	26
3	Borough	9	7	30	35	16	97
4	Unknown			1			
5	Total	10	8	40	43	23	123





Catholic m.p.s had an older age profile than the protestants. Only one catholic m.p. was aged under 21, and the catholic county members tended to be older than the burgesses; the differences are less significant in the age bracket 36 to 50, but the proportions of county members aged over 50 (25%) are roughly twice the proportion of burgesses (13%). While the figures for protestants aged over 50 are marginally higher at 26.9% of county members and 16.5% of burgesses, burgesses aged under 21 comprise 3% of the county members and 9.3% of all the protestant burgesses whose ages are known.

### COMPARISON WITH OTHER PARLIAMENTS

This picture replicates that found in the 1613 Irish Commons where nearly half of the m.p.s whose ages are known were aged between 35 and 50, and the Long Parliament.<sup>8</sup> In both those houses, minors' returns were rare and invariably due to their families' influence. Again, it was more common for the younger members to be the sons of administration officials (and therefore protestants) than to be catholic, and the same relationship between members' age and the type of seat they represented, and the length of their residence in Ireland, is also found in these houses. What is remarkable is the consistency between the two Irish parliaments in terms of the position of second-generation settlers and those more recently arrived.

### PLACE IN FAMILY

The place in their families is known for 210 members, 137 (65%) of whom were eldest or only sons, 70 (33.3%) were younger sons and three were illegitimate. These aggregate figures disguise significant differences between protestant and catholic m.p.s.

The place in family of 76 catholic members is known, 58 (76%) of whom were only, eldest or eldest surviving sons. Even when the "unknowns" are taken into account, eldest sons represent 55.6% of the catholic county members, and younger sons comprise 25%.

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<sup>8</sup> McGrath, 1613, pp138-148, and Keeler, *op. cit.*, pp 19-20.



	A	B	C	D	E
1		Eldest		Unknown	Illegitimate
2	Catholic County	20	9	7	
3	Catholic Borough	37	9	24	0
4	Catholic Unknown	1	0	0	
5	Protestant County	21	6	6	1
6	Protestant Borough	58	45	44	2
7	Protestant Unknown		1	0	0
8	Total	137	70	81	3

Of the younger sons, five were lawyers, (Darcy, Plunkett, Cheevers, Thomas Bourke and James Cusack, who was also a crown official), and five were the younger sons of peers (Plunkett again, Redmond Roche, Maguire and Lucas and James Dillon). Three were merchants (Creagh, Roche, Roche). The younger sons of peers all represented counties, the merchants all represented boroughs, and two other lawyers, Bourke and Darcy also represented counties, but Bourke was also closely connected to a powerful local peer. A greater proportion (34%) of the burgesses' place in their family is unknown, but the majority (53%) were eldest sons, with 13% being younger sons. Cruise's constituency is unknown, but he was also an older son.

The protestant members present a more complex picture. 79 (21 county members and 58 burgesses) or 42.9% of them were eldest sons, 51 (27.7%) (6 county and 45 burgesses) were younger sons, one (Butler) was illegitimate and the place in family of a further 53 (28.8%) is unknown. Of the 21 county members who were eldest sons, 18 (85.7%) were second generation settlers, or old English / Gaelic in origin, Cole and Waller had settled in Ireland 40 and 11 years respectively, and only Radcliffe was a recent arrival. Five of the 6 younger sons (Blayney, Davies, Nicholas Loftus, Montgomery and Mervyn) were all second generation settlers and the sixth (Faithful Fortescue) had settled in Ireland more than 30 years previously. The place in family of a further 6 is unknown, but at least half (Coote sr., Osborne and Piggott) were settlers of long standing, and the remaining three (Bailey, Conway and Sympson) were all well-established in their areas.



45 (77.6%) of the 58 burgesses who were eldest sons were second generation settlers or of old English or Gaelic origin, and only 13 (22.4%) were first generation settlers. Of these 13, more than half (Borlace, Cadogan, Carr, Lake, Nettleton, Sambach and Wandesford) were members of Wentworth's circle and others were closely connected with members of the administration (Madden, Ogle) or were agents of important men (Rawdon and Swanton).

51 were younger sons, six (12.6%) of whom, all second generation settlers, represented counties. A further 21 (41.2% burgesses) were second generation settlers or of old English or Gaelic origin. A remarkable feature of the protestant members who were younger sons was the relatively high number (10, or 20.4%) whose older brothers also sat in the Commons (Byssie, Chichester, Nicholas and Walter Loftus, Nettleton, Marcus Trevor, Usher, Ware and John and William Wandesford). All except Nettleton and the Wandesfords were second generation settlers. De Renzy, whose constituency is unknown, was a younger son. The place in family of a further 44 burgesses is unknown, of whom 25% (11) were second generation settlers or of old English or Gaelic origin.

Three, Smyth, Butler and Esmond, were illegitimate, but both Butler and Esmond were accepted as their father's heirs, although Esmond's position became more problematic after the rebellion.



Member	Dates	Age	Place in Family
Alford	-1642?		
Archer	-1604-1644	36+	e
Ashe	?1609-1659	?31	?e
Bailey	-1650		
Bannister	-1647-59		
Barnwall, N.	1592-1663	48	e
Barnwall, Pat.	1584-c1664	56	e
Barnwall, Pat.	-1645		
Barnwall, Peter	c1580-1645	c60	4, e.s.s.
Barnwall, Richard	1602-1679	38	e
Barnwall, Richard	1615-1660	25	2?e.s.s.
Barrett	1601-17-1646	23-39	e
Barry, J.	--1651		
Barry, R.	-1648-9		
Bellew, C.	1602-c1660	38	e
Bellew, J.	1607-1679	33	e
Bellings	c1603-1677	c37	e
Billingsly	-1642-7		4
Bingham	c1573-1642-9	67	e
Byron	1604-9-1673	31-36	6
Blake, J.	1595-1681	45	e
Blake, R.	-1593-1663	47+	e
Blake, V.	1608-1652	32	e
Blakeney	1611-1650-4	29	e
Blayney	-1641		2
Blundell	1670+		3, e.s.s.
Borlace sr.	c1576-1648	c64	e
Borlace jr.	c1611-1676	c29	
Boyle	1585+-1669+	-55	8
Boyton	-1666+		e
Brereton	-1659+		5
Brice	-1613-1661+	27+	
Brien	1598-1642	42	e
Bringhurst	c1586--1660	c54	
Brook	-1642+		
Brome	-?1647		
Browne, G.	1668		e
Browne, J.	?1598+-1643-59	?-42	e.s.s
Browne, R.	?-1580-1643-4	?60+	
Browne, V.	c1615-1640	c25	e
Browne, William	1607-1666+	33	e
Brownlow	?c1589-1661	?c51	e
Bourke, Theo	-1615-1654	25+	e
Bourke, Thos.	-1644+		3
Bourke, U.	1594-1666+	46	e



Burnell	-1650+1		
Butler, F	c1602-1690	c38	o.s.s.
Butler, J.	1615-1662	25	e.s.
Butler, Peter	-1609-1670+	31+	e.s.
Butler, Pierce	-1650		e.s.
Butler, R.,	-1579-1649-54?	61+	
Butler, Thomas	-1642+		illeg.
Butler, Thomas	-1660+		
Bysse, J.	1606-1680	34	e.s.
Bysse, R.	1607+-1643	-33	2.s.
Cadogan	1601-1661	39	e.s.
Carleton	1597+-1670	-43	y.s.
Carpenter	1585-1656	55	
Carr	1603-1662	37	e.s.
Casey, P.			
Casey, R.	-1669		
Cashell	-1608-1666+	32+	e.s.
Caulfield	1621-1642	19	e.s.
Champion	-1641		
Cheevers	-1612-1642+	28+	3.s.
Chichester, A.	1606-1675	34	e.s.
Chichester, J.	1609-1644	31	2.s.
Cole	-1580-1653	60+	e.s.
Comerford	-1601-1649	39+	e.s.
Conway	-1659+		
Cooke	-1654+		
Coote sr.	-1576-1642	64+	
Coote jr.	c1610-1661	c30	e.s.
Cosbie, F.	1612-1661+	28	2.s.
Cossens	-1642+		
Coughlan	-1612-1660	28+	e.s.
Creagh	-1608-1667	32+	16.s.
Crofton	-1595-1644-59	45+	e.s.
Crosbie, D.	-1658		2.s.
Crosbie, P.	1590-1646	50	e.s.
Crowe	1610-?1642	30	e.s.
Cruise	-1663		e.s.
Culme	-1609-	31+	e.s.
Cusack, A.	1597+-1644	-43	e.s.
Cusack, J.	-1603-?1659-	37+	2.s.s.
Cusack, R.	1604-1673	36	e.s.
Darcy	1598-1668	42	7.s.
Davies, J.	-1609-1667	31+	e.s.
Davies, P.	1612+-1672	-28	2.s.s.
Davills	1603-1656+	37	e.s.s.
Dempsie	1649+		y.s.



Dennis	-1642+		
Denny	1605-1646	35	e.s.
De Renzy	1610-1613-1650-2	27-30	2.s.
Digby	1615-1645	25	5.s.
Dillon, G.			
Dillon, H.	-1588-?1659	52	e.s.
Dillon, James	1583+-1669+	-57	6 or 8s.
Dillon, James	c1605-1649	c35	e.s.
Dillon, Lucas	1579-1653-6	61	2.s.
Dillon, R.	-1597-1642	45+	e.s.
Dixon	-1666		e.s.
Dobbins	-1609-1684	31+	
Dongan	1603-1656	37	e.s.
Dopping	-1605-1649	35+	y.s.
Dormer	-1579-1642-3	61+	
Dowdall	1610-1655+	30	?e.s.
Duff	-1647-1654		
Edgeworth	c1612-1667	c28	e.s.
Esmond	-1674		?illeg. ?o.s.
Eustace, M.	1590-1665	50	e.s.
Eustace, O.	-1642+		
Fanshaw	1608-1666	32	5.s.
Farrell	-1650-54		e.s.
Fitzgerald, J.	-1667+		e.s.
Fitzgerald, L.	1589-1654-60	51	e.s.
Fitzgerald, M.	1590-1649	50	e.s.
Fitzgerald, M.	-1642+		
Fitzgerald, R.	-1647-57		
Fitzharris	-1641		
Fortescue, C.	-1642		e.s.
Fortescue, F.	c1581-1666	c59	y.s.
Forth	1602-1667	38	e.s.
French	1587-1606-1654+	34-53	e.s.
Furlong	-1642-6		e.s.
Galbraith	-1649-54		2.s.
Gethings	-1610-1685	39+	
Gibson	-1672		
Gifford	-1599-1659	41+	e.s.
Gilbert sr.	1599-1654	41+	2s.
Gilbert Jr.	-1614-1659-74	26+	e.s.
Gore	1608+-1642	-32	e.s.
Gough	-1643+		
Haley	-1592-1644+	48+	
Hamilton, A.	?1604-1659	?36	e.s.



Hamilton, F.	1606-1673	34	e.s.
Hamilton, Jas.	1617-1646	23	e.s.
Hamilton, John	1613-7-1650+	23-7	e.s.
Harman	-1667		3.s.
Harpole	1607-1649	33	e.s.s.
Henes	-1594-1659-71	46+	e.s.
Hill, A.	1601-1663	39	y.s.
Hill, T.	-1667-72		
Hoey	-1611-1664	29+	e.s.
Hollywood	-1647-1653		e.s.
Hope	1592+-178+	-48	2.s.
Hore	c1592-1654	c48	e.s.
Jackson	-?1653		
Johnson	-1646+		
Jones, B.	-1671		
Jones, O.	c1599-1682	c41	
King	1599-1657	41	e.s.
Kingsmill	c1613-1650	c27	3.s.
Kniveton	-1659-1672		
Lake	c1598-1600-1674	40-2	e.s.
Langford	1610-1647+	30	o.s.
Leventhorpe	-1647		2.s.s.
Little sr.	-1595-1641	45+	
Little jr.	-1617-1641+	23+	e.s.
Loftus, Adam	1580-1660+	60	e.s.
Loftus, Arthur	1616-1659	24	e.s.
Loftus, D.	1601-1648	39	e.s.
Loftus, N.	1591+-1667	-49	2.s.
Loftus, R.	c1598-1640	c42	e.s.
Loftus, W.	1619+-1645	-21	3.s.s.
Lovell	-1641		
Lynch	c1606-1667	c34	e.s.
McCarthy	1594-1665	46	e.s.
Madden	-1641		e.s.
Maguire	1619-1648	21	2.s.
Mainwaring	c1589-1661	c51	y.s.
Manning, H.	-1642+		
Manning, P.	-1643+		
Martin, J.	-1656		
Martin, R.	c1606-?1659+	c34	e.s.
Maude	c1618-1685	c22	y.s.
Maule	1586-93-1672	47-54	e.s.
Melvin	1586-1600-1653+	40-54	2.s.
Meredith	c1592-1668	c48	e.s.



Mervyn <sup>9</sup>	1603-1675	37	2.s.
Moncke	-c1644		
Montgomery, G.	1624+-1674	-16	y.s.
Montgomery, H.	1623-1663	17	e.s.
Montgomery, J.	1598-1600-1651	40-2	2.s.
Moore, H.	1624-1675	16	e.s.
Moore, J.	1620-1682	20	e.s.
Moynes	1610-1641-2	30	e.s.
Nangle	1580-1642-54	60	e.s.
Nettleton, G.	1605-1640	35	2.s.
Nettleton, R.	1601-1673	39	e.s.
Nugent	-1653+		
O'Brien, Dermot	-1647-50		3.s.
O'Brien, Donnough	1584-86-1651	54-6	2.s.s.
Ogle	?1592-1604-1663	36-48	e.s.
O'Hara	1613-17-1675	23-27	e.s.s.
O'Neill, B.	-1670		
O'Neill, P.	1603-4-1653	26-7	e.s.
O'Reilly	1599-1657?	41	
Osbourne, H.	-1657+		
Osbourne, R. sr.	-1667		
Osbourne, R. jr.	-1612-1685	28+	e.s.
Parke	-1661+		e.s.
Parsons, R.	1602+--1651	-38	e.s.
Parsons, Sir W.	c1570-1650	c70	e.s.
Parsons, W.	1614-1652	26	e.s.s.
Peisley	-1646		y.s.
Peppard	-1640		o.s.
Pettit	-1613-1647+	27+	e.s.
Philips	1610-1661+	30	e.s.
Piggott, J.	-1590-1646	50+	?e.s.
Piggott, T.	1612+-1673	-28	y.s.
Plunkett, N.	c1602-16__	c34	3.s.
Plunkett, O.	-1641		
Plunkett, W.	1592-1660+	48	2.s.
Power	-1648+		e.s.
Poyntz	-1691+		e.s.
Radcliffe, G.	1593-1657	47	e.s.
Radcliffe, T.	1623-1679	17	e.s.
Rawdon	1604-1684	36	o.s.
Reading	-1668		
Reynolds, H.	-1595-c1660	45+	e.s.
Reynolds, P.	-1611-1647-50	29+	

9 Mervyn's older brother died in 1641, so he was a younger son at the time of his election.



Roche, D.	-1642+		
Roche, Patrick	-1615-1642-58	25+	2.s.
Roche, Philip	-1617-1654+	23+	3.s.
Roche, R.	-1614-1654+	26+	5.s.
Rochford	c1607-1651+	c33	e.s.
Ronane	-1590-1642+	50+	
Roper	1616-9-1661-65	21-4	2.s.
Rothe	1590-1644-54	50	
Rotherham	-1578-c1648	62+	2.s.
Rowley	-1602-1641	38+	o.s.
St. George	1584-1660	56	2.s.s.
St. Leger sr.	c1580-1642	c60	e.s.
St. Leger jr.	1617-9-1664	21-3	e.s.
Sambach	c1590-1651-3	c50	e.s.
Sarsfield	-1603-1666+	37+	e.s.
Saunders	-1643		
Sherlock	-1582-1642+	58+	e.s.
Slingsby	1569-?1652	71	9.s.
Smith, N.	-1586-1642+	54+	
Smith, R.	-1590-1641	50+	
Smith, W.	1590-1655	50	illeg.
Stafford	1610-1654+	30	e.s.
Stanihurst	-1592-1642+	48+	
Stanley	-1602-1645+	38+	
Stephens	-1642-3		2.s.
Stephenson	-1643		o.s.
Stewart, R.	-1590-1662	50+	y.s.
Stewart, W.	-1589-1647	51+	?e.s.
Stoughton	c1600-1666+	c40	e.s.
Summers	-1600-1669+	40+	
Sutton	-1644+		o.s.
Swanton	-1593-1643	-47	e.s.
Sympson	-1653-9		
Taaffe	c1603-1677	c37	e.s.
Talbot	-1661+		
Talles	-1647+		
Tarleton	?1604-1666+		
Taylor	-1616-1678-80	24+	e.s.
Thoroughgood	-1641		
Travers	-1597-1647	43+	e.s.
Trevor, E.	-1581-1643	59+	e.s.
Trevor, J.	1602-1642-4	38	e.s.
Trevor, M.	1619-1670	21	y.s.
Usher, J.	1612+-c1643	-28	3 s.
Usher, W.	c1610-1671	c30	e.s.



## Vynes

-1663+

Waddington	1590-1654-74	50	
Waller	?1604-1666	?36	e.s.
Walsh, J.	1609-10-1670+	30-1	e.s.
Walsh, W.	1601-c1652	39	e.s.
Wandesford, C.	1592-1640	48	e.s.
Wandesford, G.	1623-1651	17	e.s.s.
Wandesford, J.	1593-1653-60?	47	y.s.
Wandesford, M.			
Wandesford, W.	1605-1690	35	y.s.
Ware, Jas.	1594-1666	46	e.s.
Ware, John	1595+-1649	-45	2 s.
Warren	-1647-66		
Wemys	-1661		
Wenman	1610-1686	30	2 s.
Wentworth	1609-1666?	31	y.s.
Wharton	1614-5-1684	25-6	2 s.
Whyte, D.	-1597-1659+	43	
White, N.	1586-1664	54	e.s.
Whyte, N.	-1664		e.s.
Williams	?1588-1658	?52	
Willson	-1618-1642-56	22+	y.s.
Wingfield	1620-1644-5	20	e.s.
Wray	1600-1645	40	e.s.



## EDUCATION

M.P.s generally came from the wealthier sections of society and might, therefore, be expected to be relatively well- educated.<sup>1</sup> The records of formal education support this proposition and some references in the *Commons Journals* indicate a wide level of reading on the part of some m.p.s at least. It is important to make a distinction between formal and informal education.

It was common practice for the wealthier sections of society - landowners, gentry, lawyers and merchants - to send their sons to the inns of court for some basic legal training, to be able to defend and maintain the family's interests, but relatively few of those attending the inns would practice as lawyers. Those who did would generally also join the King's Inns, established in Dublin in 1607 and a significant number of both protestant and catholic m.p.s made a successful living from their work in the law - the most notable catholics being Darcy\*, Martin\* and Plunkett\*, with John Walsh\* and others also having substantial legal practices, their clients including Lords Antrim and Cork. When Darcy\* and Martin\* were disbarred as a result of their role in opposing the proposed plantation of Connaught, many important men, including Antrim, pleaded for their readmission to the bar.

English, and new English, sons also attended the universities, although this was relatively unusual for old English and catholics. Clanricarde advised his agent and friend Sir Henry Lynch against sending his son to University.<sup>2</sup> Sir Henry ignored the advice, but even so Robucke was rare among the old English community in having a university education.

Taking a degree was unusual even for those attending university, and a number of the degrees which some of these m.p.s had were honorary, e.g. Henry Moore and Caulfield. Theobald Bourke and Phelim O'Neill were unusual among men of gaelic origin in being educated at the University and the Inns of Court respectively. Both were brought up as protestants and received their education as part of a concerted attempt to anglicise them. Interestingly, both

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1 For some information on the educational standards of m.p.s in the seventeenth century, see McGrath, 1613, pp 149-151.

2 N.L.I. MS. 3111, ff 104-119; Clanricarde to Lynch, 12 June 1624, 2 May 1626, 15 July 1627.



chose the catholic side in the rebellion and Bourke is regarded for the purpose of these figures as a protestant (as Esmond and Waddington were, as protestant at the time of their election), while O'Neill is classed as a catholic.

Informal education, including travel, was not unusual, even for those with relatively modest incomes; the Duke of Buckingham,<sup>3</sup> Fanshawe\*, Hamilton\* and Wharton\* all travelled abroad as part of their education. Lord Moore's son Thomas, who was engaged to the Earl of Cork's daughter, wanted to travel abroad until his marriage, a desire to which Boyle acceded.<sup>4</sup> For others, some military experience abroad was a generally accepted part of life and would have had an educational value.

While a complete survey is impossible, it seems that most m.p.s were literate, as the signatures and other writings which are available suggest at least functional literacy. Latin would have been a usual skill and others, e.g. Bellings\*, clearly read French. At least two (Bellings\* and Fanshawe\*) were poets and linguists.

Old Irish m.p.s may be presumed to have also had relatively good levels of fluency in English, and would have received the traditional education of Gaelic chieftains. Faigney O'Farrell's copy of Homer's *Comment ... physicarium Aristotelis*.<sup>5</sup> has a particularly fine binding, but the manuscript is plain and was obviously designed for pleasure and edification, rather than ornament.

Those who did not attend the inns or universities generally had access to the schools which were located in towns throughout Ireland<sup>6</sup> and the regular appearance of bequests of books in wills and references to books and libraries in

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<sup>3</sup> Loker, *Buckingham: the life and political career of George Villiers, first Duke of Buckingham, 1592-1628*. (London, 1981). pp 10-11. Despite the great wealth and power that he later acquired, Buckingham was born into the poorer or middle sort of gentry, and was a younger son.

<sup>4</sup> *Lismore Papers*, 1st. ser., II, p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> This volume, which was dated 1634, is now in the G.P.A. Bolton Library, Cashel. The binding is very fine, but the manuscript is very plain, and was clearly produced as a working document.

<sup>6</sup> D.J. O'Doherty (ed.), *Students of the Irish College, Salamanca (1595-1619)*. *Archiv. Hib.*, ii (1913). pp 1-36; T.L. Cooke, *The Early history of the town of Birr or Parsonstown*. (Dublin, 1875). pp 46-7, 318, for the establishment of free schools in Birr and Banagher in the 1620s.



the *Depositions* suggest a society in which reading was general, at least among its wealthier citizens.<sup>7</sup>

Thus the figures provided below for formal education below form only a partial picture of the educational standard of the m.p.s. The printed records of admissions to the Inns are incomplete, so the following figures must be treated as minimum levels of formal education. They would underestimate the knowledge especially of the old English, who were beginning to follow Nicholas Barnwall's\* example in being educated on the continent, and for which records are limited.

Some sources have assumed that catholics attended Trinity College Dublin because the conditions of their grants of warships assigned money to support them in College, but it is not clear that they all attended university.<sup>8</sup> It is also possible that other m.p.s attended Scottish universities, as a member of the Coote family did.

67 (62.6%) catholic and 120 (65.2%) protestant m.p.s are not recorded as having attended university, Inns of court or the King's Inns. 31 (29%) or over a quarter of catholics attended the Inns of court, and 15 (14%) the King's Inns, but less than 7% attended university. Virtually all of the catholics who attended more than one institution had attended the Inns of Court and the King's Inns. 37 (20.1%) of the protestant m.p.s attended the Inns of court, 41 (22.3%) university, 17 (9.2)% the King's Inns. 6 protestants were barristers.

Two thirds of catholic and protestant county members attended none of these formal educational establishments; 59.2% of catholic and 64.7% of protestant burgesses attended none. 31% of catholic burgesses attended the Inns of Court, compared to 20% of protestant burgesses; only 6 (8.5%) of catholic burgesses attended university, compared to 31(20.7%) protestant burgesses.

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<sup>7</sup> D. Cregan, 'Irish Catholic admissions to the English Inns of Court, 1558-1625'. *Irish Jurist*, V(2), (1970). pp 95-114; W.R. Prest, *The Inns of Court under Elizabeth I and the early Stuarts, 1590-1640*. (Harlow, 1972).

<sup>8</sup> Berry, H.F., 'Probable early students of Trinity College, Dublin (being wards of the crown) 1599-1616'. *Hermathena*, XXXVI, (1910). pp 19-39.



Only two (Oliver Jones, who later became a judge, and Leventhorpe) attended the King's Inns and a University, both protestants representing boroughs. It is possible that they also attended the inns of court, although their names do not appear in the published registers. Audley Mervyn was later to follow them to the King's Inns. Only Swanton attended the inns of court and was called to the bar. Surprisingly, he does not appear to have been admitted to the King's Inns.

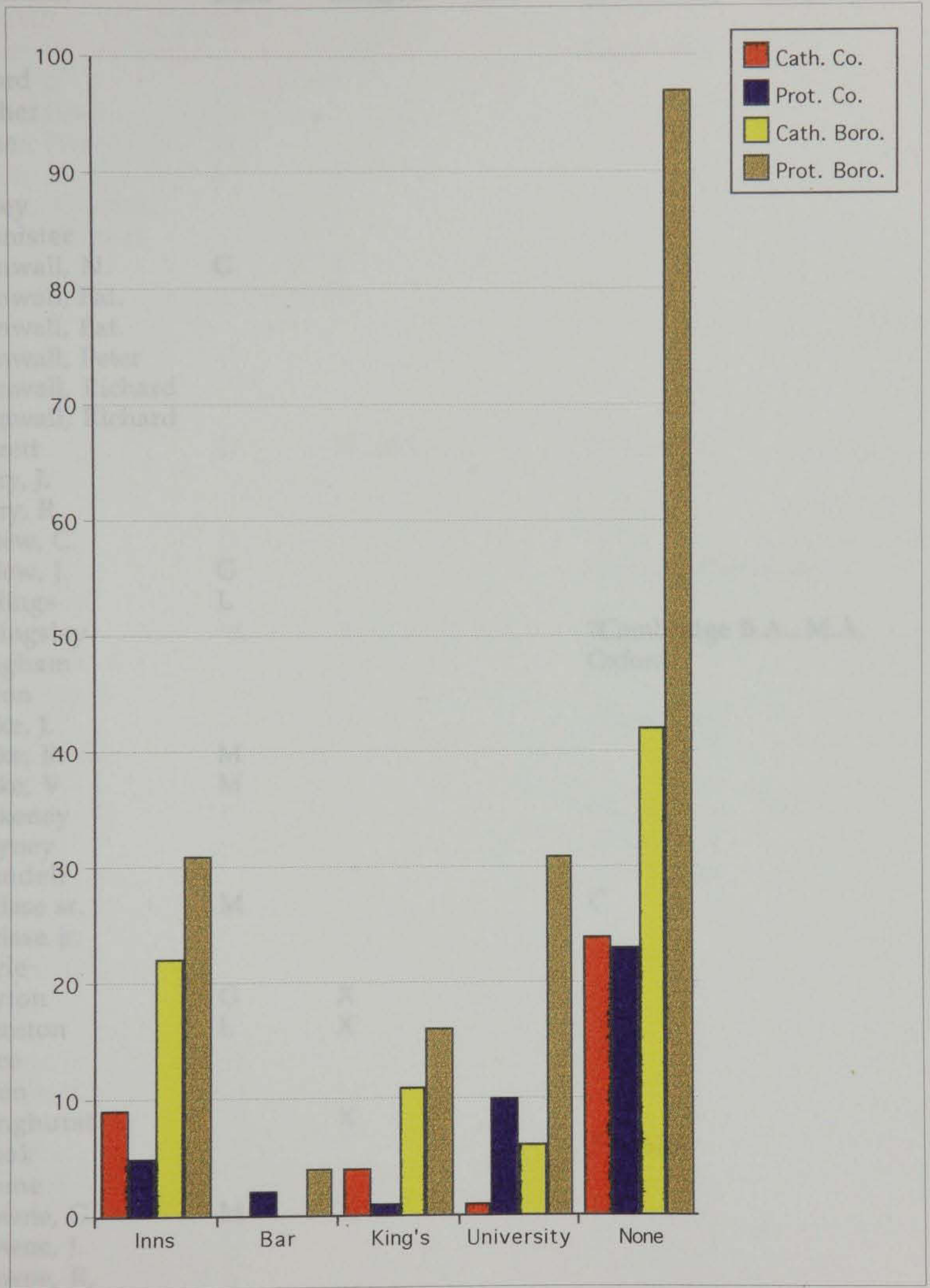
Only 6 M.P.s attended the inns of court and university and were also admitted to the King's Inns. Two of them (Maurice Eustace and James Ware) took degrees and Ware was also called to the bar. Only one of the six (Lynch) was a catholic, and the others, Adam Loftus, George Radcliffe and Wentworth were new English administration figures. Radcliffe was the only bencher.

Many m.p.s, especially those of Gaelic origin, are not known to have attended any educational establishments. This was especially true of merchants or soldiers, although some merchants, e.g. John Wandesford attended the Inns of Court. Many others who did not attend the Inns of Court or a university still clearly had a good education, e.g. Comerford and Rawdon who worked as agents, or and William Smyth who were secretaries.

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
1		Inns	Bar	King's	University	None	More than one	Degree(s)
2	Cath. Co.	9		4	1	24	3	
3	Prot. Co.	5	2	1	10	23	4	3
4	Cath. Boro.	22		11	6	42	11	1
5	Prot. Boro.	31	4	16	31	97	21	10
6	Cath. unknown					1		
7	Prot. unknown	1						
8	Total County	14	2	5	11	47	7	3
9	Total Borough	53	4	27	37	139	32	11
10	Total Unknown	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
11	Total	68	6	32	48	187	39	14
12		Inns	Bar	King's	University	None	More than one	Degree(s)
13	Catholics	31	0	15	7	67	14	1
14	Protestants	37	6	17	41	120	25	13

9 Figures include only those known to have attended educational institutions; any m.p.s whose attendance was doubtful have been excluded.







<u>Member</u>	<u>Inns</u>	<u>King's</u>	<u>Bar</u>	<u>University</u>	<u>Degrees</u>
Alford					
Archer					
Ashe					
Bailey					
Bannister					
Barnwall, N.	G				
Barnwall, Pat.					
Barnwall, Pat.					
Barnwall, Peter					
Barnwall, Richard					
Barnwall, Richard					
Barrett					
Barry, J.					
Barry, R.					
Bellew, C.					
Bellew, J.	G				
Bellings	L				
Billingsley					
Bingham					?Cambridge B.A., M.A. Oxford
Byron					
Blake, J.					
Blake, R.	M				
Blake, V.	M				
Blakeney					
Blayney					
Blundell					
Borlase sr.	M				C
Borlase jr.					
Boyle					
Boyton	G	X			
Brereton	L	X			
Brice					
Brien					
Bringhurst		X			
Brook					?Dublin
Brome					
Browne, G.	M	X			
Browne, J.					
Browne, R.					
Browne, V.					
Browne, William					
Brownlow					
Bourke, Theo					Oxford
Bourke, Thos.	M				



Bourke, U.				Dublin	
Burnell					
Butler, F				Cambridge	
Butler, J.					
Butler, Peter					
Butler, Pierce	G				
Butler, R.,	I	X			
Butler, Thomas					
Butler, Thomas					
Bysse, J.	L	X	X		
Bysse, R.	L	X			
Cadogan					
Carleton					
Carpenter					
Carr	G	X(1656)		Oxford	
Casey, P.					
Casey, R.					
Cashell	G				
Caulfield	L			Oxford / Cambridge	
Champion					
Cheevers	M	X	X	DUBLIN, BA/MA/PTCD	
Chichester, A.					
Chichester, J.					
Cole				?Cambridge	
Comerford					
Conway					
Cooke	?			Dublin	D.C.L.
Coote sr.				Cambridge	
Coote jr.				Cambridge	
Cosbie, F.					
Cossens					
Coughlan					
Creagh					
Crofton					
Crosbie, D.					
Crosbie, P.					
Crowe					
Cruise					
Culme					
Cusack, A.				?Dublin	
Cusack, J.	M				
Cusack, R.	L				
Darcy	M	X			
Davies, J.					
Davies, P.					
Davills				Dublin	



Dempsie					
Dennis					Dublin, B.A./M.A.
Denny					
De Renzy	I				
Digby	M				Cambridge
Dillon, G.					
Dillon, H.	M	X			
Dillon, James					
Dillon, James					Oxford
Dillon, Lucas					
Dillon, R.	G				
Dixon					? Cambridge
Dobbins	G				
Dongan	G				
Dopping		X			
Dormer	I	X			
Dowdall					
Duff					
Edgeworth					
Esmond					
Eustace, M.	L	X	X		Dublin, BA/MA/FTCD
Eustace, O.					
Fanshaw	I				Cambridge / Oxford
Farrell					B.A./M.A./LL.D.
Fitzgerald, J.					
Fitzgerald, L.	L				Cambridge
Fitzgerald, M.					
Fitzgerald, M.					
Fitzgerald, R.	I	X			Dublin
Fitzharris	?	X			Oxford
Fortescue, C.					
Fortescue, F.					
Forth					
French					Dublin
Furlong					
Galbraith					
Gethings					
Gibson					
Gifford					Oxford B.A.
Gilbert sr.					
Gilbert Jr.					
Gore					
Gough					Cambridge



Haley	I		
Hamilton, A.			Dublin, B.A./M.A.
Hamilton, F.			
Hamilton, Jas.			
Hamilton, John			
Harman			
Harpole			
Henes			
Hill, A.			
Hill, T.			
Hoey	L		
Hollywood			
Hope			
Hore	I		
Jackson			
Johnson			
Jones, B.			
Jones, O.		X	Dublin
King	I		Cambridge
Kingsmill			
Kniveton			
Lake			Cambridge / Oxford B.A.,B.C.L.,M.A.,L.L.B.,L.L.D.
Langford			
Leventhorpe		X	Cambridge
Little sr.			
Little jr.			
Loftus, Adam	M	X	Dublin
Loftus, Arthur			Oxford
Loftus, D.			
Loftus, N.			
Loftus, R.			
Loftus, W.	L		
Lovell			
Lynch	M	X	Oxford
McCarthy			
Madden			
Maguire			
Mainwaring	G		Oxford B.A.
Manning, H.			
Manning, P.			
Martin, J.			
Martin, R.	M	X	
Maude			Cambridge



Maule				
Melvin			Aberdeen	M.A.
Meredith	L		Dublin	
Mervyn		X (1658)	Oxford	
Moncke	L	X		
Montgomery, G.				
Montgomery, H.				
Montgomery, J.	G		St. Andrews	M.A.
Moore, H.			Cambridge	M.A.
Moore, J.		X		
Moynes				
Nangle				
Nettleton, G.				
Nettleton, R.	G		Oxford	B.A., M.A.
Nugent				
O'Brien, Dermot				
O'Brien, Donnough				
Ogle			Cambridge	
O'Hara				
O'Neill, B.				
O'Neill, P.	L			
O'Reilly	?			
Osbourne, H.				
Osbourne, R. sr.				
Osbourne, R. jr.	G			
Parke				
Parsons, R.				
Parsons, Sir W.				
Parsons, W.			Dublin	B.A., M.A.
Peisley		X (1658)		
Peppard				
Pettit	M			
Philips				
Piggott, J.				
Piggott, T.				
Plunkett, N.	G	X		
Plunkett, O.				
Plunkett, W.		X		
Power				
Poyntz				
Radcliffe, G.	G		X	Oxford B.A.
Radcliffe, T.	G			Dublin
Rawdon				
Reading				



Reynolds, H.				
Reynolds, P.				
Roche, D.				
Roche, Patrick				
Roche, Philip	G			
Roche, R.				
Rochford	M	X		
Ronane				
Roper				
Rothe	I	X		
Rotherham				
Rowley				
St. George				
St. Leger sr.				
St. Leger jr.				
Sambach	M	X	X	
Sarsfield				
Saunders				
Sherlock				
Slingsby				
Smith, N.				
Smith, R.				
Smith, W.				
Stafford				
Stanihurst				
Stanley				
Stephens		X		
Stephenson				
Stewart, R.				
Stewart, W.				
Stoughton	I			Dublin B.A., M.A.
Summers		X (1656)		
Sutton				
Swanton	M		X	
Sympson				
Taaffe				
Talbot				
Talles				
Tarleton		X		
Taylor	G	X		
Thoroughgood				
Travers				
Trevor, E.				
Trevor, J.	I			
Trevor, M.	I			



PREVIOUS PARLIAMENTARY EXPERIENCE						
Usher, J.	L					
Usher, W.	L					
Vynes						
Waddington						
Waller						
Walsh, J.	G	X				
Walsh, W.						
Wandesford, C.	G				Oxford	
Wandesford, G.					Dublin	
Wandesford, J.	G				Oxford,	D.C.L. (1642)
Wandesford, M.						
Wandesford, W.						
Ware, Jas.	X	X	X		Dublin	M.A.
Ware, John						
Warren						
Wemys						
Wenman						
Wentworth	I	X			Oxford	
Wharton	L				Oxford	
Whyte, D.					?	D.C.L.
White, N.					Dublin	
Whyte, N.						
Williams					Oxford, Padua	B.A., M.A., D.C.L., D. Med.,
Willson					Dublin	
Wingfield						
Wray						



## MEMBERS' PREVIOUS PARLIAMENTARY EXPERIENCE

It is clear that the smooth and efficient operation of the Commons would be greatly assisted by the presence of a substantial number of members with previous parliamentary experience. Irish Parliaments met relatively rarely and the cancellation of the planned 1628 parliament meant that the 1640 assembly was only the third in the seventeenth century; despite this, it was unique in being held only 6 years since the previous parliament. (Table 1) This infrequency was in stark contrast to parliaments in England and Wales which had three times as many assemblies (held in 1604, 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, 1626, 1628 and two in 1640) within the same period.

It might, therefore, be expected that the 1640 Irish Commons would have a larger than usual number of members with experience in a previous Irish Parliament, as well as some members who had sat in British Parliaments.

TABLE 1

### Length of Time between Irish Parliaments

Date	Years since previous parliament
1560	
1569	9
1585	16
1613	28
1634	21
1640	6

Lack of experience had been an issue in previous parliaments; so few members of the 1613 commons had sat in 1585 that a number of debates about procedure and even dress took place in the house; in that case only 13-15 members (5-6%) had previous parliamentary experience. The officials planning that parliament recognised the difficulties this was likely to cause:



*"The long forbearance of Parliament in Ireland wilbe an occasion (for want of experience) of many errores in bothe the Houses, the forme and order to be observed being almost forgotten ... Precidents of former tymes have been, by negligence and change of officers, either lost or so yll kept as little or nothing remyns."*<sup>1</sup>

While there were accounts of the sittings of previous Commons, and manuals of procedure, notably the various versions of the *Modus Tenendi Parliamentum*, it was not always clear that Irish procedure followed that in British Parliaments, and many issues were open to debate or question.<sup>2</sup> Wentworth had also raised the issue in 1634, when he *"found all men here utterly ignorant in the Orders and Forms to be observed in the Meetings and Sittings of Parliament"* <sup>3</sup> and asked for the orders to be transcribed.

42-3 members of the 1634 Commons (15.4 - 15.8 % of the House) had previous parliamentary experience; 33 or 34 sat in the 1613 parliament, 21 protestants and 12 or 13 catholics;<sup>4</sup> 7 members sat in earlier English parliaments<sup>5</sup> and two others, Sir John Hume and Robert Stewart\*, in Scottish parliaments. At least 102 (37.7%) of the 232 members of the 1613 Commons could not be returned for the next parliament, either because they died (at least 92 men or 39.7% of the Commons fell into this category), or been ennobled (at least 10 members who had been elevated to the peerage were still alive in 1634).<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Carew MS. 629, f. 55r; quoted McGrath, 1613. p. 167.

<sup>2</sup> Accounts of previous commons include Hooker's diary or journal, January 17 to February 23, 1568-69. in C.L. Falkiner, *Essays relating to Ireland, biographical, historical and topographical*. (London, 1909, repr. London, 1970). pp 237-8. and the clerk, William Bradley's notes of the 1613 Commons, *P.R.O.L. S.P. 30/5/3*.

<sup>3</sup> Knowler, I, p. 240.

<sup>4</sup> The 21 protestants were Richard Barry\*, Arthur Bassett, Barnabas Bryan, George Carey, William Colley, William Crofton, Gilbert Domville, Faithful Fortescue\*, Thomas Hibbotts, Robert Leicester, Adam\* and Nicholas\* Loftus, Robert Meredith\*, James Montgomery\*, Beverly Newcomen, Sir William Parsons\*, Thomas Rotherham\*, William Stewart\*, Edward Trevor\*, John Vaughan and Walter White. The 12-13 catholics were Valentine Blake sr., Richard Browne\*, Sir Morgan Cavanagh, Boetius Clancy, Robert Grace, John Haley, Patrick Hussey, Thomas Luttrell, Griffin (Christopher) Murphy, Daniel O'Brien, James Roche and Christopher Sherlock\* and possibly John Power\*.

<sup>5</sup> Charles Price, Mainwaring\*, Henry Maltravers, George Radcliffe\*, Arthur Terringham, Christopher Wandesford\* and Wentworth\*. Price, Maltravers and Terringham sat for Belfast, Callan and Newry respectively.

<sup>6</sup> There was some overlap between the two groups. McGrath, 1613, pp 140-147, 159. Those who were ennobled and alive after 1634 included Blayney (d.1639), Jones (d.1643), Esmond (d.1645), Mountnorris (d. 1660), Loftus (d.1643), Boyle (d.1643), Ridgeway (d. 1643), Hugh Montgomery (d.1636), James Hamilton (d.1644) and Wingfield (d.1634).



The 33 or 34 m.p.s who sat in 1613 and 1634 were not all elected for the same seats. All the catholic m.p.s represented the same constituencies in both parliaments and they were joined by two unsuccessful candidates in 1613: Geoffrey Galway, representing Kinsale, the seat he had contested in 1613, and Fitzharris\*, returned for Limerick County, although he had been a candidate for Limerick City.

8 protestants sat for the same seat as in 1613 (Barry\*, Hibbotts, Leicester, Nicholas Loftus\*, Meredith\*, Rotherham\*, William Stewart\* and Vaughan\*). Four others (Cary, Crofton, Fortescue\* and Edward Trevor\*) traded up to county seats from boroughs in the same county; James Montgomery\* moved from Strabane to Down County, both areas in which his family had interests, Bassett represented a different borough in the same county. The rest were returned for seats in different counties (Bryan moved from Coleraine to Ennis and Carlow, Colley and Domville from Kildare to King's County and Donegal respectively, Adam Loftus\* from Maryborough to Newborough, Newcomen from Kilbeggan to Tralee, Parsons\* from Newcastle to Armagh County and Athlone and White from Donegal to Killyleagh).

97 (33.3%) of the 291 1640 m.p.s had previous parliamentary experience, a proportion which was twice as high as in the previous parliament. 95 (61 protestants and 34 catholics) sat in the 1634 parliament, 12 of whom, (10 protestant, two catholic, Richard Barry, Richard Browne, Faithful Fortescue, Adam and Nicholas Loftus, Meredith, James Montgomery, Sir William Parsons, Rotherham, Sherlock, William Stewart and Edward Trevor) sat in all three parliaments between 1613 and 1642.<sup>7</sup>

Five protestant members also had experience in English parliaments: Christopher Wandesford, who played a prominent role in 1634, Mainwaring, Wentworth, George Radcliffe, John Wandesford, the latter uniquely having experience of English but not Irish parliaments. Significantly, all sat for Yorkshire seats Peisley had unsuccessfully contested a seat in an English

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<sup>7</sup> William Colley, who sat in both 1613 and 1634, was returned to the Commons again in 1642, and is thus excluded from the scope of the present thesis.



Parliament, again for a Yorkshire constituency.<sup>8</sup> Robert Stewart sat in a previous Scottish parliament.

At least 47 (17.2%) of the 1634 m.p.s died in the interval between the two parliaments and two (Barnabas Byran and Hugh Montgomery) inherited titles which made them ineligible to sit in the Commons.<sup>9</sup> At least five returned to England, including Lord Henry Maltravers, Thomas Leake<sup>10</sup> and Wentworth's secretaries Thomas Edmonds, Guildford Slingsby and Francis Windebank. A further three 1634 m.p.s, Charles Price, Arthur Jones and Sir John Clotworthy were returned to the Long Parliament. John Wandesford was elected to the Short Parliament as well as the 1640 Irish Commons and George Wentworth was returned to the Short and Long Parliaments and the 1640 Irish Commons, although these returns would have been technically illegal as m.p.s were required to be resident in their constituencies, and it was clearly impossible to be resident in two countries at the same time. Wentworth played a key role in elections to the Short and Long Parliaments. It is difficult to know whether others, e.g. Price, also stood unsuccessfully for Irish seats in 1640.

The overall figure of 33.3% with parliamentary experience disguises different levels of experience for protestant and catholic county members (61.8% and 44.1% respectively), reflecting the increased difficulty catholics had in being returned to the Commons. 28% of both catholic and protestant burgesses had parliamentary experience - a remarkable coincidence.

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<sup>8</sup> A.J. Fletcher, Sir Thomas Wentworth and the restoration of Pontefract as a parliamentary borough. *Northern History*, 6 (1971). pp 89-97; J.K. Gruenfelder, Electoral patronage of Sir Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, 1614-40. *J. Modern History*, 49(1977). pp 557-574; J.K. Gruenfelder, Yorkshire borough elections, 1603-1640. *Yorks. Arch. J.*, Vol. 49, (1977). pp 101-114; R. Carroll, Yorkshire parliamentary boroughs in the 17th. century. *Northern History*, III (1968). pp 70-104; T. Lawson-Tancred, Parliamentary History of Aldborough and Boroughbridge. *Yorks. Arch. J.*, 27, (1923). pp 325-362; J.K. Gruenfelder, *Influence in early Stuart elections, 1604-1640*. (Columbus, 1981).

<sup>9</sup> The deceased members included the catholics Valentine Blake, Edward and James Butler, Morgan Cavanagh, Richard Cheevers, Walter Cosby, Roger Farrell, Geoffrey and William Galway, John Hackett, Patrick Hussey, Thomas Luttrell, Henry and Nicholas Lynch, Art McMahan, Thomas Nugent and Dominick and James Rice, James Roche, Patrick Sherlock, and possibly Simon Haley and Griffin Murphy, and the protestants Richard Blacknall, Malby Brabazon, Stephen Butler, Nathaniel Catlin (the speaker), Thomas Cave, William Crofton, John Dillon, Gilbert Domville, James Erskine sr., Thomas Hibbotts, John Hume, John Ingersoll, Roger Jones, Edward Kynaston, Roger Mainwaring, Arthur Moore, Thomas Moore, Beverly and Arthur Newcomen, Philip Pillsworth, Charles Reynolds, James Rowson, Richard Scott, Edward Southworth, Brockhall Taylor, Thomas Wenman and William Wiseman. Edward Beaghan may also have died in the interval.

<sup>10</sup> Leake was later to give evidence at Strafford's trial. Rushworth, *Trial*, I p. 180.



In many cases, m.p.s represented the same constituencies in both houses. At least 12 Catholics (Nicholas and Patrick Barnwall, Christopher Bellew, Thomas Butler, James and Luke Dillon, Farrell, Maurice Fitzgerald, Fitzharris, McCarthy, Nicholas Plunkett and John Power) and 7 protestants (Thomas Butler, Arthur Chichester, Cole, Coote jr., Faithful Fortescue, John Piggott and St. Leger sr.) represented the same counties.

At least 24 protestants (Richard Barry, Billingsley, Bingham, Carpenter, Cooke, David Crosbie, Crowe, Robert Dillon, Richard Fitzgerald, Gilbert sr., Jackson, King, Kingsmill, Little sr., Adam Loftus, Paul Reynolds, Rowley, Rotherham, Talles, Travers, James and John Ware, Christopher Wandesford and Williams) and 18 catholics (Richard and Valentine Blake, Richard Browne, Cashell, Comerford, James Cusack, Dongan, Dormer, Lucas Fitzgerald, James Furlong, Hennes, Hore, Nugent, Peppard, Pettit, Ronane, Sherlock and Dominick White) represented the same boroughs,

7 protestants (Blayney, Eustace, Arthur and Nicholas Loftus, Edward Trevor, Waller and William Ussher) traded up from burgess to knight of the shire. Hoey moved between two boroughs in the same county. 17 protestants (Borlace sr., Bysse, Carr, Piers Crosbie, Paul Davies, Galbraith, Arthur Hill, Hugh Montgomery, Robert Loftus, Mainwaring, Meredith, Monke, Richard and William Parsons, George Radcliffe, William Stewart and Wentworth) and at least four catholics (Adam Cusack, Darcy, John Fitzgerald, Richard Martin) moved to completely different seats, all returned through by-elections.

### PREVIOUS PARLIAMENTARY EXPERIENCE

	A	B	C	D
1		Irish	English	Scottish
2	Cath Co.	14		
3	Cath Boro	20		
4	Prot. Co.	21	1	
5	Prot. Boro	40	4	1
6	Total	95	5	1



A number of 1640 m.p.s also represented Irish constituencies in the 1650s united Commonwealth parliaments. These included John Bysse, Cadogan, Coote jr., John Davies (who could not take his seat), Arthur Hill, King, Parke and Waller. Two other members of the 1634 parliament, Arthur Jones and Thomas Meredith, also represented Irish constituencies in the Commonwealth parliaments.

### 1659 Convention

15 m.p.s were returned to the 1659 Convention, They included Blundell, John Bysse, Cadogan, Coote jr., Paul Davies, Edgeworth, Arthur Hill, Hoey, Maule, Mervyn, Parke, Rawdon, St. George, James Ware and Wemys, where they were joined by three other 1634 m.p.s, Jerome Alexander, James Barry and Clotworthy.

Given the intervals between the Irish parliaments, the extent to which the members came from families which had previously supplied m.p.s in earlier houses is perhaps at least as significant as whether they themselves had sat there.

### Later Irish Parliaments

30 of the members of the 1640 parliament sat in the 1661 Irish Commons and four (Francis Butler, Fanshaw, Mainwaring and Wharton) sat in later English parliaments; all were protestant.<sup>11</sup> Geoffrey Browne was elected to the 1661 commons but did not take his seat.

### The Confederation

The Catholic m.p.s were unlikely to be returned to later Irish or English Parliaments. A large number were, however, active in the Confederation and the General Assemblies. These included Richard Barnwall, Beallings, John Bellew, Richard Blake, Blakeney, Geoffrey and William Browne, Theobald, Thomas and Ulick Bourke, James, Pierce, Richard and Thomas Butler, Cheevers,

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<sup>11</sup> Blundell, Boyle, Francis Butler, Carleton, John Davies, Paul Davies, Dixon, Edgeworth, Forth, Gethings, Francis Hamilton, Harman, Arthur Hill, Hoey, Oliver Jones, Nicholas Loftus, Maule, Meredith, Mervyn, Osborne sr., Parke, Thomas Piggott, Thomas Radcliffe, Rawdon, Somers, Tarleton, Marcus Trevor, William Ussher, James Ware and Wemys.



Comerford, Piers Crosby, Cruise, Adam and James Cusack, Darcy, Dempsey, Lucas Dillon, John and Lucas Fitzgerald, French, Haley, Harpole, Hennes, Hollywood, Hope, Hore, Lynch, McCarthy, Maguire, Martin, Dermot O'Brien, Phelim O'Neill, O'Reilly, Nicholas Plunkett, Power, Rochford, Redmond Roche, Stanley, Sutton, John Walsh, and possibly Creagh.

Local connections may be regarded by members' residence or local land-holding, family connections or those of local office. The levels of local connections based on these criteria are given below. Only those whose connections are established are included in the collection.

For obvious reasons, those whose connections are unknown (Cusack, Carr, Cruise, de Renzy, Edgeworth, Fennell Hill) are excluded from all of these collations, which are therefore based on 36 catholic and 24 protestant county members, 70 catholic and 145 protestant burgesses. All percentages are based on these figures.

It should be stated that this data represents the minimum figures for local integration, due to the incomplete nature of the information available; it seems, for example, improbable that McCarthy, Walter Walsh and Herbert Walter did not hold local office, although the available information does not indicate that they did. It should also be noted that some offices within local government (e.g. sheriff) were more likely to be held by protestants than by catholics. In other cases, *m.p.s.* youth was clearly an impediment to holding local office (e.g. Radcliffe).

The collation considers local connections under three headings: the possession of property in the constituency or within the same county; the existence of family connections within the constituency or the same county; and tenure of an office within the constituency or county. In the case of Trinity College, Dublin, evidence of having some connection with the College, generally as a former student or the holder of some position within the College is regarded as equivalent to residence or land-holding, although James Wren was also a tenant of College property and could technically be assumed to fall into the land-holding category.



## LOCAL CONNECTIONS

As m.p.s were returned to represent their constituencies, it was clearly appropriate that they should have local connections. Legally, they were also obliged to be resident in the constituencies, although this rule had often been breached in the past. Local connections may be measured by members' residence or local land-holding, family connections or tenure of local office. The levels of local connections based on these criteria are given below. Only those whose connections are established are included in the collation.

For obvious reasons, those whose constituencies are unknown (Carleton, Carr, Cruise, de Renzy, Edgeworth, Thomas Hill) are excluded from all of these collations, which are therefore based on 36 catholic and 24 protestant county members, 70 catholic and 146 protestant burgesses. All percentages are based on these figures.

It should be stressed that this data represents are minimum figures for local integration, due to the incomplete nature of the information available; it seems, for example, improbable that McCarthy, Walter Walsh and Hardress Waller did not hold local office, although the available information does not indicate that they did. It should also be noted that some offices within local government (e.g. sheriff) were more likely to be held by protestants than by catholics. In other cases, m.p.s youth was clearly an impediment to holding local office (e.g. Radcliffe).

The collation considers local connections under three headings: the possession of property in the constituency or within the same county; the existence of family connections within the constituency or the the same county; and tenure of an office within the constituency or county. In the case of Trinity College Dublin, evidence of having some connection with the College, generally as a former student or the holder of some position within the College is regarded as equivalent to residence or land-holding, although James Ware was also a tenant on College property and could technically be assumed to fall into the land-holding category.



Local office could include alderman, mayor, sovereign, provost, port-reeve, bailiff, recorder, sheriff, j.p., commissioner or agent; where m.p.s had an office within their constituency which was not related to local government or representation e.g. a position within the army, church or attached to a provincial presidency, this is regarded as a local office. Thus local army commanders (e.g. Robert Stewart in Culmore) or ecclesiastical office (Cooke, Bringhurst and Manning) and provincial office (e.g. Somers) are included. Acting as secretary or agent (e.g. Rawdon, Swanton, Smyth, Gethings) is not regarded as holding a local office, although where the m.p. lived in the area and held local office on that account (e.g. Blayney), his residence or office is included in the calculations.

Where m.p.s work may have brought them into contact with their constituency, this is not of itself sufficient to constitute a local office (e.g. Blundell, Moncke or Maule's dealings with the customs, Little sr.'s position in Munster, Richard Fitzgerald or Tallis's spending time in Ulster). Where m.p.s held local offices outside their county or constituency, they are not included in the figures.

In some cases, geographical borders do not help explain connections, as the division within a county does not take account of people living within another county just over the border from their constituency. (e.g. Galbraith who owned property in Donegal but represented Strabane, on the Tyrone side of the Donegal border).

It is also true that even where m.p.s had ostensibly very close connections with their constituencies, using these criteria, they were not necessarily of long standing - e.g. Champion held land and lived in Fermanagh, was sheriff of the county and his brother was apparently living with or near him at the time of his murder, suggesting very close local connections. They extended no further back however, than his purchase of Shannock in 1639.

The minimum established level of local connections are as follows:



	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
1		Land	Family	Office	None	One	Two	Three
2	Cath. Co.	33	35	12	1	2	21	12
3	Prot. Co.	33	30	16	1	2	15	16
4	Cath. Boro.	61	64	31	4	8	28	30
5	Prot. Boro.	71	79	26	47	35	45	18
6	Total	198	208	85	53	47	109	76
7		Land	Family	Office	None	One	Two	Three
8	Catholics	94	99	43	5	10	49	42
9	Protestants	104	109	42	48	37	60	34

Thus, at least 198 (69.2%) of the 286 m.p.s in this collation lived or held property in their constituencies or in the county in which their seats were situated. This compares poorly with both the 1613 Irish Commons (where the levels were at least 86%) and with the Long Parliament, where the comparable figure was 89%.<sup>1</sup> At least 208 (75.4%) had family connections with the areas and at least 85 (29.7%) held some sort of local office.

Perhaps more significantly, less than one in five (53, or 18.5%) had no known local connections. Only two county members (one catholic, Darcy, and one protestant Paul Davies) had no known local connections and 51 burgesses (4 catholics and 47 protestants) had no known local connections. Thus 97% of catholic county members had local connections and 94.3% of catholic burgesses had local links. Interestingly, four of the five catholics with no known local connections (Darcy, John Fitzgerald, Martin, Hollywood), were returned in bye-elections; the exception was James Cusack, whose return as a an official catholic placeman was unique.

Of the 198 who lived or held property in the area, 104 were protestant and 94 were catholic. The figures suggest a very high level of local engagement on the part of all county members, but the level is surprisingly high in the case of the protestant knights of the shire.

1 McGrath, 1613, p. 212; Keeler, *op. cit.*, pp 20-1.



## Catholics

Of the 36 Catholic county members, 33 (91.7%) held lands or lived in the area, and 35 (97.2%) had local family connections and 12 (33.3%) were known to have held local office. Equally interestingly, 21 (58%) had two connections and 12 (33.3%) had three known local connections. Thus the overwhelming proportion of catholic county members (91.7%) had two or more local connections.

61 (87.1%) of the 70 Catholic burgesses in this collation lived or held property locally, 64 (91.4%) had family connections and 31 (44.3%) held local office. Again, while only four (5.7%) had no known local links, 8 (11.4%) had only one connection (generally family ties), 28 (40%) had two local connections and 30 (42.9%) had three. Thus 94.3% had some local connections, and 58 (82.9%) had at least two local ties.

## Protestants

The pattern for protestant county members was fairly similar to catholic knights of the shire: apart from the 33 (97.1%) who lived or held property locally, 30 (88.2%) had family connections and 16 (47.1%) held local offices. Again, only two (5.9%) had only one known local connection, and 15 (44.2%) had two and 16 (47.1%) had three known local connections.

71 (48.6%) of the 146 protestant burgesses in this collation lived or held property locally, 79 (54.1%) had family connections and 26 (17.8%) held local office. Almost one third, 47 (32.2%) had no known local links, a figure which is approximately 6 times as high as the Catholic burgesses, and a further quarter (24%) had only one connection (again, generally family ties), 45 (30.8%) had two local connections and a mere 18 (12.3%) had three. Thus roughly two thirds, 67.8% had some local connections, and 63 (43.2%) had at least two local ties, roughly half the level of the catholic burgesses' local integration.

Thus the members who were most likely to have strong local links were the county members of both religions, although the levels for Catholics are



somewhat higher than for protestants, especially for multiple connections. The widest divergence is between the burgesses, with the protestants having significantly lower levels of local links, and especially of multiple local connections. Protestant burgesses were the group least likely to have ties with their seats.

Balley	X		
Bannister	X		X
Barrowall, N.	X	X	X
Barrowall, Pat.	X	X	X
Barrowall, Pat.	X	X	X
Barrowall, Peter	X	X	X
Barrowall, Richard	X	X	X
Barrowall, Richard	X	X	X
Barrett	X	X	
Barry, J.	X	X	
Carry, R.	X	X	X
Bellow, C.	X	X	
Bellow, J.	X	X	X
Bellings	X	X	
Billingdy	X	X	
Bingham	X	X	X
Byron	X	X	
Blake, J.	X	X	X
Blake, S.	X	X	X
Blake, V.	X	X	X
Blakely	X	X	
Blaney	X	X	
Blundell	X	X	
Borice Sr.	X	X	
Borice Jr.	X	X	
Boyle	X	X	
Boyton	X	X	
Breton	X	X	
Brice	X	X	X
Brien	X	X	X
Bringhurst	X	X	X
Brock	X	X	X
Bronce	X	X	
Brown, G.	X	X	X
Brown, J.	X	X	X
Brown, R.	X	X	X
Brown, V.	X	X	X
Browne, William	X	X	X
Brownlow	X	X	X
Bourke, Theo	X	X	X
Bourke, Theo	X	X	X
Bourke, U.	X	X	X



Member	Land / Residence	Family	Office
Alford	X	X	
Archer	X	X	X
Ashe	X	X	X
Bailey	X	X	
Bannister	X	X	X
Barnwall, N.	X	X	X
Barnwall, Pat.	X	X	X
Barnwall, Pat.	?	X	?
Barnwall, Peter	X	X	
Barnwall, Richard	X	X	
Barnwall, Richard		X	
Barrett	X	X	
Barry, J.	X	X	
Barry, R.	X	X	X
Bellew, C.	X	X	
Bellew, J.	X	X	X
Bellings		X	
Billingsly		X	
Bingham	X	X	X
Byron			
Blake, J.	X	X	X
Blake, R.	X	X	X
Blake, V.	X	X	X
Blakeney	X	X	
Blayney	X	X	X
Blundell			
Borlace sr.			
Borlace jr.			
Boyle		X	
Boyton	X	X	
Brereton		X	
Brice	X		X
Brien	X	X	X
Bringhurst		X	X
Brook	X	X	X
Brome			?
Browne, G.	X	X	X
Browne, J.		X	
Browne, R.	X	X	X
Browne, V.	X	X	
Browne, William	X	X	
Brownlow	X	X	X
Bourke, Theo	X	X	
Bourke, Thos.	X	X	
Bourke, U.	X	X	X



Burnell		X	
Butler, F			
Butler, J.	X	X	
Butler, Peter	X	X	
Butler, Pierce	X	X	
Butler, R.	X	X	X
Butler, Thomas	X	X	X
Butler, Thomas	X	X	
Bysse, J.	X	X	X
Bysse, R.		X	
Cadogan			
Carpenter			
Casey, P.	X	X	
Casey, R.		?	
Cashell	X	X	
Caulfield	X		
Champion	X	X	X
Cheevers		X	
Chichester, A.	X	X	X
Chichester, J.	X		
Cole	X	X	X
Comerford	X	X	X
Conway	X	X	X
Cooke	?	X	X
Coote sr.	X	?	X
Coote jr.	X	X	
Cosbie, F.	X		X
Cossens	X		X
Coughlan	X	X	
Creagh	X	X	X
Crofton	X	X	
Crosbie, D.	X	X	
Crosbie, P.			
Crowe		X	
Culme	X		
Cusack, A.		X	
Cusack, J.			
Cusack, R.	X	X	
Darcy			
Davies, J.	X	X	X
Davies, P.		?	
Davills	X	X	
Dempsie	X	X	X
Dennis	X		
Denny	X	X	X
Digby	X	X	



Dillon, G.		X	
Dillon, H.	X	X	
Dillon, James	X	X	
Dillon, James	X	X	
Dillon, Lucas	X	X	X
Dillon, R.	X	X	X
Dixon			
Dobbins		X	
Dongan	X	X	X
Dopping			
Dormer	X	X	X
Dowdall	X	X	
Duff	X	X	
Esmond	X	X	
Eustace, M.	X	X	
Eustace, O.	X	X	X
Fanshaw			
Farrell	X	X	X
Fitzgerald, J.			
Fitzgerald, L.	X	X	X
Fitzgerald, M.	X	X	X
Fitzgerald, M.		X	
Fitzgerald, R.			
Fitzharris	X	X	X
Fortescue, C.		X	
Fortescue, F.	X	X	X
Forth			
French	X	X	X
Furlong	X	X	X
Galbraith			
Gethings			
Gibson			
Gifford		X	
Gilbert sr.	X	X	X
Gilbert Jr.			
Gore	X	X	
Gough	X	X	X
Haley	X	X	X
Hamilton, A.			
Hamilton, F.		X	
Hamilton, Jas.	X	X	
Hamilton, John	X	X	
Harman	X		
Harpole	X	X	X



Henes	X	X		
Hill, A.		X		
Hoey	X	X		
Hollywood				
Hope	X	X		
Hore	X	X		
Jackson				
Johnson				
Jones, B.				
Jones, O.	X	X		
King	X	X		
Kingsmill	X	X		
Kniveton	X			
Lake				
Langford	X	X	X	
Leventhorpe				
Little sr.				
Little jr.				
Loftus, Adam	X	X		
Loftus, Arthur	X	X		
Loftus, D.		X		
Loftus, N.	X	X		
Loftus, R.				
Loftus, W.		X		
Lovell				
Lynch	X	X	X	
McCarthy	X	X		
Madden		?		
Maguire	X	X		
Mainwaring				
Manning, H.	X	X		X
Manning, P.	X	X		
Martin, J.	X	X		
Martin, R.				
Maude	X	?		
Maule				
Melvin	X	X		
Meredith	X			
Mervyn	X	X		
Moncke				
Montgomery, G.	X	X		
Montgomery, H.	X	X		
Montgomery, J.	X	X		
Moore, H.	X	X		



Moore, J.	X	X	X
Moynes	X	X	X
Nangle	X	X	X
Nettleton, G.	X	X	X
Nettleton, R.	X	X	X
Nugent	X	X	X
O'Brien, Dermot	X	X	X
O'Brien, Donough	X	X	X
Ogle	X	X	X
O'Hara	X	X	X
O'Neill, B.	X	X	X
O'Neill, P.	X	X	X
O'Reilly	X	X	X
Osbourne, H.	X	X	X
Osbourne, R. sr.	X	X	X
Osbourne, R. jr.	X	X	X
Parke	X	X	X
Parsons, R.	X	X	X
Parsons, Sir W.	X	X	X
Parsons, W.	X	X	X
Peisley	X	X	X
Peppard	X	X	X
Pettit	X	X	X
Philips	X	X	X
Piggott, J.	X	X	X
Piggott, T.	X	X	X
Plunkett, N.	X	X	X
Plunkett, O.	X	X	X
Plunkett, W.	X	X	X
Power	X	X	X
Poyntz	X	X	X
Radcliffe, G.	X	X	X
Radcliffe, T.	X	X	X
Rawdon	X	X	X
Reading	X	X	X
Reynolds, H.	X	X	X
Reynolds, P.	X	X	X
Roche, D.	X	X	X
Roche, Patrick	X	X	X
Roche, Philip	X	X	X
Roche, R.	X	X	X
Rochford	X	X	X
Ronane	X	X	X
Roper	X	X	X



Rothe	X	X	X
Rotherham	X		X
Rowley	X	X	
St. George	X	X	X
St. Leger sr.	X	X	X
St. Leger jr.	X	X	
Sambach	X		X
Sarsfield	X	X	
Saunders	?		?
Sherlock	X	X	X
Slingsby	X	X	X
Smith, N.	X	X	
Smith, R.	X		
Smith, W.			
Stafford	X	X	
Stanihurst	X		
Stanley	X	?	X
Stephens		X	
Stephenson	X	X	
Stewart, R.	X	X	X
Stewart, W.			
Stoughton	X		
Summers	X		X
Sutton	X	X	
Swanton	X		
Sympson	X	X	X
Taaffe	X	X	
Talbot	X	X	
Talles			
Tarleton	X	X	
Taylor	X	X	
Thoroughgood	X	X	
Travers	X	X	X
Trevor, E.	X	X	X
Trevor, J.	X	X	
Trevor, M.	X	X	
Usher, J.		X	
Usher, W.	X	X	
Vynes	X	X	
Waddington	X	X	X
Waller	X	X	
Walsh, J.	X	X	
Walsh, W.	X	X	



Wandesford, C.	X		
Wandesford, G.			
Wandesford, J.			
Wandesford, M.			
Wandesford, W.			
Ware, Jas.	X		
Ware, John	X	X	
Warren		X	
Wemys	X	X	X
Wenman		X	
Wentworth		X	
Wharton			
Whyte, D.	X	X	X
White, N.	X	X	
Whyte, N.	X	X	
Williams			
Willson	X	X	
Wingfield		X	
Wray		X	



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