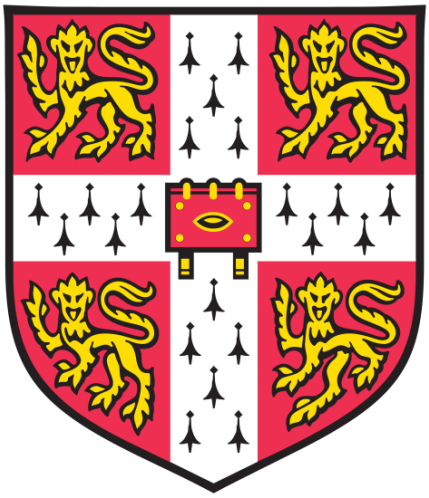
The Built Environment and Material Culture of Ireland in the 1641 Depositions, 1600-1654.



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The Built Environment and Material Culture of Ireland in the 1641 Depositions, 1600-1654

In recent years, historians have attempted to reassess the image of sectarian Ireland by offering an ethnically and religiously complex narrative of social intersection. Due to the changing intellectual and political climate in Ireland, archaeologists and historians can now begin revaluating the myths of the conquered and conqueror. As settlers poured into the Irish landscape to carry out the English government's plantation schemes, they brought traditions and goods from home, and attempted to incorporate these into their lives abroad. Woodland clearance supplied timber and destroyed the wood kerne-infested fastness, and new houses erected on plantation settlements rattled a landscape still speckled with the wattle huts of its native inhabitants. Using the 1641 Depositions as the core of this dissertation, this research endeavours to contextualise evidence of material culture embedded within the written testimonies, beginning with the private world of the home and ending with the public devotional space of the church. Evidence found in the depositions will be placed alongside archaeological evidence, cartography, a small collection of wills and inventories, and seventeenth-century trade records. This thesis investigates the extent in which the English and Irish communities were at conflict in a material way: in their homes, local economy, clothing, household goods and religion.

PREFACE

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text.

It is not substantially the same as any that I have submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for a degree or diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. I further state that no substantial part of my dissertation has already been submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text

It does not exceed the prescribed word limit for the relevant Degree Committee.

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And finally, I must thank my parents whose unyielding support and words of encourage pushed me forward. Thank you for reading chapters and sending chocolate. This is for you.

ABSTRACT

In recent years, historians have attempted to reassess the image of sectarian Ireland by offering an ethnically and religiously complex narrative of social intersection. Due to the changing intellectual and political climate in Ireland, archaeologists and historians can now begin revaluating the myths of the conquered and conqueror. As settlers poured into the Irish landscape to carry out the English government's plantation schemes, they brought traditions and goods from home, and attempted to incorporate these into their lives abroad. Woodland clearance supplied timber and destroyed the wood kerne-infested fastnesses, and new houses erected on plantation settlements rattled a landscape still speckled with the wattle huts of its native inhabitants. Using the 1641 Depositions as the core of this dissertation, this research endeavours to contextualise evidence of material culture embedded within the written testimonies, beginning with the private world of the home and ending with the public devotional space of the church. Evidence found in the depositions will be placed alongside archaeological evidence, cartography, a small collection of wills and inventories, and seventeenth-century trade records. This thesis investigates the extent in which the English and Irish communities were at conflict in a material way: in their homes, local economy, clothing, household goods and religion.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CSPI	Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland
JRSAI	Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland
NAI	National Archive of Ireland
NLI	National Library of Ireland
NMS	National Monuments Service
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
PRONI	Public Records Office of Northern Ireland
TNA	The National Archives, Kew

GLOSSARY

Definitions have been gathered from *Oxford English Dictionary Online*. Available from http://www.oed.com; Anne Buck, 'The Clothes of Thomasine Petre 1555-1559', *Costume* 24, no. 1 (1990), pp 31–3; Antony Buxton, *Domestic Culture of Early Modern England* (Woodbridge, 2013); Nancy Cox and Karin Dannehl, *Dictionary of Traded Goods and Commodities, 1550-1820* (Wolverhampton, 2007); and Audrey J. Horning, 'Materiality and Mutable Landscapes: Rethinking Seasonality and Marginality in Rural Ireland', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 11, no. 4 (2007), pp. 358–78.

Andiron: A utensil, usually consisting of a horizontal iron bar supported by a vertical pillar and foot, used to burn wood or hold up a rack for a spit.
Bedstead: The metal or wooden stand on which a bed is raised.
Booley or **Booley hut**: A house built during the medieval and post-medieval period associated with booleying, a form of transhumance; see *creaght.*
Bracken: A tartan, usually associated with Scottish Highlanders and Northern Irishmen.
Broadcloth: A heavy woollen cloth of high value.
Brogue: Irish style of footwear worn by men and women.
Caddow: A rough woollen covering.
Cambric: A fine, white linen originating from Cambray in Flanders
Cage-work: In reference to houses, open timber work, resembling the bars of a cage.
Chaffe: Straw or hay.
Chafing dish: A vessel used to hold charcoal on which another vessel is placed over in order to keep it warm.
Chamlet: Classified with silk, reputedly made from silk or camel's hair, but more likely made from the hair of the Angora goat during the seventeenth-century.
Cloth of Arras: A rich tapestry fabric, in which figures and scenes are woven in colours
Copperas or **green copperas**: A protosulphate of iron used in dyeing, tanning and making ink. Attributed to giving cloth a 'sad' colour.
Court cupboard: A piece of furniture or a cabinet used to display plate.
Crannog: A natural or man-made island.
Creaght: The Hiberno-English word for the Irish word *caoraigheacht*. It was used to describe the settlement of individuals who lived with their livestock in small cabins. It is identified with the practice of *creaghting*, or *booleying*.
Crucks: A pair of curved timbers used as the frame of a house.
Culm: Coal-dust, small or refuse coal.
Damask: A rich silk fabric woven with elaborate designs and figures; or a twilled linen fabric with richly woven designs that is largely used for table linen.
Diaper: A linen fabric, woven with a small, simple pattern.
Dowlas: A course linen cloth.
Earthenware: Objects made from clay and fired at a relatively low temperature that are often glazed due to the material's porous nature.
Flagon: A large bottle used to hold wine or liquors.
Flannel: Woollen cloth, usually without a nap.
Frieze: A coarse woollen cloth with a nap on one side.
Fustian: A linen woollen blend.
Grate: A frame constructed from metal used to hold fuel for a fireplace or furnace.

Gavelkind: In Ireland, a system of tribal succession whereby the land of the deceased occupant was divided among the members of the sept.
Griddle: A circular iron plate used to bake cakes.
Heiller/Heeler: A slater, a tiler.
Holland cloth: A fine linen cloth, originating from Holland.
Kersey: An English coarse, narrow, woollen cloth that is usually ribbed.
Madder: The reddish-purple dyestuff or pigment prepared from the root of the plant *Rubia tinctorum*.
Manchet: High quality wheaten bread.
Mantle: An outer garment or blanket, typically made of wool.
Nap: The material that is removed from the surface of a woollen cloth by shearing.
Orchil: A red or violet dye prepared from certain lichens.
Pewter: An alloy of tin, and grey in appearance.
Posnet: A small, usually metal, vessel with a handle and three feet.
Post-mill: A windmill that was often built upon a mound and entirely rotatable so that the miller could adjust the structure for wind changes.
Press: A cupboard used to hold linen, cloth, plate and dishes.
Ráth: An earthen ring fort enclosed by a strong earthen wall.
Rood-screen: Often elaborately carved stone or wood screen that is used to separate the nave of the church from the chancel.
Ruff: A detachable garment worn around the neck that is typically make from heavily starched linen, muslin, etc.
Russet: Originally an undressed, home-spun wool.
Salt/Salt-cellar: A small vessel used to hold salt and placed on the centre of a table.
Seasonal transhumance: A practice in which people lived with their animals in remote uplands during the summer; see also *booley hut* and *creaght.*
Serge: A type of woollen cloth associated with the New Drapers.
Settle: A backed seat, usually with arms.
Settle bed: A settle adaptively used as a bed; see *settle.*
Schistose: Having a laminar structure like that of schist; splits easily into flakes or slabs along well-defined planes.
Skeane: A knife or dagger, typically associated with the Irish kernes or Scottish Highlanders.
Skillet: A cooking utensil, frequently made from metal (brass, copper or iron) with three or four feet and a long handle.
Spit: A cooking tool consisting of a long rod that is used to pierce meat roasted over a fire.
Stammel: A woollen cloth, usually of a bright red colour.
Standing bed: A bed consisting of a high bedstead, as opposed to a *trunckle bed*.
Stockings: A close-fitting garment worn to cover the foot and leg, made from knitted or woven wool or sometimes silk.
Tenters: A wooden framework used to stretch and dry recently milled cloth to stop the cloth from shrinking.
Tower-mill: A windmill with a fixed tower and a rotatable cap (placed at the top of the tower) to move the sails and windshaft in the direction of the wind.
Tower-house: A stone structure built for defence as well as habitation. In Ireland, these were typically constructed by the Gaelic elite.
Trencher: A flat (often circular and wooden) eating vessel.

Trews: Trousers tied at the waist with a draw-string band.
Tri-pot: Referring to a cooking pot with three feet, placed directly into the hearth.
Trunckle bed: A low bed that is frequently pushed beneath a high *standing bed* when not in use. Also called a *trundle bed*.
Turkey-work: In Europe, often made in imitation of Turkish or Eastern style tapestry work.
Wainscot: Superior quality oak, used for wood panelling.
Watmeal: Grain made from burning oats rather than threshing.
Woad: Dyestuff prepared from the leaves of the plant *Isatis tinctoria,* used to produce a blue colour.
Worsted: Originally a cloth from the Norfolk village Worsted. Later, it was the generic term for fabric made from combed, long staple wool.

The Irishman

I am an Irishman, in Ireland I was born;
I love to wear a saffron shirt, although it be to-torn.
My anger and hastiness doth hurt me full sore;
I cannot leave it, it creaseth more and more;
And although I be poor, I have an angry heart.
I can keep a Hobby, a garden, and a cart;
I can make good mantles, and good Irish fryce;
I can make aqua vite, and good square dice.
Pediculus other while I do bite my by the back,
Wherefore divers times I make their bones crack.
I do love to eat my meat, sitting upon the ground,
And do lie in eaten straw, sleeping full sound.
I care not for riches, but for meat and drink;
And divers times I wake, when other men do wink.
I do not use no pot to seethe my meat in,
Wherefore I do boil it in a beast's skin;
Then after my meat, the broth I do drink up,
I care not for masher, neither cruse nor cup.
I am not new fangled, nor never will be;
I do live in poverty, in mine own country
(p. 116-7)

The Englishman

I am an English man, and naked I stand here.
Musyng in my mynde what rament I shal were;
For now I wyll were thys, and now I wyl were that;
Now I wyl were I cannot tel what.
All new fashions be pleasant to me;
I wyl haue them, whether I thryue or thee.
….
The next year after this I trust to be wyse.
Not only in wering my gorgeous array,
For I wyl go to learnying a hole somers day;
I wyll learne Latyne, Hebrew, Greeks and French
I wyl learne Douche, sittying on my benche.
I do feare no mna; all men feryth me;
I ouercome my aduersaries by land and by see
….
Yet aboue al thinges, new fashions I loue well,
And to were them, my thrift I wyl sell.
In all this worlde, I shall haue but a time;
Holde the cupper, good fellow, here is thyne and myne!
(p. 132)

INTRODUCTION

The Wild Irishman and Civil Englishman

In 1547, the physician Andrew Boorde satirically recounted the daily habits of the typical Irishman and Englishman. The former remained content in his poverty, enjoying a life without the comforts of a mattress or even a cup to drink his meagre broth. The latter stood naked in deep contemplation over what to wear. Rather obsessed with the new fashions of his time, he struggled to select the appropriate outfit from his impressive collection.[1] However, by 1640, a visitor to Ireland would have seen inhabitants sporting shoes rather than brogues, English caps, stockings, breeches and jerkins. As Michael MacCarthy-Morrogh noted, an Englishman in Munster would '…have been faced with many familiar objects. As he moved about the province, using the passable roads, the visitor would notice the number of enclosures, stone buildings and the occasional large house, surrounded by gardens and orchards.'[2] Sixty years following the initial policies of British plantation in Munster, Ireland would have seemed materially 'English' in many ways. What precisely did England's rulers consider to be 'English'? And how consistent was this emerging nationalistic ideology?

In Boorde's account, the Irishman and the Englishman were divided by their respective belongings, or material culture. In recent years, scholars have used the term 'material culture' to designate a diverse field of study investigating the role of objects in human behaviour and relationships.[3] Across disciplines, the study of material culture considers materiality of form (exemplified through physical artefacts) to investigate cultural processes.[4] For the early modern period in particular, the study of material culture provides a fruitful avenue in which to examine social, political, economic and political developments. Individuals began to break away from the medieval and religious culture that had been antagonistic towards displays of wealth. By the fifteenth-century, goods had begun to acquire moral implications. As Raffaella Sarti wrote, Italian intellectuals like Leon Battista Alberti believed that the *masserizia* (household goods) '…were almost the heart of the "family's identity", and its existence, the foundation of its reputation.'[5] Now objects could be passed

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[1] F. J. Furnivall (ed.), *The Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge Made by Andrew Borde, of Physycke Doctor* (London, 1870) pp. 116-7, 132.
[2] See Michael MacCarthy-Morrogh, 'The English Presence in Early Seventeenth Century Munster', in Ciaran Brady and Raymond Gillespie (eds), *Natives and Newcomers: The Making of Irish Colonial Society 1534-1642* (Dublin, 1986) p. 188.
[3] For further discussion of material culture, see Jules David Prown, 'Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method', *Winterthur Portfolio* 17, no. 1 (1982), pp. 1-19
[4] Daniel Miller, 'Artefacts and the Meaning of Things', in Tim Ingold (ed.), *Companion Encyclopaedia of Anthropology* (London, 1994) p. 399.
[5] Raffaella Sarti, *Europe at Home: Family and Material Culture 1500-1800* (London, 2002) p. 127.

down and admired to represent a family's legacy and prosperity.[6] They were no longer static relics of history, but rather acts of communication that were embedded with complex social meaning.[7]

In Irish cultural history, the link between human behaviour and objects was quick to appear. In 1366, the *Statutes of Kilkenny* decreed for those of English blood to maintain 'the English language, mode of riding and apparel' and be 'governed and ruled, both they and their subjects called Betaghes, according to the English law.'[8] Speaking directly to the Old English (descendants of the Anglo-Norman conquest) the statute sought to deter the abhorrent cultural blending occurring within the English and Irish populations. Although Boorde divided the Irishman and Englishman, the hybridisation of Irish and English material culture had been a pressing concern for centuries.

It is largely thanks to anthropologists and sociologists that historians now consider the 'materiality' of objects more seriously.[9] Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood's *The World of Goods: Towards an Anthropology of Consumption* and Arjun Appadurai's *Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* have brought objects out of the shadows of shallow consumerism and placed them at the forefront of human relationships, successfully changing the way in which historians assess consumption.[10] Daniel Miller's anthropological assessment of people and their possessions in modern London communicated objects' agency and their effect upon their subjects.[11] John Brewer and Roy Porter's edited collection of essays *Consumption and the World of Goods* tackled some of most pressing issues that the relatively new and loosely defined field faces. Leading by example, the essays demonstrated the need for an interdisciplinary discussion of consumption during the seventeenth and eighteenth-centuries.[12]

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[6] Sarti, *Europe at Home*, p. 127. See also, Grant McCracken, *Culture and Consumption. New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities* (Bloomington, 1988).
[7] See Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood, *The World of Goods: Towards an Anthropology of Consumption* (London, 1996) pp. 36-41.
[8] *A Statute of the Fortieth Year of King Edward III, Enacted in a Parliament Held in Kilkenny, A.D. 1367, before Lionel Duke of Clarence, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.* Available at CELT from: http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/T300001-001 [accessed October 2014].
[9] Wouter Ryckbosch, 'Early Modern Consumption History: Current Challenges and Future Perspectives', *Low Countries Historical Review* 130-1 (2015), p. 59.
[10] Douglas and Isherwood, *The World of Goods*; Arjun Appadurai (ed.), *Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge, 1986).
[11] Daniel Miller, *Comfort of Things* (Cambridge, 2008).
[12] John Brewer and Roy Porter (eds), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London, 1993).

As a whole, the early modern period has garnered new interest from economic and social historians.[13] Scholars have begun including the seventeenth-century in discussions about the Industrial Revolution and evolution of a consumption orientated society.[14] Chandra Mukerji's *From Graven Images: Patterns of Modern Materialism* connected the growth in European materialism to the beginnings of capitalism by extracting meaning from the production process itself.[15] This text speaks to the 'material turn' of consumption historiography; it identified objects as 'carriers of ideas, and, as such, often act as the social forces that analysis have identified with ideology-as-words.'[16] In Ireland, where much of the material culture has been politicised, objects continue to communicate complex cultural meaning, specifically in the context of British settlement.[17] The rigorous analysis of England's economy can therefore provide insight into Ireland's struggle to achieve a comparable level of specialisation during the same period.[18] By the mid-sixteenth-century, Keith Wrightson argued, 'the demographic contraction which had afflicted the late medieval towns was over and succeeded by a period of significant urban growth throughout Britain.' In many places, this growth was roughly proportional to the increase of the population.[19] In order to cope with raising grain prices and craftsmen's reduced real wages, England transformed every piece of untouched land into profit.[20] As the population expanded and clustered throughout the island, an internal trade network appeared, connecting small towns and industrial villages to roads and rivers.[21] This multi-layered analysis in *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain* will serve to contextualise Ireland at a time when England aspired to establish a robust economy.

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[13] Martha C. Howell, *Commerce Before Capitalism in Europe, 1200-1600* (Cambridge, 2010); also Chandra Mukerji, *From Graven Images: Patterns of Modern Materialism* (New York, 1983); Werner Sombart, *Of Luxury and Capitalism* (transl. Anne Arbor, 1967); Jan de Vries, *The Economy of Europe in an Age of Crisis, 1600-1750* (Cambridge, 1976); Jan de Vries, *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behaviour and the Household to the Present* (Cambridge, 2008); Sarti, *Europe at Home.*

[14] For example, see Vries, *The Industrious Revolution;* Howell, *Commerce before Capitalism in Europe;* and Mukerji, *From Graven Images.*

[15] For Weberian model in which culture was a 'realm of formal ideas,' see Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1905). See also Mukerji, *From Graven Images*, pp. 23-4.

[16] Mukerji, *From Graven Images,* p. 15.

[17] For example, see Audrey J. Horning, 'Clothing and Colonialism: The Dungiven Costume and the Fashioning of Early Modern Identities', *Journal of Social Archaeology* 14, no. 3 (2014), pp. 296–318.

[18] Joan Thirsk, *Economic Policy and Projects: The Development of a Consumer Society in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1978); Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J. H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 1982); McCracken, *Culture and Consumption*; Carole Shammas, *The Pre-Industrial Consumer in England and American* (Oxford, 1990); John Brewer and Roy Porter (eds), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London, 1993); John Brewer and Ann Bermingham (eds), *The Consumption of Culture 1600-1800: Image, Object, Text* (London, 1995); John Brewer and Susan Staves (eds), *Early Modern Conceptions of Property* (London, 1996); Lorna Weatherill*, Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain 1660-1760* (London, 1996); Lisa Jardine, *Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance* (London, 1996); Lena Cowen Orlin (ed.), *Material London c. 1600* (Philadelphia, 2000).

[19] Keith Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain* (London, 2002) p. 164.

[20] Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities*, pp. 159-66

[21] Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities*, p. 172.

In Europe, the early modern period's economic growth and expanded commercial contact initiated the beginnings of a consumer society.[22] For a material cultural historian, these economic changes can inform one's assessment of objects in relation to identity, particularly regarding social class. Howell's research concerning the expanded definition of 'moveable goods' and the rise of a wealthy non-noble urban class reiterated the evolution of consumption practices.[23] The history of clothing has become a means in which to explore these disruptions within the pre-existing social hierarchy. Previously, fashion historians focused upon establishing a timeline for sartorial changes, but now there has been 'a recent explosion of methods and approaches.'[24] Today, historians ask questions about meaning, interpretation, and identity formation.[25]

For many scholars, these broader economic developments can be observed through the microcosm of the early modern household. Mark Overton's (et al.) *Production and Consumption in English Households, 1600-1750,* and Antony Buxton's *Domestic Culture in Early Modern England* have isolated intriguing trends in the seventeenth-century home that will be explored throughout this thesis.[26] Jan de Vries's concept of the industrious revolution placed a spotlight on the household's economic function to answer wider questions concerning the history of consumption.[27] His theory drew attention to rural households' role in the market economy and highlighted the transformation of consumer desires. The 'new luxury consumption' of 'active consumers' revealed their desire for novelty, comfort, pleasure and identity, and ultimately served as a catalyst for the later Industrial Revolution.[28] British historians have approached his theory of industriousness more cautiously. Craig Muldrew argued that England experienced a period of stagnation after the sixteenth-century; industriousness was not only a product of household consumption (in his case, labourers' households) but also ideology and the labour market itself.[29] While these studies focus heavily upon consumer desires to explain the changes in the early modern economy, a new trend in cultural history has taken a more 'material' approach. Rafaella Sarti's detailed assessment of

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[22] See Vries, *The Industrious Revolution*; Jan de Vries and Ad van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy: Success, Failure, and Perseverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500-1815* (Cambridge, 1997).
[23] Howell, *Commerce before Capitalism in Europe,* pp. 1-45.
[24] Catherine Richardson (ed.), *Clothing Culture, 1350-1650* (Aldershot, 2004).
[25] For examples, see Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford, 2010); Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge, 2000); Susan Vincent, *Dressing the Elite: Clothes in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2003); John Styles, *The Dress of the People: Everyday Fashion in Eighteenth-century England* (New Haven, 2007).
[26] Mark Overton et al., *Production and Consumption in English Households, 1600-1750* (London, 2004); Antony Buxton, *Domestic Culture in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge, 2015).
[27] See Vries, *The Industrious Revolution*, pp. 6-19.
[28] Vries, *The Industrious Revolution*, pp. 44-58.
[29] Craig Muldrew, *Food, Energy and the Industrious Revolution: Work and Material Culture in Agrarian England, 1550-1780* (Cambridge, 2011).

domestic culture in Europe provides another invaluable resource in which to situate Ireland during the seventeenth-century. For Sarti, '…objects help to model and structure social relations, and equally social relations are expressed through objects.'[30] In many ways, this thesis will employ a similar methodology to that of Sarti; it will assess the value, meaning and agency of objects in their social and economic contexts.[31] Most recently, *The Routledge Handbook of Material Culture in Early Modern Europe* signals a hopeful age of extended research in the field, and demonstrates historians' engagement with archaeologists and art historians in the discussion of materiality.[32]

Although European material cultural historians relish in the growing academic field, the material culture of Ireland remains an elusive subject. A handful of historians including Toby Barnard, Jane Ohlmeyer, Raymond Gillespie, Jane Fenlon and Susan Flavin have recognised its importance to shed light on the social, economic, and political structures of the volatile early modern period.[33] Yet, typically these discourses focus upon the aristocracy or, in recent years, endeavour to assert Ireland's Renaissance history.[34] The elite emphasis is a means to uproot notions of Irish 'barbarism', but more precisely, it is a consequence of the sources. The lack of seventeenth-century documents caused by the destruction of the Public Records Office in 1922 has left the century particularly sparse in detail. Historians are forced to look at fragmentary trade records, limited numbers of estate papers, and a handful of wills to establish trends.

Yet, one can argue that there is a positive consequence of the poor documentary sources. It has facilitated interdisciplinary discussion between historians and archaeologists. Audrey Horning and James Lyttleton have made steps towards expanding this as an era of interest for archaeologists who, for primarily political reasons, previously paid more attention to the island's pre-history and early Christian past.[35] Both *The Post-Medieval Archaeology of*

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[30] Sarti, *Europe at Home*, p. 7.
[31] For this idea of agency, see Janet Hoskins, 'Agency, Biography and Objects', in Chris Tilley, Webb Keane, Susanne Kuechler, Mike Rowlands and Patricia Spyer (eds), *Handbook of Material Culture* (London, 2006). The historiography is also discussed in Ryckbosch, 'Early Modern Consumption History', pp. 77-82.
[32] Catherine Richardson, Tara Hamling and David Gaimster (eds), *The Routledge Handbook of Material Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London, 2016).
[33] For examples, see Toby C. Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure: Lives and Possessions in Ireland, 1641-1770* (London, 2004); Jane H. Ohlmeyer, *Making Ireland English: The Irish Aristocracy in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 2012); Raymond Gillespie, 'The Problems of Plantations: Material Culture and Social Change in Early Modern Ireland', in James Lyttleton and Colin Rynne (eds), *Plantation Ireland: Settlement and Material Culture, c. 1550-c.1700* (Dublin, 2009), pp 3-60; Susan Flavin, *Consumption and Culture in Sixteenth-Century Ireland: Saffron, Stockings and Silk* (Woodbridge, 2014).
[34] Thomas Herron and Michael Potterton (eds), *Ireland in the Renaissance, c. 1540-1660* (Dublin, 2007); Thomas Herron and Michael Potterton (eds), *Dublin and the Pale in the Renaissance, 1540-1660* (Dublin, 2011).
[35] See the work of Audrey J. Horning such as, *Ireland in the Virginian Sea: Colonialism in the British Atlantic* (North Carolina, 2013)*;* 'Materiality and Mutable Landscapes: Rethinking Seasonality and Marginality in Rural

Ireland and *Domestic Life in Ireland* provide a starting point for those beginning an investigation of material culture in Ireland.[36] Recent excavations at Rathfarnham Castle in Dublin have shed light on the type of archaeological discoveries waiting beneath the surface. Seventeenth-century collections of glass, wine bottles, shoes, and even a Cromwellian's soldier's breast plate point towards an optimistic future for post-medieval archaeology.[37]

Although *Post-Medieval Archaeology of Ireland* and *Domestic Life in Ireland* reflect a growing interest in the field, the seventeenth-century's presence in these discussions is fleeting. Toby Barnard's pioneering text *Making the Grand Figure* provides a comprehensive source for material culture in Ireland from 1641 to 1770. However, its date set directly speaks to the problems of assessing life before the 1641 rebellion. With this absence in mind, it is important to note that archaeologists struggle to place a boundary between medieval and post-medieval Ireland.[38] Due to the lingering qualities of medieval material culture, Tom McNeil and Kieran O'Conor argue that the post-medieval period begins at the end of the seventeenth-century.[39] As such, historians can look to the accounts and remains of the medieval period to unlock clues concerning early modern Ireland.

Research concerning seventeenth-century material culture and the built environment (particularly Ulster) typically focuses upon the material remains of British plantation.[40] In the eyes of British authorities, the landscape was 'unpeople, unmanured, unproved', and 'so under roman law open to conquest and colonisation.'[41] Improvement achieved through material progress became the fuel behind England's treatment of Ireland, taking its most recognisable form in the plantations of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth-centuries. Michael MacCarthy-Morrogh's research on the Munster Plantation and Robert J. Hunter's

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Ireland', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 11, no. 4 (2007) pp. 358-78; '"Dwelling Houses in the Old Irish Barbarous Manner": Archaeological Evidence for Gaelic Architecture in an Ulster Plantation Village', in Patrick J. Duffy, David Edwards and Elizabeth Fitzpatrick (eds), *Gaelic Ireland c. 1250-c. 1650: Land, Lordship and Settlement* (Dublin, 2001) pp. 375-96; 'Challenging Colonial Equations? The Gaelic Experience in Early Modern Ireland', in Neal Ferris, Rodney Harrison and Michael V. Wilcox (eds), *Rethinking Colonial Pasts through Archaeology* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 293-314. James Lyttleton, *The Jacobean Plantations in Seventeenth Century Offaly: An Archaeology of a Changing World* (Dublin, 2013).

[36] Audrey J. Horning, Ruairí Ó Baoill, Colm Donnelly and Paul Logue (eds), *The Post-Medieval Archaeology of Ireland, 1550-1860* (Dublin, 2007); James Kelly and Elizabeth Fitzpatrick (eds), *Domestic Life in Ireland: Section C v. 111: Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* (Dublin, 2011).

[37] See Antoine Giacometti, 'Rathfarnham Castle 2014 Excavation.' Available at Archaeology Plan: Heritage Solutions from: https://archaeologyplan.com/rathfarnham-castle [accessed October 2016].

[38] See Vicky McAlister, 'The Death of the Tower House? An Examination of the Decline of the Irish Castle Tradition', in McAlister and Barry (eds), *Space and Settlement in Medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 2015) p. 130.

[39] Tom McNeill, 'Where Should We Place the Boundary Between the Medieval and Post-Medieval Periods in Ireland?', in Audrey J. Horning et al. (eds), *The Post-Medieval Archaeology of Ireland* (Bray, 2007) p. 12; Kieran D. O'Conor, *The Archaeology of Medieval Rural Settlement in Ireland* (Dublin, 1998) p. xi.

[40] In particular, see Lyttleton and Rynne, *Plantation Ireland: Settlement and Material Culture*.

[41] Paul Slack, *The Invention of Improvement: Information and Material Progress in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 2014) p. 67; see also David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge, 2000) pp. 53-4.

invaluable contribution to the social and cultural history of the Ulster Plantation unravelled the economic realities settlers faced when beginning life in Ireland.[42] In the case of Munster, MacCarthy-Morrogh highlighted the working relationships between natives and newcomers with 'the absorption of the settlers into the indigenous culture, and even into the Catholic Church…'[43] Cultural blending in areas of plantation unmasks the state of seventeenth-century material culture, pointing to British settlers' disregard for any prior statute's ambition to segregate.

Plantations and Cartography

In total, there were six plantations schemes in Ireland. The first sixteenth-century plantation occurred in Laois (Queen's County) and Offaly (King's County). The Munster Plantation followed in the 1580s, spanning the counties of Limerick, Cork, Kerry and Tipperary. The failure of this scheme following the Nine Years War left officials hesitant to execute the plantation system again. However, when the Flight of the Earls in 1607 left a problematic power vacuum in the north, the English crown took the opportunity to establish the Ulster Plantation in 1608. The six official counties included in this scheme were Armagh, Fermanagh, Cavan, Coleraine, Donegal and Tyrone. Portions of Londonderry and Coleraine were granted to the London Companies for development and investment. Although east Ulster was not included in the official plantations scheme, much larger estates were created in the counties of Antrim and Down.[44] Plantations were then set up respectively in Wexford, Longford, Ely O'Carroll, Leitrim and other small territories.[45]

The Munster Plantation aimed to recreate the south-east of England in the south of Ireland.[46] Land grants were distributed to thirty-five landlords charged with the task to

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[42] For Hunter's work, see Robert J. Hunter, *Ulster Transformed: Essays on Plantation and Print Culture c. 1590-1641*. (Belfast, 2012); *The Ulster Plantation in the Counties of Armagh and Cavan, 1608–1641* (Belfast, 2012); *The Ulster Port Books 1612-1615* (Belfast, 2012); *The Strabane Barony during the Ulster Plantation, 1607-41* (Belfast, 2012); 'Catholicism in Meath c. 1622', *Collectanea Hibernica* 14 (1971), pp 7-12; 'Towns in the Ulster Plantation', *Studia Hibernica*, no. 11 (1971), pp 40-79; 'A Seventeenth-Century Mill in Tyrhugh', *Donegal Annual* 9, no. 2 (1970), pp. 238-40.
[43] Canny discusses MacCarthy-Morrogh's work in 'Protestants, Planters and Apartheid in Early Modern Ireland', *Irish Historical Studies* 25, no. 98 (1986), pp. 112-3. See also Michael MacCarthy-Morrogh, *The Munster Plantation: English Migration to Southern Ireland 1583-1642* (Oxford, 1986).
[43] Steven G. Ellis, 'The Collapse of the Gaelic World, 1450-1650', *Irish Historical Studies* 31, no. 124 (1999), pp. 449-69.
[44] See Liam Kennedy and Philip Ollerenshaw (eds), *Ulster Since 1600: Politics, Economy and Society* (Oxford, 2012) p. 13.
[45] For information on the plantations, see Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, 'Plantation, 1580-1641', in Alvin Jackson (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Irish History* (Oxford, 2014) pp. 291-314.
[46] Raymond Gillespie, 'Plantations of Early Modern Ireland', *History Ireland* 1, no. 4 (1993), p. 44.

establish the English way of life. This involved building villages and to act as a landlord for tenants to maintain a social hierarchy conducive to the English government. English agricultural traditions would also replace the pastoral tradition of the native population.[47] Yet, the carefully crafted system of social engineering did not go according to plan. Planters failed to build villages in the allocated time and Munster's climate and soil made it better suited for cattle rearing than grain growing.[48]

The failure of the Munster Plantation informed the government's plans for the following plantation in Ulster. Planters were given approximately ⅙ to ¼ of the size of land that they would have received in Munster. Coleraine was also set aside for the London Livery Companies to encourage profitable investment. Unlike the Munster Plantation, the Ulster scheme allowed native Irishmen to be grantees, and land was set aside to establish schools. Settlements in Down and Antrim, which sat outside the formal scheme, proved more successful.[49] Overall, the Ulster Plantation was successful in economic terms by increasing the labour population and the production of oats and cattle. Raymond Gillespie also argued that the Ulster Plantation was successful in neutralising native resistance. It was not until 1641 that a major conflict erupted, leaving thirty years of relative peace (Gillespie discounts the conspiracy of 1615 because it was instigated by issues unrelated to plantation).[50] Even so, historians propose that the rebellion in 1641 was more a result of the conditions specific to the 1630s rather than a direct product of plantation.[51]

The later plantations in Cos Wexford, Leitrim, Longford and other midland areas involved land redistribution, and a majority of the new landlords were not native to England and Scotland. Many were members of the Dublin administration who were rewarded for their service. In Longford, nearly half of the land was given to the native Irish. In these new plantations, landowners were no longer obligated to recruit new settlers and could look for tenants elsewhere. The emphasis upon these informal plantations was establishing 'a thin settlement of British undertakers and restructuring native landownership.'[52] They incorporated native lords into the Anglicising process rather than 'wholesale colonisation

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[47] See Gillespie, 'Plantations of Early Modern Ireland', p. 44.
[48] Gillespie, 'Plantations of Early Modern Ireland' p. 44.
[49] Gillespie, 'Plantations of Early Modern Ireland', pp. 45-6.
[50] Gillespie, 'Plantations of Early Modern Ireland', p. 46.
[51] Raymond Gillespie, 'Meal and Money: The Harvest Crisis of 1621-1624 and the Irish Economy', in E. Margaret Crawford (ed.), *Famine: The Irish Experience, 900-1900. Subsistence Crises and Famines in Ireland* (Edinburgh, 1989) pp. 75-95.
[52] James Lyttleton, 'Acculturation in the Irish Midland Plantations of the Seventeenth Century: An Archaeological Perspective', in Nick Brannon and Audrey J. Horning (eds), *Ireland and Britain in the Atlantic World* (Dublin, 2009) p. 33.

involving the settlement of large numbers of British tenants.'[53] These Anglicising initiatives would still be carried through with English education, tenure, estate organisation and architecture.[54] By the late seventeenth-century, conditions in England stalled migration to Ireland. Due to the growing poverty at home, suddenly the thought of people leaving England to invest their wealth elsewhere lost its appeal.[55]

While each plantation varied, particularly due to officials' acquired knowledge over the years, they retained many of the same ideals for civilising and Anglicising the native population. Here, civility suggested 'a social manifestation of cultural awareness'; it was taming or refining one's natural existence in order to differentiate oneself from an animal.[56] The plantation's ideology dictated that 'English institutions were normative, and that all others were inferior, to a degree simply measured by the extent of their difference.'[57] The irony of this ideology rested in the state of England itself. Although foreign accounts of Tudor England described a land overrun by peasants who preferred to hunt rather than cultivate land, individuals such as Camden refused to measure England's civility in this manner. For Camden, 'the test of a country's worthiness was the abundance of its cornfields; cornfields, indeed, were the passport to salvation.'[58] Earlier writings of the island, such as Gerald of Wales' twelfth-century account, were carried into the sixteenth-century through the use of Tudor reprint.[59] Gerald of Wales condemned the Irish lack of cultivation, denouncing them as lazy when the soil held untapped potential for growing the fruits of commercial activity and civic life. For him, and many observers writing after him, the greenness of the Irish landscape would be a symptom of the people's barbarity. In order to cure the illness of the population, the English would have to attack the cause of it. Ireland's landscape must be reshaped into that of England.[60]

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[53] Lyttleton, 'Acculturation in the Irish Midland Plantations', p. 33.
[54] Lyttleton, 'Acculturation in the Irish Midland Plantations', p. 33.
[55] Gillespie, 'Plantations of Early Modern Ireland', p. 46.
[56] Marc Caball, 'Faith, Culture and Sovereignty: Irish Nationality and its Development, 1580-1625', in Brendan Bradshaw and Peter Roberts (eds), *British Consciousness and Identity: The Making of Britain, 1533-1707* (Cambridge, 1998) pp. 112-39.
[57] Aidan Clarke and R. Dudley Edwards, 'Pacification, Plantation, and the Catholic Question, 1603-23', in T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin and F. J. Byrne (eds), *A New History of Ireland III: Early Modern Ireland 1534-1691* (Oxford, 2012) p. 187.
[58] Joan Thirsk, *The Agrarian History of England and Wales: 1500-1640* (Cambridge, 1967) pp. xxx-xxxvi. See also John Patrick Montaño, *The Roots of English Colonialism in Ireland* (Cambridge, 2011) p. 29.
[59] Fred Jacob Levy, *Tudor Historical Thought* (San Marino, 1967) p. 134; Hiram Morgan, 'Giraldus Cambrensis and the Tudor Conquest of Ireland', in Hiram Morgan (ed.), *Political Ideology in Ireland, 1541-1641* (Dublin, 1999) pp. 22-44.
[60] See Montaño, *The Roots of English Colonialism in Ireland*, pp. 35-6; Brian Graham, 'Ireland and Irishness: Place, Culture and Identity', in Brian J. Graham (ed.), *In Search for Ireland: A Cultural Geography* (London, 1997) pp. 4, 6.

Robert A. Houston wrote at length about English conceptions of law and space that vastly differed in Scotland and Ireland. In bewilderment, Sir John Davies identified that the Irish did not exercise the private ownership of property.[61] As Houston argued, 'the English understood much law geographically and, in doing so, shaped and reshaped the spatial awareness so deeply embedded in their cognitive structures.'[62] Official policies defined by an English system of law 'dismantled the indigenous institutions, including the brehon law of Gaelic and gaelicised society, and replaced older Catholic with new Protestant élites, rested on statue, proclamation and judicial decree or process.'[63] When arriving in Ireland, a seemingly lawless island, officials enacted policies intended to enforce familiar spatial boundaries in a unfamiliar geography.

However, individualised notions of ownership and property sat awkwardly in Ireland where domestic space was more porous. In Ireland 'land was not a free-market commodity that owners could rent to the highest bidder, but a resource subject to firm moral claims.'[64] Unlike an English noble, a Gaelic lord measured power according to the number of his tenants and followers rather than land. [65] An investigation of Ireland's material culture allows one to consider Houston's argument about geography and individuals' conception of it. This perspective has the potential to 'shed[s] fresh light on convergences and divergences in the historic experience of different parts of Britain and Ireland.'[66] His argument proves particularly relevant when discussing the built environment of Ireland and unearths a whole segment of developing research looking at spatiality and space. As Alexandra Walsham's research has shown, analysis of the changing religious landscape has meaningful implications in an Irish context, particularly the man-made environment.[67]

England's desire to assert legal ownership over the Irish landscape appeared once again in the profusion of land surveys that began in the sixteenth-century and continued in the seventeenth-century. The maps would come to symbolise England's aspiration to establish

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[61] See James Muldoon, *Identity on the Medieval Irish Frontier: Degenerate Englishmen, Wild Irishmen, Middle Nations* (Gainsville, 2003) p. 91.
[62] Robert A. Houston, 'People, Space, and Law in Late Medieval and Early Modern Britain and Ireland', *Past and Present* 230*,* no. 1 (2016), p. 52.
[63] Toby C. Barnard, 'Lawyers and the Law in Later Seventeenth-Century Ireland', *Irish Historical Studies* 28, no. 111 (1993), p. 256.
[64] Houston, 'People, Space, and Law', p. 84.
[65] Houston, 'People, Space, and Law', pp. 47-89.
[66] Houston, 'People, Space, and Law', p. 48.
[67] Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity, and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 2012); Alexandra Walsham, 'Sacred Topography and Social Memory: Religious Change and the Landscape in Early Modern Britain and Ireland', *Journal of Religious History* 36, no. 1 (2012), pp. 31-51. See also William J. Smyth, *Map-Making, Landscapes and Memory: A Geography of Colonial and Early Modern Ireland, c. 1530-1750* (Cork, 2007).

control on the island by drawing up clear land proportions, implementing English names, and determining the profitability of certain areas for future settlement. As Slack stated, maps during the period 'were political statements as well as cultural icons, a means of conceptualising space indispensable to the exercise of power and the imposition of control.'[68] Dividing the landscape in an English manner left no space for the old Gaelic tradition of landownership and transhumance. On occasion, native hostility towards surveyors (an unknown occupation in Ireland) would lead to murder because Irish inhabitants feared that their country would be discovered.[69] Although many officials' chief concerns for surveying were military and defensive, they perhaps understood that the act would devastate the traditions of the local population.[70]

The earliest maps of Ulster by Francis Jobson 'imposed an English vision for the creation of a new county system onto the provincial landscape.'[71] In the years following, plantation maps that were meant to chart the progress of civilisation often attempted to provide a blueprint for future improvement rather than illustrate the current conditions. However, some scholars have argued that it is also important to understand the ignorance of many English map-makers rather than assume that their intentions were propagandistic: 'Where Ireland was concerned, the ruling principles of cartography for half a century after Speed were ignorance and indifference.'[72] In using maps and surveys for evidence of material cultural change, one must understand the documents' purpose in the Anglicisation process and the cartographers' unfamiliarity with Ireland.

This thesis utilises the surveys of 1600s (including Carew's survey of 1611 and Pynnar's survey of 1618-9) as well as the Civil Survey and later Down Survey of the 1650s.[73] The Civil Survey was taken from 1654-6 in order to value the lands in Leinster, Munster, Ulster and Connacht, and recorded the value of land as it was at the outbreak of the 1641 rebellion.[74] Following new owners' claims that the survey was inaccurate, the Down Survey was taken from 1656-8 under the direction of William Petty. These later surveys were

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[68] Slack, *The Invention of Improvement*, p. 22.
[69] Slack, *The Invention of Improvement*, p. 26. See also Smyth, *Map-Making, Landscapes and Memory,* pp. 54-5.
[70] For a discussion of surveying during the sixteenth-century, see Montaño, *The Roots of English Colonialism*, pp. 160-212.
[71] Annaleigh Margey, 'Visualising the Plantation: Mapping the Changing Face of Ulster', *History Ireland* 17, no. 6 (2009), p. 42.
[72] J. H. Andrews counters Mark Netzloff's argument in 'Forgetting the Ulster Plantation: John Speed's *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain* (1611) and the Colonial Archive', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31, no. 2 (2001), pp. 313-47. See Andrews, 'Statements and Silences in John Speed's Map of Ulster', *JRSAI* 138 (2008), pp. 71-9.
[73] For surveys, see George Hill, *An Historical Account of the Plantation in Ulster at the Commencement of the Seventeenth Century, 1608-1620* (Belfast, 1877).
[74] Robert C. Simington (ed.), *The Civil Survey, 1654-1656. Vols 1-10* (Dublin, 1931-61).

conducted following the rebellion and give an impressionistic image of the built environment—noting the presence of ruined and preserved churches, mills and houses. Trinity College's *The Down Survey of Ireland* has been a significant online resource for this thesis.[75] It has not only made the maps accessible, but also provided a historical GIS that plots the Quit Rent Office version of the *Books of Survey and Distribution* as well as overlays these locations with seventeenth-century roads, the nineteenth-century Ordinance Survey maps, and Google maps. Using this database, townlands of deponents have been located to bring greater geographical context to their claims. With this as a starting point, archaeological evidence has been isolated using the Historic Environment Viewer of the *Archaeological Survey of Ireland* provided by the National Monuments Service.[76]

The Depositions, 1641-1654

The age of plantation, as it was understood during the late sixteenth-century, came to an end by the rebellion of 1641. Following a thwarted attempt to take Dublin Castle in October 1641, rebellion of the Catholic population spread out from Ulster between the winter and spring of 1642. The traditional narrative described insurgents torturing and murdering Protestants, stripping their clothing, and pillaging their homes on a mass scale. It depicted one of the most sectarian events in Irish history. The depositions collected after this traumatic event froze the last moments of daily life following a thirty-year period of relative peace, before the brutal Cromwellian conquest of Ireland.

Approximately 8,000 depositions were taken from the primarily Protestant community following the outbreak of rebellion.[77] The core of the depositions was taken in Dublin between 28 December 1641 and 1647, which have been termed the 'Dublin Originals' headed by Dr Henry Jones. Later depositions were collected when witnesses were unable to travel to Dublin to testify in front of the two commissioners. Philip Bysse, the archdeacon of Cloyne, took it upon himself to collect the statements of such individuals. He primarily operated in Munster, and recorded his final deposition in October of 1643 before his death that year.[78] Joseph Cope stated that while the Lord Justices of Ireland set a fixed list of topics, many of

[75] See Trinity College Dublin, *The Down Survey.* Available from: http://downsurvey.tcd.ie/index.html [accessed October 2014-2016].
[76] Service available from: http://webgis.archaeology.ie/historicenvironment [accessed May 2016].
[77] Aidan Clarke, 'The 1641 Massacres', in Micheál Ó Siochrú and Jane H. Ohlmeyer (eds), *Ireland, 1641: Contexts and Reactions* (Manchester, 2013), pp 37-51.
[78] Joseph Cope, *England and the 1641 Irish Rebellion* (Woodbridge, 2009); Mark S. Sweetnam, '"Sheep in the Midst of Wolves"?:The Protestant Ministry in the 1641 Depositions', *Journal of Irish and Scottish Studies* 6.2 (2013), pp. 75-8.

the depositions did not seem to adhere to this question and answer format. As a result, some of the depositions contain somewhat superfluous details relating to material goods, both in the context of violence and robbery.

Many depositions may have been given orally, or written beforehand when deponents arrived in Dublin with prepared testimonies. Cope argued that others with more private information about the rebellion may have been 'actively solicited' to prepare an account by the commissioners. As Cope noted, the depositions from 1643-4 'contain extensive intelligence, almost all of it negative, on the impact of the cessation and shifting allegiances among Irish Protestants.'[79] A later set of examinations was carried out by Commonwealth commissioners between June 1652 and July 1654. The primary purpose of these later commissions was to identify unlawful individuals and bring them to justice.[80] In several documents, particularly the Munster depositions, segments of information have been crossed out within the testimonies. Yet, in many cases, the system of elimination pointed to extraneous rather than false information. Lists of goods or debtors' names had been edited, but the monetary values of these losses were preserved.

Vast amounts of literature have employed the depositions to address political, religious and cultural elements of seventeenth-century life. Following the completion of the electronic database for the depositions, Eamon Darcy, Annaleigh Margey and Elaine Murphy's edited volume *The 1641 Depositions and the Irish Rebellion* demonstrated the depositions' ability to plot local violence, expose a developing credit system, and map the use of language. Additional articles have isolated the voices of women and ministers to draw out the religious and social order of the turbulent period.[81]

As Mark S. Sweetnam argued, it may be more fruitful to analyse the depositions on an individual basis rather than attempt to synthesise them. He recommended that they be used as 'a series of vignettes.'[82] Although Sweetnam was primarily concerned with the information regarding ministers' daily lives, this method can be applied to other aspects of everyday activity. Misgivings have been voiced concerning the reliability of these documents. Nicholas

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[79] Cope, *England and the 1641 Irish Rebellion,* p. 36*;* see also Joseph Cope, 'Fashioning Victims: Dr Henry Jones and the Plight of Irish Protestants, 1642', *Historical Research* 74, no. 186 (2001), pp. 370-91. For a brief overview, see Charlene McCoy and Micheál Ó Siochrú, 'County Fermanagh and the 1641 Depositions', *Archivium Hibernicum* 61 (2008), pp. 62-136.
[80] See Aidan Clarke, 'The 1641 Depositions', in Peter Fox (ed.), *Treasures of the Library Trinity College Dublin* (Dublin, 1986) pp. 111-22.
[81] Barbara Fennell, 'Routine Appropriation: Women's Voices and Women's Experiences in the 1641 Depositions', *Journal of Irish and Scottish Studies* 6.2 (2013), pp. 53-70; and Sweetnam, 'Sheep in the Midst of Wolves', pp. 71-92.
[82] Sweetnam, 'Sheep in the Midst of Wolves', p. 78.

Canny's use of the documents to assert economic trends, particularly the idea of an agricultural revolution, has been met with scepticism.[83] In spite of the documents' biases, my hope is that this thesis confirms the value of the 1641 depositions, particularly when they are read within the context of material culture and consumption. Using a technique employed by Nicci Macleod and Barbara Fennell in their assessments of language in the depositions, occupations have been collected by searching the word (i.e. mason) in its variable spellings—presenting a more comprehensive list than that provided by the database when one 'advance searches' by occupation.[84] Because women were listed in the depositions according to their marital status (i.e. wife, spinster or widow) rather than occupation, the tables included in this thesis primarily feature male craftsmen and labourers. Women, however, have been addressed throughout the thesis, particularly in the context of clothing consumption and cooking materials.

Since most of the depositions contain the testimonies of 'British Protestants' (a term used in the documents) they inevitably provide more information concerning British influence rather than indigenous aspects of material culture. As such, Canny has employed the documents extensively in *Making Ireland British* to map British technological and agricultural improvements during the seventeenth-century. Historians, including Raymond Gillespie, have recently suggested that the outbreak of violence was in part a reaction to growing instability of the 1630s rather than a reaction to the process of plantation itself. Mass murder, material destruction of buildings, and acts of robbery carried out by the Catholic population coloured the entire century with a hue of constant aggression. The depositions collected from the victims helped mould the historical memory of a divided community. However, as Jane Ohlmeyer asserted, the documents recorded 'acts of toleration, friendship, and compassions, where Catholics protected the local Protestant from the excesses of the insurgent.'[85] Moments of cooperation burst forth from the collection, proposing possible points of contact concerning the built environment and material culture of Ireland.

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[83] Nicholas P. Canny, *Making Ireland British, 1580-1650* (Oxford, 2001); Nicholas P. Canny, 'Migration and Opportunity: Britain, Ireland and the New World', *Irish Economic and Social History* 12 (1985), pp. 7-32. See also Raymond Gillespie, 'Migration and Opportunity: A Comment', *Irish Economic and Social History* 13 (1986), pp. 90-5; and M. Perceval-Maxwell, 'Migration and Opportunity: A Further Comment', *Irish Economic and Social History* 14 (1987), pp. 59-61.

[84] Nicci Macleod, 'Rogues, Villaines and Base Trulls': Constructing the "Other" in the 1641 Depositions', in Eamon Darcy, Annaleigh Margey and Elaine Murphy (eds), *The 1641 Depositions and the Irish Rebellion* (London, 2012) pp. 113-27, 223-5; Fennell, 'Routine Appropriation: Women's Voices and Women's Experiences', pp. 53-70.

[85] Jane H. Ohlmeyer, 'Confederations and Union, 1641-60', in Alvin Jackson (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Irish History* (Oxford, 2014) p. 317.

Ethnicity and Identity

Across the social sciences, the study of identity has been used to assess ethnic groups, nations, societal types and social classes. [86] As Chris Fowler noted, the term 'identity' can be problematic because it poses a complex range of definitions and understandings. Here, identity is defined as the 'shared similarity of character for several beings or things' that can also refer to a group's distinctiveness.[87] In seventeenth-century Ireland, interpretations of identity were inextricably tied to the rhetoric of ethnic and cultural difference. In the words of Toby Barnard, 'Newcomers frequently belittled what they encountered in Ireland. Settlers from Britain were committed to replacing alleged backwardness—evident in housing, clothing, and diet… These attitudes expressed cultural superiority.'[88] John Patrick Montaño discussed the forms of colonial ideology that justified English policies in Ireland. Colonial theory would encompass two different frameworks: one that professed faith in the Irish people's ability to change through English contact, and another that found the Irish beyond reformation.[89] Yet, the English government's position would initially take the former, hoping to encourage the migration of settlers into Ireland by describing its potential for acquiring wealth and correcting the native population through English institutions.

The seventeenth-century accounts of the island often adopted the government's goal of financial and social investment, looking for ways to 'civilise' the population as well as the landscape. Across Europe, civility—or civilisation—as Sarti explained, implied '…the creation of a coherent set of characteristics and behaviour patterns that are valued.'[90] For the English, these values emerged in their homes, clothing, dinning rituals, religion, industry and agricultural practices. Fynes Moryson's description of Ireland in his *Itinerary* (1617), Luke Gernon's *Discourse of Ireland* (1620), and Gerard Boate's *Natural History of Ireland* (1652) offered praise and criticism concerning the island, but consistently stressed the landscape's potential to cultivate civil life.

Early modern travellers' propagandistic accounts—and the rarity of alternative sources—have forced historians to look at material culture through a lens of ethnic difference. In this thesis the terms 'English', 'Irish' and 'Scottish' have been employed, primarily as a

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[86] For an overview of the literature concerning identity and material culture, see Chris Fowler, 'From Identity and Material Culture to Personhood and Materiality', in Dan Hicks and Mary C. Beaudry (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 353-85.
[87] Fowler, 'From Identity and Material Culture', p. 353.
[88] Toby C. Barnard, 'Material Cultures', in Alvin Jackson (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Irish History* (Oxford, 2014) p. 251.
[89] For a discussion about these ideas during the sixteenth-century, see Montaño, *The Roots of English Colonialism in Ireland*, p. 145.
[90] Sarti, *Europe at Home*, p. 150.

reflection of the terminology utilised by seventeenth-century accounts.[91] However, as the *Statutes of Kilkenny* made clear, the presence of the 'Old English' immediately threatened this easy trisection of identity. During a period of colonisation, the notion of an 'English essence' addressed the cultural hybridisation of the prior centuries. Yet, this emerging English identity was perpetually at odds with itself when settlers were compelled to adapt to foreign environments.[92]

Evidence of a developing sense of 'Irish' identity had also begun to appear during the early modern period. Early references to Ireland as a nation, and indeed being 'Irish', appeared in Tadhg Ó Cianáin's *Teicheamh na nIarlaí* (1609) when he utilised the term *Éireannach* (Irishman). During the same period, Gaelic political ideology began to employ words such as *náision* to assert the identity of a Catholic nation.[93] These more neutral terms helped religious scholars like Ó Cianáin obscure the divisions between the Old English and Gaelic Irish communities when depicting Ireland's presence in Catholic Europe.[94] Steven G. Ellis noted this evolution in the concept of 'Irishness' between the sixteenth to seventeenth-centuries:

> Irish senses of identity in 1500 were predominantly cultural, including the *Gaedhil* of western Scotland, but excluding English-speaking Palesman... By 1650, however, a radically different definition of Irishness had emerged, based on faith and fatherland, comprehending the Old English, but excluding the *Gaedhil* of Scotland, on grounds of religion and geography.[95]

Drawing from Ellis' argument, it is worthwhile to postulate what 'material culture' would have meant to an Irishman or woman in the seventeenth-century. In the Irish language, perhaps the closest word implying a sense of cultural belonging was *duchás* (or *dúthaigh*). For the Irish community, this term was strongly emotive, changing and complex.[96] By the

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[91] For more on ethnicity in depositions, see Eamon Darcy, 'Ethnic Identities and the Outbreak of the 1641 Rebellion in Antrim', *Journal of Irish and Scottish Studies* 6.2 (2013), pp. 31-52.
[92] For this idea of 'English essence', see Lena Cowen Orlin, *Material London c. 1600* (Philadelphia, 200) p. 95
[93] For use of *náision* and *Éireannach*, see Mícheál Mac Craith, 'The Gaelic Reaction to the Reformation', in Steven Ellis and Sarah Barber (eds), *Conquest and Union: Fashioning a British State, 1485–1725* (London, 1995) pp. 152, 157; Mícheál Mac Craith, 'Gaelic Ireland and the Renaissance', in Glenmor Williams and Robert Owen Jones (eds), *The Celts and the Renaissance Tradition and Innovation* (Cardiff, 1990) pp. 79-82. Many thanks to Dr. William O'Reilly for directing me to these ideas.
[94] Mícheál Mac Craith, 'Collegium S. Antonii Lovanii, quod Collegium est unicum remedium ad conservandam Provinciam', in Edel Bhreathnach, Joseph MacMahon, and John David McCafferty (eds), *The Irish Franciscans, 1534-1990* (Dublin, 2009), p. 257. See a discussion of this text and Ireland in Diane Sabenacio Nititham, *Making Home in Diasporic Communities: Transnational Belonging Amongst Filipina Migrants* (Abingdon, Oxon, 2017) p. 9.
[95] Steven G. Ellis, 'The Collapse of the Gael', *Irish Historical Studies* 31, no.124 (1999), p. 449; Nicholas P. Canny, 'Identity Formation in Ireland: The Emergence of the Anglo-Irish', in Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden (eds), *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World 1500-1800* (Princeton, 1989) pp. 159-212.
[96] Peter T. McQuillan, *Native Natural: Aspects of the Concepts of Right and Freedom in Irish* (Notre Dame, 2003); Peter T. McQuillan, '*Dúthaigh* and *Dúchas* in Sixteenth-Century Ireland', in W. Martin Bloomer (ed.),

seventeenth-century, it was intertwined with the idea of heritage and ancestral land. Leerssen argued that the Gaelic sense of cultural identity was not so dissimilar to that of the knights of the High Middle Ages '…who were bound up in feudal and lineage-based values of honour and fealty, and formed part of a transnational, indeed, a "a-national" elite with loyalties to class and ethos rather than country or ethnic peer group.'[97] Arguably, this understanding of Irish identity limits itself to those within the higher echelons of society. For individuals at the bottom of the social ladder, it would not be imprudent to propose that their sense of identity sprung from family, religion and a tie to the local geography.[98]

Historians should be sensitive to the evolving idea of 'Irishness' when matching material culture to ethnicity during this period of change and exchange. For many English writers, terms of ethnic identity typically implied cultural superiority or inferiority. As Steven Ellis and Deborah Shugar argued, this hierarchy could be applied to an irrational Englishman as well as an Irishman. Equal contempt was aimed at those in western and northern England, Wales, and Scotland.[99] Multiple perspectives have been taken regarding the Irish within racial ideology, as exemplified in the works of Steven Ellis, Jane Ohlmeyer, John Patrick Montaño and Nicholas Canny.[100] Ian Campbell wrote extensively about early modern conceptions of ethnicity before the eighteenth-century conception of race in his appropriately titled book *Renaissance Humanism and Ethnicity before Race.*[101] Jane Ohlmeyer's 'Civilinge of those rude partes' in Nicholas Canny's *Origins of Empire* presented an enlightening discussion of the frontier lands in the British Isles, drawing similarities between Gaelic Ireland and Scotland, and England's reception of these places. Ohlmeyer tackled ideas of racial

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The Contest of Language: Before and Beyond Nationalism (Notre Dame, 2002) pp. 60-95. See also Ellis, 'The Collapse of the Gael', p. 466; Mac Craith, 'The Gaelic Reaction to the Reformation', pp. 139-61.

[97] Joep Leerssen, 'Wildness, Wilderness, and Ireland: Medieval and Early-Modern Patterns in the Demarcation of Civility', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 56, no. 1 (1995), p. 36.

[98] For a discussion about the role of family relations, religious membership and parish residence in identity formation in Europe, see Barbara B. Diefendorf and Carla Hesse, 'Introduction: Culture and Identity', in Barbara B. Diefendorf and Carla Hesse (eds), *Culture and Identity in Early Modern Europe (1500-1800): Essays in Honor of Natalie Davis* (Ann Arbor, 1993) pp. 2-3; Natalie Zeeman Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France*: *Eight Essays by Natalie Zemon Davis* (Stanford, 1975).

[99] Debra Shuger, 'Irishmen, Aristocrat, and Other White Barbarians', *Renaissance Quarterly* 50 (1997), pp. 494-525; Steven G. Ellis, *Tudor Frontiers and Noble Power: The Making of the British State* (Oxford, 1995) pp. 60, 74; Ian Campbell, *Renaissance Humanism and Ethnicity before Race: The Irish and the English in the Seventeenth Century* (Manchester 2013) p. 10; Barnard, 'Material Cultures', p. 251. See also Muldoon, *Identity on the Medieval Frontier*.

[100] For the works of Nicholas P. Canny, see 'The Permissive Frontier: Social Control in English Settlements in Ireland and Virginia 1550-1650', in Kenneth R. Andrews, Nicholas P. Canny and Paul E. Hairs (eds), *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic and America, 1480-1650* (Liverpool, 1978) pp. 17-44; 'The ideology of English Colonization: From Ireland to America', *William and Mary Quarterly,* 3rd series 30 (1973), pp. 573-98; *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland: A Pattern Established, 1565-76* (Hassocks, 1976) pp. ix, 130-3; *The Formation of the Old English Elite in Ireland* (Dublin, 1975); *Making Ireland British, 1580-1650* (Oxford, 2001) pp. 1-58

[101] Campbell, *Renaissance Humanism and Ethnicity*, pp. 9-17.

superiority, the spread of English dress and architecture, and its adoption by leading native chieftains.[102] In general, Ohlmeyer noted, 'The fact that the political and social organisation, the culture, and the economic practices of these frontier societies did not coincide with the norms of Lowland society left them open to scorn and led to comparisons with the Ancient Britons (whom the Romans had "civilised").'[103]

Using the depositions as the core of this research, this dissertation endeavours to contextualise evidence of material culture embedded within the written testimonies, beginning with the exterior world of the home and ending with the public devotional space of the church. Evidence found in the depositions will be placed alongside archaeological evidence, cartography, a small collection of wills and inventories, and seventeenth-century trade records. This thesis explores the extent in which English and Irish communities were at conflict in a material way by investigating their homes, mills, attire, household goods and churches. These topics have been chosen because they not only reflect the type of physical 'things' mentioned in the depositions, but also because they most directly reflect English notions of improvement and possession that heavily influenced the policies enacted in Ireland in the seventeenth-century.

This dissertation can be sectioned into three parts—the first will explore the domestic and economic built environment of Ireland: the home and the mill. These chapters will look both at the material aspects (including construction) as well as the cultural implications of these structures within the English and Irish communities. The second portion of the thesis will discuss the remaining elements of material culture cited within the depositions: clothing, household goods (including furniture and luxury objects) and kitchen goods. These chapters will investigate production, acquisition, as well as the social function of objects inside the home. In the final chapter, the most contentious building will be explored: the church. Evidence of construction, conversion and destruction of these structures will be extracted in order to consider the role of religious material culture in Ireland's divided landscape. An assessment of secondary literature will be addressed for the subject matter of each chapter, as well as the limitations of the sources in that context.

As a whole, this thesis aims to use the documents to not only address the state of the Irish economy, but also explore how the cited buildings and objects communicated social relationships between the inhabitants following a period of plantation. Objects will be

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[102] Jane H. Ohlmeyer, '"Civilizinge of those rude partes": Colonization within Britain and Ireland, 1580s-1640s', in Nicholas P. Canny (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume I: The Origins of Empire: British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 2011) pp. 131, 141-2.
[103] Ohlmeyer, '"Civilizinge of those rude partes"', pp. 130-1.

evaluated according to what they *meant*, as well as what they *did* in the seventeenth-century—thus demonstrating a 'material turn' in the discussion of the island's early modern economy and society.[104] Although the scope of this thesis is broad (and in some respects ambitious), it is my hope that it will initiate further research on Ireland's buildings and objects. By using the depositions in a novel way, this thesis will demonstrate how the study of material culture can unite academic fields to unravel the shadowy state of daily life in seventeenth-century Ireland.

[104] For this methodology, see Patrick Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom: Liberalism and the Modern City* (London, 2003).

THE HOME

The Built Environment of the Domestic

In late 1641, Catholic rebels broke into the home of the Protestant gentleman Henry Bringhurst in the barony of Kilmaine, Co. Mayo. His defenceless thatched home was a ready target for the insurgents' attack. That night, its windows were smashed, iron was stripped from its frames, and all Bringhurst's trunks were torn to pieces.[1] In a predominately Catholic province of Connacht, acts of violence were enacted by bands of local men, many of them tenants on the same land as neighbouring Englishmen. As the uprising continued, inhabitants like Bringhurst saw the consequence of building with impermanent materials when the flames of rebels' torches and the joists of their *skeanes* sent frantic Protestants inside their neighbours' defensive stone castles.

In the seventeenth-century, English architecture was a civilising force in Ireland.[2] Homes of stone or brick, and roofs of tile or slate would replace the thatched, chimneyless huts of the 'mere Irish.' As Patricia Seed noted, English ritual used 'the ordinary action of constructing a permanent dwelling place' to declare possession of the land.[3] Under common law, legal practices of possession had been imposed upon Ireland to exert control over its landscape.[4] Surveyors marked prominent homes on plantation and Down Survey maps alongside mills and churches to assess the progress of English-styled settlement. In the 1650s, the Civil Survey recorded the number of thatched and stone houses within parishes to help measure the value of lands in Leinster, Munster, Ulster and Connacht.[5]

Education in the humanist tradition moulded the tactics of English reformers hoping to transform Ireland's built environment. As James Lyttleton stated, proponents of civil and religious reform such as Sir Thomas Smith believed that the English 'were the new Romans

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[1] TCD, 1641 Depositions Project, online transcript of the Deposition of [H] Bringhurst, MS 831, fols 201v-208v. Available from: http://1641.tcd.ie [accessed June 2014]. All the following cited depositions have been retrieved online from http://1641.tcd.ie.

[2] See John Patrick Montaño's discussion of city building and the Latin words for cities (*civis, civiis, civitas, civiltas*) in *The Roots of English Colonialism* (Cambridge, 2011) p. 215.

[3] Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640* (Cambridge 1995) pp. 4, 19.

[4] See Robert A. Houston, 'People, Space, and Law in Late Medieval and Early Modern Britain and Ireland', *Past and Present* 230, no. 1 (2016), p. 78; William J. Smyth, *Map-Making, Landscapes and Memory: A Geography of Colonial and Early Modern Ireland, c. 1530-1750* (Cork, 2007) pp. 4-5, 83, 454; Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession,* pp. 18-9; J. H. Andrews, 'The Maps of Escheated Counties of Ulster, 1609-10', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C* 74 (1974), pp. 133-70; Bernhard Klein, *Maps and the Writing of Space in Early Modern England and Ireland* (Basingstoke, 2001).

[5] For example, see Robert C. Simington (ed.), *Civil Survey, AD 1654-1656, Vol IX, Country Wexford* (Dublin, 1953) pp. 234-50.

who had come to civilise the Irish, as the old Romans had once civilised the ancient Britons.'[6] In 1610, Thomas Blennerhasset likened James I to a Roman emperor, based upon his efforts in the Ulster Plantation.[7] The Roman trope emerged in the context of domestic architecture in the will of Richard Hadsor of Co. Louth who in 1643 prescribed a 'good English house of lime and stone slated in after the manner of a Roman H[ouse].'[8] A house would come to symbolise the success of the English to bring 'classical' culture to the island.

Much to reformers dismay, their desire to transform the landscape often fell flat due economic restrictions. Fynes Moryson blamed the failure of the Munster Plantation with the cry that the settlers 'should have built castles.' Instead, they took financial short-cuts in order to make quick profits.[9] This sentiment was reiterated in Arthur Chichester's prediction of an unsuccessful Ulster Plantation: it was not 'a work for private men who seek a present profit.'[10] Houses in Europe, particularly the residences of the elite, were meant to survive—expressing the continuity of the resident's patrilineal family.[11] Yet in Ireland, as Toby Barnard summarised, 'aspirations to turn Ireland into a replica of England ran up against ecological realities.'[12] Due to the limited evidence, historians' knowledge about the built environment of early modern Ireland problematically rests upon visitors' descriptions that stressed Ireland's incivility. The seventeenth-century surveys, a frequently cited resource for plantation architecture, drew a confusing dichotomy between what constituted Irish and English vernacular. To its detriment, historiography on seventeenth-century Ireland is too often clouded by the twentieth-century nationalist argument that emphasised the early modern account of Irish marginalisation and poverty.[13] The tendency has been to define the English colonial houses as better constructed and substantial, and the Gaelic Irish residences as 'backward' or 'authentically traditional.'[14] Nineteenth-century travel accounts of Irish housing would echo the language of the seventeenth-century visitors—highlighting filth,

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[6] James Lyttleton, *The Jacobean Plantations in Seventeenth Century Offaly: An Archaeology of a Changing World* (Dublin, 2013) p. 23.
[7] Lyttleton, *Jacobean Plantation*, pp. 23-4.
[8] John Ainsworth, 'Some Abstracts of Chancery Suits relating to Ireland', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 9 (1939), p. 20.
[9] Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary Containing his Ten Yeeres Travell Through the Twelve Dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland, Netherland… Vol II* (Glasgow, 1907) p. 219.
[10] George Hill, *An Historical Account of the Plantation of Ulster at the Commencement of the Seventeenth Century 1608-1620* (Belfast, 1970) p. 446.
[11] Rafaella Sarti, *Europe at Home: Family and Material Culture, 1500-1800* (London, 2002) p.78.
[12] Toby C. Barnard, 'Material Cultures', in Alvin Jackson (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Irish History* (Oxford, 2014) p. 252.
[13] For a description of these cabins built by the labouring poor during the nineteenth-century, see Caoimhín Ó Danachair, 'Traditional Forms of the Dwelling House in Ireland', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 102, no. 1 (1972), p. 91.
[14] See Audrey J. Horning, 'Materiality and Mutable Landscapes: Rethinking Seasonality and Marginality in Rural Ireland', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 11, no. 4 (2007), pp. 358-78.

poverty and backwardness.[15] Early modern descriptions would create a deep-rooted belief in Gaelic Ireland's crude building tradition that would survive for centuries.[16]

While elite residence will be mentioned, the primary concern of this chapter is to achieve a more holistic image of a socially, economically and ethnically varied population by also investigating non-noble residences. As Nicholas Cooper stated, 'the development of vernacular houses cannot be wholly independent of the polite.'[17] Literature concerning the elite of Ireland overwhelmingly engages with ideals of classical architecture inspired by the Renaissance. Of course, evidence for middling and lower status individuals in Ireland is scarce, which explains why historians have generally focused upon the lifestyle of the elite. Jane Ohlmeyer, Toby Barnard and Jane Fenlon have discussed the houses of the upper echelons of society and their improvements using the few inventories and estate records left after the Public Records Office's destruction.[18] E. M. Jope, Caoimhín Ó Danachair, Brooke S. Blades, and Philip Robinson pioneered the study of early modern Ireland's domestic architecture primarily using representations of houses on seventeenth-century maps.[19] In more recent years, Rolf Loeber continued these scholars' work with his invaluable contributions to the architecture of plantation and Gaelic settlements across Ireland.[20] Yet,

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[15] Fildema Mullane, 'Distorted Views of the People and Their Houses in the Claddagh in the Nineteenth-century', *Journal of Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* 61 (2009), pp. 170-200.
[16] Montaño, *The Roots of English Colonialism in Ireland*, pp. 6-8.
[17] Nicholas Cooper, 'Display, Status and the Vernacular Tradition', *Vernacular Architecture* 33, no. 1 (2002), p. 32.
[18] Jane H. Ohlmeyer, *Making Ireland English: The Irish Aristocracy in the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven, 2012); Toby C. Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure: Lives and Possessions in Ireland, 1641-1770* (New Haven, 2004); Toby C. Barnard and Jane Fenlon, *The Dukes of Ormonde, 1610-1745* (Woodbridge, 2000); Jane Fenlon, 'Moving towards the Formal House: Rooms Usage in Early Modern Ireland', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, section C* 111 (2011), pp. 141-68; Jane Fenlon, '"They say I build up to the sky": Thomas Wentworth, Jigginstown House and Dublin Castle', in Michael Potterton and Thomas Herron (eds), *Dublin and the Pale in the Renaissance, c. 1540-1660* (Dublin, 2011).
[19] E.M. Jope (ed.), *Studies in Building History: Essays in Recognition of the Work of B. H. St. J. O'Neil* (London, 1961); Caoimhín Ó Danachair, 'Representations of Houses on Some Irish Maps of c. 1600', in John G. Jenkins (ed.), *Studies in Folklife: Essays in Honour of Iorwerth C. Peate* (New York, 1969), pp. 91-103; Brooke S. Blades, 'English Villages in the Londonderry Plantation', *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 20 (1986), pp. 257-69. For Philip Robinson, see Philip Robinson, *The Plantation of Ulster* (Belfast, 1994); 'Further Cruck Houses in South Antrim: Problems of Culture-Historical Interpretation', *JRSAI* 112 (1982), pp. 101-11; 'Vernacular Housing in Ulster in the Seventeenth Century', *Ulster Folklife* 25 (1979), pp. 7-13; 'Some Late Survivals of Box-Framed "Plantation" Houses in Coleraine', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 46 (1983), pp. 129-36; 'From Thatch to Slate: Innovation in Roof Covering Materials for Traditional Houses in Ulster', *Ulster Folklife* 31 (1985), pp. 21-35.
[20] For the works of Rolf Loeber, see Rolf Loeber, 'The Early Seventeenth-Century Ulster and Midland Plantations, Part I: Pre-Plantation Architecture and Building Regulations' and 'The Early Seventeenth-Century Ulster and Midland Plantations, Part II: The New Architecture', in Olivia Horsfall Turner (ed.), *The Mirror of Great Britain: National Identity in Seventeenth Century British Architecture* (Reading, 2012) pp. 73-138; 'Warefare and Architecture in County Laois through Seventeenth Century Eyes', in Pádraig G. Lane and William Nolan (eds), *Laois: History and Society. Interdisciplinary Essays on the History of an Irish County* (Dublin, 1999) pp. 377-414; 'An Architectural History of Gaelic Castles and Settlements, 1370-1600', in Patrick J. Duffy, David Edwards and Elizabeth FitzPatrick (eds), *Gaelic Ireland, c. 1250-1650: Land, Lordship and Settlement* (Dublin, 2001) pp. 271-314; 'An Elizabeth Map of Leix and Offaly: Cartography, Topography and Architecture', in William Nolan, and Timothy P. O'Neill (eds), *Offaly: History and Society: Interdisciplinary*

archaeologists have only begun to unearth the remains of dwelling places to confirm early modern descriptions.[21]

Several challenges threaten a coherent reconstruction of early modern architecture in Ireland. As Lyttleton stated, scholars face issues of appalling preservation of material evidence, poor documentary sources, and later building improvements. All these add to the confusion of 'imprecise chronologies' and 'unwieldy typological frame-works.'[22] The ambiguity of the archaeological evidence and the inexact language employed in seventeenth-century sources are the most problematic features of this research. Because of this, a broader approach will be taken to reveal the variety of building forms rather than construct an argument based upon precise architectural categories. The purpose is to understand what information can be gleaned from the depositions and how the treatment of buildings reflected the society of the time. By looking more deeply into travellers' writings and English policies, historians can probe differences in vernacular form as well as dissimilarities in the very conception of land between natives and newcomers. These differences permeated early modern building accounts and coated travellers' descriptions and plantation policies in a thick layer of criticism.

This chapter will investigate the Irish vernacular form, English ideals for domestic architecture, and the state of the built environment as described in the 1641 Depositions and seventeenth-century land surveys. Interweaving the depositions with archaeological, cartographic and additional documentary evidence will contextualise early modern descriptions of buildings during a period of developing identities. The ethnic ambiguity of building forms and the interaction between the settlers and the Irish will reveal the diversity, complexity and ideological contradictions of a civilising scheme thwarted by ecological and economic realities.

Essays on the History of an Irish County (Dublin: 1998) pp. 243-86; 'Settlers' Utilisation of the Natural Resources', in Ken Hannigan and William Nolan (eds), *Wicklow: History and Society: Interdisciplinary Essays on the History of an Irish County* (Dublin, 1994) pp. 267-304; 'The Lost Architecture of the Wexford Plantation', in Kevin Whelan and William Nolan, (eds), *Wexford: History and Society,* (Dublin, 1987) pp. 173-200; 'Early Irish Architectural Sketches from the Perceval/Egmont Collection', in Agnes Bernelle (ed.), *Decantations: A Tribute to Maurice Craig* (Dublin, 1992) pp. 110-20.

[21] For archaeological research, see Audrey J. Horning, *Ireland in the Virginian Sea: Colonialism in the British Atlantic* (North Carolina, 2013)*;* Audrey J. Horning*, '*Archaeology Explorations of Cultural Identity and Rural Economy in the North of Ireland: Goodland, Co. Antrim', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 8, no. 3 (2004), p. 202; Audrey J. Horning, '"Dwelling Houses in the Old Irish Barbarous Manner": Archaeological Evidence for Gaelic Architecture in an Ulster Plantation Village', in Patrick J. Duffy, David Edwards and Elizabeth Fitzpatrick (eds), *Gaelic Ireland c. 1250-c. 1650: Land, Lordship and Settlement*, (Dublin, 2001) pp. 375-96; Lyttleton, *The Jacobean Plantations.*

[22] Lyttleton, *Jacobean Plantations,* p. 175.

The 'Barbarous Manner': Accounts of the Irish Home

The seventeenth-century descriptions of an Irish house presented crudely-built, circular homes sprinkled about the green landscape. King James I deemed 'the old Irish barbarous manner' of building as being 'without Chymney, window, or other decent English Forme.'[23] French aristocrat François de La Boullaye le Gouz wrote a similar description in 1644: 'The towns are built in the English manner, but the houses in the country are built in this manner. Two stakes are fixed in the ground across which is a transverse pole to support 2 rows of rafters on the two sides which are covered with leaves and straw.'[24] The Englishman Luke Gernon, a resident of Limerick and member of the council in Munster, reported: 'The baser cottages are built of underwood called wattle, and covered some wth thatch and some with green sedge, of a round forme and wthout chimneys, and to my imagincon resemble so many hives of bees, about a country farme.'[25] Other accounts, like that of the Dutch physician and natural historian Gerard Boate, provided more problematic descriptions of Irish building methods.[26] Using second-hand knowledge collected from Protestant accounts in *Irelands Naturall History*, Boate concluded that the 'Irish themselves, never had the skill nor industry to erect any considerable buildings of Free-stone, Brick, or other the like materials, their dwellings being very poor and contemptible cottages.'[27] Additional descriptions of poverty, smoky interiors and 'rain-dropping wattles' reduced the structures to symbols of savagery.[28] Images of the round, single room, chimneyless structures can be found on Richard Barlett's maps from the early seventeenth-century of Ulster (Plate 1).[29] While this Elizabethan map maker's images confirmed many early modern descriptions of Irish dwelling places, they failed to extrapolate the structures' function or social context.

Recent scholarship on the Irish pastoral tradition has shed light upon early modern descriptions of rural homes. James I and Gerard Boate described what has now been classified as a *booley* or the homes of a *creaght*.[30] Prior to the 1641 rebellion, Edmund Spenser noted

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[23] Cited in Horning, 'Archaeology Explorations of Cultural Identity', p. 202.
[24] François de la Boullaye le Gouz, *The Tour of M. de la Boullaye Le Gouz,* edited by T. C. Croker (London, 1837) p. 40.
[25] See 'A Discourse of Ireland 1620', in C. Litton Falkiner (ed.), *Illustrations of Irish History and Topography, Mainly the Seventeenth Century* (United States, reprint 2007) p. 355.
[26] Elizabeth Baigent, 'Boate, Gerard (1604–1650),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Available from: http://www.oxforddnb.com [accessed October 2014].
[27] Gerard Boate, *Irelands Naturall History* (1657) p. 82. Available at CELT from: http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/E650002-001 [accessed October 2014].
[28] Failkiner, *Illustrations of Irish in History*, p. 372. William Lithgow, *Rare Adventures in Ireland* (1619) p. 406. Available at CELT from: http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/E610003-001.html [accessed October 2014].
[29] For discussion of Irish *creaghts*, see Kieran D. O'Connor, 'Housing in Later Medieval Gaelic Ireland', *Ruralia IV* (2001), pp. 201-10. See also Caoimhín Ó Danachair, 'Representations of Houses on some Irish Maps of c. 1600', pp. 91-103.
[30] Horning, 'Materiality and Mutable Landscapes', p. 363.

the Irish practice 'to keep their cattle and to live themselves the most part of the year in Bollies, pasturing upon the mountain and the waste wild places.'[31] The practice of *booleying* or *creaghting* was seen as a means to 'retain their ancient pride and fierceness', leading them to partake in idleness, as well as steal and annoy the 'civil inhabitants.'[32] Archaeologists often identify *creaghts* with the huts that were single-room structures, built with stone or sod, possessing no chimneys or windows, and were often situated in clusters.[33] Evidence in Antrim suggested that homes of the non-elite rural population also had additional units attached to the ends of the structures to most likely provide space for cattle. To the disgust of foreign observers, other structures may have housed livestock in the central area.[34] Modern reconstructions of medieval wattle-work and thatched houses indicate that inhabitants within these small homes remained dry during a heavy downpour and that, although without chimney, the smoke from the central hearth breathed out through the thick pile of roof thatch (Plate 2).[35]

English distrust of the *creaghts*' associated nomadic lifestyle sat at the heart of their criticism. Like Edmund Spenser, Arthur Chichester criticised the Irish in Ulster for 'running up and down the country with their cattle, which they term *creaghting,'* refusing to settle themselves in one place, and building cabins 'after their wonted manner.'[36] In reality, this practice can also be described as *seasonal transhumance* because the cattle were only moved twice a year. During the summer, small shelters were constructed for those tending the herd. The deposition of John Cliffe of Co. Wexford indicated some level of cultural exchange when the Protestant accepted this pastoral system for his own livestock rearing. The gentleman took shelter in his 'heards Cabbin', suggesting that those tending his cattle inhabited compact structures.[37] Issues have been raised concerning visitors' overemphasis of this nomadism as a political message that both masked the social as well as economic reality of Ireland. Gillespie asserted that grain and tillage (associated with civility) were downplayed to wrongly present

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[31] Edmund Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, edited by W.L. Renwick (Oxford, 1970) pp. 49-50. See also Mark Gardiner, 'A Preliminary List of Booley Huts in the Mourne Mountains, County Down', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 67 (2008), pp. 142-52.
[32] James Morrin (ed.), *Calendar of the Patent and Close Rolls of Chancery in Ireland, of the Reign of Charles the First* (Dublin, 1863) pp. 633-4.
[33] R. Hannan and J. Bell, 'The Bothog: A Seasonal Dwelling from County Donegal', in T. M. Owen (ed.), *From Corrib to Cultra: Essays in Honor of Alan Gailey* (Belfast, 2000) pp. 71-81.
[34] Horning, *Ireland in the Virginian Sea*, pp. 36-7. See also, Nick F. Brannon, 'A Small Excavation in Tildarg Townloand, Near Ballyclare, County Antrim', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology, 3rd Ser*., XLVII (1984), pp. 163-70.
[35] See UCD Centre of Experimental Archaeology and Material Culture's project reconstructing a medieval Irish roundhouse (2016) led by Professor Aidan O'Sullivan.
[36] C. W. Russell and John P. Prendergast (eds), *CSPI, James I, 1608-1610* (London, 1874) p. 65.
[37] TCD, Deposition of John Cliffe, MS 818, fols 107r-109v [accessed October 2014].

an economy that was dominated by cattle.[38] Enclosed and cultivated fields were the marker of civility for English visitors, and the claim that the Irish left their fields untouched to pasture cattle proved to be an effective strike against Gaelic culture.[39]

It has only been in more recent years that scholars such as Katherine Simms have pointed out that wandering was often a product of political disruption caused by war or a local feud.[40] In the nineteenth-century, John Prendergast acknowledged that these aggregate families were following herds (labelling the collective as *creagh*ts) but he deemed the practice wholly wild and nomadic.[41] Today, the term *creaght* does not refer to permanent nomadism, but temporary displacement. In the deposition of Ismah Darby, she identified herself as 'Ismah Darby of the Creaght within the County Roscommon', demonstrating the communal and semi-permanent aspect of these structures.[42] The Irish population was aware that this transitory life was unstable, particularly during periods of land redistribution. A seventeenth-century estate survey of Donegal revealed that Irish tenants often left their valuables in a church.[43] During the rebellion, inhabitants living within the *creaght* fled to find protection in neighbouring defensive castles.[44]

In Gaelic Ireland, individuals had the legal right to graze on vacant land and, because livestock was an integral aspect of the native economy, there was a strong incentive to move a herd in times of conflict.[45] When the settler Nicholas Philpot lost his goods and land, John Barrie let his cattle graze on the newly unoccupied farm while his tenants built small cabins on the land to tend to the herd.[46] Katharine Simms described the extent in which the *creaght* operated as a collective when tax-paying peasants were often divided into herds rather than villages or townlands:

> From 1610-1641 it appears that hilly summer pastures attached to estates in Tyrone, Fermanagh and north Armagh which had been planted by incoming English and Scots, were frequently leased out for grazing to the original Irish inhabitants who were permanently organized under their leaders as 'creaghts': disposed, discontented and

[38] Raymond Gillespie, 'Irish Agriculture in the Seventeenth Century', in Margaret Murphy and Matthew Stout (eds), *Agriculture and Settlement in Ireland* (Dublin, 2015) pp. 130-1.
[39] As discussed in Montaño, *The Roots of English Colonialism*, specifically pp. 64-102.
[40] Katherine Simms, 'Nomadry in Medieval Ireland: The Origins of the Creaght or C*aoraigheacht*', *Peritia* 5 (1986), pp. 379-91.
[41] John P. Prendergast, 'Ulster Creaghts', *JRSAI* 3 (1855), p. 420.
[42] TCD, Deposition of Ismah Darby, MS 831, fols 216r-217v [accessed December 2014].
[43] J. M. Graham, 'Transhumance in Ireland' (PhD diss., Queens University Belfast, 1954). See also Horning, 'Archaeological Explorations of Cultural Identity', p. 207.
[44] TCD, Deposition of Ismah Darby.
[45] See K. W. Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicied Ireland in the Middle Ages* (Dublin, 1972) pp. 136-7.
[46] TCD, Deposition of Nicholas Philpot, MS 824, fols 261r-262v [accessed December 2014].

> extremely easy to mobilise into military action as their ancestors had been before them.[47]

Simms' argument made another significant observation concerning Gaelic tradition: a link between cattle and war.[48] By understanding *creaghts'* tactical impermanency, historians can translate English criticism into English fear of the *creaghts'* military advantage.

The *creaght* took on this militaristic role in the months following the initial outbreak of rebellion. In the depositions between 1646 and 1653, Protestants used the word *creaght* to describe a warring group.[49] The small structures soon became instruments of battle for the natives when they were built around bawns to situate the rebels closer to the enemy, ingeniously 'within Muskett shot' of castles.[50] In Co. Tipperary, spontaneously constructed sheds and cabins allowed the rebels to eventually break through the bawn of 'Bally Roch' and lay siege on the castle.[51] In these cases, the function of the small homes was extended beyond its primarily pastoral role in order to aid the uprising.

At the same time, these windowless cabins played a fundamental role in high Gaelic culture. Etiquette dictated that the Irish poet could not compose his prose in the open air, and chose his friends' 'dark huts' for the important task.[52] In a 1722 account describing the ancient tradition of bardic training, a low hut with little furniture and 'No Windows to let in the Day, nor any Light at all us'd but that of Candles…', was essential for the creative process. The dark and barren setting concealed the poets' writing from curious glances and eliminated any distractions so that, 'the Faculties of the Soul occupied themselves solely upon the Subject in hand, and the Theme given.' [53] Significantly, the demise of the 'dark hut' paralleled the poets' diminishing role in Gaelic Ireland under English rule.

The *creaght* would not be the only structure subject to English censure. After describing the round Irish hut, François de La Boullaye Le-Gouz revealed another Irish building form:

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[47] Katharine Simms, 'The Origins of the Creaght: Farming System or Social Unit?', in Margaret Murphy and Matthew Stout (eds), *Agriculture and Settlement in Ireland* (Dublin, 2015) pp. 115-6.
[48] For cattle raids, see David Beers Quinn, *The Elizabethans and the Irish* (Ithaca, 1966) pp. 46-7.
[49] TCD, Examination of Captain Thomas Chambers, MS 836, fols 037r-039v; Examination of Patrick Modder Donnelly, MS 838, fols 042r-043v; Examination of Michaell Doyne, MS 838, fols 115r-116v; Examination of Thomas Dixon, MS 836, fols 120r-120v; Examination of Teage O'Carrell, MS 813, fols 196r-197v; Examination of Phelemy O Quinn, MS 836, fols 238r-239v [accessed December 2014].
[50] TCD, Deposition of Arthur Ahgmoty and Martin Johnston, MS 817, fols 177r-179v [accessed October 2014].
[51] TCD, Deposition of Elizabeth and Edward Dashwoode, MS 821, fols 038r-039v [accessed October 2014].
[52] For mention of huts, see 'Farewell to Munster' and 'Art versus Nature', in David Greene and Fergus Kelly (eds), *Irish Bardic Poetry: Texts and Translations, Together with an Introductory Lecture by Osborn Bergin; with a Foreword by D. A. Binchy* (Dublin, 1970) pp. 230, 265-6.
[53] Described in Clanricarde's account in 1722, as cited in Osborn Bergin's lecture in Greene and Kelly, *Irish Bardic Poetry*, pp. 5-8.

> The cabins are of another fashion. There are 4 walls the height of a man supporting rafters over which they lay thatch with straw and leaves. They are without chimneys and make the fire in the middle of the hut, which greatly incommodes those who are not fond of smoke."[54]

In recent years, archaeologists have isolated the more substantial building form as the cruck building. This home was more rectangular than the cabin, with rounded corners, and used cruck-trusses laid on the ground to support its thatched roof. The structures appeared in heavily Anglo-Norman dominated regions, which has led scholars to conclude that the tradition was brought over from England and Wales before the mid-thirteenth-century.[55] The earliest written evidence of crucks in roofs was found in a fourteenth-century Irish poem which described an 'English style' roof using foreign 'forks.'[56] In the Drapers accounts, English settlers paid Irish workmen to construct cabins with materials such as Irish 'coupled', 'crucks', timber, wattles and straw.[57] Seventeenth-century surveys described 'couples' houses that may refer to the use of crucks to support the roof of the house.[58] In the depositions, John Kairnes reported the loss of his 'couples and other faire English houses of timber.'[59] To the shock of English observers, the cruck buildings were employed by individuals of both high and low status in the seventeenth-century.[60]

In the depositions, several individuals were identified as 'cottiers', which may have referred to individuals living in either the lowly Irish cabins, or the cruck structures defined by François de La Boullaye Le-Gouz. A majority of these individuals were associated with the rebels and many possessed Irish surnames in Cos Meath and Laois: Patrick Keitah,[61] Owen McGuire,[62] James Mulree,[63] Connor Mallone,[64] and Connor Magiver.[65] Unsurprisingly, a seventeenth-century tenant inventory listed significantly lesser rents paid by cottage dwellers.[66] Additional evidence may be present in the mention of 'cabins.' Descriptions of these impermanent structures corresponded with characteristics of the Irish *creaghts*: the

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[54] De La Boullaye le Gouz*, The Tour of M. de La Boullaye Le Gouz*, p. 40.
[55] O'Connor, 'Housing in Late Medieval Gaelic Ireland', pp. 204-8. Here, Anglo-Norman refers to the early settlement of individuals from England in Ireland during the twelfth-century.
[56] O'Connor, 'Housing in Late Medieval Gaelic Ireland', pp. 206-7.
[57] Robinson, 'Further Cruck Houses in South Antrim', p. 102.
[58] Bruce Walker, Christopher McGregor and Gregor Stark, *Thatch and Thatching Techniques: A Guide to Conserving Scottish Thatching Traditions* (Edinburgh, 1996). See also Robinson, 'Vernacular Housing in Ulster in the Seventeenth Century', *Ulster Folklife* 25 (1979), pp. 7-13.
[59] TCD, Deposition of John Kairnes, MS 839, fols 033r-034v [accessed June 2014].
[60] Kenneth Nicholas, 'Gaelic Society and Economy in the High Middle Ages', in Art Cosgrove (ed.), *A New History of Ireland, Vol II. Medieval Ireland, 1169-1534* (Oxford, 2008) p. 403. See also O'Connor, 'Housing in Late Medieval Gaelic Ireland', p. 206.
[61] TCD, Deposition of Joane Abberly, MS 815, fol. 057r [accessed October 2014].
[62] TCD, Examination of Owin McGuyre, MS 816, fol. 327r [accessed October 2014].
[63] TCD, Examination of James Mulree, MS 816, fol. 327v [accessed October 2014].
[64] TCD, Examination of Connor Mallone, MS 816, fol. 328v [accessed October 2014].
[65] TCD, Examination of Connor Magiver, MS 816, fol. 338r [accessed December 2014].
[66] NLI, Westport Papers, MS 40,892/2 (14).

houses were quickly constructed, often for temporary use, and randomly dispersed throughout the island.[67] In a deposition collected in 1642, Mary Daniel described an Irish house as one built of 'timber, mud walls and thatched.'[68] The rebels employed the huts as bargaining chips to persuade Protestant conversion, house Protestant prisoners, or enact violence behind closed doors.[69] English victims and several members of the elite employed the understated physical presence of the Irish cabin to their advantage. A woman by the name of Mrs. Gilbert had sought shelter in an Irishman's cabin near the ironworks in Mountmellick, Co. Laois.[70] In Co. Limerick, Lady Elizabeth Dowdall, the wife of Cromwellian solider Sir Hardress Waller, escaped with her servant to a cabin a quarter of a mile from her besieged castle in Kilfinny.[71] In Co. Sligo, William Stewart's wife (the daughter of recently deceased Josias Lambert) hid inside a cabin while she awaited her husband's return. [72] As these cases and other depositions suggested, a cabin was a suitable haven for a British man or woman because, unlike a newly constructed stone or timber-framed house, it was deceivingly Irish in its exterior.[73]

A cabin, however, was not unique to the Irish tradition, and the depositions proposed that this structure was more definitively associated with a modest income. The humble weaver John McRedmond lived in a small cabin in Co. Cork near Dundaniel Castle.[74] In the town of Birr in Co. Offaly, the rebels' attack left only a few 'poore English cabins' behind.[75] A deposition in Co. Carlow reported a similar episode in which poor Englishmen and women

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[67] TCD, Deposition of Elizabeth and Edward Dashwoode, MS 821, fols 038r-039v; Deposition of Arthur Ahgmoty and Martin Johnston, MS 817, fols 177r-179v; Deposition of Nicholas Philpot, MS 824, fols 261r-262v [accessed October 2014].
[68] TCD, Deposition of Mary Daniell, MS 811, fols 135r-136v [accessed June 2014].
[69] TCD, Deposition of Joyce Deane, MS 824, fols 170r-170v; Examination of Derenzy Massam, MS 830, fols 104r-105v; Deposition of John Winsmore, MS 815, fols 154r-155v; Examination of Nicholas Magran, MS 826, fols 120v-120r; Examination of Nicholas Elliott, MS 826, fols 143r-143v [accessed October 2014].
[70] TCD, Deposition of John Winsmore, MS 815, fols 154r-155v [accessed October 2014].
[71] TCD, Examination of Anthony Sherwyn, MS 829, fols 377r-378v [accessed November 2014]. For more concerning the Waller estate, see 'Waller' in Moore Institute, NUI Galway, *Landed Estate Database.* Available from: http://www.landedestates.ie/ [accessed October 2015]. For archaeological data for the castle, see the NMS, *Archaeological Survey of Ireland*, Reference Number LI030-048. Available from: http://webgis.archaeology.ie/historicenvironment/ [accessed June 2016].
[72] TCD, Examination of Anthony Sherwyn, MS 829, fols 377r-378v; Deposition of John Harrisson, MS 831, fols 072r-072v. For Josias Lambert, see Examination of John Lambart, MS 830, fols 047r-048v [accessed October 2014].
[73] For other instances of hiding in cabins for protection, see TCD, Information of William Pilsworth, MS 813, fols 001r-002v; Examination of David Barry, MS 826, fol. 032r; Deposition of John Cliffe, MS 818, fols 107r-109v. Examination of Emlin Cary, MS 831, fol. 283r; Examination of Cormack Cary, MS 831, fol. 283v; Examination of Margaret Barry, MS 831, fol. 283r; Examination of Margery Brenan, MS 831, fol. 283v [accessed November 2014[.
[74] TCD, Examination of John McRedmond, MS 826, fols 121r-121v [accessed December 2014]. A 'John McRedmond' was probated in 1662 in Cork in W. P. W. Philmore and Gertrude Thrift (eds), *Thrift Indexes to Irish Wills 1530-1858, 5 Vols [1909-1920]* (Baltimore: 1970) p. 71. This can also be found in *Ireland Diocesan and Prerogative Wills and Administrations Indexes 1595-1858,* p. 293. Available from: http://findmypast.co.uk [accessed June 2016].
[75] TCD, Deposition of Robert Shepley, Thomas Mitchell, George Walter, Laurance Mulhann, MS 814, fols 254r-255r [accessed November 2014].

lived in cabins just outside the castle.[76] Dimensions recorded in the Civil Survey of Co. Waterford indicated that the term 'cabin' spoke to the size of the structure. While a thatched house with stone walls was 30 feet long and 25 feet wide, a cabin was 24 feet by 18 feet.[77] The presence of poor English cabins spoke to the economic hardship some new settlers experienced in Ireland. However, other individuals would own and lease the cramped buildings to make an additional profit. In Cork City, the vicars choral of St. Finbarr's Cathedral collected rent from two cabins and demanded reparation when the rebellion destroyed these two sources of income.[78]

A majority of the population may have inhabited cabins and cottages, but what type of accommodation would have housed Ireland's elite inhabitants? Sir John Davies observed the durable homes of the Irish chief: the defensive, stone tower-house.[79] By the seventeenth-century, these important features on the landscape would come to house socially diverse inhabitants with varying religious and ethnic affiliations. Some of the more famous occupants included Sir John Davies and the 'New English' colonist Sir Matthew De Renzy.[80] Estimations of the quantity of tower-houses range between 3,000 and 7,000—the higher estimate originates from the Civil Survey.[81] By the later Middle Ages they became popular in Gaelic areas dominating Munster, Leinster and South Connacht.[82]

In Ireland, the tower-house had a uniquely Irish feature when compared to its Scottish cousin: the hall was on the upmost floor of the building. Because the Irish inhabitants prioritised the hearth's location in the hall, builders shifted the floor of the hall up to avoid a room full of smoke and accommodate more rooms below rather than install a fireplace (Plate 3).[83] Luke Gernon was astonished to find that he had to climb stairs in order to reach the hall

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[76] TCD, The Deposition of Ruth Crisp, MS 812, fols 046r-047v [accessed November 2014].
[77] Robert C. Simington (ed.), *Civil Survey, AD 1654-156, Vol IX County of Wexford* (Dublin, 1953) pp. 239-40.
[78] TCD, Deposition of Thomas Bennett, Edward Johns, Robert Balyl and Richard Bennett, MS 823, fols 109r-109v [accessed October 2014].
[79] Loeber, 'Architectural History', p. 272; Lyttleton, *Jacobean Plantation,* p. 62. For a discussion of tower-houses, see Rory Sherlock, 'The Evolution of the Irish Tower-House as a Domestic Space', in Elizabeth Fitzpatrick and James Kelly (eds), *Domestic Life in Ireland* (Dublin, 2011) pp. 115-40; Sherlock, 'The Spatial Dynamic of the Irish Tower House Hall', in Vicky McAllister and Terrence B. Barry (eds), *The Space and Settlement in Medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 2015) pp. 86-109; Muiris O'Sullivan and Liam Downey, 'Tower-Houses and Associated Farming Systems', *Archaeology Ireland* 23, no. 42 (2009), pp. 34-7; David Sweetman, *The Origin and Development of the Tower House* (Cork, 2000); Vicky McAlister, 'The Death of the Tower House? An Examination of the Decline of the Irish Castle Tradition', in Vicky McAllister and Terrence B. Barry (eds), *The Space and Settlement in Medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 2015) pp. 130-50.
[80] Brian Mac Cuarta, 'A Planter's Interaction with Gaelic Culture: Sir Matthew De Renzy, 1577-1634', *Irish Economic and Social History* 20 (1993), pp. 1-17.
[81] Lyttleton, *Jacobean Plantation*, p. 55.
[82] O'Sullivan and Downey, 'Tower-Houses and Associated Farming Systems', p. 34; Lyttleton, *Jacobean Plantation,* p. 55.
[83] Sherlock, 'The Evolution of the Irish Tower-House', pp. 132-3.

of a tower-house in the 1620s.[84] The lack of a fireplace shocked English observers who perceived it as backward. However, in many ways, the absence of this feature was a cultural choice.[85] As Sarti explained, by moving the fire from the centre to a wall, a fireplace altered the symbolic harmony of the home and the way the household socialised.[86] Sitting across from one another around a central hearth was more conducive to story-telling and discussion. Additionally, a fireplace also had the undesirable effect of heat-loss. It is interesting to note that insurgents in Co. Armagh reputedly employed the distinctively 'English' chimneys to burn Protestant victims' bodies.[87] Such behaviour may indeed point to Irish hostility towards utilising fireplaces.

The tower-house, however, was just one feature of a greater complex which included a bawn, walled courtyard and sometimes an adjacent hall. Richard Stanihurst described this appendage hall as 'reasonably big and spacious places made of white clay and mud.'[88] At this site, Irish lords banqueted rather than slept; they were conscious that the hall was easily destroyed by 'torches to the roofs.' [89] Tower-houses, often described as 'castles' in the depositions, were sites of contention targeted by rebels to reassert native control over the land, or employed by victims to harbour fleeing Protestants. Historically, the structures had been the loci of the indigenous community. The abandonment of these structures during the volatile sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries left a symbolic vacuum in Gaelic life.[90]

Buildings in Irish Society and Culture

Edmund Spencer and Fynes Moryson's descriptions of Irish settlement emphasised impermanence and instability, yet settlement patterns and buildings varied throughout Ireland in the late medieval period. As Horning stated, 'urban centres were present in areas most significantly affected by Anglo-Norman influence as well as in zones where Gaelic hierarchies predominated.'[91] In medieval Ireland, manorial-style settlements existed outside urban sites with associated structures such as a church, mill, granaries, bakery, barns and

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[84] Falkiner, *Illustrations of Irish History*, p. 360-1.
[85] See Lyttleton, *Jacobean Plantation,* p. 67.
[86] Sarti, *Europe at Home*, p. 95.
[87] TCD, Deposition of Nicholas Simpson, MS 834, fols 184r-185v [accessed December 2014].
[88] Lyttleton, *Jacobean Plantation,* p. 80; see Sherlock, 'The Spatial Dynamic of the Irish Tower House Hall', pp. 104-7.
[89] Lyttleton, *Jacobean Plantation,* p. 80.
[90] Sherlock, 'The Spatial Dynamic of the Irish Tower House Hall', p. 86. Teresa Shoosmith discusses this in her paper, 'Stone, Mud and Straw: Landscape, People and Material Culture in East Clare, 1670-1750', Tudor and Stuart Ireland Conference (2011). Podcast available from: https://tudorstuartireland.files.wordpress.com [accessed June 2016].
[91] Horning, *Ireland in the Virginian Sea*, p. 34.

fishponds. Today, traces of defended farmsteads appear outside these manors in the form of house platforms, enclosures and sometimes a tower-house, and can be found in both areas inside and outside Anglo-Norman control.[92] The countryside was not overwhelming wilderness, but instead divided into political boundaries that employed terms varying among the provinces.[93]

During the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries, the Gaelic population may have perceived static settlements as a disadvantage. The very fact that houses were fixed upon the landscape made the structures easy targets. As the depositions illustrated, the permanent symbol of English presence could be made impermanent by burning it down.[94] Spenser complained that pastoralism made the people 'more barbarous and [to] live more licentiously than they could in townes…[for] they think themselves halfe exempted from law and obedience...'[95] By understanding the societal instability during the period, the Irish buildings come to reflect the population's continuous adaptation to daily life. Sarti's broader research on Europe noted that instances of mobility and 'insecure housing' were often a product of poverty and family instability.[96] Harvest crisis, continuous war and the resulting loss of loved-ones produced a state of poverty and insecurity in Ireland. In 1544, the German scholar Sebastian Münster wrote of peasants living in hovels made of mud and wood with straw roofs, who consumed oats, milk and water.[97] The similarities between this account and those of Ireland are striking, and not without their own biases.[98] Such reports demonstrated the push across early modern Europe to abandon prehistoric building methods, however such practices were slow to disappear and prevailed even up to more recent times.[99]

Insecure housing in Ireland may have also been a bi-product of Irish inheritance customs.[100] In the absence of primogeniture, land was redistributed based on merit through a

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[92] Horning, *Ireland in the Virginian Sea*, p. 34. See also Terrence B. Barry, *The Medieval Moated Sites of South-Eastern Ireland: Counties Carlow, Kilkenny, Tipperary, and Wexford*, *British Archaeological Reports, British Ser., no. 35* (Oxford, 1977); Kieran D. O'Conor, *The Archaeology of Medieval Ireland* (London, 1988).
[93] For more details, see Horning, *Ireland in the Virginian Sea,* pp. 34-5. For discussion on townlands and land divisions, see Thomas McErlean, 'The Irish Townland System of Landscape Organisation', in Fred Hammond and Terrence Reeves-Smyth (eds), *Landscape Archaeology in Ireland, British Archaeological Report, British Ser., no. 116* (Oxford, 1983) pp. 315-39.
[94] For discussion of this, see Montaño, *The Roots of English Colonialism in Ireland*, p. 248.
[95] Edmund Spenser, *A View of the State of Ireland: From the First Printed Edition [1633],* edited by Andrew Hadfield and Willy Maley (Oxford, 1997) p. 55.
[96] Sarti, *Europe at Home*, p. 13.
[97] From Sebastian Münster, *Cosmographia Universa* (1544), as cited in Sarti, *Europe at Home*, pp. 87-8.
[98] Sarti, *Europe at Home*, pp. 88-9.
[99] Sarti, *Europe at Home*, pp. 88-9.
[100] See Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland in the Middle Ages*, p. 67.

system of male elective succession rather than immediate familial ties.[101] Even so, inheritance customs often varied between lordships and adapted to the particular familial situation if, for instance, a brother died or left for the clergy.[102] In some cases, land was divided equally between all the sons (even illegitimate) and entirely excluded women.[103] Because this system of land holding encouraged a sense of mobility, buildings were often practical rather than representational. Although evidence showed that members of the Gaelic polity erected substantial tower-houses in parts of the North, West, South and the Pale; lords elsewhere in Ireland continued to reside in the defenceless cruck-buildings up until the seventeenth-century.[104] The crucks suited the period's instability; they could be removed easily and employed in another house, saving both time and money. Sir John Davies's observations acknowledged that Irish laws of inheritance forced the lack of permanent houses: 'for no man would build where his children had no right of inheritance,' under the law of Tanistry.[105] Although a statute under Henry VIII abolished such customs of gavelkind and reparation, inhabitants continued to follow native traditions well into the seventeenth-century.[106]

With the loss of Gaelic power following English settlement, lords could no longer finance building defensive castles. Traditionally, castle construction did not take a toll on a lord's personal finances because such buildings were funded by the lord's tenants, and became 'the charge of the country.'[107] In 1610, Matthew De Renzy projected that the 'meanest castle' could not be built for less than £600 or £700.[108] In seventeenth-century Cos Mayo and Clare, tower-houses were subdivided between families due to the Gaelic custom of partible inheritance, but also for financial reasons.[109] Matthew H. Johnson argued that, 'Willingness to invest in housebuilding' not only indicated a sense of security of tenure, but also 'betray[ed] a commitment not just to a higher valuation of material affluence, but more broadly to the house as a commodity and a greater desire to invest on a long-term basis.'[110]

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[101] For a discussion about the social conditions that influenced Gaelic homes, see Montaño, *The Roots of English Colonialism in Ireland*, pp. 12-16, specifically p. 15.
[102] See Ciaran Brady and Raymond Gillespie (eds), *Natives and Newcomers: Essays on the Making of Irish Colonial Society, 1534-1641* (Dublin, 1986) pp. 126-7.
[103] Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland in the Middle Ages*, p. 68.
[104] For discussion on tower-houses, see Tagdh O'Keefe, 'Concepts of "Castle" and Construction of Identity in Medieval and Post-Medieval Ireland', *Irish Geography* 34, no. 1 (2001), pp. 69-88. See also, Brady and Gillespie, *Natives and Newcomers*, p. 127.
[105] Discussed in Marshal Bagenal, Herbert F. Hore and Lord Burghley, 'Marshal Bagenal's Description of Ulster, Anno 1586', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology,* First Series, Vol. 2 (1854), pp. 137-60, p. 138.
[106] Bagenal, Hore and Burghley, 'Description of Ulster, Anno 1586', p. 138.
[107] Loeber, 'Ulster and Midland Plantations, Part I', p. 91.
[108] Loeber, 'Architectural History', in Patrick J. Duffy, David Edwards and Elizabeth Fitzpatrick (eds), *Gaelic Ireland, c. 1250-1650* (Dublin, 2004) p. 272. See also Lyttleton, *Jacobean Plantation,* p. 62.
[109] Rory Sherlock, 'Cross-Cultural Occurences of Mutations in Tower House Architecture: Evidence for Cultural Homogeneity in Late Medieval Ireland', *The Journal of Irish Archaeology* 15 (2006), pp. 73-91.
[110] Johnson, 'Rethinking Houses, Rethinking Transitions', p. 152.

For the Gaelic population of the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries, this concept of land security failed to exist. Rather than build stone castles, many chose to maintain their residence on crannogs (artificial islands) or develop pre-existing earthen ráths or stone cashel ringforts. These provided defence with less expense.[111] The decline of tower-house building has additionally been attributed to advances in warfare, leading to the 'gradual abandonment of the construction of defended buildings.'[112] Yet, a more persuasive argument from Vicky McAlister prioritised economic reasons: changes in trade routes, exported goods and developing urban centres had a greater effect on the demise of the tower-house and its maritime economic role.[113]

It is important to note that the native aristocracy was not immune to pressures to conform to the social expectations of the English elite. [114] Earlier centuries of relatively traditional social hierarchies allowed for the existence of Gaelic expression of status, which came in a variety of forms including feasting, outdoor assembly and cattle ownership.[115] In the midland plantations of 1619 and 1620, architecture was employed to convey wealth and social standing when older families fell from favour, and new settlers or opportunistic members of the native aristocracy jostled for position to obtain desirable land.[116] For Lyttleton, this was demonstrated in manor houses (also called fortified houses, semi-fortified houses, defensible houses, or castle-houses).[117] English style houses in Offaly (the lordships of Ely O'Carroll and Delvin Eathra) became the residences of the native elite even before official plantation occurred in those areas. In 1620, Matthew De Renzy observed that there was already an 'Englisch-like house seated with a fine parke neare it' owned by Hugh O'Dalaghan (Castle of Lisclooney) in the lordship of Delvin Eathra.[118]

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[111] Horning, *Ireland in the Virginian Sea*, pp. 28-9.
[112] Cited by Vicky McAlister, 'The Death of the Tower House?', p. 135. W. A. McCormish proposed an argument in favour of this in, 'The Survival of the Irish Castle in an Age of Cannon', *Irish Sword* 9 (1969-70), pp. 16-21.
[113] See McAlister, 'The Death of the Tower House?', pp. 130-50.
[114] For discussion of architecture's ability to enhance image across social levels in England, see Paul M. Hunneyball, *Architecture and Image-Building in Seventeenth-Century Hertfordshire* (Oxford, 2004).
[115] O'Conor, 'Housing in Later Medieval Gaelic Ireland', p. 207.
[116] James Lyttleton, 'Acculturation in the Seventeenth-Century Irish Midland Plantations', in Nick Brannon and Audrey J. Horning (eds), *Ireland and Britain in the Atlantic World* (Wordwell, 2009) pp. 31-52.
[117] Lyttleton, 'Acculturation in the Seventeenth-Century Irish Midland Plantations', p. 34.
[118] Lyttleton, 'Acculturation in the Seventeenth-Century Irish Midland Plantations', p. 36; Brian Mac Cuarta, 'Mathew de Renzy's Letters on Irish Affairs, 1613-1620', *Analecta Hibernica* 34 (1987), pp. 170, 173.

The Problem of 'Irish' Vernacular

Historians have alluded to the fact that the official documents, such as the land surveys, may have employed terms with political rather than descriptive aims. During the Tudor period, surveyors and officials omitted information that undermined their case for reform, and this continued well into the seventeenth-century.[119] In the same breath that Gerard Boate denounced the Irish home, he acknowledged the pre-seventeenth-century presence of stone walls, houses and churches in many maritime towns throughout Ireland. Yet, he explained his own contradiction by stating that these elements of civility were 'built by strangers' from 'the Northern parts of Germany, and other neighbouring Countries.'[120] Philip Robinson concluded that the surveys' selective use of the term 'English' meant that the surveyors believed settlers' houses were 'of a higher standard than those used by the native Irish.'[121]

In 1620, Luke Gernon described houses in Waterford as 'English in forme, and well compact.'[122] His observation implied that English homes were built from permanent materials, yet—because Irish homes could also be built in this fashion—Gernon did not present a matrix in which to identify the English form.[123] As M. Webb stated, '…the excellent masonry displayed in the round-towers and the early Christian churches, which no one pretends to claim as Norman (or English) erections…where great durability and strength were the main objects, from time immemorial they used stone.'[124] Luke Gernon's earlier account pricked holes in Boat's assessment when he reported the presence of stone buildings in Cork constructed 'in the Irish forme…' that were built 'castlewise' with narrow windows 'more for strength than beauty.'[125] Gaelic accounts praised this form of Irish accommodation for its resilience. Aonghus Ruadh O Dalaigh's poem to Cloonfree Castle likened the tower-house's narrow windows to flashing jewels of light that sheltered its inhabitants from the harsh winds.[126]

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[119] Montaño, *The Roots of English Colonialism in Ireland*, pp. 7-8. See also Andrew Murphy, 'Reviewing the Paradigm: A New Look at Early-Modern Ireland', *Eire-Ireland* 31, no. 3/4 (1996), pp. 13-40.
[120] Boate, *Irelands Naturall History*, p. 149. See also, Elizabeth Baigent, 'Boate, Gerard (1604–1650)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Available from: http://www.oxforddnb.com [accessed May 2016].
[121] Robinson, *The Plantation of Ulster*, p. 136.
[122] Falkiner, *Illustrations of Irish in History*, p. 352.
[123] For use of compact and meaning, see, 'compact. adj.1', *OED Online.* Available from: http://www.oed.com [accessed August 2015].
[124] M. Webb, 'The Clan of the MacQuillins of Antrim', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 8 (1860), p. 266. See also Montaño, *The Roots of English Colonialism*, pp. 8-9.
[125] Faulkiner, *Illustrations of Irish in History*, p. 352.
[126] See fourteenth-century poem by Aonghus Ruadh O Dalaigh, *An tu a-ris a Raith Teamhrach?* and English translation 'O'Conor's House at Cloonfree', in Edmund C. Quiggin (ed.), *Essays and Studies Presented to*

Sir John Davies acknowledged the presence of tower-houses, but concluded that they were built singularly by chieftains: 'never any [other] particular person…did build any stone or brick house for his private habitation.'[127]Archaeological evidence of non-elite rural populations challenges Davis's assessment by questioning the absence of permanent settlement. Sites in Co. Antrim show the presence of sub-rectangular sod and stone-built houses that incorporated stone-built chimneys of post-medieval date. On Achill Island, Co. Mayo, traces of small, circular stone dwellings and multi-roomed earthen and stone structures have been unearthed to propose a more nuanced image of Gaelic life.[128] As Horning warned, this evidence is ambiguous and fragmentary, and more investigation is required in order to establish distinct regional differences and seasonal inhabitation. [129]

Although English criticism sought to set Ireland apart, the Gaelic huts fit seamlessly into the wider narrative of European country living. Examples of mobile herdsmen's homes can be found in the far north where the Samí built conical tents covered in reindeer skin and wool to tend to their reindeer. In France, mountain huts or 'burons' were used by the locals as they moved with their livestock, primarily as a means to manure their meadows.[130] Ironically, transhumance was practiced throughout England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland beginning in the tenth-century, and England was still transitioning into an organised system of enclosure during the reign of King James I.[131] The Scottish settlement in Goodland, Antrim supports findings located elsewhere in England and Wales that these small booley shelters were not unique to Ireland.[132] As Sarti argued, this idea of a constantly 'on the move' population is 'contrary to what has been believed', yet it is an unshakeable feature of European history.[133]

Parallels between the two islands may have been a direct import of England, Wales, and Scotland's people. Reverend Andrew Stewart, a son of a settler and later Presbyterian minister at Donaghadee, described the bleak origins of Ulster's population:

William Ridgeway (Cambridge, 1913) pp. 336-52. See also L. McKenna (ed.), 'Poem to Cloonfree Castle', *The Irish Monthly* 51, no. 606 (1923), pp. 639-45.

[127] Loeber, 'Architectural History', pp. 272; Lyttleton, *Jacobean Plantation,* p. 62.

[128] Horning, *Ireland in the Virginian Sea,* pp. 40-2;

[129] Horning, *Ireland in the Virginian Sea*, p. 41.

[130] Sarti, *Europe at Home*, p. 11.

[131] Horning, 'Archaeology Explorations of Cultural Identity', pp. 199-215, 201; Horning, *Ireland in the Virginian Sea*, p. 32. For a comparative study of transhumance in North Wales, Cumbria, Antrim Plateau and Mourne Mountains, see Stuart Rathbone, 'Booley Houses, Hafods and Sheilings: A Comparative Study of Transhumant Settlements from around the Northern Basin of the Irish Sea', in Nick Brannon and Audrey J. (eds), *Ireland and Britain in the Atlantic World* (Dublin, 2009) pp. 111-130, specifically pp. 116-8.

[132] See Nick Brannon and Audrey J. Horning, 'Rediscovering Goodland: Neolithic Ritual Site, Seasonal Booley Settlement or Lost Scottish Village?', *Archaeology Ireland* 18, no. 3 (2004), pp. 28-31.

[133] Sarti, *Europe at Home*, p. 12. See also her account of Eastern European serfs, p. 245.

> From Scotland they came and from England not a few; yet all of them generally the scum of both nations, who for debt, or breaking and fleeing from justice, or seeking shelter, came; hoping to be without fear of man's justice in a land where there was nothing, but little, as yet, of the fear of God.[134]

Stewart's contemporary awareness presented an Ulster that had absorbed the maladies of the Scottish and English populations. In the deposition of John Keary, Thomas Hayman found reason for the Irish rebellion in the fact that the 'Catholiques… never attained to any height of dignity or office worth speaking of in this kingdome when as every peddler and other (as he termed them) that came out of England were immediately masters and raised to beare a greate sway in this kingdome and curbed the natives…' [135] The plantation in the Movanagher village on the Mercers' Company land showed signs of such disenfranchised Englishmen who were considered 'such poor men as they could find in the country' (Plate 4).[136] The utilitarian ceramics found in English settlements told the story of planters 'thrust into a populated Gaelic world where their survival depended upon accommodation and adaptation.'[137] As the depositions demonstrated, poor English cabins were not reserved to the new influx of Ulster settlers—they could also be found in Cos Offaly and Carlow.[138]

Nicholas Canny's investigation concerning the migration of settlers into Ireland during the plantation era employed the 1641 Depositions and seventeenth-century estate records to explain differences in local Irish economies.[139] Native landowners, desperate to fill their land with tenants during a time of war-related population decline, granted mortgages to Dutch, English and Scottish settlers following the Nine Years War. From both Canny and MacCarthy-Morrogh's research, the Munster Plantation had attracted highly skilled individuals originating from the Severn basin, London, Amsterdam and the West Country.[140] In Ulster, the population was comprised of disbanded soldiers; and individuals from North Wales, Northwest England and Southwest Scotland. Leinster's population was similar to Ulster, but it lacked the Scottish presence and featured individuals primarily from North

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[134] Hill, *An Historical Account,* p. 447.
[135] TCD, Deposition of John Keary, MS 812, fols 237r-238v [accessed June 2014].
[136] From Pynnar's survey reprinted in Hill, *An Historical Account*, p. 581; Horning, *Ireland in the Virginian Sea*, p. 225.
[137] Horning, *Ireland in the Virginian Sea*, p. 234. See also Horning, 'Ireland and North America in the Seventeenth Century', in Audrey J. Horning, Ruairi O Baoill, Colm Donnelly and Paul Logue (eds), *The Post-Medieval Archaeology of Ireland, c. 1550-1850*, (Dublin, 2007) p. 63.
[138] TCD, Deposition of Robert Shepley, et al, MS 814, fols 254r-255r; Deposition of Ruth Crisp, MS 812, fols 046-047v [accessed October 2014].
[139] Nicholas P. Canny, 'Migration and Opportunity: Britain, Ireland and the New World', *Irish Economic and Social History* 12 (1985), pp. 7-32. See also Raymond Gillespie, 'Migration and Opportunity: A Comment', *Irish Economic and Social History* 13 (1986), pp. 90-5; and M. Perceval-Maxwell, 'Migration and Opportunity: A Further Comment', *Irish Economic and Social History* 14 (1987), pp. 59-61.
[140] See Michael, MacCarthy-Morrogh, *The Munster Plantation: English Migration to Southern Ireland, 1583-1641* (Oxford, 1986).

Wales and Northwest England.[141] The Essex estate record of the barony of Farney in Co. Monaghan depicted a scene minimally altered by British presence. Raven's map of the land illustrated narrow roads, dense woodlands and thatch cabins scattering a landscape that only featured a few mills and the occasional slated home.[142] For Canny, this indicated the type of migrants in Ulster who often lacked the financial resources and skills to establish a civilised English presence. However, Gillespie pointed out that on the Essex estate, Davies was not bound to the *Orders and Conditions of the Plantation* and therefore not required to carry out building projects. [143] Yet, perhaps this revealed the disinterest of many settlers to improve land without external pressure. The unequal distribution of carpenters, joiners, blacksmiths and masons in the depositions (as will be later addressed) attested to a disparity. Skilled building craftsmen dominated the Munster depositions. However, as Gillespie and Perceval-Maxwell argued, the depositions were not a random sample and those that survived or had a better chance of reaching Dublin, were more likely to depose.[144] Because of this, findings from the depositions should be handled tentatively.

Evidence of migration can be used to explain the appearance of vernacular buildings in Ireland during the seventeenth-century. In Yorkshire and Lancashire, single-roomed homes and earthen floors were an accepted building form, determined by the dweller's occupation or 'agricultural enterprise' rather than his or her wealth.[145] Historian John E. Crowley stated that 'Even when houses there had wainscoting, glazing, and wooden parlour floors, they often had a fireplace only in the hall.'[146] Although it is a fragile connection, there are several mentions of settlers of Yorkshire and Lancashire origin primarily in the Ulster and Connacht depositions. This may account for the favoured vernacular form in these areas. In the case of Ulster, this may explain surveyors' descriptions of the northern plantations. An older Yorkshire woman Anne Jackson was horrifically buried alive in sand in Co. Antrim.[147] In Co. Sligo, the vicar John Shrawley reported that the minister Thomas Walker had been born in Yorkshire.[148] Henry Boyne fled Co. Tyrone with his brother and his children's schoolmaster to 'Yorkshire to theire friends.'[149] Settlers originating in Lancaster, emerged in the deposition

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[141] Canny, 'Migration and Opportunity', pp. 9-29.
[142] See P. J. Duffy, 'Farney in 1634: An Examination of Thomas Raven's Survey of the Essex Estate', *Clogher Records* XI (1983), pp. 245-56; Canny, 'Migration and Opportunity', p. 23.
[143] Gillespie, 'Migration and Opportunity: A Comment', pp. 92-3.
[144] Gillespie, 'Migration and Opportunity: A Comment', pp. 90-5; Perceval-Maxwell, 'Migration and Opportunity: A Further Comment', pp. 59-61.
[145] John E. Crowley, *The Invention of Comfort: Sensibilities and Design in Early Modern Britian and Early America* (Baltimore, 2001) pp. 78-83.
[146] Crowley, *The Invention of Comfort*, p. 82.
[147] TCD, Examination of John Morris, MS 838, fols 296r-296v [accessed November 2014].
[148] TCD, Deposition of John Shrawley, MS 831, fols 075r-076v [accessed November 2014].
[149] TCD, Deposition of Henry Boyne, MS 839, fols 010r-011v [accessed November 2014].

of James Hoole—a merchant from Lancaster residing in Dublin City who had been robbed of the timber he purchased in Co. Londonderry to build a barque.[150] William Lyddan of Lancashire owed money to William Annion, a yeoman in Co. Wexford.[151] Cheshire and Lancashire men were also common in the northern plantations. During his travels in Ulster of 1635, William Brereton stated that 'many Lancashire and Cheshire men are here planted' and described how their new living situation was 'a paradise in comparison of any part of Scotland.'[152]

It becomes apparent that the 1611, 1613, 1619 and 1622 surveyors' rhetoric ignored these qualities of migration when it failed to acknowledge Scottish vernacular in Ulster. Robinson conceded that it is difficult to know if the British settlers living in 'Irish' houses (as described by the seventeenth-century surveys) were in fact living in Scottish vernacular buildings.[153] In contrast, a 1664 survey of Fermanagh distinguished Irish and Scottish homes as 'coupled houses', 'handsome Scotch house,' 'Irish creaghts', 'Scotch buildings,' and 'Irish houses.'[154] Evidence from the 1641 Depositions revealed the presence of Scottish residents with 'good skill in Architecture' whom the rebels spared for this very reason. [155]

Archaeologists have similarly traced homeowners' origins in order to explain architectural designs in Ireland, although these are typically based upon singular examples.[156] Rolf Loeber argued that it is 'inadequate… to attribute architectural styles solely to the settlers' geographic origins.' This was particularly true when Loeber considered the blended architecture in Ulster, which implemented Scottish, English and Irish features.[157] The 'strong houses and bawns' built by the London Companies in Co. Londonderry employed an element of the Scottish tradition of defended residences. Settlers were also unafraid to use native Irish elements in their tower-houses such as Castle Ward that featured a ground floor vault on a wicker mat.[158]

John Patrick Montaño proposed that classical ideas of cultivation provided a means for English reformers to find a 'distinction between their own agricultural civility and the pastoral

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[150] TCD, Deposition of James Hoole, MS 810, fols 316r-316v [accessed November 2014].
[151] TCD, Deposition of William Annion, MS 818, fols 097r-097v [accessed November 2014].
[152] William Brereton, *Travels of Sir William Brereton in Ireland* (1635) p. 370. Available at CELT from: http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/E630001/ [accessed October 2014].
[153] Robinson, *The Plantation of Ulster*, p. 137.
[154] 'Survey of the Countess of Huntingdon's Lands, c. 1664', Huntington Library, Hastings Papers, Box 76. See also Canny, 'Migration and Opportunity', pp. 23-4 and Robinson, *Plantation of Ulster*, pp. 73-4, 151-2.
[155] TCD, Deposition of John Shrawley, MS 831, fols 075r-076v [accessed November 2014].
[156] See E. M. Jope, 'Castleraw, Near Loughall, Co. Antrim', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, *Third Series* 16 (1953), pp. 63-7. For Pynar's survey, see Hill, *The Plantation in Ulster*, p. 555.
[157] Loeber, 'Ulster and Midland Plantations II', p. 127.
[158] Jope, 'Castleraw', pp. 64-5; O'Sullivan and Downey, 'Tower-Houses and Associated Farming Systems', p. 35; McAlister, 'The Death of the Towerhouse?', pp. 131-3.

savagery of the Irish' and use this as 'an avenue leading to cultural reformation of Ireland.'[159] Irish vernacular buildings presented another opportunity to invent difference. As Audrey Horning pointed out, the rhetoric of a 'barbarous' Irish home degraded the Irish in an attempt to promote further commoditisation of the landscape.[160] The Irish cabins became a symbol of the dated, pastoral Irish life; the absence of chimneys became a frustrating symptom of its preserving culture; and the preference for impermanent materials became a hindrance to English legislation by dissuading permanent settlement. Yet, as Richard Hoyle stated, 'improvement was an attempt to accelerate economic and social changes which it had taken centuries to bring about in England but which improvers hoped could be achieved in a generation.'[161] After the failed Tudor reforms in Ireland, the reformers sharpened their unrealistic efforts to incorporate Ireland into the English state of civility, this time with a more ambitious plan of plantation.

A 'Civilised' Manner: The Image of an English Home

In 1618, the plantation of Longford and Ely O'Carroll's country presented English officials' master plan of English control through architecture:

> … that every undertaker and native of 1,000 ac. Shall be bound within three years to build a castle 30 ft in length, 20 in breadth, and 25 in height, to be built of stone or brick with lime, and compassed in with a bawn of 300 foot in compass of stone or brick with lime; and every undertaker of 600 and so to 1,000 ac. To be bound to build a strong house of stone or brick with lime within a bawn of 200 feet in compass; and every undertaker of a quantity under 600 ac. to build a good house of stone or brick with lime. The natives of these two last named proportions to be left to themselves.[162]

Although requirements differed according to the undertakers' land proportion, official orders universally preferred a strong bawn or court and a stone or brick house.[163] Instructions for the undertakers in Ulster projected similar ideals, but they were set for larger proportions which would prove problematic for less enthusiastic planters.[164] Rolf Loeber's assessment of the plantations clearly presented the differences between the plantation schemes of Ulster and the Midlands, with a more detailed comparison of Co. Wexford, Co. Longford and Ely O'Carroll

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[159] Montaño, *The Roots of English Colonialism in Ireland*, p. 4.
[160] See Horning, 'Dwelling Houses in the Old Irish Barbarous Manner', pp. 375-96.
[161] Richard W. Hoyle, *Custom, Improvement and the Landscape in Early Modern Britain* (Farnham, 2011) pp. 30-1.
[162] J.S. Brewer and William Bullen (eds), *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts* (London, 1873) p. 369.
[163] Edmund Curtis and R. B McDowell (eds), *Irish Historical Documents 1172-1922* (London, 1968) p. 129.
[164] For more on this and urban town construction, see Annaleigh Margey, '1641 and the Ulster Plantation Towns', in Eamon Darcy, Annaleigh Murphy and Elaine Margery (eds), *The 1641 Depositions and the Irish Rebellion* (London, 2012) pp. 79-96, 217-21.

(Co. Offaly).[165] In general, these seventeenth-century specifications demonstrated a desire to erect new structures using durable materials rather than reuse Gaelic sites or implement native building techniques.[166]

By 1618, surveyor Captain Nicholas Pynnar hoped to find that undertakers with 1,500 acres in the Cos Tyrone, Donegal, Armagh, Cavan, Fermanagh and Londonderry had built bawns and houses of stone or brick.[167] The seventeenth-century surveys described several earnest planters who fulfilled these regulations. John Fish built two villages each with ten houses built of lime and stone.[168] Sir George Manneringe's 2,000 acres in Cavan had a 44 foot long bawne of lime and stone, and a brick house built with 'good work and strong.'[169] Much to the surveyor Sir George Carew's satisfaction, by 1611 Robert Calvert had built a house after the 'English manner and took on English tenants.'[170] An undated document, likely from the seventeenth-century, listed the 'faire stone' houses already built and intended to be built in Armagh 'accordinge to the plantation.' The average price of each of these ten stone homes was about £100, and one landowner was ordered to 'reduce and frame' a stone home 'according to the English form' in the next seven years.[171] Improvements made upon older structures can also be found in the 1641 Depositions when Abraham James, an English Protestant grocer from Co. Fermanagh, described the loss of a house he newly bought and rebuilt.[172]

Stone and brick houses are found throughout the 1641 Depositions both within and outside designated areas of plantation. Richard Gibson reported his noble attempt to civilise the landscape of Carlow by repairing a decaying castle with an attached, newly constructed stone house. He planted a large garden and orchard, and he was well on his way ditching, hedging, fencing and improving several properties on the same land.[173] In Co. Longford, Dame Jane Forbes reported the she and her husband had built 'the howse of Castleforbes with the bawne and other howses gardens and orchards thereunto belonging and buildings in that

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[165] See Loeber, 'Ulster and Midland Plantations, Part 1', Table 1, pp. 93-4.
[166] Loeber, 'Ulster and Midland Plantations, Part 1', p. 86.
[167] Hill, *An Historical Account*, pp. 449-50.
[168] Hill, *An Historical Account*, p. 463.
[169] Hill, *An Historical Account*, p. 466.
[170] J. S. Brewer and William Bullen (eds), *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts* (London, 1867-1873) p. 222. For futher discussion of Carew's survey see R. J. Hunter, *The Ulster Plantation in the Counties of Armagh and Cavan, 1608-1641* (Belfast, 2012) pp. 67-74.
[171] 'Armagh, list of houses already built and to be built', Huntington Library, HAM, box 75, folder 8.
[172] TCD, Deposition of Ellenor James, MS 835, fols 122r-123v [accessed November 2014].
[173] TCD, Deposition of Richard Gibson, MS 812, fols 014r-015v [accessed October 2014]. A 'Richard Gibson' appears in the index of wills from Williamstown, Co. Carlow in 1654, and 'Richard Gibson, Esquire' appears in Dublin in 1661: see Deputy Keeper of Ireland, *Index to the Act of Grant Books, and the Original Wills of the Diocese of Dublin, 1272-1858, 26th, 30th and 31st Report* (1894, 1899) p. 341. Available from: http://search.findmypast.com [accessed June 2015].

plantacion amounting to one thowsand Powndes.'[174] Even more astonishingly, Sir Hardress Waller of Limerick claimed the loss of over eight stone houses constructed on his properties in Ireland.[175] Waller's efforts to bring elements of civilised culture to Ireland is also evident in his responsibility to hold a market every Thursday in the town of 'Grennanonaght' in Co. Tipperary as well as two fairs.[176]

In Ireland, efforts to extend control would be carried out in building efforts exemplified by these settlers: constructing fences, walls, houses and entire villages. In keeping with the concept of a humanised landscape, the English wanted to shape Ireland into a space that accommodated the standards of their time and conditions of their individual lives.[177] What then were the architectural traditions in England that would dictate the physical appearance of homes and cities in Ireland?

Polite yet Defensive

It is tempting to argue that the architecture of 'English homes' would have provided planters with greater comfort than a home constructed in the Gaelic fashion. The one-roomed huts scattered about the Irish landscape completely ignored transformations occurring in English hospitality, social relationships and the function of the home.[178] In the midland plantations, tenants were told to build their homes in clusters with a chimney and a garden and orchard.[179] Wealthy Englishmen and women may have felt more at ease in a foreign land looking out of protected glazed windows, with smoke wafting out of the chimney. To apply this modern conception of 'comfort' as an individual's physical connection to a domestic space, early moderns employed words such as 'ease', 'convenient', and 'refreshment.'[180] The homes of Movanagher had multiple rooms to make the buildings 'fitt' and 'convenyient' for habitation.[181] 'Discomfort' held a more spiritual association and linked the enclosed

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[174] TCD, Deposition of Dame Jane Forbes, MS 817, fols 187r-188v [accessed October 2014]. For additional examples of stone houses, see TCD, Depositions of William Miles, MS 811, fols 022r-022v; Deposition of John Kairnes, MS 839, fols 033r-034v; Deposition of William Gellesson, MS 811, fols 054r-054v [accessed June 2014].
[175] TCD, Deposition of Sir Hardress Waller, MS 829, fols 284r-290v [accessed June 2014].
[176] See Morrin, *Patent Rolls of Ireland…Charles I*, p. 601.
[177] Patrick Duffy, 'Perspectives on the Cavan Landscape', in Raymond Gillespie (ed.), *Cavan: Essays on the History of an Irish County* (Dublin, 1995) pp. 11-5. See also Montaño, *The Roots of English Colonialism*, pp. 215-6.
[178] For discussion about using buildings to investigate social changes, see Anne Laurence, 'Using Buildings to Understand Social History', in Karen Harvey (ed.), *History and Material Culture* (London, 2009) p. 104.
[179] Lyttleton, *Jacobean Plantation*, p. 39.
[180] Crowley, *The Invention of Comfort*, p. 69.
[181] Horning, *Ireland in the Virginian Sea*, p. 233.

environment with toxic dirtiness and filth.[182] For many Protestants, bodily cleanliness was connected to moral purity and godliness. An extension of this notion had Calvinists like Joseph Hill drawing links between dirtiness and idleness, and the Irish were already a point of ridicule because of their 'unclean' long hair.[183]

Distaste for all manner of vernacular buildings (including mud walls and thatched roofs) began with the introduction of 'polite architecture.' In the Tudor period, Erasmus had written to Cardinal Wolsey's physician with concern that a floor made of spread clay and rush from marshes was contributing to the 'sweating-sickness' in England. The earthen floor collected all sorts of foul matter, including vomit, dog and human urine and spilt beer.[184] Particular building materials were to be thus associated with filth that contributed to degeneration of a society. Bodily purity and the need for pure air (devoid of harmful odours) presumably influenced English classification of unfit living conditions in Ireland. The Irish cabin's open plan and smoke-filled interior clearly contradicted the ideals of 'convenient' architecture.

Architectural as well as religious changes in England suggest why officials found the Irish cabins so appalling and pushed for the stone structures built by civilised Englishmen. The rebellion of 1641 occurred at the end of what has been described as the 'Great Rebuilding' (1570 to 1640) of England.[185] Although the analysis of this period of rebuilding has been contentious ever since Hoskins' introduction of the topic (particularly by region), acceptance of an initial period of architectural change before the War of the Three Kingdoms has endured.[186] In regard to the Hoskins' thesis, Chris Dalglish argued:

> While there is significant debate on the nature of this process and on its duration… there is an established tradition in England, as in other parts of Europe, and in former European colonies of placing the archaeology of modern society in a longer time frame and of emphasizing a less abrupt, but still fundamental, break with medieval society.[187]

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[182] Crowley, *The Invention of Comfort*, pp. 3-4.
[183] Keith Thomas, 'Cleanliness and Godliness in Early Modern England', in Anthony Fletcher and Peter Roberts (eds), *Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Honour of Patrick Collinson* (1994), pp. 63, 79-80. See also Thomas Hall, *The Loathsomeness of Long Haire* (London, 1654).
[184] Crowley, *The Invention of Comfort*, p. 49. For the plague's effect on the desire for brick and stone, see Sarti, *Europe at Home*, p. 97.
[185] W.G. Hoskins, 'The Great Rebuilding of Rural England, 1570-1640', *Past & Present*, no. 4 (1953), pp. 44-59.
[186] R. Machin, 'The Great Rebuilding: A Reassessment', *Past and Present* 77 (1977), pp. 33-56; Colin Platt, *The Great Rebuildings of Tudor and Stuart England: Revolutions in Architectural Taste* (London, 1994).
[187] Chris Dalglish, 'An Age of Transition? Castles and the Scottish Highland Estate in the 16th and 17th Centuries', *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 39, no. 2 (2005), p. 244.

During these seventy years, most structures (apart from those owned by the poorest) were rehoused with more permanent materials, and there was an increase in household furnishings and equipment.[188] The Great Rebuilding led to greater privacy, room separation, and an increased number of glazed windows and fireplaces.[189] Changes with home layout corresponded with the use of stone, slate, brick and timber rather than wattle and dab because the more substantial materials allowed builders to construct chambers on the second storey.[190] For the first time, ceilings were built over the halls to accommodate upper level rooms, which made a chimney necessary to redirect the smoke out of the hall. Sarti proposed that room specialisation occurred earlier in London when compared to other areas of Britain and Europe.[191] The desire for second storeys is one reason why older constructions, such as the cruck buildings once widely used in England (and still employed in Ireland during the seventeenth-century) became obsolete.[192]

In keeping with these architectural changes in England, plantation homes in Movanagher were required to be built of timber, stone, or brick, 'containing six or four roomes at the very least fitt for and convenyient for habtacion.'[193] Further instances of room divisions appeared obliquely in the depositions. Sir William Hull reported that at Clonakilty the 'Rebells ruined his £80 home' when they 'carryed away the bords of the flores, of the house: doers, partitions, and spoyled the orchards & gardens.'[194] In Co. Kildare, a servant's deposition described the layout of his master Sir Nicholas White's home: it had an entryway separating the hall and the kitchen, and stairs leading to the upper rooms.[195] Rooms became important for privacy and allowed the elite to exercise control over their place at the top of society by allowing certain individuals exclusive access to particular rooms. Historians argue

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[188] Alec Clifton-Taylor, *The Pattern of English Building* (London, 1987) p. 281.
[189] Crowley, *The Invention of Comfort*, p. 50.
[190] Crowley, *The Invention of Comfort*, p. 11.
[191] Sarti, *Europe at Home*, pp. 138-9.
[192] Nathaniel W. Alcock, *Cruck Construction: An Introduction and Catalogue*, *CBA Research Report No 42* (London, 1981).
[193] See folio C6V of Mercers Proportion viewable online from London Metropolitan Archives, *The Great Parchment Book of the Honourable Irish Society*. Available from: http://www.greatparchmentbook.org/folio/mercers-proportion-c6v [accessed November 2016]. It is also discussed in Horning, *Ireland in the Virginian Sea*, p. 233.
[194] TCD, Deposition of Sir William Hull, MS 824, fols 253r-259v [accessed October 2014]. For Hull, see also Morrin, *Patent Rolls…Charles I*, p. 608. An 'Esther Hull' is recorded in the index of wills from Clonkilty in 1639 and a 'William Hull' is recorded in 1665 from Lymern in diocese of Cork and Ross: see *Ireland Diocesan and Prerogative Wills and Administrations Indexes 1595-1858*, pp. 222-3. Available from: http://findmypast.co.uk [accessed June 2016].
[195] TCD, Examination of Peter Moore, MS 813, fols 003r-004r; and for another example of room separation, see Deposition of Anthonie Atkinson, MS 834, fols 147r-150v [accessed November 2014]. For more on Nicholas White, see Morrin, *Calendar of Patent Rolls …Charles I*, p. 568; and the probate for 'Sir Nicholas White, Knight, Leixlip', in Deputy Keeper of Ireland, *Index to the Act of Grant Books, and the Original Wills for the 26th, 30th, 31st Reports* (1894, 1899) p. 906.

that the hall, as a communal and public space, became old-fashioned. [196] Such changes, indicative of a wider division between private and public space across early modern Europe, profoundly altered how rooms operated in the relationships between individuals.[197] However, this was not the case in every home in the seventeenth-century. In a longer account of Edmund Perry's losses found in the National Library of Ireland, the tenant of the earl of Kildare in Croom, Co. Limerick reported that he kept a drawing table, livery cupboard, a long table and seating in his hall with an equipped fireplace.[198]

The decline of the hall's usage projected the idea of 'closure' and a sense of physical separation that would feed into the technologies of class relations.[199] Because of this, it is important to take a moment and address the differences between the homes of varying social levels. Although visitors' reports focused upon the *creaghts*, Irish homes of the elite followed the trends of Continental Europe and England.[200] Jane Fenlon described the change in room usage of high status homes in Ireland that was more akin to Renaissance ideas than English descriptions would suggest. Examples of this can be seen in the homes of the Ormond family where new additions were added to older homes to incorporate room separation and various building styles (Carrick House, Ormond Castle). [201] Many of the great houses of Ireland, including Ormond Castle (Carrick on Suir), Maynooth Castle (Co. Kildare), Bunratty Castle (Co. Clare), Portumna House (Co. Galway), and Jigginstown House (Co. Kildare) had inhabitants who were familiar with European tastes and English court life. Many of these were deemed 'castellated' houses or 'semi-fortified' homes by archaeologists who proposed that they were 'the first expression in Ireland of the Renaissance-influenced building styles current in England in the late sixteenth-century.'[202]

As Jane Ohlmeyer's extensive research on the Irish peerage of the seventeenth-century showed, the Irish titled nobility engaged with these British architectural ideals by improving their holdings through fencing, building, and planting gardens and orchards. Her study found that such actions were motivated by self-interest: following the English code of civility would

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[196] Michael Thompson, *The Medieval Hall: The Basis of Secular Domestic Life, 600-1600 AD* (Aldershot, 1995) pp. 180-6, 197; Fenlon, 'Moving Towards the Formal House: Room Usage in Early Modern Ireland', p. 144.
[197] Sarti, *Europe at Home*, p. 139.
[198] 'Attested statement of Edmond Perry of Croom Co. Limerick of his losses in the rebellion, 1643', NLI, MS 41,677/8.
[199] Johnson, 'Rethinking Houses, Rethinking Transitions', p. 152.
[200] Fenlon, 'Moving Towards the Formal House', pp. 142-68.
[201] Fenlon, 'Moving Towards the Formal House', pp. 145-6.
[202] Sinéad Quirke, 'Heritage Guide No. 52: Plantation-Era Castellated Houses', *Archaeology Ireland* (2011), pp. 1-6; D. Waterman, 'Some Irish Seventeenth-Century Houses and their Architectural Ancestry', in E. M. Jope (ed.), *Studies in Building History* (London, 1961) pp. 251-74.

better ensure their wealth by generating cash through agricultural and commercial ventures.[203] The 1641 Depositions reported the losses of these improvements as the violence continued.[204] The homes of Old English families and Gaelic families acquainted with life abroad (such as the O'Briens, earls of Thormond) were model examples of Irish civility that foreign observers could measure against the remaining population. Donnough O'Brien, the fourth earl of Thormond, was praised by a senior government official: 'in ordering of his house or governing of his country, his course has always been English, striving to bring in English customs and to beat down all barbarous Irish usages, that he might in time make his country civil, and bring the inhabitants in love with English laws and government.'[205] The depositions showed that the earl of Thormond had employed a Protestant Abraham Baker to carry out carpentry work before the craftsman was murdered.[206] James Butler employed an English carpenter to work at his fortified home at Tinnahinch in Co. Carlow. Because of the carpenter's skills, Butler hoped to save the craftsmen, but he failed to convey a letter demanding the Englishman's release before he was murdered by the rebels.[207]

The social and cultural changes affecting the desire for room separation in England also influenced the Irish tower-houses' internal arrangements.[208] The stacked, multi-storeyed buildings began to develop simpler layouts for room privatisation, and the importance of the hall greatly diminished.[209] The inventory from Bunratty in Co. Clare revealed a mere £2 worth of furnishings in the Great Hall, but over £52 in furnishings for the new dinning room.[210] While the tower-house's original medieval character fostered a sense of community, the trend towards space privatisation established a sense of hierarchy. Furnishings additionally communicated this spatial division with rich ceiling decorations, elaborate

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[203] Ohlmeyer, *Making Ireland English,* pp. 362-88.
[204] For a summary, see Ohlmeyer, *Making Ireland English,* pp. 364-65. For examples, see TCD, Deposition of Henry Lord Blany, MS 834, fols 074v-75v; Deposition of Henry Parry and Luke Dottin ex parte Adam Lord Viscount Loftus, MS 809, fols 313-314v; Deposition of Mary Viscountess Nettervile, MS 813, fols 398r [accessed October 2014].
[205] Cited in Jane H. Ohlmeyer, 'A Laboratory for the Empire? Early Modern Ireland and English Imperialism', in Kevin Kenny (ed.), *Ireland and the British Empire* (Oxford, 2004) p. 34; Ohlmeyer, *Making Ireland English,* p. 374.
[206] TCD, Deposition of John Cookesson, MS 829, fols 001r-001v [accessed October 2014].
[207] TCD, Examination of Donogh O Bane Hortnan, MS 812, fols 261r-262v; Examination of Ann Grace, MS 812, fols 281r-281v [accessed October 2014].
[208] For discussion of tower-houses, see Sherlock, 'The Evolution of the Irish Tower-House', pp. 115-40; O'Sullivan and Downey, 'Tower-Houses and Associated Farming Systems', pp. 34-7; Sweetman, *The Origin and Development of the Tower House*.
[209] Sherlock, 'The Evolution of the Irish Tower-House', p. 135.
[210] Brian O Dalaigh, 'An Inventory of the Contents of Bunratty Castle and the Will of Henry, Fifth Earl of Thormon, 1639', *North Munster Antiquarian Journal* 36 (1995), pp. 139-65, 142-3. See also Sherlock, 'The Evolution of the Irish Tower-House', p. 133.

hangings, and pottery placed in the best rooms.[211] Such developments are important to address because they indicated parallel cultural changes across the British Isles. Additionally, tower-houses would be utilised by individuals across ethnicities, thus disguising the political and religious identity of their owners.[212]

Despite these changes, visitors continued to highlight the prevailing elements of their impolite architecture, namely their thatched roofs. In 1584, Richard Stanihurst wrote that 'They are not roofed with quarried slabs or slates but with thatch.'[213] Several years later, François de la Boullaye le Gouz provided another description:

> The castles or houses of the nobility consist of four walls extremely high, thatched with straw; but to tell you the truth they are nothing but square towers without windows, or at least having such small apertures as to give no more light than there is in a prison.[214]

The condemnation of thatched roofs is a somewhat perplexing habit of the English accounts. As any English architectural and social historian will immediately point out, thatch was a recognisable feature of England's built environment. Yet, the surveys and official plantation requirements seemed to propose that an English style implied a stone or brick chimney at the very least, and favoured slate or tile roofs.[215] Robert Wadding, a self-described gentleman, had employed this material for his home in Co. Carlow. After the rebellion, he claimed the loss of a little over £2,335—a majority of this spoke to the value of his livestock, lands and building improvements.[216] Presumably, Wadding could have afforded to place a more defensive slate roof on his home, and as a British gentleman should not he have wanted to do this?

Stripped of its ethnic associations, thatch was not a 'poor' material: the longevity of a thatch roof relied on both the material and craftsmanship. A well-constructed thatch roof could vastly extend the lifetime: sixty to a hundred years for reed, and thirty years for wheat or rye.[217] It was also remarkably weather resistant, a feature well known to the English population. In 1647, the Devon vicar Robert Herrick rhymed of his home's weather proof

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[211] Lyttleton, *Jacobean Plantation,* pp. 64-5. For description of furnishings, see Tadhg Dall Ó Huiginn, 'Lifford Castle', in Eleanor Knott (ed.) *The Bardic Poems of Tadhg Dall Ó Huiginn 1550-1591* (London, 1922) pp. 24-6. Available at CELT from: http://celt.ucc.ie/published/T402563/index.html [accessed April 2017].
[212] Quirke, 'Heritage Guide No. 52', p. 6.
[213] Colm Lennon, *Richard Stanihurst: The Dubliner 1547-1618* (Dublin, 1981) p. 91.
[214] François de la Boullaye le Gouz, *The Tour of the French Traveller M. de la Boullaye le Gouz in Ireland, A.D. 1644,* edited by T. Crofton Croker (London, 1837) pp. 40-1.
[215] See Robinson, 'Some Late Survivals of Box-Frames Plantation Houses in Coleraine', p. 129; Horning, 'Dwelling Houses in the Old Irish Barbarous Manner', p. 376.
[216] TCD, Deposition of Robert Wadding, MS 812, fols 027r-028v [accessed February 2014].
[217] For discussion on thatch, see Clifton-Taylor, *The Pattern of English Building,* pp. 280-90.

'humble roof.'[218] While the synchronicity of the era of rebuilding and the plantation schemes may explain why thatch acquired a bad reputation in official documentation, ironically this period of rebuilding varied by region, leaving the northern counties as thatch ridden as Ireland. [219] English settlers, particularly those originating from Northern England, arriving in Ireland may have opted to create homes similar to those in their native homeland. However, this precedent spelled disaster for congested urban sites where fire not only brought physical, but also financial ruin.[220]

Anti-thatch legislation in Ireland emerged in the seventeenth-century in Cork and Belfast following destructive fires. [221] In November of 1596, Sir Thomas Norreys wrote to Sir Robert Cecil describing the English settlers' vulnerability in Munster to the atrocities of the McShees because they 'live so dispersed, in places of danger and weak thatched houses…'[222] The 1641 rebellion highlighted the potential problems of thatch when peace no longer prevailed and torches set homes ablaze amid social chaos. Margaret Clark reported that a thatched home she owned with her husband John Clark had been filled with Protestants and set on fire by rebels.[223]

Yet, archaeologists believe that English officials condemned thatch not simply because of its flammability, but also because it was a visible element of native architecture.[224] The Civil Survey of the town of Ross in Co. Wexford showed the lingering prevalence of 'chaffe', or straw, roofs in 1654. While there were ninety-six houses of slate, 142 thatched and 'chaffe' houses remained in the town.[225] In 1670, officials were still attempting to stamp out the use of thatch in the city and suburbs of Dublin 'for prevention of some danger by fire and for ornament in the buildings.'[226] As Crowley argued, homes in the early modern period

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[218] John P. Allan, Nat Alcock and David Dawson (eds), *West Country Households 1500-1700* (Martlesham, 2015) p. 10.
[219] See R.W. Brunskill, *Traditional Buildings of Britain: An Introduction to Vernacular Architecture* (London, 2004); Blades, 'English Villages in the Londonderry Plantation', pp. 257-69; Michael MacCarthy-Morrogh, 'The English Presence in Early Seventeenth Century Munster', in Ciaran Brady and Raymond Gillespie (eds), *Natives and Newcomers: Essays on the Making of Irish Colonial Society*, (Dublin, 1976) pp. 171-90.
[220] See the system of pamphlet literature and financial campaigns/collections in England, discussed in John E. Morgan, 'The Representation and Experience of English Urban Fire Disasters, c. 1580-1640', *Historical Research* 89, no. 244 (2016), pp. 268-93. For anti-thatch legislation in London, see Clifton-Taylor, *The Pattern of English Building,* pp. 280-90.
[221] Robinson, 'From Thatch to Slate: Innovation in Roof Covering Materials for Traditional Houses in Ulster', pp. 21-35.
[222] 'Sir Thomas Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil, Elizabeth I: Volume 195, November 1596', in Ernest G. Atkinson (ed.), *CSPI, 1596-1597* (London, 1893) pp. 156-80.
[223] TCD, Deposition of Margaret Clarke, MS 836, fols 035r-036v. For other cases of thatch, see Deposition of Samuell Franck, MS 815, fols 323r-327v; Deposition of James Stevenson, MS 831, fols 048r-050v; Deposition of William Whitefield, MS 809, fols 342r-343v [accessed October 2014].
[224] Horning, 'Ireland and North America in the Seventeenth Century', p. 58.
[225] Simington, *Civil Survey, 1654-1656, County of Wexford,* pp. 234-50.
[226] See David Dickson, *Dublin: The Making of a Capital City* (London, 2014) p. 85.

were valued not for the physical experience of living in them, but the materials that were used to construct them.[227] Evidence demonstrated that thatch was unfavourably used in England against the preferred South Eastern pattern during the late sixteenth-century in Cornwall, and it was employed as late as the eighteenth-century in Shropshire.[228]

These impermanent materials, uncivilised in form and dangerous when placed near a flame, held a unique quality indicative of the medieval community. By requiring regular repair, they facilitated 'maintenance relationships' where fellow villages helped homeowners mend roofs throughout their lives. [229] The introduction of more permanent tile and slate roofs withdrew homeowners from the early modern village, reiterating the changing social function of the home that began to value privacy above community. The prevalence of thatch may have implied the strong continuation of such local interactions in Ireland. Can thatch be a sign of an interwoven community rather than a divided one? British thatchers in the 1641 Depositions restated the continued preference for this material within the non-Irish community.[230]

Yet, thatch's propensity for combustion contradicted plantation architecture's second ideal: defence. In 1609, letters from Dublin Castle showed the ill achieved goals of the Londoners in the plantation lands:

> I am sorry to understand they begun so sparingly and with such diffidence, as to make allowance but of 500 for each house, considering they would be built of stone or brick; and that in some convenient distances of their streets, there would be some houses made of some extraordinary strength and form, for common defence and ornament; again I find no allowance made, nor consideration had of the walling or fortifying of the places they undertake to build…'

The letter entreated the reader to merely look at 'ancient and modern examples' and warned that as the houses have been built, they would be easily 'consumed by a few desperate villains in the night-time with fire.'[231]

English planters' failure to provide adequate defence placed their building practices into a broader European context. Previously, E. M. Jope plotted the change in the built environment in Ulster caused by the influx of English settlers: the 'habit of living in defended tower-houses' evolved into the 'southern (Italian) way of civilised life in open undefended

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[227] Crowley, *The Invention of Comfort*, p. 70.
[228] Crowley, *The Invention of Comfort*, p. 62.
[229] Stated by Robert Blair St. George, as cited in Johnson, 'Rethinking Houses, Rethinking Transitions', pp. 152-3.
[230] TCD, Deposition of John Wade, MS 813, fols 348r-349v [accessed October 2014].
[231] Morrin, *Calendar of the Patent Rolls…Charles the First,* p. 640.

houses lit by adequate outward-looking windows even at ground floor.'[232] The castle of Sir Toby Caulfield in Tyrone gave off the air of an Elizabethan style manor rather than a towering stronghold meant to protect its inhabitants from potential insurrection (Plate 5).[233] The culture of the Italian Renaissance had abandoned the 'fortress' home and built instead the urban 'palazzo.' As Sarti explained, this change came from 'lessening moral disapproval of wealth', and 'the increasing conviction that expenditure on building, far from reprehensible, was advantageous both the owner and the city that the building adorned...'[234] Unfortunately, this 'civil' architecture, had no useful application in the political and social conditions of Ireland or Scotland. In these places, '…concerns of defence loomed much larger in the architectural vocabulary of the gentry and nobility of both those countries than they did in England, while comfort was a comparative latecomer.'[235] English undertakers lacked the architectural tradition of defensive domestic buildings to draw upon for their plantation dwellings. This explains why plantation castles in Ulster, and even castles in Cumbria, are Scottish rather than English in style.[236] When the feudal fortresses of England began to crumble, William Harrison excused this neglect in 1577: 'it is not the nature of a good Englishman…to be caged up as in a coop and hedged in with stone walls.'[237] A 'castle' for the English was to be released into the 'realm of proverb, of metaphor and even legal pronouncement.'[238] Everyman's house would become his 'castle' despite the fact that it looked nothing like one.

Yet, it is also important to note that requirements for the Ulster and the midland plantations did not require planters of 1,000 acres to construct exceptionally defensive homes.[239] As Loeber stated, 'the regulations for the bawns of any size of plantation estate did not stipulate the construction of a defensible gate or gatehouse or the building of flankers, the construction of battlements or a board walk along the inside of the bawn walls, all of which

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[232] Jope, 'Moyry, Charlemont, Castleraw, and Richhill', p. 97.
[233] See Robinson, *The Plantation of Ulster*, pp. 132-3.
[234] Sarti, *Europe at Home*, p. 129.
[235] Laurence, 'Using Buildings to Understand Social History', p. 105.
[236] E. M. Jope, 'Moyry, Charlemont, Castleraw, and Richhill: Fortification to Architecture in the North of Ireland. 1570-1700', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology Third Series* 23 (1960), p. 98; Lyttleton, *Jacobean Plantation,* pp. 59-60. For further reading, see Matthew Hyde and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Cumbria, Cumberland, Westmorland and Furness: The Building of England* (New Haven, 2010) pp. 177, 454; John F. Curwen, *The Castles and Fortified Towers of Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire North-of-the-Sands, Together with a Brief Historical Account of Border Warfare* (Kendal, 1913) pp. 380-2.
[237] William Harrison, The *Description of England: The Classic Contemporary Account of Tudor Social Life* [1587], edited by Georges William Edelen (New York, 1994) pp. 221-23.
[238] Cited in Lena Cowen Orlin, *Private Matters and Public Culture in Post-Reformation England* (London, 1994) p. 2.
[239] Loeber, 'Ulster and Midland Plantations, Part I', p. 86.

were vital elements to make a bawn properly defensible.'[240] The desirable slate roofs also failed to provide sufficient defence. A Dublin miller John Bacon stated that rebels 'Broake vpp, and entered through the Slate roofe of his house.'[241] The depositions described a more successful attempt to build a defensive home in Co. Cork. Sir William Hull described 'the great and strong houses and fishhouses' that he built in 'Lymcon' valued at £1,400. One of these homes 'being so fortified with Towers & works for defence that it was abell to defend it selfe well againste fower or five thousand vpon any attempt…'[242] As William Hull's deposition demonstrated, such homes came at a price that many English planters were unwilling to pay.[243] In many ways, the plantation building projects created a superficial English standard: one that projected the ideals of polite architecture alongside a tradition for defence. In hindsight, is it surprising that settlers' buildings failed to fulfil this expectation?

Evidence of Building and Craftsmen in the 1641 Depositions

In the same letter to the Lord's Council in England in 1609, its author denounced plans to relocate English labourers to Ireland. A commandment to send 160 masons and carpenters to Ulster provinces would have been 'very inconvenient to yield unto, many English gentlemen and others, loyally disposed have now works of their own in hand everywhere, for which, to their great charges, they have procured and brought hither workman out of England, and from elsewhere.'[244] These men were involved in building city walls and repairing ruinous churches brought about by the 'Romish religion.' Fynes Moryson paired the failed building initiatives with the fact that English undertakers '…all entertained Irish servants and tenants.'[245] Convincing English tenants to occupy the positions of their Irish counterparts in an unfamiliar land would have proven to be difficult.[246] Pynnar's survey in 1618 revealed that several individuals had merely built a bawn or nothing at all, and native Irish dominated the undertakers' land. One planter by the name of Mr. Adwick had constructed a bawn of clay, stone, and lime, yet lived in a poor thatched house.'[247] Carew's reports revealed that many undertakers failed to even appear, leaving their acres untouched.[248]

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[240] Loeber, 'Ulster and Midland Plantations, Part I', p. 86.
[241] TCD, Deposition of John Bacon, MS 809, fols 295r-295v [accessed October 2014]. See also 'Will of John Bacon, miller, 1643', in Deputy Keeper of Ireland, *Index to the Act or Grant Books,* p. 28.
[242] TCD, Deposition of Sir William Hull, MS 824, fols 253r-259v [accessed October 2014].
[243] See discussion of English reuse of older defensives structures in Horning, *Ireland in the Virginian Sea*, p. 29.
[244] Morrin, *Calendar of Patent Rolls…Charles I*, pp. 639-40.
[245] Moryson, *Itinerary II*, p. 219.
[246] Hill, *An Historical Account*, p. 238.
[247] Hill, *An Historical Account*, p. 477-8.
[248] Brewer and Bullen, *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts,* p. 222.

In Ulster, settlers either saw the plantation as a means to restore their lost fortunes, or exercise the ambition that was never given a platform in England or Scotland. Unfortunately, as Raymond Gillespie noted, these two types of settlers neither had the money nor social authority to execute the plantation goals.[249] By the plantations of Wexford, Longford, Leitrim, Offaly and Laois in the 1620s, the government no longer required undertakers to bring British families to their land.[250] The Munster and Ulster Plantations had perhaps taught them that such a requirement was unachievable.

Evidence taken from the depositions showed a continuation of this pattern through the presence of impermanent and permanent materials, and the distribution of skilled craftsmen. Deponents mentioned houses in two contexts: inventories to document the loss of the structure, and implements of the rebellion (used to lodge British troops during battle or held by the rebels as garrisons).[251] The occupations recorded and quantified in this section have been selected based upon the building occupations found in early modern England.[252] This assessment has included masons, carpenters (for their involvement in timber frame home construction), joiners (whose work sometimes overlapped with that of carpenters, but primarily specialised in wainscoting, doors, windows and interior woodwork), timbermen, blacksmiths (for their role in constructing the nails and iron implements of house construction), hewers (for cutting of wood or stone), roof builders (such as slaters, tillers, and thatchers), plasterers, plumbers (for their work on roofs), and unspecialised labourers.[253]

In the depositions, evidence of impermanent materials is limited to brief descriptions of thatch and wattle-work. As discussed in the previous section, instances of thatch houses can be found throughout Ireland in Cos Armagh,[254] Antrim,[255] Leitrim,[256] Mayo,[257]

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[249] Raymond Gillespie, 'The Early Modern Economy, 1600-1780', in Liam Kennedy and Philip Ollerenshaw (eds), *Ulster Since 1600: Politics, Economy, and Society* (Oxford, 2013) pp. 14-15.
[250] Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, 'Plantation, 1580-1641', in Alvin Jackson (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Irish History* (Oxford, 2014) p. 305.
[251] TCD, Examination of Thomas Danvers, MS 826, fol. 302v; Deposition of Richard Church ex parte Richard Barry, MS 809, fols 241v-242v [accessed October 2014].
[252] See Donald Woodward, *Men at Work: Labourers and Building Craftsmen in the Towns of Northern England* (Cambridge, 1995).
[253] Such craftsmen were also used in Ireland, see 'Articles of agreement between Viscount Baltingglass and Richard Teazer, carpenter, for the construction of a gallery' (1 August 1630), NLI, Lismore Papers, MS 43,276. For definition of hewer, see 'hewer, n.', *OED Online*. Available from: http://oed.com [accessed December 2015].
[254] TCD, Information of Margaret Clarke, MS 836, fols 035r-036v; Deposition of Margrett Phillis, MS 836, fols 066r-066v; Deposition of Joane Constable, MS 836, fols 087r-090v; Deposition of Richard Newberrie, MS 836, fols 060r-061v [accessed January 2015].
[255] TCD, Examination of Magdalen Duckworth, MS 836, fols 121r-122v [accessed January 2015].
[256] TCD, Deposition of James Stevenson, MS 831, fols 048r-050v [accessed January 2015].
[257] TCD, Deposition of Henry Bringhurst, MS 831, fols 187r-189v; Deposition of [H] Bringhurst, MS 831, fols 201v-208v [accessed June 2014].

Westmeath,[258] Longford,[259] Offaly,[260] Laois,[261] Dublin,[262] and Wicklow.[263] In Co. Offaly, Chidley Coote described how he and his soldiers passed through the 'wattles and thatch of adjacent houses' near rebels' works.[264]

The collection of these testimonies suggested that there was greater success for building the structures of stone, slate and brick in Leinster than Ulster. Richard Barry of Dublin had built a structure in direct keeping of English ideals: 'one new house and new stable built with bricke lime and stone and couered with slate.'[265] Not only were there more deponents claiming the loss of their stone houses, but there were also a greater number of slaters, masons and brick-layers in the Leinster province. In regard to brick, all evidence of homes constructed with this material appeared in Dublin, and all but one bricklayer operated in Leinster.[266] This attests to the geographic availability of this material that will be discussed later. Although some historians hesitate to draw definitive conclusions from the depositions, the absence of stone and brick work in the Ulster depositions is probable.

Settlers in the Ulster counties involved in the official plantation scheme chose to construct hundreds of timber-framed houses because of abundant woods in Glenconkeyne and Killetra in southern Londonderry.[267] Records from the Drapers' Company presented plans, carpenters' contracts, and receipts for building such timber houses.[268] Perhaps mapping the number of timber houses would display a greater success in building 'English-styled' homes in Ulster. However, while several deponents mentioned the loss of timber, it is unclear whether this timber was intended for home construction. In many cases, wood was used for

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[258] TCD, Deposition of Suzan Steele, MS 817, fols 213r-216v [accessed January 2015].
[259] TCD, Deposition of John Stibbs, MS 817, fols 203r-206v [accessed January 2015].
[260] TCD, Deposition of Chidley Coote, MS 814, fols 204r-216v [accessed January 2015].
[261] TCD, Deposition of Samuell Franck, MS 815, fols 323r-327 [accessed January 2015].
[262] TCD, Deposition of William Whitefeild, MS 809, fols 342r-343v [accessed January 2015].
[263] TCD, Deposition of Mary Daniell, MS 811, fols 135r-136v [accessed January 2015].
[264] TCD, Deposition of Chidley Coote, MS 814, fols 204r-216v [accessed January 2015].
[265] TCD, Deposition of Richard Church ex parte Richard Barry, MS 809, fols 241v-242v [accessed January 2015].
[266] For Leinster depositions citing brick homes, see TCD, Deposition of Robert Church ex parte Richard Barry, MS 809, fols 241v-242v; Deposition of William Myles ex parte William Bulkeley, MS 809, fol. 254r; and for Leinster bricklayers and brick-making, see Deposition of Peter Harrison ex parte Thomas Wakefield, MS 809, fols 306r-306v; Deposition of William Hoobs, MS 813, fols 351r-351v; Deposition of William Leih, MS 812, fol. 227v; Deposition of Henry Palmer, MS 818, fols 088r-089v; Deposition of William Hoobs, MS 813, fols 351r-351v; Deposition of Robert Kennedie, MS 809, fols 284r-285v; Deposition of John Pue, MS 811, fols 166r-167v; Deposition of Sarah Roades, MS 810, fols 299r-299v [accessed January 2015]. A single brickmaker appeared in Limerick in the Deposition of James Keene and Thomas Doyly, MS 829, fols 168r-169v [accessed January 2015].
[267] For further discussion of the woods, see Eileen McCracken, *Irish Woods Since Tudor Times: Distribution and Exploitation* (Newton Abbot, 1971); Valerie Hall, 'The Woodlands of the Lower Bann Valley in the Seventeenth Century: The Documentary Evidence', *Ulster Folklife* 38 (1992), pp. 1-11.
[268] Robinson, 'Some Late Survivals of Box-Framed "Plantation" Houses in Coleraine, County Londonderry', p. 129. See also Drapers Accounts held in NAI: D3632/A/45, /A/95 no. 344 [microfilm MIC617/1, reel 2].

the settler's trade or occupation, such as coopering or maritime trade.[269] Greater evidence for timber homes came from the Leinster and Munster testimonies when rebels pulled down settlers' houses and carried away timber for personal use.[270] An investigation into timber houses may also prove to be a problematic marker of English architecture. As Robinson noted, timber construction had been the standard practice in Ireland before timber grew scarce.[271] Consequently, evidence of timber structures in the depositions does not imply that the buildings were definitively English. The Scotsman John Kairnes was the only deponent who made an ethnic distinction that his timber houses in Tyrone were English, most likely to assert the value of the loss.[272] The depositions additionally reported that Sir Thomas Staples had employed several British carpenters and smiths in this county for his ironworks, and they may have brought the skills necessary to design John Kairnes' timber framed home.[273] As the seventeenth-century progressed, the number of masons and carpenters sent into Ulster decreased. This trend may be apparent in the smaller number of craftsmen in the 1641 Depositions of that area.[274]

Depositions taken from Cork presented several examples of stone houses, including some that had been burnt by Protestants to inhibit rebel use.[275] Stone houses were not reserved to English occupants. In the years following the rebellion, William Harvy, a merchant from Kinsale, recalled that a man by the name of James Malafant of Watersland, Co. Cork had been living in a 'considerable stone house with battlements' before joining the rebels.[276] The Irish names of James' two sons supplied further evidence that he was not to be trusted.[277] To return to the subject of domestic buildings, the battlements of James' home suggested that this

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[269] For evidence of timber relating to ship construction, see TCD, Deposition of William Annion, MS 818, fols 097r-097v; Deposition of Edward Harris, MS 818, fols 064r-065v; Deposition of Richard Dickonson, MS 811, fols 177r-177v; and for evidence of timber relating to cooper trade, see Deposition of John Torkington, MS 812, fols 082r-082v [accessed January 2015].
[270] See the TCD, Deposition of Thomas Sergenat, MS 816, fols 185r-186v; Deposition of Robert Woodword, TCD, MS 810, fols 195r-195v; The Deposition of Grace Verner, MS 810, fols 343r-343v; The Deposition of Margrett Roch, MS 813, fols 272r-272v; Deposition of William Hull, MS 824, fols 253r-259v [accessed January 2015].
[271] Robinson, 'Vernacular Housing in Ulster', pp. 1-28. See also Horning, 'Dwelling Houses in the Old Barbarous Manner', p. 377.
[272] TCD, Deposition of John Kairnes, MS 839, fols 033r-034v [accessed June 2014].
[273] TCD, Examination of Neile oge Quin, MS 838, fols 038r-039v [accessed January 2015].
[274] See Robinson, *The Plantation of Ulster*, p. 138.
[275] For stone houses, see TCD, Deposition of William Hull; Deposition of An Cockringe, MS 822, fols 238r-238v; Examination of Thomas Danvers, MS 826, fols 296r-299v; Examination of William Harvy, MS 826, fol. 302v [accessed January 2015].
[276] See TCD, Examination of William Harvy, MS 826, fol. 302v and the Examination of Richard Harvy, MS 826, fol. 302r [accessed January 2015]. James Mellefont of Watersland was given his father's livery of possessions in 1632, see Morrin, *Calendar of Patent Rolls…Charles I*, p. 598.
[277] A William Mellefont from Scilly, Co. Cork was transplanted to the barony of Ballintober: see Robert C. Simington (ed.), *Transplantation to Connacht 1654-58* (Dublin, 1970) p. 245.

structure may have followed the Scottish or Irish architectural tradition of defence rather than incorporate the decorative ideals of polite architecture.

The Munster depositions, and specifically the Cork documents, presented a greater number of masons than any other county (see Figure 1). In Munster, twenty-one masons can be located by name, but there were only eight in Leinster, five in Ulster, and one in Connacht. Leinster possessed a comparable number of carpenters to that of Munster, however its number of labourers nearly doubled when compared to the southern province. This may have indicated a greater reliance upon unskilled labour in Leinster than Munster. Munster and Leinster featured a variety of specialised trades absent elsewhere in the depositions (such as hewer, hellier, plumber and timberman) and an increased number of other specialised building occupations found throughout Ireland including joiners and slaters. Tilers only appeared in Munster, with two of the three individuals connected to rebel activities: Donnell Bryne and David Flaiene.[278]

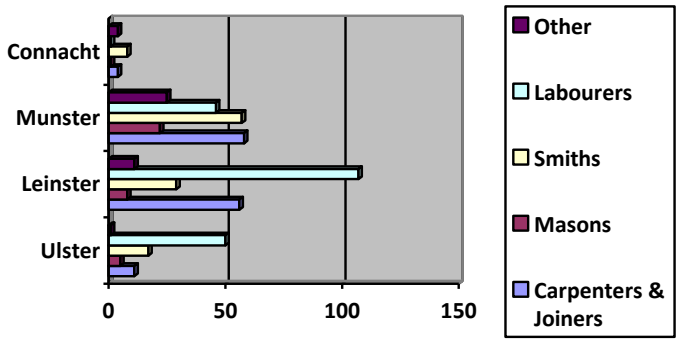

Figure 1. Building craftsmen and unspecialised workers in Ireland.

The Connacht depositions are frustratingly sparse. In Co. Sligo, the gentleman William Browne possessed a dwelling house, barn, kill house, dairy house, stable house, cow house, garden and orchard in Kilvarnet. His store of timber boards and planks may attest to the type of materials he used to construct his buildings.[279] Browne lived close to the Templehouse complex owned by the Catholic landowner William Crofton. In this area, remains of a seventeenth-century house with the crest of the Croftons demonstrated the use of brick walls as well as stone built chimneys in Co. Sligo.[280] Because it was a rare example of

[278] TCD, Deposition of John Stukly, MS 824, fols 100r-101v; Deposition of Symon Colston, MS 829, fols 167r-167v [accessed January 2015].
[279] TCD, Deposition of William Browne, MS 831, fols 062r-062v [accessed January 2015].
[280] William Crofton was mentioned in TCD, Deposition of Jane Boswell, MS 831, fols 099r-100v [accessed January 2015]. See also 'Crofton (Mote Park)' in NUI Galway, *Landed Estate Database.* Available from: http://www.landedestates.ie [accessed May 2016]; and 'The Will of John Crofton 1639', NLI, O'Hara Papers,

material strength, it became a place of refuge for fleeing Protestants in the county. William Browne's wife was one of many who sought the shelter of Templehouse's durable walls before rebels laid siege upon the structure. Elsewhere in Connacht, landowners' thatched tenements overwhelmed the landscape.[281] Evidence of building tradesmen is similarly barren. While it is the only province to mention the presence of a plasterer, the number of smiths, carpenters, joiners and masons did not rise above fifteen.[282] One explanation for this—apart from the low number of Connacht depositions—may also be that a majority of the individuals involved in these trades were native Irish living in dispersed settlements. Therefore, they would likely not have been reflected in the witness testimonies of primarily Protestant victims. Accounts from Co. Mayo described how several unnamed Irish smiths made *skeanes* for the rebel forces, and the names of the tradesmen (such as the mason Bryan oge McCahelboy, and the rebellious smiths Dermot O Fana, William Roch and Dermot O Dawan) suggested their Gaelic roots.[283]

Evidence of building with permanent materials can also be mapped through the appearance of the terms 'mansion house' and 'castle.' For instance, the Deposition of William Secheuerill stated that he lost 'one ~~mansion or~~ stone house.'[284] Mansion houses may have referred to fortified or castellated houses that appeared throughout Ireland in Cos Armagh,[285] Cavan,[286] Fermanagh,[287] Donegal,[288] Louth,[289] Westmeath,[290] Wexford,[291] Wicklow,[292] Queen's County (Laois),[293] King's County (Offaly),[294] and Cork.[295] These homes often

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MS 36,490/1. For evidence of settlement, see NMS, *Archaeological Survey of Ireland*, Reference Number SL033-026004-. Available from: http://webgis.archaeology.ie/historicenvironment [accessed June 2016].

[281] See Paul Walsh and Paul Duffy, 'An Extract from Strafford's Inquisition: Galway Corporation Property, in 1637', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* 49 (1997), pp. 49-64.

[282] For plasterer, see TCD, Examination of David Lawson, MS 830, fols 257r-258v [accessed January 2015].

[283] TCD, Examination of Bryan oge McCahelboy Maron, MS 830, fols 284r-285v; Deposition of John Winder, MS 831, fols 017r-017v; Deposition of Edward Perison, MS 830, fols 012r-013v; Deposition of Peeter O Crean, MS 831, fols 114r-115v [accessed January 2015].

[284] TCD, Deposition of William Secheuerill, MS 818, fols 095r-096v [accessed January 2015].

[285] TCD, Deposition of Christian Stanhawe and Owen Frankland, MS 836, fols 075r-076v [accessed January 2015].

[286] TCD, Deposition of Mary Ward, MS 833, fols 080r-080v; Deposition of John Gamble, MS 832, fols 229r-229v [accessed January 2015].

[287] TCD, Deposition of John Perry, MS 835, fols 155r-155v; Deposition of Alice Champyn, MS 835, fols 196r-197v [accessed January 2015].

[288] TCD, Deposition of Ann Dutton, MS 839, fols 129r-130v [accessed January 2015].

[289] TCD, Deposition of Thomas Makgill, MS 834, fols 008r-008v [accessed January 2015].

[290] TCD, Deposition of Thomas Maghery; Deposition of William Moorehead, MS 817, fols 032r-033v [accessed January 2015].

[291] TCD, Examination of Margaret Hitchins, MS 819, fol. 088v; Deposition of William Secheuerill, MS 818, fols 095r-096v; Examination of Henry Masterson re Eneas Kauanagh, MS 818, fols 321r-321v [accessed January 2015].

[292] TCD, Information of William Turvin, MS 811, fols 130r-131v [accessed January 2015].

[293] TCD, Deposition of John Winsmore, MS 815, fols 154r-155v [accessed January 2015].

[294] TCD, Deposition of Richard Roofe, MS 814, fols 239r-239v [accessed January 2015].

[295] TCD, Examination of George Smithe, MS 826, fols 160r-160v [accessed January 2015].

implied contingent structures, such as out-houses, malt houses and 'other houses of office.'[296] The high statuses of those inhabiting these homes is not surprising. They described themselves as knights, esquires, lords, gentlemen, archdeacons and government officials. Yet, a yeoman in Co. Fermanagh and a carpenter in Co. Offaly also stated that they lost these structures.[297]

While some planters in Ulster may have been constructing timber rather than stone or brick homes, the seventeenth-century surveys also demonstrated that they were occupying and improving Irish structures when official building prescriptions proved to be too demanding. Ancient ráths (circular enclosures made with earth walls) were reoccupied and temporary homes were built until undertakers could eventually fulfil the plantation expectations.[298] Lord Ochiltree, for example, had built three oak timber houses in an old fort while he was '…preparing stone, brick, and lime for building a castle.'[299] Archaeologist Audrey Horning proposed that evidence in the 1622 survey of Armagh indicated that settlers were reusing crannogs by constructing bawns on the man-made islands. [300] A crannog was often called 'inis' or 'island' in early seventeenth-century documentary sources.[301] This structure was usually built of timber or stone in lakes in Ireland and Scotland, and was a key pre-plantation settlement type in Ulster (Plate 6).[302]

Recent archaeological evidence has suggested that crannogs were employed by several levels of society, with both rich and poor sites in the same lake.[303] Islands, whether manufactured or natural, were integral domestic sites for inhabitants. In the deposition of Grace Smith, the deponent revealed that she and her husband Captain Robert Smith lived on a 'Castle and Island' in Co. Offaly—refusing to give up their land so that rebels could reclaim the Gaelic site.[304] A possible location of this island is Castle Island near Lough Coura, south

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[296] See TCD, Deposition of Christian Stanhowe and Own Frankland, MS 836, fols 075r-076v; Deposition of William Secheuerill, MS 818, fols 095r-096v; Deposition of John Winsmore, MS 815, fols 154r-155v [accessed January 2015].
[297] TCD, Deposition of John Perry, MS 835, fols 155r-155v; Deposition of Richard Roofe, MS 814, fols 239r-239v [accessed January 2015].
[298] Nick Brannon, 'Post-Medieval Archaeology in Northern Ireland', in Nick Branon and Audrey J. Horning (eds), *The Post-Medieval Archaeology of Ireland, 1550-1850* (Dublin, 2007), p. 18.
[299] Hill, *An Historical Account*, p. 546.
[300] Horning, *Ireland in the Virginian Sea*, p. 168. See also Victor Treadwell, 'The Survey of Armagh and Tyrone, 1622 (Continued)', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 27 (1964), pp. 140-54.
[301] Kieran O'Conor and Niall Brady, 'The Later Medieval Usage of Crannogs', *Proceedings of Ruralia V* (2005), pp. 129. For further discussion of crannogs, see Aidan O'Sullivan, 'Crannogs in Late Medieval Gaelic Ireland, c. 1350-c. 1650', in Patrick J. Duffy, David Edwards and Elizabeth FitzPatrick (eds), *Gaelic Ireland, c. 1250-c. 1650: Land, Lordship and Settlement* (Dublin, 2004) pp. 397-417.
[302] See 'Crannog. n.', *OED Online.* Available from: http://www.oed.com [accessed May 2014]. See also, Loeber, 'The Early Seventeenth-Century Ulster and Midland Plantations, Part I', pp. 82-3.
[303] Christina Fredengren, 'Poor People's Crannogs', *Archaeology Ireland* 15, no. 4 (2001), pp. 24-5.
[304] TCD, Deposition of Grace Smith, MS 814, fols 163r-165v [accessed June 2014].

of Cloghan where archaeological excavations show the remains of a circular tower. [305] An Irish lord often built a crannog with a nearby tower house for additional defence in case the tower-house was besieged.[306] The castle's name 'Inchloughcore' additionally suggested its protected location: 'inch' refers to the Gaelic term 'inis' or 'inse' for island, while 'core' may refer to 'corr' which translates to 'round hill', or 'pointed hill.'[307] Other examples of an island dwelling can be found in the description of William O Concaccnon who possessed an island in the River Suck in between Co. Galway and Co. Roscommon.[308]

In Ulster and Leinster, where unspecialised labour far outweighed the number of building craftsmen (see Figure 1), a majority of these labourers possessed Gaelic names and were associated with the rebel group. It was only in Munster, particularly in Cos Tipperary and Limerick, that victims with Anglicised names dominated the labourer population. In Tipperary, this was most likely a result of English recruitment for the local silver mines. While labourers were involved in a variety of tasks, such as bog drainage, they were presumably used to construct buildings and enclosures.[309] In England, labourers were sometimes employed as assistants to building craftsmen, although they often received a variety of manual tasks including taking down bridges, cutting down trees, and cleaning out sewers and cesspits.[310] The Drapers' accounts revealed the widespread use of Irish labourers in Ulster in 1615, which was further suggested by the appearance of 'Irish houses' in the seventeenth-century surveys.[311] The absence of journeymen and apprentices in the depositions suggested that many used the labourers for additional help. Only a few depositions indicated some form of familial apprenticeship when sons of craftsmen or male relatives were listed under the same occupation or assisting with a task.[312] A carpenter in Co. Galway had taken his fifteen-year-old son into the woods five miles from their home to help him cut timber.[313]

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[305] Paul M. Kerrigan, 'Castles and Fortifications of Co. Offaly c. 1500-1815', in William Nolan and Timothy P. O'Neill (eds), *Offaly: History and Society Interdisciplinary Essays on the History of an Irish County* (1998), p. 453.
[306] Loeber, 'The Early Seventeenth-Century Ulster and Midland Plantations, Part I', pp. 82-3.
[307] For definititions of 'corr' and 'inse', see *Glossary and Distributions Maps* provided by Government of Ireland. Available from: http://www.logainm.ie/en/gls/ [accessed April 2014].
[308] TCD, Information against William O'Concanon and James O Concanon, MS 831, fols 284r-284v [accessed April 2014].
[309] For example of labourers paid to drain bogs, see TCD, Deposition of Anthony Wassbee and Edward Slater, MS 833, fols 078r-078v [accessed October 2014].
[310] Woodward, *Men at Work*, p. 96. For tree-cutting, see Morrin, *Calendar of the Patent Rolls…Charles the First,* p. 65.
[311] NAI, D3632/A/37/255.
[312] TCD, Deposition of Ralph Lambart, MS 830, fols 173r-174v; Deposition of Frances Mosley, MS 829, fols 024r-024v; Deposition of Barnard Pabe, MS 820, fols 128r-128v; Deposition of John Shorter, MS 835, fols 166r-166v; Deposition of Charles Shorter, MS 835, fols 165r-165v [accessed December 2014].
[313] Deposition of Ralph Lambart, MS 830, fols 173r-174v [accessed December 2014].

It is significant that many of the labourers may have been of non-English ethnicity because this likely influenced the look of many homes in these areas. While the labourers were not specialised in a particular trade, it would be incorrect to state that they were unskilled. As Donald Woodward proposed, early modern labourers 'methods may often have looked rough and ready to the casual observer, but even the use of a spade or shovel involves some skill.'[314] The depositions presented a minority of rebels within the specialised building occupations: only ten of the thirty-four named masons in the depositions possessed Gaelic names and were associated with rebel activities, with an additional mason identified as Scottish. Thirty of the eighty-nine recorded carpenters again featured Gaelic names and/or rebellious associations (in Cos. Carlow, Clare, Cavan, Cork, Kerry, Kildare, Limerick, and Wexford).[315] In Carew's description of Captain John Ridgeway's land in Co. Cavan, the surveyor stated that the captain had successfully removed five Irish houses near his castle, but built two new ones near Lough Ramor.[316] Interestingly, one of his two carpenters was Irish.[317] Perhaps, an Irish house implied the ethnicity of its builder rather than simply its form.[318] As Loeber stated, 'Craftsmen were often the carriers of stylistic innovations.'[319]

Over thirty of 111 blacksmiths and smiths were also associated with Gaelic names and rebel activities. An overwhelming twenty-three of the twenty-nine recorded joiners featured Anglicised names and were described as victims or British Protestants. For the remaining rebel joiners, their ethnicity was further obscured by their ambiguous surnames and alleged Catholic conversation.[320] Interestingly, slaters and thatchers were few in number, which suggested that roof construction may have fallen into the hands of various building occupations or labourers. Of the nine named slaters in the depositions, four identified as

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[314] Woodward, *Men at Work,* p. 93.
[315] TCD, Deposition of Robert Dunster, MS 812, fols 011r-011v; Deposition of Raph Bulkley, MS 812, fols 084r-085v; Deposition of Jenett Kearnes, Brian Sherin and William Beatagh, MS 833, fols 245r-245v; Deposition of Elizabeth Tunsted, MS 829, fols 010r-019v; Deposition of Phillipp Tancocke, MS 822, fols 077r-077v; Deposition of John Radcliffe, MS 824, fols 042r-042v; Deposition of Anthony Wiseman, MS 823, fols 064r-064v; Deposition of Frances Mosley, MS 829, fols 024r-024v; Deposition of Edward Pearsse, TCD, MS 813, fols 382r-383v; Deposition of John Williams, MS 829, fols 177r-177v; Deposition of Thomas Beare, MS 829, fols 213r-213v; Examination of Oker Butt, MS 818, fols 036r-037v; Deposition of Peter Harrison ex parte Thomas Wakefield, MS 809, fols 306r-0306v; Deposition of John Landon, MS 824, fols 242r-243v; Deposition of Mourish fiz Gerrald, MS 829, fols 161r-162v [accessed October 2014].
[316] Hill, *An Historical Account*, p. 457.
[317] Brewer and Bullen, *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts*, p. 230.
[318] For examples of other Irish craftsmen, see Loeber, 'Ulster and Midlands Plantation, Part II', p. 107.
[319] Loeber, 'Ulster and Midlands Plantation, Part II', p. 105.
[320] See Robert Eustace in TCD, Deposition of William Whalley, MS 818, fols 024r-026v; Edmond Daligan in Deposition of Beniamin Willomett, MS 815, fols 294r-294v; Thomas Davis in the Depositon of Edmond Pearse, MS 821, fols 172r-172v; John Hudson in Deposition of Christmas Spurgent, MS 820, fols 098r-099v; Stepgen Landley in Deposition of Edward Harris, MS 818, fols 064r-065v [accessed October 2014].

British Protestants specifically and a further two were victims of rebel violence.[321] There was only evidence of two thatchers in the depositions and they were both identified as victims of the rebels' attacks. [322] While the variety of occupations in the depositions reflected a transition to piece-work rather than the medieval system of direct labour, many integral trades were absent or few in number.[323] Jane Fenlon has suggested, however, that in Ireland, many craftsmen may have partaken in a variety of building trades. Masons often worked on plastering, or other craftsmen would carryout activities such as painting or glazing.[324] Evidence of piecework can be found in the deposition of Edward Deaseley who claimed that he lost writings from the 'late lo[rd] Lievetennantes hand for money due to him for framinge a howse' for an astounding total of £352.[325] It is unclear, however, if this price is an accurate projection and no further details are provided concerning the size of the home or labour that Deaseley provided.

Perhaps anticipating this outcome of limited 'English' building, the government had hoped to make architectural improvements more economically viable for the undertakers. By the time of the Ulster Plantation, orders and conditions would have allowed undertakers to import necessary goods into Ireland without paying custom or imposition. These goods included 'vitual and utensils for their households, materials and tools for their buildings and husbandry, and cattle to stock and manure the lands.'[326] Building tools made a regular appearance in the depositions, both within the inventory of craftsmen and elite residences. William Bulkley, Archdeacon of Dublin, had lost £20 in iron, nails, smith and carpenters tools during the rebellion that had most likely been provided to craftsmen and labourers improving his land.[327] However, depositions taken from Ulster showed landowners' claim to implements of husbandry rather than building tools.[328] George Creighton, a vicar of the parish church of

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[321] TCD, Deposition of William Bull, MS 825, fols 128r-129v; Deposition of Henry Traule, MS 820, fols 265r-265v; Deposition of John Davies, MS 809, fols 272r-272v; Deposition of Gilbert Barthlet, MS 825, fols 298r-298v; Deposition of John Browne, MS 823, fols 023r-023v; Names of those murdered at Carber, MS 813, fols 147r-147v; Examination of Gerrott ffitzgerrald, MS 813, fols 158r-159v; Examination of Dudley Colley, MS 813, fols 160r-161v [accessed October 2014].
[322] TCD, Deposition of John Wade, MS 813, fols 348v-349v; Examination of Jane Cooper, MS 821, fols 202r-203v [accessed October 2014].
[323] Malcolm Airs, *The Tudor and Jacobean Country Houses. A Building History* (Stroud, 1995); Francis B. Andrews, *The Medieval Builder and His Methods* (Dover, 1999); John Harvey, *Medieval Craftsmen* (London, 1975). For further evidence of piece-work, see the building accounts of payments in Jane Fenlon, 'Some Early Seventeenth-Century Building Accounts in Ireland', *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies: The Journal of the Irish Georgian Society* I (1998), pp. 84-9.
[324] Fenlon, 'Some Early Seventeenth-Century Building Accounts', p. 89. For single example of a glazier, see the TCD, Deposition of Martin Scott, MS 819, fols 324r-324v [accessed October 2014].
[325] TCD, Deposition of Edward Deaseley, MS 811, fols 041r-042v [accessed October 2014].
[326] Curtis and McDowell, *Irish Historical Documents 1172-1922*, p. 129.
[327] TCD, Deposition of William Myles ex parte William Bulkeley, MS 809, fol. 250r [accessed June 2014].
[328] For examples of 'implements of husbandry', see TCD, Deposition of William Garton, MS 832, fols 228r-228v; Deposition of William Reinoldes, MS 833, fols 260r-260v; Deposition of Ellen Matchett, MS 836, fols

Lurgan in Co. Cavan, was the only settler in Ulster to claim the loss of his 'tooles for workmen.'[329] Many Ulster landlords often operated on a lease that required the tenants, rather than the landlords, to build homes on the land. This minimised the landlord's expenditure but relied too strongly on the tenants' independent initiatives.[330] The only areas that did not employ this type of lease were Londonderry and Coleraine.[331]

Jane Ohlmeyer proposed that the complex credit system depicted in the Irish statue staple records suggested that many may have been constructing buildings upon a system of debt. Charles Lambert, the baron of Cavan, possessed £400 in debt in 1628.[332] A deposition concerning Lambert's property in 1642 showed the extent of his losses. Over the years, he had built a new church and acquired his dwelling house, barns, stables, mills and a pigeon house.[333] An individual's inability to finance building projects without accumulating debt is further shown in the English chancery records from 1619 when the second earl of Castlehaven mortgaged a portion of his Irish patrimony to carryout £3,000 of building.[334] Newly planted Nicholas Willloughby had been bled dry of his finances following his efforts in Co. Fermanagh. He explained to rebel neighbours after they demanded money from him that they 'could not expect much money from [him] in regard [he] had beene a dweller ther *but* a *short* tyme as they themselues did know, and found it a naked place, & layd out at least fowre or five hundreth pounds in buyldinge fencinge and plantinge…' [335] The only other sum he could muster was £300 which he hide in his water pump.

Due to craftsmen's desirability in Ireland, they appeared to enjoy relative financial comfort. In Co. Cork, the carpenter John Forest had managed to construct his own two houses valued at £100 and claimed £20 in household goods.[336] Other carpenters asserted financial losses between £26 and £545, and a little over half of these individuals claimed above £100. They invested in livestock as well as agriculture, and implemented their skills to repair and construct valuable houses. Joiners expressed similar levels of wealth, such as the

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058r-059v; Deposition of Henry Sacheverrell, MS 836, fols 106r-106v; Deposition of Robert Waringe, MS 839, fols 108r-111v [accessed November 2014].

[329] TCD, Deposition of George Creighton, MS 833, fols 227r-242v [accessed October 2014].

[330] Raymond Gillespie, 'The Origins and Development of an Ulster Urban Network, 1600-41', *Irish Historical Studies* 24, no. 93 (1984), p. 18.

[331] D. A. Chart (ed.), *Londonderry and the London Companies* (Belfast, 1928) p. 26. For example of building leases, see PRONI, T811/3.

[332] See Jane H. Ohlmeyer and Éamonn Ó Ciardha, *The Irish Statute Staple Books, 1596-1687* (Dublin, 1998).

[333] TCD, Deposition of Thomas Wilson et al. ex parte Charles Lord Lambert Baron of Cavan, MS 815, fols 221r-224v [accessed October 2014].

[334] Ainsworth, 'Some Abstracts of Chancery Suits Relating to Ireland', p. 39.

[335] TCD, Deposition of Nicholas Willoughby, MS 835, fols 184r-186v. Willoughby is also mentioned in the Deposition of Martha Slacke, MS 835, fols 168r-169v [accessed October 2014].

[336] TCD, Deposition of Eedy Forest ex parte John Forest, MS 822, fols 094r-094v [accessed October 2014].

affluent craftsman Elias Nicholas who claimed assets worth £648 following the loss of his livestock, farm and building improvements.[337] These craftsmen's lifestyles were comparable to those recorded in English inventories collected from carpenters in Sussex: they were considerably involved in farming and credit played a significant role in their lives. Yet in Sussex, wealthy carpenters claimed assets of £157 upon their death and the average carpenter possessed no more than £80.[338] Deponents' reports may have been exaggerated, however it is more likely that their sums accurately reflected the carpenters' successful participation in building and agriculture in Ireland. When compared to their English counterparts, the Irish carpenters' affluence may have also shown the happy circumstance of living on a less populated island. By the seventeenth-century, population growth in England meant that the supply of labour began to exceed demand.[339]

Other building craftsmen reported smaller assets than those of carpenters. Masons relayed losses ranging from £20 to £371, and more affluent individuals participated in agriculture and livestock-rearing. An assessment of the smiths presented a wider range of personal wealth (£11 to £367), but most cases reported less than £100. Slaters projected fewer losses, totalling between £11 8s. and £127.[340] Many of these skilled workmen were owed money from various Protestant and Catholic individuals, which may have indicated work they provided that was not yet paid in full. Carpenters and joiners related the loss of their trade tools, which were often included within their household goods' overall value, but when priced separately, they cost anywhere between 10s. and £20.[341] A poor carpenter in Dublin owned a broken axe, an old hand saw, 'a very old chisel,' a smoothing plane, and a 'very old percer'

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[337] TCD, Deposition of Elias Nicholas, MS 829, fols 223r-224v [accessed October 2014].
[338] Jayne C. Kirk, 'The Early Modern Carpenter and Timber Framing in the Rural Sussex Weald', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 142 (2004), p. 102; G. H. Kenyon, 'Kirdford inventories, 1611-1776', *SAC* 93 (1956), pp. 78-156.
[339] See Craig Muldrew, *Food, Energy and the Creation of Industriousness: Work and Material Culture in Agrarian England, 1550–1780* (Cambridge, 2011) p. 1-3.
[340] TCD, Deposition of William Bull, MS 825, fols 128r-129v; Deposition of Henry Traule, MS 820, fols 265r-265v; Deposition of John Davies, MS 809, fols 272r-272v; Deposition of Gilbert Barthlet, MS 825, fols 298r-298v [accessed October 2014].
[341] For carpenter trade tools, see TCD, Deposition of Daniell Maxfield, MS 822, fols 105r-105v; Deposition of Henry Pope and Thomas Colman, MS 821, fols 136r-136v; Deposition of Thomas Collman, MS 825, fols 137r-137v; Deposition of Ann Radcliffe, MS 825, fols 169r-169v; Deposition of Thomas Forde; Deposition of William Hayles, MS 828, fols 2723r-274v; Deposition of Ann Bosworth, MS 812, fols 227r-227v; Deposition of Thomas Ragg, Robert Ragg and Henry Briggs, MS 829, fols 254r-255v; Deposition of John Berry, MS 817, fols 135r-135v; Deposition of John Barloe, MS 817, fols 134r-134v; Deposition of Brigitt Lee, MS 834, fols 162r-162v; Deposition of Richard Best, MS 821, fols 053r-054v; Deposition of Edmond Frances, MS 821, fols 055r-055v; Deposition of Thomas Coolman, MS 821, fols 171r-171v; Deposition of Richard Curry, MS 820, fols 164r-164v. For joiner's tools, see Deposition of William Wood, MS 823, fols 055r-055v; Deposition of Anthony Milles, MS 831, fols 021r-022v; Deposition of Beniamin Willomett, MS 815, fols 294r-294v; Deposition of Mary Best and Robert Best, MS 821, fols 032r-032v; Deposition of Jane Burrowes, TCD, MS 820, fols 076r-077v; Deposition of George Charlton, MS 818, fols 057r-058v [accessed November 2014].

that, in total, cost less than a single pound.[342] Smiths' tools also varied in value, however, they were more consistently appraised at £5 or £6, and many smiths were anxious to reclaim the iron in their shops that had been stolen by rebels.[343] Edmund Perry's account indicated that £5 of tools included smith bellows, an anvil, a sledge hammer and a vice for a smith forge.[344] Because of smith tools' value, James Sheylds of Co. Roscommon locked his trade implements in the nearby castle to ensure their safety.[345]

The documents showed the presence of specialised building trades, but the large number of carpenters and joiners suggested a preference for timber construction over stone or brick. Of course, this cannot be wholly confirmed because many carpenters may have been partaking in a variety of timber-based tasks that did not necessarily imply house-building. In the depositions, only one individual was specifically identified as a 'house carpenter': Hugh Langredge had been a servant to the earl of Clanricarde for twenty-eight years. [346] When building the earl of Cork's gallery under Viscount Baltinglass' directions, a carpenter was given full dominion over the construction of a 124 foot by 16 ½ foot building made of timber, brick, lime and stone.[347] In the depositions, it also became apparent that many craftsmen may have identified with other occupations (such as yeoman or husbandman) because of their involvement in agriculture. Other deponents entirely failed to mention their occupation even though their testimonies implied that they were practicing craftsmen.[348]

Despite these issues, the documents presented evidence of building improvements carried out on estates across Ireland, and the mixture of Gaelic and non-Gaelic (primarily English) names indicated the presence of multiple vernacular traditions that can explain evidence of blended architecture found in the archaeological evidence. The high number of labourers in Leinster and Ulster also suggested that many manual tasks fell into the hands of unspecialised workers. Munster featured a greater number of carpenters, joiners, masons, hewers, slaters, tillers, plumbers and smiths than any of the other provinces and a diminished

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[342] Inventory of Edward Parfait, *Pleas in the Sheriffs Court of Dublin,* BL, MS 11687, fol. 136.
[343] For mention of smith's tools, see TCD, Deposition of Diana Holland, MS 822, fols 054r-054v; Deposition of William Hodgson, MS 810, fols 318r-319r; Deposition of John Shorter, MS 835, fols 166r-166v; Deposition of Gilbert Hathington, MS 828, fols 269r-269v; Deposition of James Wyat, MS 828, fols 270r-270v; Deposition of William Rogers, MS 831, fol. 041r; Deposition of Richard Turnor, MS 829, fols 145r-146v; Deposition of William Hodkins, MS 829, fols 300r-300v; Deposition of Robert Bradley, MS 817, fols 136r-137v; Deposition of Dorothy Ward, MS 834, fols 146r-146v; Deposition of John Grissell, MS 815, fols 202r-203v; Deposition of William Smith, MS 821, fols 092r-092v; Deposition of George Monnockes, MS 820, fols 113r-113v; Deposition of Amos Hatch, MS 818, fols 128r-129v [accessed October 2014].
[344] '1643 Attested statement of Edmund Perry of Croom Co. Limerick of his losses in the rebellion', NLI, Limerick Papers, MS 41, 677/8.
[345] TCD, Examination of James Sheylds, MS 830, fols 076r-076v [accessed October 2014].
[346] TCD, Deposition of Raph Lambart, MS 830, fols 173r-174v [accessed October 2014].
[347] Lismore Papers, NLI, MS 43,276.
[348] For example, see TCD, Deposition of Edward Deaseley, MS 811, fols 041r-042v [accessed November 2014].

labourer population. In part, this may be a result of the bias sampling due to a greater number of Munster depositions. As a whole, the depositions must be treated carefully to recognise possible trends, but should not be asserted as foolproof. These tentative findings will be incorporated throughout the remainder of the chapter to explore the construction of domestic buildings in Ireland using further documentary and archaeological sources.

Locating Resources: Case Study

In the beginning of this chapter, Henry Bringhurst's thatched home in Co. Mayo was a point of structural weakness that led to its ultimate destruction.[349] Evidence from the Civil Survey indicated that thatch was a more affordable material to employ. In 1654, a slated house in Co. Waterford cost £41 12s., and a larger thatched house with stone walls and a backside had an estimated value of £16.[350] These prices are similar to those quoted for husbandmen or labourers with two-storey, four room cottages in Yorkshire or Lincolnshire in the seventeenth-century.[351] Interestingly, Bringhurst's account indicated that inhabitants made grand interior changes to thatched structures. Bringhurst's home possessed glass windows, wainscot to panel the walls of his home, a study with thirty-four books, feathered beds, and brass and pewter utensils. Bringhurst's study projected the ideal humanist's environment. In the words of John Crowley, 'studies were synonymous with civility.'[352] If his literature collection was not enough to validate Bringhurst's elevated social standing, the use of glass windows confirmed it. Glazing of domestic glass windows was rare up until the late seventeenth-century.[353] When constructing buildings on the Drapers lands, glass was brought in from England rather than sourced locally.[354] Glass windows were separately priced in household inventories in the late 1630s; records from the Sheriffs Court of Common Pleas reported that the Dublin vintner Anthony Rookes owned one 'wrought glasse window' worth

[349] TCD, Deposition of [H] Bringhurst, MS 831, fols 201v-208v; Deposition of Henry Bringhurst, MS 831, fols 197r-189v [accessed June 2014].
[350] Robert C. Simington (ed.), *Civil Survey A.D. 1654-1656. County of Waterford* (Dublin, 1942) pp. 223, 239.
[351] See M.A. Barley, 'Rural Building in England', in Joan Thirsk (ed.), *The Agarian History of England and Wales*, *Vol 5* (Cambridge, 1985) p. 677; Fred G. Emmison, *Elizabethan Life: Home, Work and Land* (Chelmsford, 1976) p. 6; Carole Shammas, *The Pre-Industrial Consumer in England and America* (Oxford, 1990) p. 160; Amy Louise Erickson, *Women and Property in Early Modern England* (London, 1993) p. 64.
[352] Crowley, *Invention of Comfort,* p. 72. For more in an Italian context, see Dora Thornton, *The Scholar in His Study: Ownership and Experience in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven, 1997); Peter Thornton, *The Italian Renaissance Interior, 1400-1600* (London, 1991) pp. 13, 15.
[353] Nessa Roche, "The Manufacture and Use of Glass in Post-Medieval Ireland', in Audrey J. Horning, Ruairi O Baoill, Colm Donnelly and Paul Logue (eds), *The Post-Medieval Archaeology of Ireland* (Dublin, 2007), p. 413. For more on glass, see Crowley, *The Invention of Comfort*, pp. 36, 62-9.
[354] NAI, D3632/A/45, /A/95 no. 344 [microfilm MIC617/1, reel 2].

twelve shillings.[355] Although still relatively new, glassworks operated in Ireland in areas with prime access to timber, sand and water transport.[356] The 1641 Depositions indicated the presence of glass processing in Co. Offaly. William Reed, an Englishman who had allegedly turned 'papist', owned a farm near 'the glasse howse in that county.'[357] In the same county, rebels broke down the glass windows and iron bars of the gentleman John Dearnell's home.[358]

Wainscot was another indication of Bringhurst's wealth. A deposition from Co. Limerick showed that 'pannells of seasoned tymber for floores and wainscott', which were to be used on a great hall 110 feet long and 30 feet wide, were worth £200.[359] Because of the desirability of wainscoat, rebels stripped the panels from Sir Walsingham Cooke's mansion house of Tomduff before placing straw on the structure and setting it on fire.[360] Jane Fenlon's research on the building accounts of Birr Castle and earl of Cork's improvements showed that wainscot was also costly because its installation was labour intensive. Not only did it require large trees to be cut into different lengths and puncheons and panels to be added, the variety of pieces also had to be transported and assembled in the room by joiners.[361] Sir Richard Boyle's accounts projected the added costs incurred for squaring and sawing timber to desired sizes.[362] However, wainscot also served a practical function. Gerard Boate stated that if a house was built in the Irish free stone, a highly absorbent material, English employed wainscot to walls with oak or other wood to 'mend this inconvenience.'[363] In total, Bringhurst claimed the loss of £1,100 in damages of his houses, tenements, orchards and gardens. Although his home was thatched, Bringhurst was certainly not a poor man. His home's interior possessed all the elements of a gentleman's abode.[364]

The features inside Bringhurst's home can be explained by the deponent's occupation. In his deposition, Bringhurst revealed that he was a scoutmaster for the army in Mayo and operated for a time as Justice of the Peace. A deposition from Richard Gibson of Co. Carlow

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[355] Inventory of Anthonie Rookes, *Sheriffs Court of Common Pleas,* BL, Add. MS 11687, fol. 128-129.
[356] See Reeves-Smyth, 'Community to Privacy', p. 300; Orloff G. Miller, 'Archaeological Excavations at Salterstown, County Londonderry, Northern Ireland', PhD Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania (1991) pp. 450-492; C. O'Brien and J. Farrelly, 'Forest Glass Furnaces in County Offaly', *Archaeology Ireland* 11, no. 4 (1997), pp. 21-23; Nick Brannon, 'A 1614-1618 Londoners' Glasshouse at Salterstown, County Londonderry?', *Archaeology Ireland* 12, no. 2 (1998), p. 23.
[357] TCD, Deposition of Ralph Walmisley, MS 814, fols 264r-269v [accessed November 2014].
[358] TCD, Deposition of John Dearnell, MS 814, fols 119r-120v [accessed November 2014].
[359] TCD, Deposition of Sir Hardress Waller, MS 829, fols 284r-290v [accessed June 2014].
[360] TCD, Examination of Margaret Hitchins, MS 819, fols 253v-254v [accessed November 2014].
[361] Fenlon, 'Some Early Seventeenth-Century Building Accounts', p. 89.
[362] 'Account of tymber' [December 1609], Lismore Papers, NLI, MS 43, 300/2.
[363] Boate, *Irelands Naturall History*, p. 149.
[364] For information about luxury consumption in England, see Linda Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendour: Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 2005).

proposed that a Justice of a Peace may have earned £200 a year.[365] A parallel deposition taken in 1643 pointed to Bringhurst's full name of 'Henry Bringhurst' as well as his religious occupation, which would explain his collection of books and how he attained his lease from the bishop.[366] The youngest sons of Anthony Garvey organised the robbery, suggesting somewhat contentious issues concerning land ownership. Under James I, Kilkeraine had been granted to Christopher Garvey before Bringhurst acquired his lease from the bishop's more recent ownership.[367] Bringhurst's deposition not only revealed how closely he lived near the native community, but his thatch home would suggest that he felt little sense of danger. Because the province was remote from the central government, Catholicism was allowed to survive in Connacht. Deponents did not report a large rebel army, but small bands of neighbouring men. The localised, sporadic attacks in Mayo pointed to a lack of a coordinated plan and a response to economic hardships of the late 1630s.[368] Henry Bringhurst, the British official obligated to impose the English legal and religious code upon Co. Mayo's native community (with a house full of valuable goods) was a predictable target.

The physical appearance of a domestic building in a relatively unpopulated area of Ireland would have likely reflected the resources that were readily available (via roads or river transport) to the inhabitants. Bringhurst's home was located in Kilkeraine in the barony of Kilmaine in Co. Mayo and rested in an area remarkably inaccessible by roads when compared to the rest of the island (Figure 2).[369] Considering that more than seventy per cent of Ireland was covered in either bogs or woods in the sixteenth-century, creating roads became an English priority after 1500.[370] Yet, ordering the landscape through road construction naturally focused on large towns or cities before smaller settlements. This would ensure the administration's commercial control and allow them to monitor native activities.[371] Unsurprisingly, the closest major road to Kilmaine began at Galway, approximately forty-three kilometres away. Additionally, many in Co. Mayo suffered economic hardship

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[365] TCD, Deposition of Richard Gibson, MS 812, fols 014r-015v [accessed November 2014].
[366] Bringhurst described the 'See of Tuam', see TCD, Deposition of [H] Bringhurst [accessed June 2014].
[367] For Gravey, see Ireland Chancery, *Calendar of the Patent Rolls of the Chancery of Ireland: 1 James I-22 James I* (Dublin, 1800) p. 319. For evidence of bishops' land, see William O'Sullivan (ed.), *The Strafford Inquisition of County Mayo* (Dublin, 1958) p. 71.
[368] See Raymond Gillespie, 'Mayo and Rising of 1641', *Cathair na Mart* 5 (1985), pp. 38-44; Inga Jones, '"Holy War"? Religion, Ethnicity and Massacre during the Irish Rebellion 1641-2', in Eamon Darcy, Annaleigh Margey and Elaine Murphy (eds), *The 1641 Depositions and the Irish Rebellion* (London, 2012) pp. 129-42.
[369] For a projection of seventeenth-century roads, see the Historical GIS of TCD, *The Down Survey of Ireland*. Available from: http://downsurvey.tcd.ie [accessed October 2014].
[370] Montaño, *The Roots of English Colonialism*, p. 250; R. A Butlin, 'Land and People, c. 1600', in T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin, and F. J. Byrne (eds), *A New History of Ireland: Early Modern Ireland 1534-1691* (Oxford, 2009) p. 163.
[371] Montaño, *The Roots of English Colonialism*, p. 253.

following poor harvests, declining revenue from the cattle trade, and a dwindling influence of Galway's port compared to that of its competitors.[372]

Figure 2. Location of Kilmaine with projection of seventeenth-century roads adapted from TCD, *The Down Survey.* Available from: http://www.downsurvey.tcd.ie

Seventeenth-century building accounts, such as those of Birr Castle and the earl of Cork's constructions in Bandon, indicated that transporting materials was a significant expenditure for building work both in Ireland and England.[373] To construct Castle Birr in Co. Offaly, Sir Laurence Parsons cut transport costs by reusing stones of nearby older buildings. Yet, he was still forced to pay huge sums to carry stone, sand and gravel from nearby quarries.[374] In Dublin, the Carpenter Richard Teazer was given free use of 'ould walls lying about the premisses' when building the earl of Cork's gallery.[375] Reports from Pynnar's survey indicated that settlers were willing to transport timber and freestone by carriage, but this effort was limited to a distance of five or eight miles.[376] Only in a rare case in Co. Cavan do we find English transporting materials great distances: the 1611 survey stated that 120 great oaks had been carried thirty miles to Fermanagh.[377] Of course such transport required passable roads, which was a blessing Bringhurst may not have had. Any remaining natural impediments (such as bogs and rivers) called for additional capital investment. Edmond Perry

[372] Gillespie, 'Mayo and Rising of 1641', pp. 38-44.
[373] Fenlon, 'Some Early Seventeenth-Century Building Accounts in Ireland', pp. 84-9.
[374] Fenlon, 'Some Early Seventeenth-Century Building Accounts in Ireland', pp. 88-9.
[375] Lismore Papers, NLI, MS 43,276.
[376] Hill, *An Historical Account*, p. 555.
[377] Brewer and Bullen, *Calendar Carew Manuscripts*, p. 220; see also Robinson, 'Vernacular Housing in Ulster', p. 18.

wrote to the earl of Kildare asking for funds to construct a bridge in order to carry stones to his new home in Co. Limerick.[378]

Alternatively, rivers would become important means of transport in Ireland due to the lack of infrastructure. English accounts proved that this method greatly reduced costs: in Nottinghamshire, a ton of glass could be transported by water for eight to five miles for a mere 7s. 6d., while transporting the same glass for two miles over land would have cost 4 s.[379] Brunskill noted that, for less elite residences, preferred building materials such as slate were limited to the vicinity of quarries because of transportation difficulties.[380]

Lack of infrastructure was a significant barrier, but the local availability of building materials posed another roadblock. Gerard Boate reported that while slate was in abundance, bricks and tiles remained rare.[381] Boate observed that Ireland 'had neither convenient stuff to make them of, nor work-men skilfull in that business.'[382] As a result, Ireland's tile supply relied upon foreign importation. Several coastal towns in Ireland had begun importing Dutch tiles as an improved roofing material. Port books from Coleraine revealed that 2,000 tile stones were imported from the Low Countries in 1613, yet this was the only import over the course of three years.[383] Evidence indicated that tiles were being locally produced in Ireland, but it was limited to the English settlements in Cos Londonderry, Fermanagh and Cavan.[384] Tiles also inconveniently absorbed water and required expensive glazing in order to seal out moisture.[385] Alternative methods of waterproofing like the use of lead on roofs were similarly costly due to the rarity of the material.[386] Slate appeared primarily in urban sites where the ever-present danger of fire overcame other priorities of economy or persistent damp.[387] The material seemed to be primarily sourced from schistose quarries of Londonderry and the importation of blue slates from Wales.[388] Suitably local slate could only be found in northwest Londonderry, north Donegal and east Down, explaining why slate roofs were only found in

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[378] Aidan Clarke and Bríd McGrath (eds), *Letterbook of George, 16th Earl of Kildare* (Dublin, 2013) p. 105.
[379] Fenlon, 'Some Early Seventeenth-Century Building Accounts in Ireland', p. 89.
[380] Brunskill, *Vernacular Architecture,* p. 88.
[381] Boate, *Irelands Naturall History,* p. 151.
[382] Boate, *Irelands Naturall History*, p. 151.
[383] Robert J. Hunter, *The Ulster Port Books, 1612-1615* (Belfast, 2012) pp. 60-1.
[384] Reeves-Smyth, 'Community to Privacy', p. 299.
[385] Reeves-Smyth, 'Community to Privacy', p. 299.
[386] Reeves-Smyth, 'Community to Privacy', p. 297.
[387] See T. W. Moody, *The Londonderry Plantation 1609-41: The City of London and the Plantation of Ulster* (Belfast, 1939); Blades, 'In the Manner of England', p. 45; Robinson, 'Some Late Survivals of Box-Framed "Plantation"', p. 129.
[388] E. M. Jope and G. C. Dunning, 'The Use of Blue Slate for Roofing in Medieval England', *Antiquaries Journal* 34, no. 3 (1954), p. 213; Robinson, 'From Thatch to Slate', pp. 21-35; J. S. Curl, *The Londonderry Plantation 1609-1914* (Chichester, 1986) pp. 53, 242, 283, 353; Reeves-Smyth, 'Community to Privacy', p. 298.

these areas.[389] In the Examination of Alexander Aikins, a three storey slate house appeared in the parish of Clondahorky, Co. Donegal (one of the northern baronies of the county).[390]

Although there was an abundance of clay in Ireland, brick structures were typically found in Dublin because of the lack of sufficient handling elsewhere on the island.[391] As previously stated, this trend was apparent in the depositions with only twelve examples of brick-work or manufacture. Eleven of these originated from Co. Dublin and its adjacent counties. In Dublin, Peter de Coster described himself as a 'breekmaker' who lost the benefit of his trade after the outbreak of violence, and Sarah Rhodes's late husband had built two brick houses in the same county.[392] A widow Grace Gilbert testified that she and her husband had spent £60 on buildings 'of several shingled houses of Claye worke', stables and offices in Mountemellick, Co. Laois.[393] Outside Leinster, brick can be found primarily in the Londonderry Company villages, employed in the chimney stacks of new houses, or in the oven and flue linings of rural dwellings.[394] Indeed, one of the motivations behind placing the plantation in Londonderry was that the soil there was 'good for brick and tile.'[395] Mountjoy Fort and Belfast Castle presented some of the earliest examples of brick used in Ireland on a large scale, followed by the impressive Jigginstown in Co. Kildare. Overall, however, brick was a rare material that was limited to Dublin, or elite residences within and outside Leinster.

Shingles, although not the preferred roofing material for stately English homes, was another option for Bringhurst's rural abode. Unlike slate or tile, they were easy to obtain and transport. Shingles appeared occasionally in the depositions in Cos Laois, Limerick, Tyrone and Offaly, and they can also be viewed on the Raven's map of the Mercers Company Lands (Plate 4).[396] However, the wooden (often oak) shingles frequently had to be replaced annually due to shrinkage, and they fared poorly against harsh winds.[397]

The deposition of Henry Bringhurst leaves many questions left unanswered. An absence of details concerning the construction process and even the material used to build the walls of his home prevents a satisfying assessment. Yet, his stated geographic location,

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[389] Robinson, *The Plantation of Ulster*, p. 143.
[390] TCD, Examination of Alexander Aikins, MS 839, fols 147r-148v [accessed November 2014].
[391] Boate, *Irelands Naturall History*, p. 160.
[392] TCD, Deposition of Peter de Coster, MS 810, fols 294r-294v; Deposition of Sarah Roades, MS 810, fols 299r-299v [accessed November 2014].
[393] TCD, Deposition of Grace Gilbert, MS 815, fols 199r-199v [accessed June 2014].
[394] Reeves-Smyth, 'Community to Privacy', pp. 299-300.
[395] Morrin, *Calendar of the Patent Rolls …Charles the First*, p. 619.
[396] TCD, Deposition of Grace Gilbert, MS 815, fols 199r-199v; Deposition of James Keene and thomas Doyly, MS 829, fols 168r-169v; Deposition of John Kairnes, MS 839, fols 033r-034v; Deposition of Chidley Coote, MS 814, fols 204r-216v; Deposition of Sir Hardress Waller, MS 829, fols 284r-290v [accessed June 2014].
[397] Reeves-Smyth, 'Community to Privacy', p. 298; Curl, *the Londonderry Plantation 1609-1914*, p. 182.

contemporary reports of resources, and fragmentary description of his thatched home begins to unravel the economic factors and experienced social conditions that would have influenced settlers' decisions in less populated areas. In Ulster and Connacht, the product of settlers' efforts displayed a level of adaptive, resourceful pragmatism that employed impermanent materials, adopted Irish vernacular building, and reused older sites. Even in England, an architectural style that preferred privacy and only employed permanent materials trickled down from London with vast regional differences.[398] During an age in which England attempted to designate cultural difference, Ireland was seeded with ambiguity. The divided landscape was not always based on visual difference, but often invented difference.

Conclusion

In Co. Antrim, archaeologists uncovered two post-medieval structures: a seventeenth-century stone plantation house and a booley. The intriguing assortment of native earthenware and imported English and Rhenish ceramics found at the site not only spoke of the interaction between native and newcomers during the seventeenth-century, but also proposed that the inhabitants transitioned from Gaelic to English style structures. In early modern England, buildings were 'expected to outlive [inhabitants] and to remain useful and meaningful long after they are gone…'[399] Yet in seventeenth-century Ireland, many buildings presented an architecture of impermanency that was more concerned with immediate use instead of longevity. This of course does not encapsulate all newly constructed homes of the period. Yet, the habitation of older buildings and newly constructed cabins demonstrated that many settlers prioritised their survival in a changing landscape, or sought to accumulate quick earnings before a forthcoming departure. As Gillespie pointed out, many 'early seventeenth-century settlers regarded Ireland as an attractive source of short-term profit…'[400] This was particularly true for those seeking to set up industrial works, but the lack of long-term vision may very well have stunted architectural improvements.

Prior research revealed that Gaelic structures were often a product of an era plagued with land redistribution and political, social and religious instability. The Irish 'uncivilised' buildings—that employed impermanent materials and lacked both large windows and chimneys—were incorporated into Gaelic Irish cultural traditions that set them apart from

[398] Laurence, 'Using Buildings to Understand Social History', p. 105.
[399] Alice T. Friedman, *House and Household in Elizabethan England: Wollaton Hall, and the Willoughby Family* (Chicago, 1989) p. 4.
[400] Raymond Gillespie, *Transformation of the Irish Economy 1550-1700* (Dublin, 1991) p. 35.

English systems of status, inheritance and land ownership. Although vernacular traditions varied within the Gaelic community, as well as in England, seventeenth-century descriptions falsely designated an Irish national vernacular in opposition to an English vernacular. Curiously, this tone would reappear two centuries later in nineteenth-century travellers' accounts of Irish communities. Tourists' descriptions of the thatched huts of the Claddagh community in the post-famine era proposed an interesting parallel to the war-torn seventeenth-century plagued by harvest crises.[401]

Ironically, the tradition of windowless huts and thatched roofs appeared in regions of England and Scotland that had not yet been touched by 'Roman civility.' Official accounts of vernacular architecture throughout England, Scotland and Ireland (and the contempt for these forms) suggested that 'different standards of amenity' coexisted during the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries.[402] Visitors' accounts of Ireland, and their approval of more civilised English forms, wrongly suggested that there was a revolution and standardisation of comfort in English society. Surveyors struggled to classify ambiguous building forms that resulted from inhabitants' varied origins and unequal access to resources. Recent studies on early modern homes have offered intriguing propositions that further cloud distinct ethnic categories. Michael Corcoran has suggested that the home of the Catholic Anglo-Norman Plunkett family was not originally an Irish tower-house, but a medieval-styled home found typically in South England, specifically Devon and Cornwall.[403]

English settlers may not have been entirely convinced by English propaganda describing the Irish as wild and barbaric. Homes of stone and brick were not only 'civil' but defensive structures. If British planters chose to live in thatched homes vulnerable to attack, they may not have felt threatened by their Irish counterparts. It is possible that there was a level of peaceful interaction before 1641 that persuaded settlers to ignore orders for defensive, incombustible English homes in favour of the more practical thatched buildings. Defence did not even appear to be a concern for elite residents who had the financial strength to carryout these principles. In 1641, a Kerry gentleman stated that he built his house 'for peace, having more windows than walls.'[404] Raymond Gillespie described 'some measure of social cohesion, or drive for peace and order, which existed in tension with the desire to enforce

[401] Mullane, 'Distorted Views of the People and their Houses', pp. 170-200.
[402] Crowley, *Invention of Comfort*, p. 62.
[403] Michael Corcoran, 'Challenging Narratives: An Early Modern House at Carstown, Co. Louth', in Michael Potterton and Thomas Herron (eds), *Dublin and the Pale in the Renaissance* (Dublin, 2011) pp. 125-44.
[404] Gillespie, 'Destabilizing Ulster, 1641-2', in Brian Mac Cuarta (ed.), *Ulster, 1641: Aspects of the Rising* (Belfast, 1993) pp. 107-21, 208-10.

confessional division and help to migrate its disruptive tendencies.'[405] Humanist reformers obsessed with Roman models of civility abhorred such cultural exchange, hoping to improve Ireland just as the Romans had improved the ancient Britons. Wills from the period reported newcomers' paranoia about ethnic and religious blending. In 1650, William Parson of Birr in Co. Offaly prohibited his three children from marrying Irish papists.[406] Perhaps this was a reaction to the cultural fluidity of the years leading up to the 1641 rebellion when natives and newcomers of that county adopted the language, social etiquette and material culture of one another.

The conflicting language of surveyors' may have also been a result of a relatively new and fragile sense of English identity. English commentary and building traditions reflected the growing view of class separation and withdrawal from the 'medieval village' community.[407] Room separation within the home mirrored the fragmenting community of early modern Ireland as new expressions of status integrated into a changing social hierarchy. The denouncement of thatch favoured permanent building materials that would obliterate maintenance relationships between the homeowner and helpful neighbours, further isolating individuals within their private homes.

English building ideals recorded in the observations of Fynes Moryson and Gerard Boate, as well as plantation building policies, may have continued a process of degrading local vernacular in an early attempt to establish a national vernacular. By, the eighteenth-century, 'local architectural languages' would evolve into a 'national style.'[408] It is interesting to question if such an evolution made a leap forward in the early seventeenth-century during a period of colonisation. When English observers interacted with the vernacular of varying cultures, they chose to see these buildings as reflections of identity rather than environment. Many settlers, however, did not wholly subscribe to this emergent idea of uniform style presented by South East England. If permanent buildings required a sense of geographic and economic security, is it that surprising that many settlers chose the thatched cottages of their Irish contemporaries?

Audrey Horning argued that material blending should not be surprising: 'Economic levelling and the necessities of everyday life invariably increased both interaction and

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[405] Raymond Gillespie, *Seventeenth Century Ireland: Making Ireland Modern* (Dublin, 2006) pp. 19-20.
[406] Ainsorth, 'Abstracts of 17th Century Irish Wills in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury', pp. 34-5.
[407] For further discussion, see Matthew H. Johnson, 'Rethinking Houses, Rethinking Transitions', pp. 145-55; Jonathan Barry and Christopher Brooks (eds), *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society and Politics in England 1550-1800* (Basingstoke, 1994).
[408] Nicholas Cooper, 'Display, Status and the Vernacular Tradition', *Vernacular Architecture* 33, no. 1 (2002), p. 31.

material accommodation.'[409] Post-medieval archaeologists concede that English habitation in Irish structures is a common phenomenon, particularly in Ulster.[410] Estate records of the Ulster plantation in Co. Tyrone and Fermanagh suggested that 'quality of residence' was a 'poor guide to the national origin of a tenant.'[411] Yet, settlers did not simply occupy old structures. They built Irish houses as part of the plantation civilising scheme, even to the point that settlers carried it to the New World.[412] As Barnard stated, although edicts stipulated materials for housing, 'in the end, most obliged to work with what was available. In some places, reeds rather than straw thatched roofs; walls were built of mud or turf rather than brick…'[413]

At moments, the 1641 Depositions reported ethnic difference as a consequence of its historical context and bias sampling. However, the ethnicity of building forms is infrequently mentioned when compared to the seventeenth-century surveys. Deponents described how buildings were used in conflict when structures were burnt to the ground, established as garrisons, or used as hideaways for fleeing victims. They also presented buildings with varied monetary values, which spoke to the differences of size, quality and materials. The names of building craftsmen reflected a blend of ethnic traditions, but the distribution of these individuals across the four provinces suggested that Protestant skilled labour dominated Munster. Craftsmen's surnames in part explains the architectural innovation previously noted by scholars that flourished across Ireland.[414]

While some settlers upheld the government's civilising policies, for many, the pressures of everyday life would mould early colonial Ireland into something quite unlike the official stipulations for plantation and the claims of English reformist propaganda. Rather than an inverted image of English civility, early modern Ireland reflected a blended society that embraced architectural adaptation—from elites who adopted polite architecture to sustain their social power, to inhabitants who employed local resources to construct homes during a period of instability. The depositions intent was not to reconstruct the built environment of the domestic homes in 1641, yet a careful reading of the witness testimonies presents invaluable information concerning building improvements and expenditure, as well as craftsmen distribution. With continued research in this area, and an emerging interest in post-

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[409] Horning, 'Ireland and North America in the Seventeenth Century', p. 62.
[410] Horning, et al., *The Post-Medieval Archaeology of Ireland*, p. 4.
[411] Canny, 'Migration and Opportunity: Britian, Ireland and the New World', p. 23.
[412] See description of American colonial architecture in Edmund Plowden, 'Description of New Albion from "American Notes"', *Journal of Society of Architectural Historians* 15, no. 3 (1956), p. 2; Horning, 'Ireland and North America in the Seventeenth Century', pp. 61-2.
[413] Barnard, 'Material Cultures', p. 254.
[414] Loeber, 'Early Seventeenth Century Ulster and Midland Plantations, Part I and Part II', pp. 73-138

medieval archaeology, scholars may better identify local vernaculars in order to produce a more complete depiction of Ireland's built landscape.

THE MILL

The Built Environment of the Local Economy

In 1642, Robert Wadding fled his home in a state of panic upon hearing news of the rebels' activities. His hasty departure left his primary source of profit unattended and soon in the hands of neighbouring insurgents. The 'Crop of winter Corne in ground' worth £120 from his farm in Co. Carlow, as well as £60 of corn from his second farm in Co. Waterford were lost before he had the opportunity to thresh the grain and take it to a mill for processing.[1]

Although milling had been a long established practice in medieval Ireland, foreign accounts described a landscape devoid of milling technology and overrun with primitive stone querns.[2] As early as the twelfth-century, Gerald of Wales concluded that the presence of mills at St. Lucherin and St. Fechin was a fluke in the otherwise hand mill dominated society.[3] Over 400 years later, Fynes Moryson saw naked, young women in Cork grinding corn by hand with stones (Plate 7-8) to make cakes.[4] Thomas Gainsford observed a similar sight in 1618:

> Their principal corn is oates, which are commonly burnt out of the straw, and they then trod from the husks with men's feet; of this they made their bread in cakes, being first ground by calliots and drudges very naked, and beastly sitting on the ground, with the mill like our mustard quernes between their legs, and then upon broad iron press they bake the meal when it is needed.[5]

Many native Irish most likely continued to grind corn in this way during an era of plantation, yet it has been the mission of historians since the nineteenth-century to dissociate Ireland's milling history from the biased foreign accounts that painted Ireland as a land of barbarians.[6] Gainsford's observation pandered to reform rhetoric that sought to tame Ireland through agricultural cultivation.[7] Today, mills' historical presence on the Irish topography can be

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[1] 1641 Depositions Project, online transcript of the Deposition of Robert Wadding, MS 812, fols 027r-028v. Available from: http://1641.tcd.ie [accessed June 2014]. All the following cited depositions have been retrieved online from http://1641.tcd.ie.

[2] For quern stones, see Muiris O'Sullivan and Liam Downey, 'Quern Stones', *Archaeology Ireland* 20, no. 2 (2006), pp. 22-5.

[3] Anon, 'Ancient Irish Literature: Antiquity of Corn and Mills in Ireland', *Dublin Penny Journal* 1, no. 36, (1833), p. 282. For more on querns, see Richard Bennett and John Elton, *History of Corn Milling, Vol. 1* (London, 1898).

[4] Fynes Moryson, 'Description of Ireland.' Available at CELT from: http://www.ucc.ie/celt/online/T100071.html. [accessed October 2014].

[5] Thomas Gainsford, *A Description of Ireland: A.D. 1618.* Available at CELT from: http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/E610006/index.html [accessed October 2014].

[6] For example, see Anon, 'Ancient Irish Literature: Antiquity of Corn and Mills in Ireland', p. 282.

[7] See John Patrick Montaño, *The Roots of English Colonialism in Ireland* (Cambridge, 2011).

deduced from placenames that translate to 'millstone' or, 'gruel' made from ground oatmeal.[8] Early Irish law addressed milling by water, and included several consequences if accidents occurred at the mill for the miller, millwright and the individual grinding the corn.[9] Archaeological evidence presented numerous examples of native mills in Ireland throughout the medieval period, often built in a unique Irish vernacular.[10] Colin Rynne drives this field of study by investigating milling engineering, customarily focusing upon technology prior to plantation.

The new mills of the seventeenth-century would come to play a fundamental role in the English civilising mission by shaping the land for profit and delegating economic power to English mill owners. The improvement in agricultural infrastructure (such as the building of mills, dairies and barns) may have contributed to the 'agricultural revolution' of the seventeenth-century by increasing the level of output.[11] As of yet, there has been no attempt by historians to assess early modern mills in Ireland, particularly in regard to both their economic and social position in the community. The lack of manorial documentation and limited quantities of estate papers have thwarted research about milling as well as a broader exploration into agriculture.[12] Canny's contribution to this field used the depositions to demonstrate regional agricultural change as expressed through the appearance of new breeds of livestock and improved technology.[13] However, misgivings have been voiced concerning the methodology of this research by using the depositions so definitively.[14]

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[8] Martin McCon Iomaire, 'Gastro-Topography: Exploring Food-related Placenames in Ireland', *The Canadian Journal of the Irish Studies* 38 no.1/2 (2014), p. 145.
[9] Cited in Anon, 'Ancient Irish Literature: Antiquity of Corn and Mills in Ireland', p. 282. See also Seán Duffy (ed.), 'Mill and Milling', in *Medieval Ireland: An Encyclopedia* (London, 2005) p. 335-6.
[10] For discussion of an early medieval mill, see Matthew Seaver, 'Run of the Mill? Excavation of an Early Medieval Site at Raystown, Co. Meath', *Archaeology Ireland* 19, no. 4 (2005), pp. 9-12; Thomas C. McErlean, Caroline Earwood, Dermot Moore and Eileen Murphy, 'The Sequence of Early Christian Period Horizontal Tide Mills at Nendrum Monastery: An Interim Statement', *Historical Archaeology* 41, no. 3 (2007), pp. 63-75.
[11] Raymond Gillespie, 'Irish Agriculture in the Seventeenth Century', in Margaret Murphy and Matthew Stout (eds), *Agriculture and Settlement in Ireland* (Dublin, 2015) pp. 131-7. For more on the argument of an agricultural revolution, see Nicholas P. Canny, 'Identity Formation in Ireland: The Emergence of the Anglo-Irish', in Nicholas P. Canny and Anthony Pagden (eds), *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World 1500-1800* (Princeton, 1989) pp. 159-212.
[12] Gillespie, 'Irish Agriculture in the Seventeenth Century', pp. 120-1.
[13] Nicholas P. Canny, 'Migration and Opportunity: Britain, Ireland and the New World,' *Irish Economic and Social History* 12 (1985), pp. 7-32; Nicholas P. Canny, *Making Ireland British, 1580-1650* (Oxford, 2001) pp. 303-401, specifically pp. 370-9, 382-3.
[14] Gillespie, 'Irish Agriculture in the Seventeenth Century', p. 120; Canny, 'Migration and Opportunity', pp. 7-32; Raymond Gillespie, 'Migration and Opportunity: A Comment', *Irish Economic and Social History,* 13 (1986), pp. 90-5; Nicholas P. Canny, 'A Reply', *Irish Economic and Social History,* 13 (1986), pp. 96-100; Michael Perceval-Maxwell, 'Migration and Opportunity: A Further Comment', *Irish Economic and Social History* 14 (1987), pp. 59-61.

The importance of mills to determine the value of land is evident in the Civil Survey of the 1650s where mills were indexed along with castles, churches, stone houses and abbeys. The 1641 Depositions provide over 150 accounts of mills which described water mills, windmills, horse mills and hand mills used to refine silver and process corn, cloth, malt and bark before the rising/rebellion. While the depositions do not yield a vast amount of detail concerning the look or construction of these structures, they successfully tie the mills to their owners, leaseholders and locality. By incorporating archaeological evidence, land surveys, and known accounts of mill construction in Ireland, the depositions can further illuminate the importance of the built environment and the role of the mill in an ethnically and religiously mixed population.

Power

Indigenous Irish methods that were used to harness milling power became a point of censure. Seventeenth-century accounts immediately set this critical tone by employing the phallic image of the unclothed female miller. The sexuality of this motif is present throughout Europe with images of women straddling grinding stones between their legs, such as that found in Vincenzo Campi's *Kitchen Scene,* c. 1580-90 (Plate 9). When the Englishman Thomas Gainsford likened the Irish mills to 'mustard querns', he tethered Irish women to the history of sexual innuendo in Renaissance England.[15] The sexualising of Ireland would reappear in colonial discourse again and again, particularly in the context of clothing.[16] Yet, even in the more technologically advanced water mills, the sentiment of Irish backwardness survived.

For mills, this criticism trickled down into the very engineering of the structure. The rentals of estates between 1633-1636 to proprietors of Co. Sligo employed the terms 'English' and 'Irish' mills to imply a technological disparity. Colin Rynne argued that 'English Mills' referred to those structures with vertical waterwheels while 'Irish Mills' most likely implied

[15] Patricia Simons discusses the sexual implications of the mortar and pestle in *The Sex of Men in Premodern Europe: A Cultural History* (Cambridge, 2011) p. 275. Themes of this can be found in Francis Beaumont's play *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* (1613), edited by Sheldon P. Zitner (Manchester, 2004). Many thanks to Sophie Pitman for directing me to these sources.

[16] See Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, 'Dismantling Irena: The Sexualising of Ireland in Early Modern England', in Andrew Parker, Mary Russo, Doris Sommer and Patricia Yaeger (eds), *Nationalisms and Sexualities* (London, 1992) pp. 157-71.

horizontal waterwheels.[17] Irish mills had a horizontal wheel and a vertical axle without gearing that turned the mill stone above directly (Plate 10).[18] It was usually placed inside the building beneath the working floor, and employed a small, fast stream of water on one side of the wheel.[19] Irish mills were described in alternative words, such as 'lowe' mills or 'small Irish' mills that indicated their wheel orientation. Evidence from the depositions suggested that settlers made the distinction between the two styles outside Co. Sligo. In the deposition of Mary Johnson of Co. Wexford, Mary reported that she and her husband, a yeoman, were deprived of the profits of, '...the lower mylne 2 howses and 20 acres of ground in nere Newboroughe…'[20] In this instance, 'lower mylne' could be referring to the location of a horizontal wheel mill beneath the working floor of the building. Before the Plantation of Ulster, water mills in Ulster were often of this horizontal nature, sometimes referred to as 'Norse' or 'Danish.'[21] To this day, historians remain perplexed by the widespread use of horizontal wheels in native medieval Irish mills where 'the technical vocabulary was of indigenous vernacular origin.'[22]

English settlers may have seen these low Irish mills as technologically inferior to its newer counterpart. While vertical wheels were known to Ireland before the plantations, they only appeared following Anglo-Norman conquest of the late twelfth-century.[23] Mills built in Ulster after English and Scottish settlement of the seventeenth-century utilised the more efficient vertical water wheels. Recent excavations of sophisticated early medieval mills has called this assumed efficiency into question.[24] Investigations of horizontal wheels in a broader European context have proposed the design's durability as well as geographic diversity on the

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[17] W. G. Wood-Martin, *History of Sligo, County and Town from the Accession of James I to the Revolution of 1688* (Dublin, 1889); Colin Rynne, 'Technological Continuity, Technological "Survival": The Use of Horizontal Mills in Western Ireland, c. 1632-1940', *Industrial Archaeology Review* 33, no. 2 (2011), p. 98.
[18] For more examples of horizontal wheels in medieval Ireland, see Simon Lancaster, 'Early Medieval Mills in Ashbourne, co. Meath', *Grist to the Mill: The Newsletter of the Mills and Millers of Ireland* 10 (2006), pp. 18-20; Colin Rynne, 'The Technical Development of the Horizontal Water Wheel in the First Millennium AD: Some Recent Archaeological Insights from Ireland', *The International Journal of the History of Engineering and Technology* 85, no. 1 (2015), pp. 70-93.
[19] Philip Robinson, 'A Water Mill Built in 1615 by the Drapers Company at Moneymore, County Londonderry', *Ulster Folklife* 28 (1982), p. 50.
[20] TCD, Deposition of Mary Johnson, MS 818, fols 145r-145v [accessed February 2015].
[21] For a general history of milling and the evolution of mill types, see Fran Gage, 'Wheat to Flour: A Story of Milling', *Gastronomica: The Journal of Critical Food Studies* 6, no. 1 (2006), pp. 84-92.
[22] Richard Hoffman, *An Environmental History of Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 2014) p. 208.
[23] Colin Rynne, 'The Development of Milling Technology in Ireland c. 600-1875', in Andy Bielenberg (ed.), *Irish Flour Milling: A History 600-2000* (Dublin, 2003) p. 20.
[24] See Neil Jackman, Caitríona Moore and Colin Rynne, *The Mill at Kilbegly. An Archaeological Investigation on the M6 Ballinasloe to Athlone National Road Scheme* (Dublin, 2013).

small island.[25] The vertical wheel's more complex model involved several additional (often wooden) parts in order to turn the millstone: a trundle wheel, lantern pinion and spindle. Despite these structures' importance in Ireland's changing economy, few examples exist of the trundle mill in Ulster today. The single seventeenth-century instance left to confirm the trundle mill's significance in the development of Ireland's mill engineering is the mill at Moneymore.[26]

Unfortunately, it is impossible to assess the typology of every mill wheel from the information provided by the depositions. Apart from the instance in Wexford, no other depositions made a clear distinction. However, the term 'old mill' in the depositions may contain some clues as to the physical state and history of the structures. Thomas Knowles was described as being 'of ould mills in the Queenes Coumptie.'[27] 'Old Mill', a townland in the parish of Dysart, was owned by Francis Cosby in 1641. Water mills used for fulling cloth and iron production sat in the nearby town at Ballinakill.[28] In this case, the mills were adequate landmarks to prove Thomas' identity because of their historical presence on the county's landscape. Did the term 'old mill' also imply the structure's dated milling methods such as the horizontal wheel, or the presence of a milling site long gone? In the minutes of corporation for Clonmel, charges were issued to erect a mill upon an 'auncient milne place' in 1619 with the hope that the new structure would not be burned by 'alien fyre.'[29] The reuse of prior milling sites proved to be an ecological reality in order to harness pre-established hydropower. Giles Mash of Co. Cork described the miller John Browne as 'a millor of the new mills neare Kinsale…', which may refer to new mills constructed by Englishmen following the influx of British settlers, perhaps as part of the plantation scheme.[30]

While deponents did not consistently differentiate mills by wheel orientation, they did remark on the mill's power source and production type. Water mills may have been the favoured form in Ulster due to its lake landscape, and they were the most common mill type mentioned throughout the depositions.[31] Yet, such water-powered mills of the seventeenth-

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[25] Rynne, 'The Technical Development of Horizontal Water-Wheel', pp. 70-93.
[26] Robinson, 'A Water Mill Built in 1615', pp. 49-55.
[27] TCD, Deposition of Thomas Knowells, MS 815, fol. 227r [accessed February 2015].
[28] NMS, *Archaeological Survey of Ireland*, Reference Number LA030-018007-. Available from: http://webgis.archaeology.ie/historicenvironment [accessed May 2016].
[29] Bríd McGrath (ed.), *The Minute Book of the Corporation of Clonmel 1608-1649* (Dublin, 2006) p. 72.
[30] TCD, Deposition of Giles Mash, MS 824, fols 006r-006v [accessed February 2015]. A possible location is Brown Mills in Kinsale, Co. Cork.
[31] For discussion on water mills in Ireland, see Muiris O'Sullivan and Liam Downey, 'Watermills', *Archaeology Ireland* 20, no. 3 (2006), pp. 36-8.

century were 'as rule simple enterprises with inadequate millponds.'[32] The author of *Advertisements for Ireland, Being a Description of the State of Ireland* presented an unimpressive account of the water-powered mills in Ireland that would benefit from the settlers' influence. Not only were these structures scarce, but 'in summer they want water, so as they are forced sometimes to go thirty miles off to be supplied.' Recent discussion, however, has proposed that concerns regarding hydropower sources influenced millwrights as early as the seventh-century. Visitors' complaints of dry summer sources may speak to native designs that accommodated seasonal water flows. [33] While it is likely that the description exaggerated Ireland's poor milling facilities to encourage future English investment, many settlers came to Ireland expecting to construct their own improved English mills. In Co. Armagh, one settler had built his own water mill on the twenty acres of land he rented on a sixty year lease.[34] In other cases new settlers, lacking the inside knowledge of the ebbs and flow of Ireland's streams, took the advice of *Advertisements* by harnessing the alternative power of wind and horses. For if millponds failed, 'windmills and horsemills were set up in the market towns and other convenient places in some reasonable distance asunder...'[35]

After investigating the presence of windmills in the depositions, it became apparent that the Protestant community consistently referenced the structures in the context of violence. Both Irish and British accounts reported how the Irish insurgents employed the sails of the mill to hang Protestants in Ulster, Munster and Leinster. Such was the case at a windmill in Co. Cavan near the castle of Sir Francis Hamilton around Killeshandra.[36] Hugh Conway reported the presence of a windmill about a mile from Athy in Co. Laois in a field where a gentleman John Taylor had been killed.[37] Another windmill emerged in Formoyle in Co. Longford.[38] This windmill, which had been the murder site of William Steele and Daniel Stibbs, was later incorporated into the farm of Walter Fitzgerald who acquired the land a year

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[32] 'L. M. Cullen, 'Eighteenth-Century Flour Milling in Ireland', in Andy Bielenberg (ed.) *Irish Flour Milling: A History 600-2000* (Dublin, 2003) p. 39.
[33] Rynne, 'Technical Development'; 'Water-Power as a Factor of Industrial Location in Early Medieval Ireland: The Environment of the Early Irish Water Mill', *Industrial Archaeology Review* 31, no. 2 (2009), pp. 85-95.
[34] 'Armagh, list of houses already built and to be built', Huntington Library, HAM, Box 75, folder 8.
[35] G. O'Brien (ed.), *Advertisements for Ireland, being a Description of the State of Ireland in the Reign of James I* (Dublin, 1923) p. 35.
[36] TCD, Deposition of John Simpson, MS 833, fols 264r-264v [accessed February 2015].
[37] TCD, Examination of Hugh Conway, MS 813, fols 124r-125v [accessed February 2015].
[38] TCD, Deposition of Suzan Steele, MS 817, fols 213r-216v; Examination of Sir Silvester Browne, MS 817, fols 217r-218v; Examination of Walter Fitzgerald, MS 817, fols 223r-224v [accessed February 2015].

after the murders.[39] The possible remains of this windmill are located on a hilltop overlooking Lough Ree.[40] A report of the state of Wexford after the violence related the death of Henry Row of the windmill of Ballytory on land owned by the future Catholic bishop of Ferns Nicholas French.[41] The Down Survey map of this barony shows numerous windmills throughout the parishes with one in Tacumshin parish.[42] The terrier map of the parish additionally mentioned a windmill built in Ballytory that is also present in the archaeological record (Plate 11).[43]

Although water mills have had a long history in Ireland, windmills were most likely foreign to the native built environment. The first recorded instance of a wind-powered mill in Ireland (Kilscanlan, near Old Ross, Co. Wexford) occurred nearly a hundred years after that in England.[44] The earliest windmills in Europe echoed the design of vertical wheel water mills, which had not made an appearance in Ireland before Anglo-Norman settlement.[45] Older mills from this period and up until the seventeenth-century were most likely of post-mill design. These mills were often built upon mounds and entirely rotatable so that the miller could adjust the structure for wind changes (Plate 12).[46] John Carne of Co. Wexford described the 'old windmill neere the towne' of Wexford, which may suggest its dated post-mill construction.[47] Over sixteen windmills had been drawn in Wexford City alone on the barony map of Forth, presumably built to optimise coastal winds, and the remains of two windmills

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[39] TCD, Examination of Walter Fitzgerald, MS 817, fols 223r-224v. For additional example of windmill in Co. Limerick, see Deposition of Mourish fiz Gerrald, MS 829, fols 161r-162v [accessed February 2015].
[40] NMS, *Archaeological Survey of Ireland*, Reference Number LF021-035----. Available from: http://webgis.archaeology.ie/historicenvironment [accessed May 2016].
[41] TCD, The state of the town and county of Wexford, MS 818, fols 134r-137v [accessed February 2015]. Robert C. Simington, *The Civil Survey A.D. 1654-1656 Vol. IX County Wexford,* p 305. Patrick Corish, 'French, Nicholas,' in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography.* (Cambridge, 2009). Available from: http://dib.cambridge.org [accessed June 2016].
[42] See barony map of Forth in Co. Wexford, retrieved from TCD, *The Down Survey*. Available from: http://downsurvey.tcd.ie [accessed May 2016].
[43] NMS, *Archaeological Survey of Ireland*, Reference Number WX048-112----. Available from: http://webgis.archaeology.ie/historicenvironment [accessed May 2016]. For terrier, see parish map of Tacumshin, retrieved from TCD, *The Down Survey*. Available from: http://downsurvey.tcd.ie [accessed May 2016].
[44] Rynne, 'The Development of Milling Technology in Ireland, c. 600-1875', p. 22.
[45] Hoffman, *An Environmental History of Medieval Europe,* p. 212. See also Muiris O'Sullivan and Liam Downey, 'Windmills', *Archeology Ireland* 29, no. 2 (2015), pp. 37-40.
[46] Rynne, 'The Development of Milling Technology in Ireland, c. 600-1875', p. 23.
[47] TCD, Deposition of John Carne, MS 819, fols 202r-202v [accessed February 2015].

have been found at the site (Plate 13).[48] Two further windmills were mentioned in Newtown and Pembrokestown in the adjacent parish: St. Peter's parish.[49]

The tower mill first emerged in Ireland in the early seventeenth-century in Cos Roscommon and Longford. This structure utilised a fixed tower and a rotatable cap (placed at the top of the tower) to move the sails and windshaft in the direction of the wind.[50] Archaeological evidence suggests that settlers may have built these English structures on top of pre-existing post-mill sites. In Co. Roscommon, the possible remains of a tower mill now sit upon a mound once used for a medieval post windmill.[51] Windmills repeated use in the act of murder during the rebellion might be explained by their foreign association—built upon open ground, they would have been imposing symbols of English presence in the Irish skyline. Still, one must note (however unpleasant) that the windmill's very construction presented a functional option for hanging, and even more so for the English miller who continued to collect the Irishman's toll. For inhabitants entrenched in the pastoral economy, windmills produced yet another disruption: their noisy and mobile character frightened sheep and cattle.[52]

The second type of mill recommended by *Advertisements of Ireland*—the horse mill—made a rare appearance in the 1641 Depositions. The British Protestant Edmund Bloud claimed the right to a horse mill and a water mill in the parish of Dunboyne, Co. Meath.[53] Horse mills were most commonly employed for grinding grains or pumping water, and (as exemplified in Bloud's case) were often used in conjunction with a water mill. *Advertisements for Ireland* indicated that this form was respectable and often more efficient than the water mill. This may have been due to the fact that water mills not only required a familiarity with Ireland's waterways, they also required a higher degree of litigation and maintenance. In fact,

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[48] NMS, *Archaeological Survey of Ireland*, Reference Number WX037-062----. Available from: http://webgis.archaeology.ie/historicenvironment [accessed May 2016].
[49] See terrier for parish map of St. Peters, barony of Forth, Co. Wexford, retrieved from TCD, *The Down Survey*. Available from: http://downsurvey.tcd.ie [accessed May 2016].
[50] For an account of the operation of tower mills, see A. M. O'Sullivan, 'Tacumshin Windmill—Its History and Mode of Operation', *Journal of the Wexford Historical Society* 9 (1983-4), pp. 66-73.
[51] J. A. Claffey, 'Rindoon Windmill Tower', in Harman Murtagh (ed.) *Irish Midland Studies: Essays in Commemoration of N. W. English* (Athlone, 1980) pp. 84-8; Rynne, 'The Development of Milling Technology in Ireland', p. 27.
[52] For complaints in a medieval English context, see Janet Loengard, 'Lords' Right and Neighbors' Nuisances', in Steven A. Walton (ed.), *Wind and Water in the Middle Ages: Fluid Technologies from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Tempe, Arizona, 2009) pp. 130-1.
[53] TCD, Deposition of Edmund Bloud, MS 816, fols 153r-153v [accessed February 2015].

horse mills appeared in the thirteenth-century alongside windmills, nearly two centuries after the introduction of the water mill.[54]

Evidence of manually powered mills in the depositions is far more unusual than that of water mills and windmills. The only record of a hand mill in the collection occurred in Co. Mayo. British Protestant Henry Bringhurst reported the rebels' destruction of a hand mill used for malt near his home in the barony of Kilmaine: 'But theise inhumane actors of this wicked and notorious fact not herwith contented besides the breakinge of a hand mill or malt mill Stocks standinge without the grate for the Iron…'[55] By feudal obligation, this mill was most likely used by the community near Henry Bringhurst's home and required tenants to pay a toll. Hand mills—or more specifically querns—had been important tools for native milling practices, and in medieval Ireland such feudal obligations to the mill were often ignored when individuals chose to stow away private querns in their homes.[56] The inhabitants' simultaneous vandalism of the town stocks (the yoke fastened around offenders' ankles as a form of punishment) and the cage reinforced this assault against authority.[57]

Production Type

Agricultural mills, defined as mills used to grind various types of grain, are the most prominent form found in the 1641 Depositions. These mills, usually described as 'corn' or 'grist' mills can be found in Cos Antrim, Armagh, Monaghan, Dublin, Kildare, Laois, Cork, Limerick, Tipperary, Mayo and Galway.[58] A majority of the mills in the remaining counties that were left unspecified (i.e. described as simply 'mill') were often built on British farms for grain production, or they were located within towns employed by a variety of neighbouring tenants, which pointed to their role in processing corn, barley, wheat or oats.[59] Dawe Reagh

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[54] Grenville G. Astill and John Langdon, *Medieval Farming and Technology: The Impact of Agricultural Change in Northwest Europe* (Leiden, 1997) p. 138.
[55] TCD, Deposition of [H] Bringhurst, MS 831, fols 201v-208v [accessed June 2014].
[56] Rynne, 'Development of Milling Technology in Ireland', p. 26.
[57] 'Grate' made of iron may refer to a prison or cage, see 'grate, n. 7', *OED Online.* Available from: http://www.oed.com [accessed October 2016]. See also Alice Morse Earle, *Curious Punishments of Bygone Days* (Chicago, 1896).
[58] For examples, see TCD, Deposition of John Greg, MS 836, fols 004r-005v; Examination of Daniell MacThomas O Gilmore, MS 838, fols 249r-250v; Deposition of Richard Warrin, MS 836, fols 009r-010v; Deposition of Honorah Beamond, MS 834, fols 170r-170v; Deposition of William Baily, MS 810, fols 063r-063v; Deposition of Francis Ragg ex parte Mary Culvert, MS 813, fols 316r-316v; Deposition of Job Ward, MS 815, fols 277r-287v; Deposition of John Warren, MS 823, fols 155r-156v; Deposition of John Howell, MS 829, fols 153r-154v; Deposition of Edward Chayny, MS 821, fols 040r-041v; Deposition of [H] Bringhurst, MS 831, fols 201v-208v; Deposition of Ralph Lambart, MS 830, fols 173r-174v [accessed December 2014].
[59] For examples, see TCD, Deposition of Ann Dutton, MS 839, fols 129r-130v; Deposition of William Patterson, MS 837, fols 110r-110v; Deposition of John and James Redferne, MS 839, fols 100r-101v; Deposition of John

Goggin had left his home to seek ground oatmeal, a product indicative of a Irish culinary tradition, which had been made in Fountainstown mill.[60] The suggestion of an Irish diet was further demonstrated by the appearance of Dennis Murphy, an Irishman sent 'to fountains towne mille with burnt oats to make wattmeal.'[61] Years earlier, Fynes Moryson had described the Irish tradition to 'burn [oats] from the straw' to make cakes rather than thresh them.[62] Such reports demonstrated the mill's ability to serve all sides of the community, ultimately positioning the structure as a point of local interaction.

The remaining mills fell into the industrial category and proved to be exceptionally important for plantation goals. The tuck mill (which drew from England's strong woollen trade) was the most common of this type, but industrial mills also appeared in the context of timber, paper, and mining.[63] Although efforts to construct saw and paper mills fell flat, individual attempts to extract Ireland's mineral resources (an enterprise mostly untouched by the Gaelic Irish and Old English communities) added coal to the fire behind the plantation schemes. In 1596, *The Calendar of State Papers of Ireland* welded official planting goals to certain privileges, including those which 'concern mines, the free importation of Irish goods into England, and the cutting down of trees.'[64] Playing upon English suspicion that the Irish concealed their valuables, Barnabe Riche argued that the Irish hide their iron mines from the English.[65] However, Riche was ultimately unwilling to attribute this level of industrial skill to the 'barbaric' Irish. He concluded that they likely did not possess mines because these sites only existed in 'countries that are warme or at least very dry.'[66] Although industrialisation was paired with Anglicisation, ironically, much of the new knowledge brought to Ireland for manufacturing was transferred from the Continent. A lack of native skills meant that

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Perry, MS 835, fols 155r-155v; Deposition of George Burne, MS 839, fols 038r-039v; Deposition of Dame Jane Forbes, MS 817, fols 187r-188v; Deposition of Edward Aston, MS 820, fols 009r-009v [accessed January 2015].

[60] L. M. Cullen, *The Emergence of Modern Ireland 1600-1900* (London, 1981) pp. 141-4.

[61] TCD, Examination of Dawe Reagh Goggin, MS 826, fols 184r-184v; Examination of Dennis Murphy, MS 826, fols 192r-192v [accessed February 2015].

[62] Moryson, 'The Description of Ireland', p. 229. Available at CELT from: http://www.ucc.ie/celt/online/T100071.html [accessed November 2016].

[63] For saw mills, see Robert J. Hunter, *The Ulster Plantation in the Counties of Armagh and Cavan* (Belfast, 2012) p. 279. Original excerpt taken from 'Letter from James I to St. John, 21 September 1618', BL Add. MS 4756, ff 446v-7. For paper mills, see John Ainsworth, 'Some Abstracts of Chancery Suits Relating to Ireland', *JRSAI, Seventh Series* 9, no. 1 (1939), p. 42.

[64] Ernest George Atkinson (ed.), *CSPI, 1596-1597* (London, 1893) p. 499.

[65] Jones and Stallybrass discuss this suspicion in 'Dismantling Irena', p. 165.

[66] Barnabe Riche, *A New Description of Ireland* (London, 1610) p. 7.

immigrants were required to 'construct, operate and maintain these technologies.'[67] Sir Charles Coote employed 2,500 English and Dutch workers in his ironworks in Cos Cavan, Leitrim and Roscommon.[68]

The appearance of 'Callogh mcWilliam of the Iron Mills' in Co. Wexford indicated that mills played an important role in the production of iron in early modern Ireland. Rolling and slitting mills were introduced in the early seventeenth-century to produce 'narrow iron rods suitable for tradesmen such as nailers.'[69] Using this system, red-hot iron sheets were cut into bars by passing it through water-powered rollers. Water-powered machinery was also employed for mine drainage, ore-preparation, smelting, and forging.[70] Additional examples of iron mills emerged in the depositions, such as those owned by Sir Thomas Staples in Co. Tyrone and Edward Blennerhasset in Co. Down.[71] The latter lamented the loss of 'the benefit of a lease of an Iron milne…ruined and quite spoyled by the rebells' and valued at £256.[72]

Such industrialisation, however, would wreak havoc on the landscape—transforming the familiar topography so that it now only existed in the Gaelic community's memories. Historians such as Eileen McCracken have discussed at length the devastation of Ireland's woodlands for iron production, and it was the principal reason why many of these early industrial ventures failed to survive past the eighteenth-century.[73] With no initiative for replenishment or conservation, the industrial community often moved from one woodland to the next when timber in that region became scarce.[74] Because of these communities' shifting nature, historians and archaeologist have struggled to pinpoint sites of seventeenth-century ironworks. Fortunately, the depositions present several sites utilised for mineral extraction and iron production. Alexander Knight had founded an ironworks in the parish of 'Rosember' in Co. Fermanagh before 1641.[75] A glover stated that his home was not too far from Sir Charles

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[67] Colin Rynne, 'The Social Archaeology of Plantation-Period Ironworks in Ireland: Immigrant Industrial Communities and Technology Transfer 1560-1640', in James Lyttleton and Coling Rynne (eds), *Plantation Ireland: Settlement and Material Culture, c.1550-c.1700* (Dublin, 2009) p. 252.
[68] Rynne, 'The Social Archaeology of Plantation-Period Ironworks', p. 253.
[69] Rynne, 'The Social Archaeology of Plantation-Period Ironworks', p. 261.
[70] Rynne, 'The Social Archaeology of Plantation-Period Ironworks', p. 252.
[71] TCD, Deposition of Roger Markham, MS 839, fols 017r-023v [accessed December 2014].
[72] TCD, Deposition Edward Blennerhasset, MS 810, fols 118r-188v [accessed February 2015].
[73] Eileen McCracken, *The Irish Woods Since Tudor Times: Their Distribution and Exploitation* (Newtown Abbot, 1971).
[74] Rynne, 'The Social Archaeology of Plantation-Period Ironworks', pp. 249-52.
[75] TCD, Deposition of Frances Knight, MS 835, fols 126r-127v [accessed February 2015].

Coote's ironworks in Mountmellick, located between Owenass River and River Barrow.[76] Sir Charles Coote's ventures in ironworks has been widely established, and the depositions further prove that he had set up an ironworks in Co. Cavan where he lost the furnaces, forges, coal and 'materialls of iron' during the uprising.[77] The presence of two ironworks (possibly Co. Dublin) emerged in the deposition of Job Ward who claimed the loss of '3 Burgesses proporcions in Carisfort worth clerely perannum 15 li. And of 2 iron workes there worth clerely per annum CCl li.'[78] Sir Thomas Staples's ironworks drew its manpower from the British population living in the nearby town of Lissan near Cookstown, Co. Tyrone.[79] In 1641, at least eleven of the ironworks created during the seventeenth-century were destroyed.[80]

In addition to ironworks, Ann Sherring's deposition revealed the presence of silverworks in Co. Tipperary in the Territory of Ormond.[81] In 1640, it was reported that five hundred English men and 'divers strangers' lived in Silvermines, Co. Tipperary.[82] In Des Cowman's research on the sporadic work conducted at the site, he concluded that this number was most likely inflated, however it did suggest that the settlement was part of the plantation policy.[83] In 1644, Sherring remembered how 'barbarous Rebells' murdered several English Protestants at the refining mill and threw their bodies into a deep hole dug for that purpose. In 1652, Gerard Boate described the smelters, refining house and mills as being half a mile from the mines.[84] Silvermines, Co. Tipperary was one of the few areas that the crown exploited in

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[76] TCD, Deposition of Thomas Wilson, MS 815, fols 152r-152v [accessed February 2015]. See also NMS, *Archaeological Survey of Ireland*, Reference Number LA004-003----. Available from: http://webgis.archaeology.ie/historicenvironment [accessed May 2016].

[77] TCD, Deposition of John Bourk, MS 833, fols 223r-223v [accessed February 2015]. For more on ironworks in the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries, see Colin Rynne, 'The Origins and Technical Development of the Blast Furnace in Ireland c.1596-c. 1740', in Conleth Manning (ed.), *From Ringforts to Fortified Houses, Essays in Honour of David Sweetman* (Dublin, 2007) pp. 369-79; Eileen McCracken, 'Charcoal-Burning Ironworks in Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Ireland', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 20 (1957), pp. 123-38; Eileen McCracken, 'Supplementary List of Irish Charcoal Burning Ironworks', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* (1965), pp. 132-5.

[78] TCD, Deposition of Job Ward, MS 815, fols 277r-287v [accessed February 2015].

[79] TCD, Examination of Margaret Armstrong, MS 838, fol. 080v [accessed February 2015]. See also Canny, *Making Ireland British*, p. 374.

[80] For more information, see McCracken, 'Charcoal-Burning Ironworks', pp. 123-38.

[81] TCD, Deposition of Ann Sherring, MS 821, fols 181r-181v [accessed February 2015].

[82] See Robert Pentland Mahaffy (ed.), *CSPI 1660-1662* (London, 1905) pp. 153-4.

[83] Des Cowman, 'Silvermines: Sporadic Working, 1289-1874', *Tipperary Historical Journal* 1 (1988), pp. 96-115, specifically p. 98.

[84] Gerard Boate, *Ireland's Natural History* (1652). Available at CELT from: http://www.ucc.ie/celt/publishd.html#geboate [accessed October 2014].

Gaelic Irish and Old English territory after 1600.[85] As the depositions demonstrated, these areas of intense British settlement that devastated the Irish landscape became the sites of incredible violence.

Construction and Style

Philip Robinson's investigation into the construction of the trundle mill at Moneymore has provided the most detailed description available of a seventeenth-century mill and its building process. An image of this mill can be found on Thomas Raven's map of the Drapers' settlement in 1622 (Plate 14). According the Drapers' Company accounts, the wheels of mill were meant to be 14 or 15 feet high, the structures would be timber framed, and the carpenter would build both a mill and a mill-house with stairs, windows and flooring. Because many of the mill's parts were made from wood, the millwright contracted to build the structure in 1615 was also a carpenter, and a specialised shingler added the shingled roof. The total cost of the mill was £39 15s. 10d. [86]

When compared to the value of the Moneymore mill, the price of Edmond Bloud's two mills (horse mill and water mill) in Co. Meath seemed considerably high at £110. Richard Harman's tuck mill in Co. Tipperary had been built for £40 and a water mill in Co. Roscommon was valued at £20.[87] Meanwhile, the affluent widow Dame Jane Forbes stated that she managed to erect both a plantation house and mill for £40 on her 200 acres in Drummeel, Co. Longford.[88] Yearly rents for mills also varied greatly throughout the depositions, pointing to differing quality of construction. Frances Hilgrove paid £10 per annum for his mill in Co. Kildare, while Richard Anorej and Roger Cowe allocated £36 a year to rent land with one water mill in Co. Armagh.[89] The discrepancies between the building prices and the yearly rents of mills suggested that the structures varied in value by size, quality or location. In medieval Ireland, a mill's value depended on, '…its state of repair, the

[85] Cowman, 'The Silvermines', pp. 96-115. See also, Peter Claughton and Paul Rondelez, 'Early Silver Mining in Western Europe: An Irish Perspective', *The Journal of Mining Heritage Trust of Ireland* 13 (2013), p. 5.
[86] Cited in Robinson, 'A Water-Mill Built in 1615', pp. 50-1.
[87] TCD, Deposition of Richard Harman, MS 821, fols 025r-025v; Deposition of Michaell Penich, MS 830, fols 038r-038v [accessed February 2015].
[88] TCD, Deposition of Dame Jane Forbes, MS 817, fols 187r-188v [accessed January 2015]. See also Sean Kelsey, 'Forbes, Arthur, First Earl of Granard (1623–1695)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Available from: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9816 [accessed July 2016].
[89] TCD, Deposition of Frances Hilgrove, MS 813, fols 350r-350v; Deposition of William Secheuerill, MS 818, fols 095r-096v [accessed February 2015].

efficiency of the miller, and the quantities which passed through the mill.'[90] Prospective mill owners were less inclined to purchase a mill if it had been the site of several accidents, such as drowning in the millrace or losing a limb whilst greasing the cogs of the wheel.[91] However, it is important to note that a mill varied in price perhaps because in many cases a mill was tied to the dwelling place for early modern families.[92] The Dublin miller John Bacon had his 'dwelling house and Millhouse' assaulted at midnight in December of 1641.[93] In Coleraine, a 'faire mill-house' 20 feet long, 20 feet wide and one storey high had been constructed, with three mills attached to the same house used for wheat, malt and cloth.[94]

Mills built of more permanent materials, such as stone or slate, were selected for shelter during the 1641 rebellion. In Co. Tyrone, Hugh Allen and his family sought the safety of the mill near Castle Caulfield when insurgents plundered his home.[95] In Dublin near the town of Swords, William Hollis (a member of the artillery) found refuge in a mill when rebels pursued the troops.[96] Chidley Coote offered a description of a mill in the town of Birr in Co. Offaly that lodged armed men. [97] The town's mill had been built of stone, with several windows and a shingled roof. The presence of a milldam, which was used by the victims to escape, indicated that the structure was a water mill. Such dams were built across the stream to raise the water level for the wheel to turn. In Moneymore, English labourers were hired to carry out a range of landscaping activities down in the mud such as digging trenches in the meadow 'for the back water [tail] race of the mill', 'digging the spring', 'digging the mill race', 'work at the sludgegate', 'souring the mill race' and 'sodding the mill race where broken.'[98]

Yet, even with a well-worked terrain and resilient external structure, the mill was useless without its pair of millstones. Fashioning these durable tools from natural rock involved a skilled process that could only utilise stones containing quartz (such as sandstone conglomerate, granite and quartzite bedrock) that did not possess surface imperfections. [99]

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[90] James F. Lydon, 'The Mills at Ardee 1304', *The Journal of the County Louth Archaeological and Historical Society* 19, no. 4 (1980), p. 259.
[91] Lydon, 'The Mills at Ardee 1304', p. 259.
[92] 'mill-house, n. 1', *OED Online.* Available from: http://www.oed.com [accessed November 2015].
[93] TCD, Deposition of John Bacon, MS 809, fols 295r-295v [accessed December 2014].
[94] George Hill, *An Historical Account of the Plantation in Ulster at the Commencement of the Seventeenth Century, 1608-1620* (London, 1837) p. 572.
[95] TCD, Examination of Nicholas Combe, MS 839, fols 078r-079v [accessed February 2015].
[96] TCD, Deposition of William Hollis, MS 810, fols 235r-236v [accessed February 2015].
[97] TCD, Deposition of Chidley Coote, MS 814, fols 204r-216v [accessed December 2014].
[98] Robinson, 'A Water-Mill Built in 1615', p. 51.
[99] O'Sullivan and Downey, 'Windmills', pp. 37-40.

The destruction of the stones during the rebellion rendered the structures useless. Henry Rice of Westmeath lamented that rebels burned 'Lord Lamberts dwelling house the whole towne and Mills, and broake the stones, and after burned the church…'[100] Prices for millstones ranged throughout the seventeenth-century's documentary record. The deposition of William Secheuerill valued ten pairs of millstones at £30.[101] Accounts from the Drapers' Company presented the original cost of a pair (£11 13s. 4d.), but its replacement more than doubled in price at £27 16s. 11d.[102] The Londonderry port books from 1615 presented a pair of millstones valued at £6 13s. 4d.[103] Millers were usually tasked with maintaining the mill, and in the case of broken or lost millstones, they were personally charged for the replacement.[104] Evidence from the depositions showed that the Cork miller James Gulliams paid the 'chardges layed in Improueing and repaireing the said mills' in Michaelstown. [105] It is likely that a portion of the £20 that Gulliams spent on his two mills went towards the maintenance of the millstones.

Because of the stones' physical weight, locating and transporting millstones became a recognised and profitable task for members of the community. The records from the Drapers' accounts indicated that men were paid to find the millstones and devise a method to carry them to the building site.[106] Yet, sometimes it fell under the responsibility of the mill builder rather than a set of hired men. The carpenter Edward Carey had been in the town of Great Bray ten miles outside of Dublin City to purchase a millstone when he witnessed several Englishmen brought into the town as prisoners in 1643. Carey may have been contracted to build a new mill or improve an older structure since millers (rather than millwrights or carpenters) were usually required to replace the stones of functioning structures. The completion of the mill was perhaps even more pressing because, as Carey mentioned, he had been searching for the items during harvest season.[107] Indeed, 1550 records of imports to Ireland (analysed by Susan Flavin) showed that millstones were imported during October, November and December.[108] The relative absence of millstones in the Ulster port books,

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[100] TCD, Deposition of Henri Rice, MS 817, fols 080r-080v [accessed February 2015].
[101] TCD, Deposition of William Secheuerill, MS 818, fols 095r-096v [accessed February 2015].
[102] See Robinson, 'A Water-Mill Built in 1615', p. 52.
[103] Robert J. Hunter (ed.), *The Ulster Port Books 1612-1615* (Belfast, 2012) p. 39.
[104] See Robinson, 'A Water-Mill in 1615', pp. 50-2.
[105] TCD, Deposition of James Gulliams, MS 825, fols 136r-136v [accessed February 2015].
[106] Robinson, 'A Water-Mill Built in 1615', p. 51.
[107] TCD, Examination of Edward Carey, MS 810, fols 368r-369v [accessed February 2015].
[108] Susan Flavin, *Consumption and Culture in Sixteenth-Century Ireland* (Woodbridge, 2014) p. 272, appendix 3.

however, suggested that most were sourced locally rather than imported, as witnessed in the case of Moneymore mill.[109] Millstones could be transported within the island to construct mills in areas where the indigenous bedrock was inadequate for grinding cereals.[110]

The mill's wheels presented another criterion in which to appraise the structure. Iron was incorporated into the building process of mill wheels in order to improve physical strength and durability. Abraham Ashton stated that in Co. Cork rebels allegedly hanged an Englishman for stealing the iron from the wheels of William Tirrie's mill.[111] In the Drapers' accounts, a smith supplied the mill with various amounts of iron to be used, although it was not always clear for what purpose. As Robinson noted, it is difficult to pinpoint what '2 plats for the mill and 1 hundreth of neales for them with an auger for the same' were used for specifically, but iron was used for pins in the cogwheel, nails and a band for the trundle head. The accounts listed several other internal features in the Moneymore mill that required iron: the 'spindle and Reame', a plate of iron for the clept and sledge, a large nail for the mill flat and a 'croe of Irone for the mill.'[112] The depositions highlighted the function and destruction of the mills in the midst of battle: stone structures offered protection, internal iron provided a resource for weapon manufacture, and broken millstones prevented English access to grain. However, what was the mill's role in society before this episode of violence?

The Mill in Society

Secondary literature often employed the model of the parish and its associated religious structures to explain community in the seventeenth-century.[113] In these instances, community is defined as a collection of individuals who 'formed a mutually beneficial system of cooperation to meet certain ends.'[114] Although most individuals in the depositions were described in relation to their parish, in several documents, deponents either self-identified or

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[109] For the only mention of millstones in the Ulster port books, see Hunter, *The Ulster Port Books 1612-1615*, p. 39.
[110] O' Sullivan and Downey, 'Windmills', pp. 39-40. For discussion of Ireland's quarries, see Niall Colfer, 'Millstone Quarries on the Hook Peninsula, County Wexford', in F. H. Aalen, Kevin Whelan and Matthew Stout (eds), *The Atlas of the Irish Rural Landscape*, *Vol. 2* (Cork, 2011) pp. 262-76.
[111] TCD, Deposition of Abraham Ashton, MS 823, fols 159v [accessed February 2015].
[112] Cited in Robinson, 'A Water-Mill Built in 1615', p. 51.
[113] Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin and Robert Armstrong (eds), *Community in Early Modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2006); Elizabeth Fitzpatrick and Raymond Gillespie (eds), *The Parish in Medieval and Early Modern Ireland: Community, Territory and Building* (Dublin, 2005).
[114] Rhys Morgan, *The Welsh and the Shaping of Early Modern Ireland, 1558-1641*(Woodbridge, 2014) p. 109. See also 'Introduction', in Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin and Robert Armstrong (eds), *Community in Early Modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2013) p. 13.

identified their neighbours according to their proximity to a mill.[115] In some cases, placenames and mill sites (whether current or historic) were indivisible. After insurgents attacked George Allibond near Baltinglass on his journey into Dublin, he described one of the culprits as 'John Aspoll of the Tuckmill.'[116] In another example, a deponent identified the miller Thomas Ashen by the mill he operated at Killone in Co. Laois.'[117]

While this geographic marker was relevant to British deponents, it may not have been the case with the Irish population who tended to use people rather than 'artefacts' to delineate bounded space.[118] Precisely how this mentality played out in the mill is uncertain. As Houston stated, 'Land in Ireland could be viewed as a communal or familial resource rather than merely a person asset.'[119] Mills—owned structures attached to leased land under English law—may have stirred unrest amid the indigenous population operating under differing ideas of law and space. As previously discussed, the rebel's attack of a hand mill in the primarily Gaelic province of Connacht pointed to a level of discontent.[120]

Select cases from the depositions suggested that mills were important facets of identity in the seventeenth-century; the structures indicated one's relation to neighbouring inhabitants through geographic proximity. The mill was the physical apparatus of the local economy for a designated collection of individuals. In early medieval Ireland, the existence of water mills, 'implie[d] a community with sufficient resources to build and maintain it and large enough, in terms of overall numbers, to make the investment worthwhile.'[121] In the examination of Daniell MacThomas O Gilmore, the examinant indicated that a mill compelled neighbourly interaction within the fragmented community because it required—at the very least—a coupled effort. While relaying a story that raised suspicion about his neighbour James

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[115] For an earlier example of a mill used as a topographical marker, see Charles McNeill (ed.), *Calendar of Archbishops Allen's Register c. 1172-1534* (Dublin, 1950) p. 233.
[116] TCD, Deposition of George Allibond, MS 812, fols 149r-150v [accessed February 2015]. The townland 'Tuckmill' is noted on the county map of Wicklow in the parish of Baltinglass. For the county map, see TCD, *The Down Survey*. Available from: http://downsurvey.tcd.ie [accessed April 2016]. For additional examples of tuck mills, see TCD, Deposition of John Bigger, MS809, fols 245r-247v; Deposition of John Mandefeild, MS 809, fols 293r-293v [accessed February 2015].
[117] Deposition of Beniamin Willomett, MS 815, fols 294r-294v [accessed February 2015]. For examples of mills used to identify individuals, see Deposition of Elizabeth Dudley, MS 815, fols 189r-189v; Deposition of Thomas Knowells, MS 815, fol. 227r; Deposition of Nathaniell Hewett, MS 818, fols 114r-115v [accessed February 2015].
[118] Robert A. Houston, 'People, Space, and Law in Late Medieval and Early Modern Britain and Ireland', *Past and Present* 230, no. 1 (2016), p. 78.
[119] Houston, 'People, Space, and Law', p. 84.
[120] See TCD, Deposition of [H] Bringhurst, MS 831, fols 201v-208v [accessed June 2014].
[121] Colin Rynne, Grellan Rourke and Jenny White-Marshall, 'An Early Medieval Monastic Watermill on High Island', *Archaeology Ireland* 10, No. 3 (1996), p. 27.

Johnson's loyalties, Daniel also revealed that Johnson helped him carry four sacks of corn to the mill when asked.[122] As a 'neere Neighbore' there may have been a form of social obligation to lend a hand for a mutual economic gain.[123] In Co. Limerick, Edmund Perry identified the gentleman John Leo of Tullavin as 'another of his neighbours near the Mille at Croome.'[124] The importance of their mutual proximity to the mill not only implied their logistical closeness, but also suggested an extended economic relationship through the use of the same facility, or transactions concerning mill tolls or rent. In many ways, the mill ensured social interaction at a level that the church failed to achieve during a period of religious discontent because of the mill's vital role in providing daily sustenance. A similar quality of cooperative use may be identified and explored further in corn drying kilns, which may have been worked jointly for large quantities of grain.[125]

Early modern interactions at the mill, however, did not spur from unspoken rules of social cooperation. The mill's communal function was the product of a legal obligation left over from the medieval feudal system that required tenants of the same manor community to use the landlord's mill.[126] In areas where this system had been imposed, a shared mill fit flawlessly into its ideology to 'maximise profits on the part of the landlord, and to promote cohesion among the manor community.'[127] The seventeenth-century, however, began to see issues with this system due to the growing concern for personal profit and the varied methods for attaining it.

In 1634, the countess of Kildare complained to George Fitzgerald, the sixteenth earl of Kildare, about the neighbouring landowner John Walsh:

> [He] commanded all the tenants of the manor of Castledermot under pain of 10s fine for every time, they should do the contrary, that they should not come to my mill commonly called the mill of Castledermott, and being not a stone's cast from Castledermot gate, whereunto in man's memory the grain of that town and the manor

[122] TCD, Examination of Daniell MacThomas O Gilmore, MS 838, fols 249r-250v [accessed February 2015].
[123] For this idea of economic gain, see Peter Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2004) p. 5. See also Morgan, *The Welsh and the Shaping of Early Modern Ireland*, p. 109.
[124] TCD, Deposition of Edmund Perry, MS 829, fols 383r-384v [accessed January 2015].
[125] Muiris O'Sullivan and Liam Downey, 'Corn-Drying Kilns', *Archaeology Ireland* 19, no. 3 (2005), pp. 32-5.
[126] For mill litigation in medieval England, see Bennett and Elton, *History of Corn Milling*; Richard Holt, *The Mills of Medieval England* (Oxford, 1988); Adam Lucas, *Ecclesiastical Lordship, Seigneurial Power and the Commercialization* (London, 2014); Loengard, 'Lords' Right and Neighbors' Nuisances', pp. 129-52.
[127] Clodagh Tait, 'Cavan in 1638: Natives and Newcomers', in Brendan Scott (ed.), *Culture and Society in Early Modern Breifne/Cavan* (Dublin, 2009) p. 191.

> thereof came, and commanded your aforesaid tenants to go to Mr Gerald Wale his mill, who hath controversy of mearing of land with you Lordship.[128]

Because of this act, the countess of Kildare lost £14 a year that she customarily received from the mill. The mill, located on the hereditary land of the earl, proved to be an important statement of his contentious claim to that land and its disuse would let it 'fall waste and be destroyed besides the loss of [the earl's] profit.' The Protestant John Walsh held land in close proximity to that of the George Fitzgerald in the townland of Newtown in Castledermot, barony of Killcash and Moone, Co. Kildare. The deposition of John Walsh described his wealth in household goods at the time of rebellion (he lost plate, rings, jewels, clothing, pewter and brass) as well as the substantial income he received from land rents (£600 annually) and agriculture.[129] Mills became important statements of power for landowners, and Walsh's manipulation of the system suggested resistance to the changing social structure of early modern Ireland. Particularly in the case of the earl of Kildare, many may have opposed the new adult head of the Kildare family who 'had no experience with Ireland and was disturbingly connected to the earl of Cork.'[130]

Evidence from the Dowdall deeds identified a key concern not simply of a mill, but also the mill pond and watercourse attached to it. An interrogation held in 1628 questioned several members of the community (all over the age of seventy) to determine if the watercourse from a mill of Marleston, Co. Louth had been altered during their lifetime.[131] Watercourses that cut across individuals' lands and fed into neighbouring mills geographically linked and (as the dispute of 1628 confirmed) also personally divided the locality.[132] Special permission had to be granted to a single individual for tampering with the water system. In May 1624, Christopher Verdon was allowed to 'draw the water alter its fall from the mill tail of Killaly to the mill of Tagher… with liberty to cut and dig sods at all times on the lands of Killaly to maintain the watercourse, without spoiling the meadow.'[133] In medieval Ireland, the use of a neighbour's land for mill waterways required a fee, which is

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[128] Aidan Clarke and Bríd McGrath (eds), *Letterbook of George, 16th Earl of Kildare* (Dublin, 2013) pp. 105-6.
[129] TCD, Deposition of John Walsh, MS 813, fols 306r-307v [accessed January 2015].
[130] Clarke and McGrath, *Letterbooks of George,* p. xiii.
[131] Charles McNeill and A. J. Otway-Ruthven (eds), *Dowdall Deeds* (Dublin, 1960) pp. 309-11.
[132] For earlier examples of disputes and misuse of watercourses, see Patrick Street mill in Dublin cited in James Mills (ed.), *Calendar Justiciary Rolls of Ireland, 1305-07* (London, 1905) p. 256. This is also discussed in Clare Walsh, *Archaeological Excavations at Patrick, Nicholas and Winetavern Streets, Dublin* (Dublin, 1997) p. 29.
[133] McNeill and Otway-Ruthvan, *Dowdall Deeds,* pp. 301-2. A tuck mill is noted on the Down Survey barony map of Ferrard in 'Killaley' with a stream running to another water mill in the adjacent barony of Dysart. For the barony map, see TCD, *The Down Survey*. Available from: http://downsurvey.tcd.ie [accessed April 2016].

one reason why historians suspect tidal mills were popular. Although extremely difficult to maintain and subject to floods, tidal mills allowed mill owners to directly rely upon the sea without encroaching on a neighbour's land or paying a fee.[134]

The debts cited by millers and those who controlled access to the mill on their land displayed the growing resentment of rebels towards growing British economic power. Being able to operate one's own mill would have been an attractive incentive for British settlers who had been held at the mercy of dishonest millers in England, Wales or Scotland.[135] John Bruer of Waterford had been a British Protestant yeoman in Killmolash, a parish located on an early ecclesiastical site along a stream from the Blackwater River.[136] His home and mill were burnt by rebels, with debts still due to him from weavers, blacksmiths, millers, husbandman, widows, labourers, gents and clerks from the surrounding townlands.[137] It is likely that many of these debts were unpaid fines from tenants who ground corn at his mill. A debt due from a rebel millwright indicated the economic relationship that the mill facilitated.

Rebels' actions in 1641 demonstrated a clear intent to uproot Protestant millers and replace them with more favourable operators.[138] Rebels in Co. Laois took over John Spikman's mills near the likely site of Oliver Walsh's recently built fortified house, and placed a new Irish miller by the name of Shane O Doollin 'to keepe the sayd milles.'[139] Nicholas Philpot in Co. Cork had been forcefully dispossessed of his land in Ballyclough (a village near the river Blackwater and the site of later corn mills) when the neighbouring Catholic landowner John Barry encouraged his servants to thrash and burn his corn, making 'some into malte and some into oatemeale and other Corne out of his mille.'[140] In this case, differing views of land ownership emerged when insurgents prompted the takeover of Philpott's mill by grazing cattle on his land—an act in brehon law that signalled that the land

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[134] Brady, 'Mills in Medieval Ireland', pp. 54-5. For further examples of disputes concerning mills, see James Morrin (ed.), *Calendar of the Patent and Close Rolls of Chancery in Ireland of the Reign of Charles the First. First to Eighth Year* (Dublin, 1861) p. 168.
[135] For the abuses of millers in England, see Loengard, 'Lords' Rights and Neighbors' Nuisances', pp. 140-3.
[136] NMS, *Archaeological Survey of Ireland*, Reference Number WA029-027002. Available from: http://webgis.archaeology.ie/historicenvironment [accessed May 2016].
[137] TCD, Deposition of John Bruer, MS 820, fols 066r-067v [accessed January 2015].
[138] TCD, Deposition of Nicholas Buckley, MS 811, fols 241r-242v; Examination of Oliver Walsh, MS 815, fols 149r-150v [accessed January 2015].
[139] TCD, Deposition of John Spikman, MS 815, fols 265r-265v [accessed January 2015]. For information about Walsh's home in Ballykilcavan, see NMS, *Archaeological Survey of Ireland*, Reference Number LA014-099002-. Available from: http://webgis.archaeology.ie/historicenvironment [accessed May 2016].
[140] TCD, Deposition of Nicholas Philpot, MS 824, fols 261-262v [accessed January 2015]. See also county map retrieved from TCD, *The Down Survey*. Available from: http://downsurvey.tcd.ie [accessed May 2016]. For archaeological evidence of corn mill, see NMS, *Archaeological Survey of Ireland*, Reference Number CO024-137----. Available from: http://webgis.archaeology.ie/historicenvironment [accessed May 2016].

was now unoccupied.[141] Josias White, a weaver living in Co. Kerry a little over a three mile walk to the town of Tralee, revealed how a miller's custom could be used as an important indication of his loyalty within a divided community:

> …that one Edward Thorne one of the ward of ballycarty and miller to Robert Blenerhasset of Ballycarty aforesaid by the permission of th~~is~~*e* said Robert grind Corne oftentimes for the rebelles att the seidge of Tralee and the said Robert had two partes of the toll for the ~~you se~~ vse of his mill and since that time the said Edward hath often times ground wheate for Captain Morrish mc Ellegott for to macke him Bisket.'[142]

Native Irish hostility towards English milling power can be observed in the physical attacks upon the structures. The 1641 Depositions listed numerous instances in which mills were broken into, torn apart and burnt to the ground. The descriptions provided in the Civil Survey of the 1650s revealed the outcome of this destruction. Although there were ninety-one recorded mills in Kildare, 118 in Tipperary, sixty-four in Wexford, and a hundred in Meath (an incomplete survey); a high proportion of these mills laid in ruins.[143] These attacks left millers in financial ruin, not simply because they no longer had a source of income, but additionally because they were obligated by their lease to repair damages. The charges the miller incurred if a lease holder imposed this legal covenant presumably made millers and mill owners eager to seek reparation from the English government following the 1641 rebellion.

Yet, to assume that this level of hostility was new to Ireland would be wrong-headed. In many ways, resentment towards millers and those who owned them was innately tied to the enterprise because it held such an influential, geographical position. A mill's presence in a river could disrupt migration of salmon upstream and eels downstream, while also impeding the passage of commodities. This provided the miller with the upper hand in fishing activities (many of them used it as a lucrative side business) and held many individuals at the mercy of the miller to transport goods.[144] Medieval English litigation relayed the abuses enacted by millers who conveniently miscounted tenants' grain, over-collected their multure, left their mill ponds in disrepair, or entertained female strangers.[145] This appeared to be a continuing

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[141] K. W. Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicied Ireland in the Middle Ages* (Dublin, 1972) pp. 136-7.
[142] TCD, Deposition of Josyas White, MS 828, fols 206r-206v [accessed February 2015].
[143] Indexed in vols I, II, V, VIII and IX in Robert C. Simington (ed.), *The Civil Survey A. D. 1654-1656* (Dublin, 1931-1953). See also L. M. Cullen, 'Eighteenth-Century Flour Milling in Ireland', p. 40.
[144] Hoffman, *An Environmental History of Medieval Europe*, p. 212.
[145] Loengard, 'Lords' Rights and Neighbors' Nuisances', p. 141. For English evidence, see Warren Ortman Ault (ed.), *Court Rolls of the Abbey of Ramsey* (New Haven, 1928) pp. 189, 220.

trend in Ireland in the early modern period. In Clonmel of 1648, townspeople complained that millers exacted an excessive toll 'beyound the lawes and ancient Customes' and entertained 'dark women', or aleswomen, who stole inhabitants corn.[146]

Feudal obligations also continued to prohibit private ownership of water mills and hand mills during the medieval period without the lord's permission. In Gaelic areas, however, many of these laws were ignored.[147] Brehon law suggested that private ownership was intrinsic to ideas of independence: owning a mill or kiln made one a 'native freeman.'[148] By 1637, legal tactics became more intrusive. In the barony of Tyrhugh, Co. Donegal, Dr John Richardson's tenants were required to grind corn at the mill of the lately deceased Francis Bressy and pay the toll. The seneschal and millers then had the right to search the tenants' homes for querns.[149] The destruction of a hand mill in primarily Gaelic Co. Mayo during the 1641 rebellion may have indicated the native population's frustration with such restrictions across Ireland. How did the enforcement of laws prohibiting domestic production of grain further antagonise the native population and heightened resentment towards the British undertakers, particularly during times of harvest failure? Historians have begun to point fingers at the harvest crisis as one of the leading causes of the outbreak of rebellion in 1641.[150] The strain it placed upon the population revealed itself in the dying wishes of the early modern community. In 1637, John Inkersall asked to leave £5 in his will to purchase bread for the poor 'in this hard time.'[151]

Seventeenth-century leases fused the feudal requirements of mills into the framework of English settlement. In Moneymore, the leases of the tenants of the Drapers' estates were obligated to use the company mill for their corn. Leases from 1627 within the town of Armagh showed that tenants were required to use the lord's mill, suit of court, and to provide two hens or capons at Christmas each year.[152] Perhaps a typical lease of the time, Sir Patrick

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[146] McGrath, *The Minute Book of the Corporation of Clonmel,* p. 338.
[147] Rynne, 'The Development of Milling Technology in Ireland', p. 26.
[148] W. N. Hancock, T. O'Mahony, and A. G. Richey (eds), *The Ancient Laws of Ireland (Senchus Mor), Vol 3* (Dublin, 1873) p. 391; Joseph R. Peden, 'Property Rights in Celtic Irish Law', *Journal of Libertarian Studies* 1, no. 2 (1977), p. 86.
[149] Robert J. Hunter, 'A Seventeenth-Century Mill in Tyrhugh', *Donegal Annual* 9, no. 2 (1970), pp. 238-40. See also Rynne, 'The Development of Milling Technology in Ireland', p. 25.
[150] For more information on the harvest crisis of the seventeenth-century, see Raymond Gillespie, 'Meal and Money: The Harvest Crisis of 1621-4 and the Irish Economy', in E. Margaret Crawford (ed.), *Famine: The Irish Experience 900-1900: Subsistence Crises and Famines in Ireland* (Belfast, 1989) pp. 75-95; Raymond Gillespie, 'Harvest Crisis in Early Seventeenth-Century Ireland', *Irish Economic and Social History* XI (1989), pp. 5-8.
[151] John Ainsworth, 'Abstracts of 17th century Irish Wills in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 78, no. 1 (1948), p. 28.
[152] Cited in Hunter, *The Ulster Plantation in the Counties of Armagh and Cavan*, p. 235.

Acheson held his tenant to a variety of legal obligations in 1635 which allowed the tenant to cut timber for houses from the landlord's woods, but also required him to pay the king's rent, appear at musters with other tenants, maintain 'English-like' fences and houses, and keep British tenants. With the mill under the control of the designated tenant, the landlord promised to support the lease-holder if the other tenants refused to use his mill.[153] John Gardener's lease from Co. Cavan at the manor of Carrowdownan held both Gardener and tenants to similar obligations for the manor's mill.[154] Because a miller's income was drawn from these tenants' payments, the system seemingly encouraged tenants' accessibility to the mill. However, this was not always the case. In 1620, the agent Robert Russell in Moneymore prohibited tenants from using the mill for malt in order to monopolise the local brewing industry.[155] While feudal obligations helped establish a fragile community that was tied together by proximity and economic relations, they also encouraged hostility between the tenants, miller and mill owners. This may have proven even more problematic when many mills fell into the hands of British landowners.

English Economy in Ireland

The mill provided the mechanical instrument in which to plant 'this idle country with industrious people.'[156] In the 1570s, Sir Henry Sidney brought Flemish tanners to Swords to establish specialised leather production. Sir Thomas Wentworth adopted a similar model when he introduced Dutch linen workers to Ireland in the 1630s, hoping that the immigrant work force would mould Ireland into a profitable industrial base.[157] The earl of Cork's hefty investments and tenacity brought timber processing, cloth manufacture, ironworks and 'pilchard palaces' to Munster. For particular individuals with the correct combination of affluence and perseverance, Ireland provided the blank slate in which to fashion real innovation.

These men's efforts, however, were not always successful. The self-sufficiency of many communities (through both the work of local craftsmen and agricultural practices)

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[153] Discussed by Hunter, *The Ulster Plantation in the Counties of Armagh and Cavan,* p. 270.
[154] See Tait, 'Cavan in 1638: Natives and Newcomers', p. 192.
[155] Audrey J. Horning, *Ireland in the Virginian Sea: Colonialism in the British Atlantic* (Chapel Hill, 2013) pp. 234-5.
[156] J. H. Andrew, 'Notes on the Historical Geography of the Irish Iron Industry', *Irish Geography* iii, no. 3 (1965), pp. 139-49. See also Aidan Clarke, 'The Irish Economy, 1600-60', in T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin and F. J. Byrne (eds), *A New History of Ireland III, Early Modern Ireland 1543-1691* (Oxford, 2012) p. 182.
[157] Clarke, 'The Irish Economy', p. 182.

limited the demand for finished goods and many settlers found that they could make a greater profit by exporting their raw products.[158] The mill, therefore, possessed the power to facilitate industrial expansion for wealthy investors, but also inhibit it by allowing small-scale producers' self-sufficiency.

The tucking (or fulling) mill became a feature of the transforming Irish economy under English rule, intended to expand the English cloth manufacturing industry. During the seventeenth-century, English cloth-workers flocked to Munster where several attempts were made to create stable woollen manufactories.[159] Richard Christmas had been a cloth-worker in Co. Cork with £5 each of English wool and stockcards, and the lease of a tucking mill in 1641.[160] Ann Sellers revealed that there was a tucking mill at Bohonagh in Co. Cork located near a road, consequently making it an easy target for an attack.[161] In Co. Tipperary, the clothier Alexander Listen reported the loss of the benefit of his tucking mill in the barony of Eliogarty.[162] In this barony, the River Suir flowed from the 'mountain Banduff' to provide numerous rivulets and brooks for milling purposes.[163] In Waterford, the clothier Robert Clay abandoned his home and tucking mill in Cushcam. At this site, the local geography favoured cloth over grain production as the entire barony was 'course baren and mountainous affording noe graine without lime, dung or sand.'[164] In total there were nine tucking mills in Munster (six of them associated with cloth-workers and fullers) and the potential of approximately three more were used for clothing manufacturing by clothiers.[165] Some of these sites correspond with potential archaeological findings, yet the evidence remains ambiguous.[166]

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[158] Clarke, 'The Irish Economy', p.182. See also Raymond Gillespie, *Transformation of the Irish Economy 1550-1700* (Dublin, 1991).
[159] Gillespie, *Transformation of the Irish Economy,* p. 35.
[160] TCD, Deposition of Richard Christmas, MS 823, fols 074r-075v [accessed February 2015].
[161] TCD, Deposition of Ann Sellers, MS 822, fols 177r-177v [accessed February 2015].
[162] TCD, Deposition of Alexander Listen, MS 821, fols 080r-080v [accessed February 2015].
[163] See description of 'Illiogurty' on barony map retrieved from TCD, *The Down Survey*. Available from: http://downsurvey.tcd.ie [accessed May 2016].
[164] TCD, Deposition of Robert Clay, MS 820, fols 132r-132v [accessed February 2015]. For barony map of Decies, see TCD, *The Down Survey*. Available from: http://downsurvey.tcd.ie [accessed May 2016].
[165] TCD, Deposition of John Warren, MS 823, fols 155r-156v; Deposition of Ann Sellers, MS 822, fols 177r-177v; Deposition of Richard Harman, MS 821, fols 025r-025v; Deposition of Alexander Listen, MS 821, fols 080r-080v; Deposition of Robert Clay, MS 820, fols 132r-132v; Deposition of Thomas Keyes, MS 820, fols 244r-244v; Deposition of John Howell, MS 829, fols 153r-154v; Deposition of Phillipp White, MS 825, fols 280r-280v [accessed February 2015].
[166] For a possible site for the mill mentioned in the Deposition of John Howell, see NMS, *Archaeological Survey of Ireland*, Reference Number LI030-025003-. For a possible location of a later mill site cited in the Deposition of Phillipp White, see *Archaeological Survey of Ireland*, Reference Number CO096-056001-. Available from: http://webgis.archaeology.ie/historicenvironment [accessed May 2016].

Most of the cloth produced in Ireland during the early seventeenth-century was unprocessed or exported as a heavy, inexpensive form such as the woollen 'frieze.' The English government ensured this system by prohibiting the export of the ingredient needed to finish finer woollens: England's fuller earth. This clay material would absorb any oils or impurities from the wool and unfortunately, it could not be found in Ireland. [167] Building a tuck mill proved to be a relatively affordable venture, yet the additional costs needed to produce cloth diminished the mill's assured capital return.

In early modern Ireland, craftsmen found that they could produce a larger profit from their land rather than their trade.[168] The number of corn mills and grist mills in the depositions supported this phenomenon, and several of the previously mentioned Munster cloth-workers owned both a tuck mill and grist mill to ensure economic security.[169] Other tradesmen, such as tanners, also adopted this strategy. The tanner Giles Dangger in Cork continued to supply leather to Irish and English shoemakers after obtaining the lease of two farms and a grist mill.[170]

Northern Ireland projected a very different economic landscape than that found in Munster. In Ulster, livestock and corn production were the two pillars of the rural economy. As Hunter pointed out, the prevalence of one over the other can be assessed using the 1641 Depositions: '…to have corn and cattle in equal proportions would imply more tillage than grazing' because corn values exemplified annual production rather than products that had been cultivated over two to three years (such as cattle).[171] With these two avenues of production, the miller and the tanner took on integral roles in rural Ireland. In some areas, grain was even used as a form of payment.[172] Unsurprisingly, therefore, the presence of a mill often raised the lease of the land. Clodagh Tait argued that a mill was the reason why John Gardner's rent in Co. Cavan was high in contemporary terms. [173] John Greg, a yeomen of Cloven Eden in Co. Armagh, quoted a high lease for 'three lives twentie one yeares… with

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[167] Gillespie, *Transformation of the Irish Economy*, p. 35. See also 'fuller's earth', *OED Online.* Available from: http://www.oed.com [accessed September 2015].
[168] Gillespie, *Transformation of the Irish Economy*, pp. 36-7.
[169] TCD, Deposition of John Warren, MS 823, fols 155r-156v; Deposition of Ann Sellers, MS 822, fols 177r-177v; Deposition of Alexander Listen, MS 821, fols 080r-080v [accessed February 2015].
[170] TCD, Deposition of Giles Dangger, MS 824, fols 163r-163v [accessed February 2015].
[171] Hunter, *The Ulster Plantation in the Counties of Armagh and Cavan*, p. 263.
[172] See Raymond Gillespie, 'Irish Agriculture in the Seventeenth Century', in Margaret Murphy and Matthew Stout (eds), *Agriculture and Settlement in Ireland* (Dublin, 2015) p. 130.
[173] Tait, 'Cavan in 1638: Natives and Newcomers', p. 192.

the value of one hundred and fifty pounds.' This can be explained in part by the fact that Greg's lease included two corn water mills.'[174]

Although tanning was an important activity for Ulster's rural economy, there was no specific mention of a tanning mill in the depositions. However, John Redferne reported the loss of a mill and 'the bark of the oake trees there growinge…' in Co. Tyrone that he had rented from Lord Castlestewart (Andrew Stewart) which was likely used for tanning purposes.[175] Bark mills made a greater appearance in Leinster and Munster. In Wexford, Symon Bellers lost 'his howses farms mills tanyard bark lether and other goodes' in Enniscorthy, a town conveniently located between Slaney River (notable for its 'length and bigness') and the River Urrin.[176] It was a prime location both for powering a water mill as well as shipping his leather products elsewhere.[177] The Dutch Protestant James Vanderlure of Co. Clare reported his 'mill for Barke' and tanyards in the village of Sixmilebridge, a site recognised for its industrialisation during the seventeenth-century following Dutch milling ventures.[178] William Jones, a yeoman from Cork, was despoiled of his hides, bark, tanyard and mill house in Kilbrogan, near the River Bandon.[179] In the same county, Instance Hall lost his house, stable, bark-house, mill and household goods valued at £50. His possessions included 400 furs and leather worth £15.[180] In the depositions, the presence of tanhouses and bark suggested further evidence of bark milling within a particular locality. The tanner Henry Rooby of the barony of Muskery (a barony exploited for its good store of timber) in Co. Cork reported the loss of his improved tanhouse and £2 worth of bark for leather.[181] Unsurprisingly, only two instances of tuck mills emerged in Ulster: the cloth-worker John Wheelewright of Co. Cavan living near Belturbet and an English tuck miller Anthony Knowles of Antrim.[182] Notably, insurgents' spared Anthony Knowles's life because he was 'so necessary as that [the dowager countess of Antrim] and the rest could not be without them…' The motives behind their merciful act highlighted the scarcity of skilled craftsmen in Ulster.[183]

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[174] TCD, Deposition of John Greg, MS 836, fols 004r-00v [accessed February 2015].
[175] TCD, Deposition of John and James Redferne, MS 839, fols 100r-101v [accessed February 2015].
[176] TCD, Deposition of Symon Bellers, MS 810, fols 057v-058r [accessed February 2015].
[177] See Boate, *Natural History of Ireland*, p. 37.
[178] TCD, Deposition of James Vanderlure, MS 82, fols 061r-062v [accessed February 2015].
[179] TCD, Deposition William Jones, MS 822, fols 045r-045v [accessed February 2015].
[180] TCD, Deposition of Instance Hall, MS 825, fols 144r-154v [accessed February 2015].
[181] TCD, Deposition of Henry Rooby, MS 825, fols 118r-118v [accessed February 2015]. For barony map of Muskery, see TCD, *The Down Survey.* Available from: http://downsurvey.tcd.ie [accessed May 2016].
[182] TCD, Deposition of John Wheelewright, MS 833, fols 272r-272v [accessed February 2015].
[183] TCD, Examination of Alice Countess Dowager of Antrim, MS 838, fols 022r-023v [accessed January 2015].

Overall, the depositions reflected many of the trends already noted by economic historians of Ireland's early modern period that point to a more industrious Munster than Ulster.[184] English participation in Ulster's pastoral economy may account for the limited scope of tucking mills in that province.[185] Throughout the sixteenth-century, mills in Leinster and Munster helped mobilise English plans to transform Ireland's landscape into that of civility and order, sometimes through individual expertise or foreign (often Dutch) effort. Although a Gaelic milling tradition existed previously to promote the local economy, British influence during the seventeenth-century would attempt to employ the mill for extensive industrial activity, with both success and failure.

Conclusion

Before the violence in 1641, the mills scattered across Ireland were used to refine silver and iron; and process corn, cloth, malt and bark. The landscape depicted water mills situated near flowing rivers, windmills centred in open fields, horse mills reliant upon animal power, and hand mills that were sometimes stowed away for domestic use. It is surprising that little has been written about mills considering they provided the energy for the English colonising mission. Manual labour and the power harnessed by water, wind and horses were the driving forces behind British efforts to cultivate Ireland's wild landscape into another England. Yet, mills also provided additional daily importance relating to economic security and the early modern community. In many ways, it was the tie that bound individuals to their landowners and locality.

While the mill may have stimulated hostility between tenants and mill owner, it allowed for an ethnically blended economy that did not wholly disrupt Gaelic life. Its relatively versatile function let natives grind the oatmeal that formed their traditional cakes, while also allowing Englishmen to grind grains mixed into their breads. The mill facilitated native crafts by permitting tanners to supply the leather needed for both Irish brogues and English shoes.[186] At first glance, the mill possessed muted religious associations by operating

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[184] For more on Ireland's economy, see Gillespie, *Transformation of the Irish Economy;* Clarke, 'The Irish Economy, 1600-60', pp. 168-86.
[185] Canny, *Making Ireland British,* p. 351; Raymond Gillespie, 'The Changing Structure of Irish Agriculture in the Seventeenth Century', in Margaret Murphy and Matthew Stout (eds), *Agriculture and Settlement in Ireland* (Dublin, 2015) p. 120. For further debates see Canny, 'Migration and Opportunity: Britain, Ireland and the New World', pp. 7-32; Gillespie, 'Migration and Opportunity: A Comment', pp. 90-6; Perceval-Maxwell, 'Migration and Opportunity: A Further Comment', pp. 59-61.
[186] See TCD, Deposition of Giles Dangger, MS 824, fols 163r-163v [accessed February 2015].

on a simple system of economy. However, the structure was politicised in the 1641 rebellion when mills were torn apart with a similar vehemence shown toward Protestant churches. Financial strain, loss of prior ownership, restricted use, and millers' abuses may have been at the root of this conflict. The mill's role in serving both sides of the community during the seventeenth-century set it as a contentious landmark on the Irish landscape.

This chapter has sought to raise questions and open discussion about the role of the mill in early modern Ireland. With so little research on this topic, it is difficult to draw a complete picture of the structure in Ireland's early history. More insight may be gathered by looking more closely at milling in England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland's natural colonial comparison: North America. With further investigation, historians may be able to assess the full economic and social significance of the mill in individuals' daily lives by establishing its role in the contested and cooperating communities of early modern Ireland.

THE PERSON

The Material Culture of Dress

In the winter of 1641, horrified deponents struggled to explain the violence unravelling before their eyes. While many pointed to religion with accusatory cries of 'papist', the Protestant vicar Marmaduke Clapham had a sartorial explanation:

> … their men and women which formerly vsed the English habitt as bands ruffes hats cloaks gowns brieches and now weres kearchers mantles trousses and all Irish habit and insomuch that forty years improuement of peace is destroyed by these miscreants in one half yeare.[1]

Clapham had been a vicar of 'Synrone' (Shirnone) parish in Co. Offaly owned by the Catholic landowner Owen McGillefoyle in 1641.[2] Yet, because of his Protestant ministry, he was denied entrance to McGillefoyle's castle and Clapham's neighbour John O Carroll retracted a promise to safeguard his family. [3] Clapham's anger at being so betrayed by his neighbours when the English had 'lived in commendable fashion keeping good hospitality to strangers their neighbours' directed itself towards their attire. Echoing the rhetoric of Gerald of Wales and Sir John Davies, Clapham could not separate the rebellion's cause from the sartorial degeneration of those who deceived him.

In earlier years, fashion historians felt the need to defend their research by divorcing it from the 'charge of frivolity.'[4] As the work of Susan Vincent demonstrated, clothing occupied a complex position in the human experience and relationships.[5] It towed the line between societal expression and formation, actively structuring the lived-experience of early modern individuals as well as expressing their cultural beliefs and perceptions. Ulinka Rublack's research on the early modern Europe (specifically Germany) pinned the Renaissance as a

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[1] TCD, 1641 Depositions Project, online transcript of the Deposition of Marmaduke Clapham, MS 814, fols 162r-162v. Available from: http://1641.tcd.ie [accessed November 2014]. All the following cited depositions have been retrieved online from: http://1641.tcd.ie. Marmaduke Clapham is also mentioned in Geraldine Tallon (ed.), *Court of Claims, Submissions and Evidence, 1663* (Dublin, 2006) p. 270, no. 689.

[2] For evidence of a medieval church, see NMS, *The Archaeological Survey of Ireland*, Reference Number OF042-026---. Available from: http://webgis.archaeology.ie/historicenvironment [accessed May 2016].

[3] There is evidence of a castle and a bawn wall possibly built in 1622 when the owner of the castle was Donagh Mac Guillfoyle. See NMS, *Archaeological Survey of Ireland*, Reference Number OF042-025--. Available from: http://webgis.archaeology.ie/historicenvironment [accessed May 2016].

[4] James Laver, *Taste and Fashion: From the French Revolution until Today* (London, 1931) p. 5. See also, Jennifer Harris 'Costume History and Fashion Theory: Never the Twain Shall Meet?', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 77 (1995), p. 73.

[5] See Susan J. Vincent, *Dressing the Elite: Clothing, Culture and Identity in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2003).

period 'in which the social… was produced by visual means.'[6] Clothes became visual cues of one's occupation, rank, religion, wealth, gender and geographic location. Previously, historians have placed weight upon the economic, social and moral regulation of clothing through legislation.[7] As Susan Flavin noted, such legal responses to attire 'increased markedly over the course of the sixteenth-century in England in response to increasing social mobility, mercantilism and evolving ideas about morality of excess, instituted by religious change.'[8] The impact of this change upon self-presentation and public identity following the Reformation has been an additional point of scholarly attention.[9] Today, dress has established an unshakeable place in the history of consumption. [10] Scholars have traced the ownership of textiles and clothing to reveal the economic importance of fashioning the past.[11] This established body of research, conducted in English and European contexts, has allowed

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[6] Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford, 2010) p. 31.

[7] Negley H. Harte, 'State Control of Dress and Social Change in Pre-Industrial England', in Donald C. Coleman and Arthur H. John (eds), *Trade, Government and Economy in Pre-Industrial England, Essays Presented to F. J. Fisher* (London, 1976); Paul Raffield, 'Reformation, Regulation and the Image: Sumptuary Legislation and the Subject of Law', *Law and Critique* 13, no. 2 (2002), pp. 127-50; Francis. E. Baldwin, 'Sumptuary Legislation and Personal Legislation in England', *John Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science* 44, no. 1 (1923); Maria Hayward, *Rich Apparel: Clothing and the Law in Henry VIII's England* (Aldershot, 2009); Wilfred Hooper, 'The Tudor Sumptuary Laws', *English Historical Review* 30, no. 119 (1915) pp. 433-49; Christopher Breward, *The Culture of Fashion* (Manchester, 1995) pp. 41-105.

[8] Susan Flavin, *Culture and Consumption in Sixteenth-Century Ireland: Saffron, Stockings and Silk* (Woodbridge, 2014) p. 64.

[9] See Catherine Richardson (ed.), *Clothing Culture, 1350-1650* (Aldershot, 2004); Elizabeth Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity* (London, 1985); Claire Bartram, 'Social Fabric in Thynnes Debate between Pride and Lowliness', in Catherine Richardson (ed.), *Clothing Culture*, pp. 137-52; Vincent, *Dressing the Elite*, p. 86.

[10] Joan Thirsk, *Economic Policy and Projects: The Development of a Consumer Society in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1978); Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J. H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 1982); Grant McCracken, *Culture and Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities* (Bloomington, 1988); Carole Shammas, *The Pre-Industrial Consumer in England and American* (Oxford, 1990); John Brewer and Roy Porter (eds), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London, 1993); John Brewer and Ann Bermingham (eds), *The Consumption of Culture 1600-1800: Image, Object, Text* (London, 1995); John Brewer and Susan Staves (eds), *Early Modern Conceptions of Property* (London, 1996); Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain 1660-1760* (London, 1996); Lisa Jardine, *Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance* (London, 1996); Lena Cowen Orlin (ed.), *Material London c. 1600* (Philadelphia, 2000).

[11] Anne Buck, 'Clothing and Textiles in Bedfordshire Inventories, 1617-1620', *Costume* 34 (2000), pp. 25-38; Margaret Spufford, *The Great Reclothing of Rural England: Petty Chapmen and their Wares in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1984); Margaret Spufford, 'The Cost of Apparel in Seventeenth-Century England, and the Accuracy of Gregory King', *The Economic History Review* 53 (2000), pp. 677-705; John Styles, 'Clothing the North: The Supply of Non-elite Clothing in the Eighteenth-Century North of England', *Textile History* 25 (1994), pp. 139-66; Lorna Weatherill, 'Consumer Behaviour, Textiles and Dress in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries', *Textile History* 22 (1991), pp 297-310. See also works of Beverly Lemire: 'Consumerism in Preindustrial and Early Industrial England: The Trade in Secondhand Clothes', *Journal of British Studies* 27, no. 1 (1988), pp. 1-24; 'The Theft of Clothes and Popular Consumerism in Early Modern England', *Journal of Social History* 24 (1990) pp. 255-76; 'Peddling Fashion: Salesmen, Pawnborkers, Taylors, Thieves and the Second-hand Clothes Trade in England, c. 1700-1800', *Textile History* 22 (1991), pp. 67-82; *Dress, Culture and Commerce: The English Clothing Trade Before the Factory, 1660-1800* (London, 1997).

historians to begin probing the more ambiguous history of dressing up: one that investigates the organisation of individual identity, conscious acts of display, and the misrepresentation and regulation of appearance.[12]

Clothing proved to be a heated point of contention in early modern Ireland. Secondary literature on the topic has isolated moments of sartorial resistance, and questioned the accuracy of Protestant illustrations depicting indigenous fashion.[13] English officials and written accounts upheld uniform modes of civil, English dress with a redundant fervour. In 1576, Anthony Colclogh was given instructions on how to execute martial law in Co. Wexford upon 'idle persons or vagabones' and 'persons not having in his companie some honest man in English aparell.'[14] As Magaret Rose Jaster pointed out, deeply misunderstood cultural differences were at play regarding dress during this period. For the English, donning the garb of an Irishman pledged allegiance to a chief rather than the King. For an Irishman, wearing his native attire showed reverence for the individuals in his presence.[15] Clothing's significance within Gaelic society to establish power dynamics foreshadowed England's lengthy struggle to stamp out the visual accoutrements of Irish identity.

British-styled settlement would provide the infrastructure required to distribute the preferred culture and accompanying clothing. Official ordering for new corporate towns, an increase in fairs and markets, and the establishment of ports for foreign trade indicated a shift in Ireland's native economy.[16] In Ulster, for instance, the creation of fourteen corporate towns and a surge of settlers into the province necessitated the creation of small urban centres.[17] The urbanisation of Ireland during this period is of key interest to the fashion historian. An increase in public spaces through the development of markets and towns allowed individuals to flaunt their apparel, observe others' fashion choices and be judged by their appearance. These were the integral places where people could adapt their clothing strategies. Such a

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[12] For example, see Vincent, *Dressing the Elite*; Richardson, *Clothing Culture*; Amy de la Haye and Elizabeth Wilson (eds), *Defining Dress: Dress as Object, Meaning and Identity* (Manchester 1999).
[13] See Magaret Rose Jaster, '"Out of All Frame and Good Fashion": Sartorial Resistance as Political Spectacle', *The Irish Review,* no. 34 (2006), pp. 44-57; Hiram Morgan, 'Festive Irishmen: An "Irish" Procession in Stuttgart 1617', *History Ireland* 5, no. 3 (1997), pp. 14-20.
[14] John F. Ainsworth and Edward MacLysaght, 'Survey Documents in Private Keepings, Second Series', *Analecta Hibernica* 20 (1958), p. 6.
[15] Jaster makes this argument in 'Out of All Frame and Good Fashion', pp. 44-57.
[16] See Mairead Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland* (London, 1989) p. 65.
[17] Raymond Gillespie, 'Small Towns in Early Modern Ireland', in Clark (ed.), *Small Towns in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1995) pp. 160-1.

phenomenon occurred across Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries.[18] As Catherine Richardson has explained, this had a polarising effect on early modern society that distinguished it from the 'relatively more stable and cohesive medieval counterpart.'[19]

Urbanisation, however, appeared stunted in Ireland. The untamed landscape and its inhabitants opposed English modes of commercial development required for conspicuous consumption. In Co. Offaly, where Marmaduke Clapham lived, Gaelic power structures persisted, but English or Irish attire may have been tactically employed when elite families jockeyed for position.[20] In Ulster, dreams for accelerated urban expansion quickly fell away. Many centres ended in failure due to the actions of the local landlord and his tenants' tendency to live scattered about rather than together in a village.[21] Yet, is it still possible to assess the presence of a developing clothing culture in early modern Ireland? While English reports offered a disappointing account of the Irish economy and an attachment to the native pastoral tradition, perhaps there is more to the picture than immediately apparent. George Fitzgerald's tenant Valentine Payne purchased parcels of linen amounting to £12 5s. 6d. for the sixteenth earl of Kildare, which required him to pay a man to ride to Dromore to buy cloth and purchase the broad cloth at the fair. 'The rest', Valentine reported, 'I bought, some here, some there, the price is set at the end of every piece of cloth.'[22] If Dublin was not the single locus of clothing consumption, what role did cloth play in urbanised centres within the Pale, and even the scattered settlements of Ulster?

Questions concerning Ireland's clothing culture have remained largely unanswered because of the small number of sources left to historians and the wrong-headed assumption that Ireland's economy remained underdeveloped and even regressed following the Nine Years War (1594-1603).[23] The destruction of the public records in 1922 left few inventories and wills behind. Such invaluable resources have led to profound research in English material

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[18] Richardson, *Clothing Culture, 1350-1650*, p. 13. See also Jonathan Barry and Christopher Brooks (eds), *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society and Politics in England, 1550-1800* (Basingstoke, 1994); Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford, 2010).
[19] Richardson, 'Introduction', p. 13.
[20] See James Lyttleton, *The Jacobean Plantations in Seventeenth-Century Offaly: An Archaeology of a Changing World* (Dublin, 2013).
[21] Gillespie, 'Small Towns in Early Modern Ireland', p. 161.
[22] Aidan Clarke and Bríd McGath (eds), *Letterbook of George, 16th Earl of Kildare* (Dublin, 2013) pp. 92-3.
[23] Flavin, *Culture and Consumption in Sixteenth-Century Ireland*. Susan Flavin also discusses this in her article, 'Consumption beyond the Pale: Ireland and the Widening World of Goods.' Available from: http://www.academia.edu/8765285/Consumption_beyond_the_pale_Ireland_and_the_widening_world_of_goods [accessed October 2015].

culture, and their absence in Ireland is deeply felt.[24] The elite nature of the few surviving inventories and wills have forced historians to focus upon the attire of the wealthy.[25] Consumption patterns of the general population are further obscured by the absence of business correspondence between Irish merchants. While Susan Flavin has made significant contributions to the discussion of Ireland's clothing and material culture in the earlier century, the seventeenth-century remains for the most part shrouded in uncertainty. The limited but fruitful research that has been conducted on this period has involved the careful work of archaeologists.[26] However, archaeologists' efforts have additionally been thwarted by the biodegradable nature of cloth remains.

In *Making the Grand Figure,* Toby Barnard proposed employing the 1641 Depositions to shed light upon the material culture and living standards of those in the early seventeenth-century.[27] Catherine Richardson has shown how material culture (in her case that of early modern England) permeated the personal narratives of English ecclesiastical court cases.[28] Richardson proposed that testifiers used this information because it authenticated 'the detail of memory': 'Clothing is part of the authenticating process which transforms memory into the narrative form of a memorially-constructed event…'[29] It held power to assert their narratives' truth and validity. A similar trend can be observed in the 1641 Depositions when deponents provided seemingly unnecessary details about clothing, usually to provide more credence to their testimonies.

What can historians make of this regularity within the depositions, and how can these testimonies be used to answer broader questions about material culture, consumption and identity during the seventeenth-century? As one of the few extensive sources that has survived

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[24] For example, see Mark Overton, et al. (eds) *Production and Consumption in English Households, 1600-1750* (London, 2004).
[25] Toby C. Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure: Lives and Possessions in Ireland, 1641-1770* (New Haven, 2004); Elizabeth Wincott Heckett, 'Tomb Effigies and Archaic Dress in Sixteenth-Century Ireland', in Catherine Richardson (ed.) *Clothing Culture 1350-1650* (Aldershot, 2004) pp. 63-75.
[26] See Audrey J. Horning, Ruairi O Baoill, Colm Donnelly and Paul Logue (eds), *The Post-Medieval Archaeology of Ireland, 1550-1850* (Dublin, 2007); Nick Brannon and Audrey J. Horning (eds), *Ireland and Britain in the Atlantic World*; Audrey J. Horning, *Ireland in the Virginian Sea* (North Carolina, 2013); James Lyttleton and Colin Rynne (eds), *Plantation Ireland: Settlement and Material Culture, c. 1550-1700* (Dublin, 2009).
[27] Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure*, p. 90.
[28] Catherine Richardson, '"Havying nothing upon hym saving onely his sherte": Event, Narrative and Material Culture in Early Modern England', in Catherine Richardson (ed.), *Clothing Culture 1350-1650* (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 209-21.
[29] Richardson, '"Havying nothing upon hym saving onely his sherte"', pp. 213-4.

from the first half of the seventeenth-century, the depositions may be the only means to explore these questions. Taking Flavin's lead and Barnard's suggestion, it is time to advance into the 1600s and use the depositions alongside inventories, wills and port books to explore the role of cloth and clothing in this period. Details embedded within the documents can provide significant clues concerning attire, the level of consumption, and the character of second-hand trade in Ireland during the first half of the seventeenth-century.

Meanings of Clothing

Over 950 depositions described groups of rebels eagerly stripping individuals of desirable garments, leaving their victims exposed to the damp, bitterly cold winter air. Because of its lightweight quality, cloth and clothing were often the first items stolen out of the trunks and chests of British settlers. A clerk of an ironworks in Co. Laois lamented how rebels ransacked his trunk taking most of 'the best and lightest things about the house.'[30] The possession of English clothing had several nuanced meanings in seventeenth-century Ireland that held ties to physical as well as social survival in the approaching winter of 1641.

As temperatures began to drop, clothing was not simply something of financial value, it was also a necessity. Victims stripped naked and cast out of their homes struggled to keep their bodies warm. William Wandesford ordered William Parkinson of Castlecomer in Co. Kilkenny to give fustian to the naked tenants of Lord Deputy Christopher Wandesford so that they could make the cloth into shirts and smocks.[31] The wife of William Pitch believed the 'stripping was the cause of his death.'[32] Hypothermia was a fate many faced, and for some rebels, it was the settlers' just end. Nakedness was also religiously associated with shame. Roger Markham, an employee at Sir Thomas Staples' ironworks in Co. Tyrone, professed that the loss of his clothes was indeed greater than their financial value: 'I lost all my Cloaths but what I had one my back with som money all which might not haue been worth 10 li. to another yet I had rather haue lost 20 li.'[33] As Catherine Richardson stated, 'within Christian thought, clothes do not only keep bodies warm, they also distinguish a fallen and therefore

[30] TCD, Deposition of John Winsmore, MS 815, fols 154r-155v [accessed March 2015].
[31] TCD, Deposition of William Parkinson, MS 812, fols 190r-192v [accessed March 2015].
[32] TCD, Deposition of Juaine Pitch, MS 829, fols 033r-034v [accessed March 2015].
[33] TCD, Deposition of Roger Markham, MS 839, fols 017r-023v [accessed March 2015].

self-knowing humanity from the beasts with whom they share God's World.'[34] In 1583, the staunch Puritan Phillip Stubbes bolstered his critique of luxurious attire with the statement that clothing was 'given as of God to cover our shame, to keep our bodies from cold…'[35] Shame and nakedness was a common pairing that rebels employed to ritually embarrass their victims. In Co. Laois, Martha Piggot relayed her humiliation as she and her daughter were led naked through the rebel camp 'as spectacles to be viewed & laughed at by their rebellious kernes' and later forced to sit 'starke naked onely her stocking vppon her feete vpon a dung hill...' One of Martha's poor tenants later took pity on Martha's nakedness and gave the lady her coat.[36] As Eamon Darcy noted, stripping victims of their expensive garments removed authoritative figures of the 'robes that culturally invested their position with power.'[37] This cultural disarmament imposed an additional blow to the humiliated victims.

Across early modern Europe, clothing could be used to supplement wages, and members of all social classes could disassemble garments into parts for numerous cash exchanges.[38] The elite attire of wealthy Protestants was an advantageous commodity for insurgents. During the rebellion, rebels targeted Suzanna Stockdale's 'new gowne' and debated amongst themselves about who would gain ownership of the garment.[39] Pawning clothing may have provided a means to pay off debts or acquire hard cash in a society fraught with coin shortages. [40] In the deposition of William Smith, the merchant from Co. Cavan explained how Sir Alexander Goryan had pawned a variety of goods, including linen, woollen and apparel onto the merchant for £60.[41] The innumerable debts listed in the depositions revealed that a network of credit tied Catholics and Protestants across social levels to one

[34] See 'Introduction', in Richardson, *Clothing Culture 1350-1650*, p. 9.
[35] Margaret Jane Kidnie (ed.), *Philip Stubbes, The Anatomie of Abuses* (Tempe, Arizona, 2002) p. 74.
[36] TCD, Deposition of Martha Piggot, MS 815, fols 374r-378v [accessed March 2015].
[37] Eamon Darcy, 'The Social Order of the 1641 Rebellion', in Eamon Darcy, Annaleigh Margey and Elaine Murphy (eds), *The 1641 Depositions and the Irish Rebellion* (London, 2012) p. 101.
[38] See Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge, 2000) pp. 18-33.
[39] TCD, Deposition of Suzanna Stockdale, MS 810, fols 092r-095r [accessed March 2015].
[40] For more information about the coin shortage, see George O'Brien, *The Economic History of Ireland in the Seventeenth Century* (Dublin, 1919) pp. 95-8; Michael MacCarthy-Morrogh, 'Credit and Remittance: Monetary Problems in Early Seventeenth-Century Munster', *Irish Economic and Social History* 14 (1987), p. 8; Jean Agnew, *Belfast Merchant Families in the Seventeenth Century* (Dublin, 1996) p. 95.
[41] TCD, Deposition of William Smith, MS 833, fols 189r-190v [accessed March 2015].

another.[42] The monetary value of cloth, therefore, played a significant role in the operation of the developing Irish economy that will be explored later in this chapter.

The English victims' former social power suggested a far more material feature of the rebels' robbery. In the early modern period, the regulatory sumptuary laws imposed physical standards of ethnic attire. In 1537, an English statue demanded an end of Irish dress as a means to civilise the native population:

> Werefore it be enacted… that no person or persons… shall use or wear any mantles, coat or hood made after the Irish fashion… every the said person or persons having or keeping any house or household, shall, to their powere, knowledge, and ability, use and keep their houses and households, as near as ever they an, according to the English order, condition and manner.[43]

While these laws suggested a dichotomy between the two ethnic sartorial traditions of England and Ireland, they should be used cautiously. As Audrey Horning wrote, giving too much power to these regulations make it so that 'evidence for subversion and deviation, as well as the emergence of hybrid dressing practices in colonial contexts, can be easily obscured or overlooked.'[44]

Horning's work on the Dungiven outfit (Plate 15-16) has shown that historical clothing can be employed to construct individuals' personal identity.[45] This set of late sixteenth or early seventeenth-century woollen clothes and leather accessories has been interpreted in various ways to validate particular groups' historical presence in Northern Ireland. The costume included a patched woollen mantle, a woollen jacket, repaired trews made from a woollen tartan weave, leather shoe fragments and a piece of a leather belt.[46] The assemblage had been recovered in lands previously settled by the London Companies in Co. Londonderry, the lands of the Worshipful Company of Skinners. As Horning writes, 'for some, the Dungiven costume is quintessentially Gaelic Irish. For others, the tartan cloth implies a Scottish origin. Both dichotomous interpretations derive, respectively, one framed

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[42] Patricia Stapleton, '"In monies and other requisites": The 1641 Depositions and the Social Role of Credit in Early Seventeenth-Century Ireland', in Eamon Darcy, Annaleigh Margey and Elaine Murphy (eds), *The 1641 Depositions and the Irish Rebellion* (London, 2012) pp. 65-77.
[43] Horning, *Ireland in the Virginian Sea*, p. 42. See also 'An Act for the English Order, Habit and Language', in Constantia Elizabeth Maxwell (ed.), *Irish History from Contemporary Sources, 1509-1610* (London, 1923) p. 122.
[44] Audrey J. Horning, 'Clothing and Colonialism: The Dungiven Costume and the Fashioning of Early Modern Identities', *Journal of Social Archaeology* 14, no. 3 (2014), p. 297.
[45] Horning, 'Clothing and Colonialism', pp. 296-318.
[46] Horning, 'Clothing and Colonialism', p. 299.

as rooted in Gaelic Ireland and the other in the seventeenth-century settlement of Scottish and English planters.'[47] Ferdinand Braudel wrote that early modern fashion suggested a 'deeper phenomena—of the energies, possibilities, demands and joie de vivre of a given society, economy, and civilisation.'[48] When applied to early modern Ireland, Terence Turner's proposition that apparel can be used as a 'social skin' suggested that individuals adapted their social identity by adopting particular ethnic attires.[49]

If dress maintained social hierarchies and the process of identification, what can one deduce from the acts of wearing English attire described in the depositions? When sides were drawn in 1641, the sartorial blending from the previous years confused simple systems of recognition. Irish rebels in Co. Cavan accidently 'hurt a preist being one of them' when an individual in their company mistook the religious man for an English man, 'because he had Russett boots on.'[50] In 1653, Patrick Bryan remembered how his master Patrick Boylan had taken clothes off the English army in Munster, given a red doublet to his father, and taken a white hat with silver embellishing for himself.[51] In this instance, the recycling of clothing across ethnicities may hold powerful implications concerning the wearer's awareness of a garment's 'social skin.' The wife of Hugh O Leary mischievously broke into the chamber of William Burley's wife, dressed herself in her best attire, sat herself in Mrs. Burley's chair, and asked 'whether that chaire apparrell and place did not become her aswell as Mrs Burley…'[52] Eamon Darcy briefly discussed instances of cross-cultural attire, like that of Hugh O Leary's wife, in his investigation of the social order of the 1641 rebellion. Clothing could be used to exploit traditional structures of authority and provide statements concerning social status in early modern Ireland.[53] Margaret Rose Jaster argued that Irish subversion of native garb may have been a political statement; specifically, a statement that rejected any allegiance to England.[54] In Gaelic culture, where wearing traditional apparel displayed one's esteem for the viewer, an Irishman in English attire was a declaration of his contempt. In Ireland, it becomes

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[47] Horning, 'Clothing and Colonialism', p. 300.
[48] Ferdinand Braudel, *The Structures of Everyday Life: The Limits of the Possible* (London, 1981) p. 323. Also cited in Horning, 'Clothing and Colonialism', p. 302.
[49] Terence S. Turner, 'The Social Skin', in Catherine B. Burroughs and Jeffrey Ehrenreich (eds), *Reading the Social Body* (Iowa City, 1980) pp. 15-39.
[50] TCD, Deposition of Thomas Crant, MS 832, fols 212r-219V [accessed March 2015].
[51] TCD, Examination of Patrick Bryan, MS 813, fols 194r-195v [accessed March 2015].
[52] TCD, Deposition of William Burley, MS 837, fols 029r-029v [accessed March 2015].
[53] Darcy, 'The Social Order of the 1641 Rebellion', pp. 91-111, specifically pp. 99-102.
[54] See Jaster, 'Out of All Frame and Good Fashion', pp.44-57.

clear that clothing occupied a complex position in society. It provided clues concerning identity, self-presentation, and how individuals' might have perceived others in a period where apparel could imply one's ethnic origin and religion.[55]

Irish and English Attire

Marmaduke Clapham identified the key items of the male costume that differentiated the civil English from the wild Irish. The Englishman wore bands or a ruff around his neck, a cloak over his back, and a pair of breeches to cover his legs. The Irishmen and women degraded themselves in 'kearchers' (kerchiefs), mantles and trews. How did these items come to acquire these ethnic associations, and how stable was this portrayal? The following assessment of upper body wear, legwear, ruffs and footwear described in the depositions may help unpack these questions and explore the extent in which settlers and natives interacted with the opposing material culture.

The Mantle

In 1620, Luke Gernon observed the green, red and yellow mantles worn by 'gallant' ladies of Ireland.[56] Derricke's *Image of Ireland* (1580) depicted men festooned in thick mantles with shaggy fringe (Plate 17).[57] This long cloak that enveloped its wearer in dense, woollen cloth had been worn in Ireland for centuries, owing to its warmth as well as adaptability to all categories of wealth. Loosely woven mantles of undyed fleece became a staple of the poorer sort's attire, but these garments could be dyed in blue, russet-brown and purple, or decorated with silk fringes for the elite wearer.[58] The mantle's heavy exterior reflected its primary function: to protect its wearer against the damp, cold air.[59]

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[55] Horning, 'Clothing and Colonialism', 296-318.
[56] Luke Gernon, *A Discourse of Ireland* (1620) p. 359. Available at CELT from: http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/E620001 [accessed October 2014].
[57]Specifically, in *A Chief Kerne and Horse-Boy* and *A Chief and his Party at Dinner*. For these images, see Henry Foster McClintock, *Old Irish and Highland Dress and that of the Isle of Man: With Chapters on Pre-Norman Dress as Described in Early Irish Literature…* (Dundagan, 1950) pp. 31-4.
[58] Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland*, p. 40.
[59] See John Derricke, *The Images of Ireland* (1581); Sir James Ware, *Antiquities and History of Ireland, 1654-1658* (Dublin, 1705) p. 29. For a discussion about the mantle's ability to provide warmth, see B. Hodkinson, 'A

A developing interest in personal hygiene in the seventeenth-century, however, may have facilitated a tirade against the robust Irish mantle.[60] In the sixteenth-century, English travellers observed how the destitute Irish, plagued by war and feminine, simply wore a loose mantle to cover their nakedness.[61] Fynes Moryson described these 'nomads' with their 'bodies naked, they cover their heads and upper parts with their mantles.'[62] Such an individual can be seen in the late sixteenth-century image *Noblewoman, Townswomen and Wild Irish* by Lucas de Here (Plate 18). The mantle soon became entangled into the filth of the native kerne who wandered the wild landscape and employed the garment as shelter against the elements.

Late sixteenth-century accounts began propagandising the garment's lawless connotation. Edmund Spenser ascribed a series of negative Irish identities to the mantle: 'A fit house for an out-law, a meet bed for a rebel, and an opt cloke for a thief.'[63] However, Spenser's account unmasked his frustration with the wild kerne's great advantage of mobility. The mantle could be employed as a home, tent and even a shield against the slice of an English sword. For the Irish, the fact that this piece of clothing could serve as armour and a portable bed made it both egalitarian and utilitarian. Poets praised the article: 'our only houses, without distinction of ranks/were our strong leather clocks.'[64] It was employed for ceremonial gift exchanges between 'king and lesser leaders,' and played a central role in negotiating power dynamics. [65]

The mantle appeared in nine depositions (three of which relate to the same instance), and it was consistently described in a negative context. [66] The mantle was a weapon of

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Reappraisal of the Archaeological Evidence for Weaving in Ireland in the Early Christian Period', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 50 (1986), p. 48; Horning, 'Clothing and Colonialism', p. 8.

[60] Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland*, p. 69.

[61] Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland*, p. 69.

[62] Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary Containing his Ten Yeeres Travel through… Germany…Ireland, Vol 2* (London, 1617) p. 231. Available as 'The Description of Ireland' at CELT from: http://www.ucc.ie/celt/online/T100071.html [accessed October 2014].

[63] Edmund Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland* (c. 1596). Available at CELT from: http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/E500000-001 [accessed October 2014].

[64] John O'Donovan (ed. and trans.), in *The Circuit of Ireland by Muircheartach Mac Neill, Prince of Aileach* (Dublin, 1841) pp. 14-17.

[65] Jaster, 'Out of All Frame and Good Fashion', p. 46.

[66] TCD, Deposition of Goodman Walker, MS 815, fols 047r-048v; Deposition of Mary Hamond, MS 830, fols 136r-137v; Deposition of Walter Burke, MS 830, fols 176r-177v; Deposition of Marmaduke Clapham, MS 814, fols 162-r-162v; Deposition of William Timmes, MS 821, fols 187r-196v; Examination of Thomas Hayward, MS 836, fols 147r-148v [accessed March 2015]. For those relating to the same event: Examination of Walter Cusacke, MS 816, sol 304r-305v; Examination of Roger MacNemarra, MS 816, fols 308r-309v; Examination of Edward Weisley, MS 816, fols 312r-312v [accessed March 2015].

concealment: 'many of the rude company presently threw off their mantles and with their skeined which they had under their mantles fell to worke and in a short tyme murthered…'[67] It was also therefore a reason for mistrust. The fact that Davie Hose came 'flying out of the highe way capped and mantled' was reason enough for Goodman Walker to suspect Hose's rebellious nature.[68] Hose had been a tenant of Rathmore of Stradbally to Robert Robinson the elder in Co. Laois. In 1641, Rathmore was owned by Catholic landowner Francis Cosby, whose servants had spent part of the rebellion pillaging the prized English sheep of the local gentry.[69] In the previously discussed deposition of Marmaduke Clapham, an Englishmen's mantle meant that he had abandoned his civilised cloak and converted into a rebel. In emotional narratives like those found in the depositions, the practicality of native attire is lost. The Irish mantle, along with brogues and trews, confirmed one's ethnic identity and associated lawlessness.

However, archaeological research suggested that this dichotomy between English and Irish attire was often superficial. Blending, particularly on the side of the English, was of upmost concern because these styles persisted despite resolute attempts to transform Irish attire. *The Act for English Order, Habit, and Language* in 1537 indicated that many English were sporting native garments. The popularity of Irish mantles meant that these items had loyal consumers across oceans. Fynes Moryson wrote of mantles being 'exported in great quantity,' and they had been sent to Bristol as early as 1505.[70]

Letters from military officials, such as Sir Henry Wallop in 1597 and Captain Thomas Lee in 1599 suggested that the English understood the benefits of the mantle as a garment of protection.[71] Lee wrote that the thick mantle would serve well 'for protection in all weathers and makeshift lodging at night' while understanding that wearing such a garment might

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[67] TCD, Examination of Thomas Hayward, MS 836, fols 147r-148v [accessed March 2015].
[68] TCD, Examination of Edward Weisley, MS 816, fols 312r-212v [accessed March 2015].
[69] TCD, Deposition of Goodman Walker, MS 815, fols 047r-048v [accessed March 2015]. For more on the Cosby estate, see Walter Fitzgerald, 'Genealogy of the Cosby's of Stradbally', *Journal of the Kildare Archaeology Society* 5 (1906-9), pp. 316-7; P. Sweetman, Olive Alcock, Bernie Moran, *Archaeological Inventory of County Laois* (Dublin, 1995); Aubrey Gwynn and R. Neville Haddock, *Medieval Religious Houses of Ireland: with an Appendix to Early Sites* (Harlow, 1970); C. Mooney, 'Franciscan Architecture in Pre-Reformation Ireland, Part I', *JRSAI* 85 (1955), pp. 133-73.
[70] Moryson, *An Itinerary*, p. 223; Horning, 'Clothing and Colonialism', pp. 9. See also McClintock, *Old Irish and Highland Dress*, p. 77.
[71] 'Burghley to Wallop, 4 October', in Ernest G. Atkinson (ed.), *CSPI, 1596-1597* (London, 1893) p. 381. See also Horning, 'Clothing and Colonialism', p. 9.

dangerously transform the Englishmen into the 'barbarous' Irish.[72] These garments proved to be advantageous not simply because of their warmth, but also because of their waterproofing. The traditional finishing method, which required the sprinkling of honey or sugar and vinegar, was used up until the twentieth-century.[73] Because of this, an exception was made to the 1537 ban on mantles for individuals who were travelling through the Irish landscape.[74]

The mantle's persistent popularity was suggested in later laws in 1571 reiterating their prohibition.[75] Contemporary to the time of the rebellion, the inventory of John Skiddy (the affluent merchant from Co. Cork) stated that he owned two new blue mantles with fringe worth £5 in 1640.[76] 'Caddows' frequently appeared in the 1641 Depositions of British Protestants. Hector MacDonnell defined these woollen coverings as 'Irish rugs or mantles, much exported to the Continent as "Ibernes" and very fashionable in Britain and Ireland as bed covers.' In Ireland they were often chequered perhaps in a tartan weave.[77] Irish trade records consolidated by Donald Woodward also noted a shocking export of 3,200 mantles from Co. Waterford and thirteen mantles from Co. Dublin in 1626.[78] In Co. Cork, Mrs. Richard Sellers had been wearing a 'whittle' (cloak or mantle) and waistcoat when she was murdered—the attire was taken by Joan O Sullivan, sister of Dermot O Sullivan.[79]

In John R. Ziegler's close investigation of the use of Irish mantles in English documents, he cited Irish poetry to propose a high degree of inter-ethnic apparel circulation. The Ó hUiginn poem *Mág Uidhir* described how items were customarily distributed as spoils of battle between the English and Irish: '[t]hirty blades—no small gift—thirty mantles, thirty steeds, and thirty sharp edges of the Sidh after that.'[80] A portrait painted of George Fitzgerald, the sixteenth earl of Kildare, poses another example of sartorial ambiguity (Plate 19). The almost ethereal figure of the earl with a fur-lined scarlet robed wrapped around his torso in the

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[72] Constantia Elizabeth Maxwell, *Irish History from Contemporary Sources* (London, 1923) p. 215.
[73] A. T. Lucas, 'Cloth Finishing in Ireland', *Folklife* 6 (1968), pp. 53-61; Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland*, p. 40.
[74] Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland*, p. 41.
[75] Horning, 'Clothing and Colonialism', p. 9.
[76] Julian C. Walton, 'The Household Effects of a Waterford Merchant Family in 1640', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archeological Society* 83, no. 238 (1978), p. 100.
[77] Hector MacDonnell, 'A Seventeenth Century Inventory from Dunluce Castle, County Antrim', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 122 (1992), p. 114.
[78] Donald Woodward, 'Irish Trade and Customs Statistics, 1614-1641', *Irish Economic and Social History* XXVI (1999), p. 72, appendix Xb.
[79] TCD, Deposition of Gabriell Maureley, MS 826, fol. 023r [accessed March 2015]. For definition, see 'whittle, n[1]', *OED Online.* Available from: http://www.oed.com [accessed June 2016].
[80] John R. Ziegler, 'Irish Mantles, English Nationalism: Apparel and National Identity in Early Modern English and Irish Texts', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 13, no 1 (2013), p. 81.

manner of a mantle offered a permanent statement of his Irish legacy despite his Protestantism and marriage to the daughter the earl of Cork.[81] For Ziegler, 'Due to such circulation, apparel in Ireland would again seem to tend towards the ambiguity that so disturbed English writers and English identity.'[82] The English used the mantle to invent physical difference when difference became worryingly indiscernible.

The Doublet

In plate XII of John Derricke's *Image of Ireland*, Turlough Luineach O'Neill bowed reverently to Sir Henry Sidney, donning attire like the Englishman before him (Plate 20). Beneath his woollen mantle, O'Neill wore a doublet. Doublets were close fitting garments, with or without sleeves, typically worn by men during this period. While they could at times be extravagantly decorated with silk and lace, many of these garments were plainer and constructed from stronger materials such as fustian.[83] The doublet discovered in Dungiven spoke of the garment's common status and desired longevity (Plate 16). The extensive patchwork and reinforced buttonholes on the doublet indicated that it had a long life, and perhaps several wearers.[84]

Contemporary accounts suggested that a form of doublet also existed in the Irish clothing tradition. Gernon wrote that a typical 'churle' wore a doublet that was 'a pack saddle of canvase, or coarse cloth without skirtes.'[85] Employing a derogatory term commonly used for a common Englishman (churl), Gernon attempted to describe something foreign in familiar terms.[86] The key difference between an English and Irish doublet, therefore, was the garment's fabric and length. Rebels were attracted to the English doublets worn by their

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[81] The portrait is held at Castletown, Co. Kildare and reproduced as Plate 1 in Jane Ohlmeyer, *Making Ireland English*: *The Irish Aristocracy in the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven, 2012). See also Ohlmeyer's description of the portrait under Plate 1.
[82] Ziegler, 'Irish Mantles', p. 81.
[83] See 'Doublet – Dozens', in Nancy Cox and Karin Dannehl, *Dictionary of Traded Goods and Commodities, 1550-1820* (Wolverhampton, 2007). Available from: http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/traded-goods-dictionary/1550-1820/doublet-dozens [accessed May 2015]. For an example of an extravagant doublet, see TCD, Examination of John McConnell, MS 813, fols 032r-033v [accessed March 2015].
[84] For another example of a more common doublet in a Scottish context, see Horning, 'Clothing and Colonialism', p. 11; Naomi Tarrant, 'The 17th-century Doublet for Keiss, near Wick, Caithness', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 131 (2001), pp. 319-326.
[85] Gernon, *A Discourse*, p. 356.
[86] 'churl, n.,' *OED Online.* Available from: http:///www.oed.com [accessed June 2015].

Protestant victims. In Co. Tyrone, men robbed the doublet of the parson Mr. Bradley after removing his hat and coat.[87] Robert Wadding of Co. Carlow also lost his hat, coat and doublet when rebels greedily stripped the gentleman of his personal belongings.[88]

Viscount Edward Cecil Wimbledon stated in 1626 that the Irish 'disdain to sort themselves in fashion unto us, which in their opinion would more plainly manifest out conquest over them.'[89] This, however, appeared to be an exaggeration of the Irish tendency to clutch native fashions. The bardic poem *Courtier and Rebel* told of an Irishman who turned away from the adventurous life of a rebel and adopted the glamour of a Tudor courtier by cutting his hair, wearing a coat and leggings, and ornamenting himself with a gold ring, jewelled spur and satin scarf.[90] Examples from the depositions showed Irish rebels incorporating the stolen garments into their personal attire, and even using stolen cloth to fashion newly tailored doublets.[91] It is uncertain, however, if rebels who created new doublets from older materials kept them true to the English style.

Numerous examples throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries described how many Old English and Gaelic Irish elite sported English fashions to blend into society. Evidently the earl of Desmond Garrett Fitzgerald was wearing English attire when he was apprehended in London between 1567 and 1573.[92] Wills taken from Cork in the late sixteenth-century additionally projected the Irish adoption of the most up-to-date English styles. In 1572, Henry Verdon listed his cassocks, 'pinked' coat, white hose and leather jerkins.[93] In the early seventeenth-century, fathers and leaders were often the first to adopt the English style in hope of communicating their status to their conquerors.[94] Sir John Davies commented on the 'civil habit and fashion' of O'Looney and Mac Namara of Clare when they sported the costumes of Englishmen.[95] As these examples show, however, this adoption was

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[87] TCD, Deposition of John Kerdiff, MS 839, fols 012r-016r [accessed March 2015].
[88] Deposition of Robert Wadding, MS 812, fols 027r-028v [accessed March 2015].
[89] Jaster, 'Out of All Frame and Good Fashion', p. 55; Horning, 'Clothing and Colonialism', p. 11.
[90] David Greene and Fergus Kelly (eds), *Irish Bardic Poetry: Texts and Translations, Together with an Introductory Lecture by Osborn Bergin; with a Foreword by D.A. Binchy* (Dublin, 1970) pp. 231-2.
[91] TCD, Examination of Patrick Bryan, MS 813, fols 194r-195v; Examination of Laughlin Dun, MS 813, fols 198r-199v; Examination of John Crafford, MS 838, fol. 047r [accessed March 2015].
[92] See 'Nicholas Walsh to Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam, 24 November 1573' in Mary O'Dowd (ed.), *CSPI, Vol. 3, 1571-1575* (Dublin, 2000) p. 451. Also discussed in Heckett, 'Tomb Effigies and Archaic Dress in Sixteenth-Century Ireland', p. 70; Flavin, *Consumption and Culture,* p. 98.
[93] Cited by Flavin, *Consumption and Culture*, p. 98.
[94] Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland*, p. 69.
[95] Rev. Alexander B. Grosart (ed.), *The Works in Verse and Prose of Sir John Davies*, *Vol. III* (Blackburn, 1876) pp. 176-7.

largely reserved to those who could afford it. In John Speed's illustration of the civil and wild Irishman and woman, both the noble and middle-class men and women began wearing English clothes beneath their Irish mantles, but the wild Irish remained unchanged (Plate 21).[96] Although this alteration may not have been so abrupt as Speed insinuated, the seventeenth-century experienced a degree of hybridisation between the two cultures.

Trews and Stockings

The seventeenth-century tartan trews found in the bog in Dungiven, Co. Londonderry presented a third ethnic origin in the attire of the Dungiven wearer: Scotland. The garments' Scottish origin was apparent in the fabric. Trews were traditionally worn by Irish males, but were multicoloured rather than checked. However, as Horning pointed out, many commonalities between the Irish and Scottish sartorial traditions (such as wearing trews and mantles) make it difficult for archaeologists to ascribe a definitive ethnicity to the garment in question.[97]

Luke Gernon described trews as 'long stocke of friese, close to his thighs, and drawn on almost to the waste.'[98] The pants were held together by a draw-string band, and Gernon's impression of this leg wear was that men enjoyed wearing it 'so in suspence, that the beholder may suspecte it to be falling from his arse.'[99] George McLaughlin's account of the rebellion depicted trews as an external feature of Irish identity. The innkeeper from Coleraine stated:

> That the same night he returneing towards Colerane in the Evening he see a Party of the Irish standing in the way he intended to goe and perceiving they had spied him he haveing Irish and being an Irishman went forwards and comeing neere them he mett with one of his acquaintance who would have had him to put of[f] his breeches and put on his trowses and made him pull of[f] his band…[100]

In a letter from James McDonnell to Archibald Stewart concerning the 1641 rebellion, McDonnell reported that the men in his company are 'all in good health, but weare trewus…' during the cold month of January 1642.[101] This echoed a statement about Scottish use of trews

[96] Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland*, p. 80.
[97] Horning, 'Clothing and Colonialism', p. 14.
[98] Gernon, *A Discourse*, p. 356.
[99] Gernon, *A Discourse*, p. 356.
[100] TCD, Examination of George McLaughlin, MS 838, fols 061v-062r [accessed March 2015].
[101] TCD, Letter to Archibald Stewart, MS 838, fols 240r-241v [accessed March 2015].

in the seventeenth-century: 'In the sharp Winter weather the Highland men wear close trowzes which cover the Thighs, Legs, and Feet…The trowzes are for Winter use; at other Times they content themselves with short Hose, which scarce reach the knees.'[102] Trews, as Henry McClintock argued, were a feature of the Gaelic days, but most likely 'worn to the last for economy and for greater freedom running etc.'[103] Susan Flavin suggested that, contrary to the claims of Quentin Bell, fashion in Ireland was determined by practicality rather than availability.[104] Even as more fashionable forms of legwear spread into Ireland, those in the lower-levels of society refused to turn in their trusted trews for stockings. This slow evolution was noted by Luke Gernon in 1620 who reported that the Irish began sporting coloured knit stockings, 'but they have not disdained to weare stockins of raw whyte fries, and broges.'[105] Yet, by the 1650s, it was believed that the Irish had finally outgrown their attachment to the native leg wear: they now 'universally conform to the English dress in general expect some meaner sort of people who still wear the Mantle but all have thrown aside the use of Trowse.'[106] Native inhabitants similarly identified the English with the alternative legwear of breeches and stockings. In the deposition of Richard Parsons, Northern Irishmen allegedly showed their contempt for the inhabitants of the Pale by calling them 'stincking English Churles with great Breeches.'[107]

In the seventeenth-century, the uniformity of stocking style meant that the garments were not particularly gender specific.[108] For women, stockings were the place in which they could conceal small, precious material such as money. Before she was murdered, Jane Speir had been keeping an 'eleaven Marke piece' beneath the fabric of her stockings.[109] Near Birr, Co. Offaly, Edward Garner's wife had been stripped naked apart from her stockings. With the rebel Cahir Farrell's urging, a young boy later pulled off her stockings to discover that she had hide £5 close to her skin.[110]

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[102] James Gordon, *The History of Scots Affairs, 1637-1641* (Aberdeen, 1841); John Telfer Dunbar, *History of Highland Dress* (London, 1979) p. 35.
[103] McClintock, *Old Irish Dress*, p. 85.
[104] Flavin, *Consumption and Culture*, p. 93. For Quentin Bell, see *On Human Finery* (London, 1976) p. 95.
[105] Gernon, *A Discourse*, p. 359.
[106] McClintock, *Old Irish Dress*, p. 43.
[107] TCD, Deposition of Richard Parsons, MS 833, fols 275r-28rv [accessed March 2015].
[108] Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland*, p. 88.
[109] TCD, Examination of Jennett Service, MS 838, fols 046r-046v; Examination of James Gray, MS 838, fol. 046v [accessed March 2015].
[110] TCD, Deposition of Richard Tailor, MS 814, fols 260r-261v; and for an additional example, see Examination of Magdalene Duckworth, MS 836, fols 121r-122v [accessed March 2015].

In regard to male stockings, Thomas Syson of Co. Westmeath had his woollen cloth and frieze stockings taken out of his newly built home in Shingles.[111] Daniel Reardan, a clerk in Co. Galway, reported that rebels broke into his home, forced upon his trunk and distributed the clothes, shoes and stockings to their soldiers.[112] At times, rebels may not have been interested in owning the settler population's stockings. In Co. Down, eighteen-year-old Bryan Mackelhinny eagerly took Thomas Pasley's hat, gloves, cassock and cloak, but left his breeches and stockings.[113] In another case, Cormick MacGwire's daughter relayed the brutal account of her father's murder in Co. Down by his 'intimate friends' who stole his doublet, shirt, breeches, shoes and stockings.[114] Myles Jensinson related how he was stripped of all his clothes 'to his every stockings & shoes' so that he was left with nothing but his waistcoat and shirt in Co. Laois.[115] In cases like this, it is possible that rebels chose to strip particular items as a targeted humiliation tactic, but their actions may have also been based upon personal need. James boy O Kirovan had taken Englishman Richard Lake's 'pair of old stockings' after he was forced to hang Lake in Co. Carlow.[116] Presumably these well-worn items were of little monetary value, but the warmth they provided for James made them a worthwhile possession.[117] Indeed, English stockings were designed for a long life and could be revived by patching, or dying them a new colour.[118]

By 1612, the Ulster port books displayed a steady flow of male, female and children's stockings into the ports of Londonderry and Coleraine. These garments, mostly woollen or worsted, were likely meant to dress the new settlers from the London Companies. Thirsk suggested that woollen stockings were 'clearly not rich men's wares, but the clothing of the common people' and that 'the market was lodged mainly at the lower end of the social scale.'[119] By the early seventeenth-century, many stockings were manufactured in Wales, Gloucestershire, Cornwall, Devon, Nottingham, Northamptonshire, Yorkshire,

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[111] TCD, Deposition of Thomas Syson, MS 817, fols 073r-074v [accessed March 2015].
[112] TCD, Deposition of Daniell Reardan, MS 830, fols 144r-144v [accessed March 2015].
[113] TCD, Deposition of Thomas Paseley, MS 837, fols 130r-130v; Deposition of Bryan Mchelhenny, MS 837, fols 119r [accessed March 2015].
[114] TCD, Examination of Margerett Nee Magwire, MS 837, fols 146r-147v [accessed March 2015].
[115] TCD, Deposition of Myles Jenkinson, MS 815, fols 340r-340v [accessed March 2015].
[116] TCD, Examination of James Boy Kernan, MS 812, fol. 106r [accessed March 2015].
[117] TCD, Examination of James Boy Kernan.
[118] Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland*, p. 88.
[119] Joan Thirsk, *Economic Policy and Projects: Development of Consumer Society in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1988) p. 127. For more on stockings, see Thirsk, 'The Fantastic Folly of Fashion: The English Stocking Knitting Industry, 1500-1700', in Joan Thirsk, *The Rural Economy of England: Collected Essays* (London, 1984) pp. 235-57.

Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland and Durham.[120] Within three months, over sixty pairs of stockings were brought into Londonderry in 1615.[121] Trade records to Coleraine in 1613 showed that 420 pairs of stockings, both woollen knit and kersey, were deposited in Ireland. Throughout 1615, a steady flow of male, female and children stockings into Coleraine amounted to a grand total of 654 pairs. While the origins of ships arriving in Londonderry are less clear, those docking in Coleraine's port primarily set off from London and Chester, with one vessel from Barnstaple and another from Islay.[122] Meanwhile, no stockings were recorded in the Carickfergus port books or the Lecale port books. A lack of sources from this period makes the following distribution paths of these items unclear. However, many of these stockings presumably made their way into the shops of local merchants. In 1641, William Smith, a merchant in Co. Cavan, had been carrying a variety of linen and woollen cloth as well as stockings and tobacco in his shop.[123]

Yet, stocking wearing and making were not traditions solely held by the English. Patrick MacGire had been travelling throughout the country seeking work as a tailor after his wife passed away in 1641. Five miles outside Dublin City, he found lodging in a town and paid his host by making him a pair of stockings. Patrick's ethnic affiliation to the native Irish is apparent in his defensive statement that he had no weapons but tailor's shears and a pocket knife, and that he knew nothing of the conspiracy forming among the rebel party.[124] Flavin had noted this trend in the later sixteenth-century, stating that 'new fashions stimulated a certain level of domestic production and that the Irish were importing new knitting techniques as well as the stockings themselves.'[125] Remains of knitted stockings dating from the late sixteenth or early seventeenth-century have been found in Cos Mayo and Waterford, again highlighting the wide distribution of this leg wear.[126]

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[120] Thirsk, *Economic Policy*, pp. 126-7.
[121] Robert J. Hunter (ed.), *The Ulster Port Books, 1612-1615* (Belfast, 2012) pp. 37, 39, 41.
[122] For stockings in Coleraine, see Hunter, *Ulster Port Books*, pp. 57, 61, 73, 75, 77, 81.
[123] TCD, Deposition of William Smith, MS 833, fols 189r-190v [accessed March 2015].
[124] TCD, Examination of Pattrick MaGwire, MS 809, fol. 083r [accessed March 2015].
[125] Flavin, *Consumption and Culture,* p. 92.
[126] E. W. Heckett, 'Town and Country: An Overview of Irish Archaeological Cloth and Clothing, 1550-1850', in Audrey J. Horning et al. (eds.), *The Post-Medieval Archaeology of Ireland, 1550-1850* (Dublin, 2007) p. 460.

Ruffs

As mentioned in Marmaduke Clapham's depositions, ruffs were another recognisable piece of 'English' attire. Ruffs, linen neckwear that possessed no practical function, were designed to project a life of leisure and the 'dissociation from manual occupation.'[127] Evidence of the term 'ruff' in the depositions only occurred among the female population. Rebels stole Lucy Spell's ruff when her boat was forced to dock in the port of Skerries due to bad weather.[128] The wife of William Crofton, a Catholic landowner of Templehouse in Co. Sligo, lost her hat, ruff and apron when she was attacked.[129] In regard to the male costume, the depositions employed the term 'band' to describe a collar or ruff worn around a man's neck. The previously mentioned innkeeper George McLaughlin of Coleraine had taken off his breeches and band to look the part of an Irishman.[130]

Because a ruff had to be redesigned after every washing, the garment required a vast amount of starch to regain its shape.[131] As Susan Flavin noted in her work on the consumption in Ireland during the sixteenth-century, greater amounts of starch were being imported into Ireland in the 1590s than ever before. She discovered accounts from the National Archives revealing that 73 lbs of starch were imported along with 'poking sticks'—two materials needed to restructure the pleats of a ruff.[132] In the Ulster port books, ruffs only appeared once. On 10 June 1613, six pairs of ruffs were imported into Coleraine from Chester worth ten shillings.[133] The import of starch, however, occurred with much greater frequency.[134] Starch was listed among the various items sold in merchants' shops in Ireland. In 1641, rebels riffled through the shops of Kilkenny merchants, wrapping their stock of soap, starch and candles in the torn pieces of Protestant bibles.[135] It is possible that many ruffs, if worn extensively among the well-to-do in Ireland, were constructed at home in Ireland rather than abroad due to their fragile nature.

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[127] Susan J. Vincent, *Dressing the Elite: Clothing, Culture and Identity in Early Modern England* (London, 2003) p. 33. See also Flavin, *Consumption and Culture*, p. 84.
[128] TCD, Deposition of Luce Spell, MS 834, fols 006r-007v [accessed March 2015].
[129] TCD, Examination of Jane Boswell, MS 831, fols 009r-100v [accessed March 2015].
[130] TCD, Examination of George McLaughlin, MS 838, fols 061v-062r [accessed March 2015].
[131] Flavin, *Consumption and Culture,* p. 84. See also Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing*, p. 68.
[132] As cited in Flavin, *Consumption and Culture*, p. 86.
[133] Hunter, *Ulster Port Books*, p. 57.
[134] For white starch, see Hunter, *Ulster Port Books*, pp. 23, 25, 45, 59, 67, 81, 95. For blue starch, see pp. 45, 59, 61, 75.
[135] TCD, Deposition of James Benn, MS 812, fols 213r-214v [accessed March 2015].

Acts of starching in the depositions may indicate the domestic consumption and construction of this neckwear. Newly widowed Frances Knight planned to move to Dublin City with her daughter-in-law to make a living by 'draweing bere' selling commodities, sewing, washing and starching.[136] In 1653, Alice Slabagh would have been found starching cloth in the kitchen of her lodging on Thomas Street in Macroom, Co. Cork. [137] As the depositions indicated, starching was traditionally a woman's task.[138] In 1564, a Flemish refugee Dinghen ven der Plasse established a starching business in London by employing women to provide instruction on starching and starch preparation.[139] In fact, it was a Dutch woman whom Elizabeth I appointed as the first starcher to the Queen.[140] Like Frances Knight, Alice Slabagh was widowed and shared her living quarters with other female companions. Without the financial security of a husband, women looked to starching to gather an income.

Although few ruffs were mentioned in the depositions, there may be an explanation for the absence. Militant Protestants attacked ruffs for their foreign, effeminate and wasteful association. Using corn to make starch rather than bread was an extravagance that contributed to the food shortages in England.[141] In the beginning of the seventeenth-century, a ruff projected a more Catholic and certainly more Spanish alliance than that of English Protestantism. As Jones and Stallybrass noted, ruffs and the starch needed to form them, 'had become associated in the eyes of militant Protestants with the foreign, demonic, the "Catholic"' by the 1610s. It is curious that one of the few ruffs cited in the depositions adorned the neck of the wife of a Catholic landowner. In 1638, a Dublin shoemaker who possessed 'very old' ruffs also owned 'popish' books.[142] While it is not wise to draw conclusions from the small number of ruffs transported into Ireland from England in the Ulster port books, it is perhaps an explainable trend within the context of Protestant criticism. This was in keeping with the soberer and simpler tone of contemporary sartorial trends.

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[136] TCD, Deposition of Frances Knight, MS 835, fols 126r-127v [accessed March 2015].
[137] TCD, Examination of Alice Slabagh, MS 826, fols 214r-214v [accessed March 2015].
[138] Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing,* pp. 67-8.
[139] Flavin, *Consumption and Culture,* p. 84; Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing,* p. 68.
[140] See John Stow, *Annales or, a Generall Chronicle of England: by Edmund Howes / Begun by John Stow* (London, 1632) sigs. Ddddlv-2. Also discussed in Karen Newman, *Fashioning Femininity and English Renaissance Drama* (Chicago, 1991) p. 155; Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing,* p. 68.
[141] Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing,* p. 68. See also Flavin, *Consumption and Culture,* p. 87.
[142] Inventory of John Gilpin, *Pleas in Sheriffs Court Dublin,* BL, Add. MS 11687, fol. 127.

However, the austere fashion of the seventeenth-century was not always to the taste of the elite in Ireland who were sceptical of the advice of their tailors and London acquaintances.[143]

Footwear

In 1554, Giacomo Soranzo described how the 'wild Irish generally go barefoot both summer and winter.'[144] The bare feet of the wild Irish appeared again in Lucas de Heere's c. 1575 illustration of the *Noblewomen, Townswoman and Wild Irish*. However, sixteenth-century accounts and illustrations may have overemphasised the bare-foot state of the native population to establish a useful caricature of the poor Irishman.[145] In the early centuries, barefootness had been a deliberate fashion decision during the medieval period's Gaelic cultural revival. Katherine Simms argued that it was 'a public demonstration of toughness' particularly in the middle of winter.[146] As described in 1542, the bare skin showed that the Gaelic communities 'could tolerat, suffir and away best with colde, for boithe somer and wyntir (excepte where the frost is muoste vehemente.'[147] The portrait of the barelegged Thomas Lee, English commanding officer of Queen Elizabeth's regiment of Irish kerne, emulated Irish ideas of hardiness and military bravery (Plate 22).[148] By the sixteenth-century, *The Image of Ireland* depicted the covered feet of all Irishman apart from the young horse boys (Plate 17). Yet, even when the Irish fully engaged with the civilised tradition of footwear, their shoes remained culturally distinct from those of the Englishmen.

Remaining archaeological and documentary evidence presents an awareness for uniquely Irish footwear: the brogue. The shoe fragments found with the Dungiven outfit were of the typical Irish brogue tradition. Archaeologists place shoe remains in Ireland into three

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[143] See Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland*, pp. 66-9. For the use of London tailors, see Ohlmeyer, *Making Ireland English*, p. 412.
[144] Rawdon Brown (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Venetian, Vol. V*, 1534-1554 (London, 1873) pp. 531-67, no. 934. Available from: http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/venice/vol5/pp531-567 [accessed March 2015]. See also McClintock's assemblage of contemporary accounts in *Old Irish and Highland Dress*, p. 68.
[145] For problems concerning the illustrations, see Morgan, 'Festive Irishmen', pp. 14-20.
[146] Katherine Simms, 'The Barefoot Kings: Literary Image and Reality in Later Medieval Ireland', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 30 (2010), pp. 1-21, specifically pp. 7-9.
[147] 'A Proposal for Uniting Scotland with England Addressed to King Henry VIII by John Elder Clerke, a Reddshanke [1542]', in Sir Walter Scott and David Laing (eds.), *The Bannatyne Miscellany, Vol. 1* (Edinburgh, 1827) p. 13; Simms, 'The Barefoot Kings', p. 9.
[148] Ian Leask, 'Sex on (Bare) Legs? Thomas Lee and "Irishness"', *The Irish Review (1986-),* no. 42 (2010), pp. 72-84; see also Simms, 'Barefoot Kings', p. 9.

categories: single-piece, composite and 'English.'[149] In 1620, Gernon presumably described one of the first two categories of native footwear: 'single soled…. sharp at the toe, and a flapp of leather left at the heele to pull them on.'[150] The deposition of William Timmes revealed that the term 'brogues' specifically referred to a form of Irish footwear worn by both men and women. According to Timmes testimony, an English woman managed to conceal her ethnic identity when she was persuaded 'to goe in broages, and mantle like a mere Irishwoman (for her more safely in the way) and to leave all her clothes with them… she came away in a mantle & broages & soe filthily disguised that then he sawe her hee scarcely knew her.'[151] As Timmes' deposition suggested, the brogue-wearing tradition was another point of English censure. William Cecil, Lord Burghley, belittled the Irish brogue because it was made 'of calf skins or sheep skins' rather than 'good shoes of neat's leather out of England.'[152] Gernon admitted that while they were not sowed as beautifully as English shoes, they were more durable.[153]

The depositions projected this divide between shoes and brogues. Donell McDermod, a brogue-maker in Co. Cork, failed to pay back his debts to the Protestant yeoman after he joined the rebellion.[154] In Co. Wexford, a brogue-maker by the name of Gerald Duff helped plunder the belongings of a local Protestant clothier.[155] Other instances of brogue-making customarily appeared alongside Irish names including Teig McCartis,[156] James Coman, Ian McCormack,[157] Nicholas Terrell, John Helehey,[158] Edmond Hayley,[159] Teige Carty, John O Chasy, [160] Cnogher O Quine, Teig O Doragh,[161] Will 'McGallieweile' FitzJohn,[162] Dermott O Doagh,[163] Teig Mounta, John Carbry,[164] Loghlen O Mullrean, Roger McShane and Donnogh

[149] For more on Irish footwear, see A. T. Lucas, 'Footwear in Ireland', *Journal of Co. Louth Archaeological Society* 13, no. 4 (1956), pp. 309-94.
[150] Gernon, *A Discourse*, p. 357.
[151] TCD, Deposition of William Timmes, MS 830, fols 176r-177v [accessed March 2015].
[152] Atkinson, *CSPI, 1596-1597*, p. 413; Horning, 'Clothing and Colonialism', p. 15
[153] Gernon, *A Discourse*, p. 357.
[154] TCD, Deposition of John Ware, MS 824, fols 171r-171v [accessed March 2015].
[155] TCD, Deposition of Robert Berchall, MS 818, fols 123r-123v [accessed March 2015].
[156] TCD, Deposition of Walker Williams, MS 823, fols 034r-034v [accessed March 2015].
[157] TCD, Deposition of Thomas Humfrey, MS 817, fols 052r-052v [accessed March 2015].
[158] TCD, Deposition of William Dauis, MS 821, fols 127r-127v [accessed March 2015].
[159] TCD, Deposition of Anthony Farmer, MS 821, fols 143r-143v [accessed March 2015].
[160] TCD, Deposition of Giles Dangger, MS 824, fols 163r-163v [accessed January 2015].
[161] TCD, Deposition of Euen Tidder, MS 821, fols177r-177v [accessed March 2015].
[162] TCD, Deposition of Dauid Roche, MS 829, fols 178r-179v [accessed March 2015].
[163] TCD, Deposition of John Burowes, MS 826, fols 235r-236v [accessed March 2015].
[164] TCD, Deposition of Thomas Lassells, MS 825, fols 314r-314v [accessed March 2015].

O Mullreny.[165] Interestingly, in several of these cases the victims of robbery were tanners and skinners.[166] Eager to acquire the raw materials needed for their trade, brogue-makers may have targeted these artisans for a more calculated profit. In the deposition of William Ayehurst, the deponent described £140 of stolen tanned leather. The prime suspect was a brogue-maker living near the ironworks in Co. Laois.[167]

The term 'shoemaker' emerged in a much higher degree in the depositions, with over eighty named craftsmen across Ireland. The Protestant Richard Tailor of Co. Offaly had been described as a shoemaker and had been employed by English Protestant William Remington before being captured by the opposing side.[168] In 1652, seventy-year-old Nicholas Wilson had been operating as a shoemaker on Thomas Street in Dublin, and lived another eight years there.[169] During the 1630s, Dublin shoemakers were carrying wooden heels to cater to the demand for English-styled shoes in the urban centre.[170] The distinction between the two trades is best represented in the deposition of the tanner Giles Dangger in Co. Cork who reported debts due to him from brogue-making rebels, and the now deceased Protestant shoemakers Robert Carter and William Bennett.[171] In another deposition, the skinner Evan Tidder in Co. Tipperary accused rebels Patrick Cormack and Cnogher O Quine of robbery. Interestingly, Evan described Patrick as a shoemaker and Cnogher as a brogue-maker.[172] Brogue-makers appeared to be the only prominent craftsmen associated with Gaelic names listed in the depositions, which may attest to brogues' popularity with both Irish and British consumers.

The construction of the Dungiven shoe showed signs that English and Irish craft practices began blending during the seventeenth-century. Although an English-trained cobbler originally made the shoe, evidence suggested that someone who practiced an Irish brogue-making tradition repaired it. Similar artefacts dating from the later seventeenth-century have

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[165] TCD, Deposition of William Blake, MS 829, fols 332r-333v [accessed March 2015].
[166] TCD, Deposition of William Blake; Deposition of Thomas Lassells; Deposition of Euen Tidder; Deposition of Giles Dangger; Deposition of Thomas Humfrey [accessed March 2015].
[167] TCD, Deposition of William Ayehurst, MS 815, fol. 242v [accessed March 2015].
[168] TCD, Deposition of Richard Tailor, MS 814, fols 260r-261v [accessed March 2015].
[169] TCD, Deposition of Nicholas Wilson, MS 812, fols 300r-301v [accessed March 2015]. See 'Nicholas Wilson, Thomas St. Shoemaker' in Deputy Keeper of Ireland*, Index to the Act of Grant Books, and to the Original Wills of the Diocese of Dublin 1272-1878, Appendix ix to 16th Report* (1894-1899) p. 926.
[170] Inventory of John Gilpin, *Pleas in Sheriffs Court Dublin,* BL, Add. MS 11687, fol. 127.
[171] TCD, Deposition of Giles Dangger, MS 824, fols 163r-163v [accessed January 2015].
[172] TCD, Deposition of Euen Tidder, MS 821, fols177r-177v [accessed March 2015].

been found in Salterstown, Co. Londonderry.[173] It is reasonable to suggest that Irish footwear's lower price drew mass appeal. Dunlevy reported that between 1598 and 1599, a soldier could own three pairs of Irish brogues for the price of one English pair.[174] Irish brogue-makers would enjoy a level of popularity that encouraged them to sell their products in Dublin.[175] Records of trade guilds referred to 'country shoemakers' who were given access to city markets as a means of controlling price because the Irish brogue was significantly cheaper to produce than its English counterpart.[176] The higher cost of English shoes may have increased their desirability in 1641. Rebels in Birr, Co. Offaly spared the life of the Protestant Richard Tailor (who had been trained in the English shoemaking tradition) so that he could assemble shoes and boots for their party.[177]

Records from the Ulster port books indicated that footwear was also imported into Ireland during the early seventeenth-century. In 1615, 134 pairs of boots, slippers and shoes were shipped in a single load from Barnstaple to Coleraine.[178] The option of pre-made boots like those imported into Coleraine in 1615, made it so that settlers, such as William Timmes, could quickly purchase footwear. During the rebellion, Timmes travelled to Dublin City to acquire three pairs of boots for Irish rebels to ensure the protection of his wife, servants and goods. [179] Five years after the event, Timmes grumbled that this act cost him 14s. per pair, a high price when one considers that the listed price of boots in the Londonderry port books was 5s.[180]

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[173] Orloff Garrik Miller, 'Archaeological Investigations at Saltertown, County Londonderry, Northern Ireland' (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1991) pp. 716-7.
[174] Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland*, p. 87.
[175] Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland*, p. 87.
[176] J. J. Webb, *The Guilds of Dublin* (Dublin, 1925); Nicholls, 'Leather and Hoe-related Artefacts', in Antoine Giacometti (ed.), *Rathfarnham Castle: Organic Artefacts* (2016) pp. 4-34. Available from: https://archaeologyplan.com/rathfarnham-castle/ [accessed October 2016].
[177] TCD, Deposition of Richard Tailor, MS 814, fols 260r-261v [accessed March 2015].
[178] Hunter, *Ulster Port Books*, p. 61.
[179] TCD, Deposition of William Timmes, MS 821, fols 187r-196v [accessed March 2015].
[180] Hunter, *Ulster Port Books*, p. 19.

Other Apparel

The depositions reported other various articles of clothing including cassocks, cloaks, hats, gloves and aprons.[181] William Moorehead left his gown and cassock (the standard attire of a clergyman) worth £7 with a neighbour in the adjacent parish in Co. Meath. [182] Katherine Croker lost her gown and a parcel of lace when she was turned out of her home in Co. Waterford.[183] Margery King, the wife of a Protestant minister in Ballynakill, Co. Offaly, reported the possession of a 'Chaplett gown' that cost £5 and had been taken by the daughter of a local gentleman.[184] Here, 'chaplett' likely refers to 'chamblet' (or camlet), a costly fabric reputedly made from silk or camel's hair, but more likely made from the hair of the Angora goat.[185] Clapham identified the 'kerchers' or kerchiefs worn by the Irish women. Headwear proved to be a significant feature of Irish dress with seemingly endless varieties depicted in sixteenth-century illustrations. The colourful figures wore headpieces termed 'cheese mould' hats and 'onion' hats due to their shapes, as well as beaver hats, veils, and coloured ribbons (Plates 23-25). The depositions, however, remained suspiciously quiet on the subject of female hats.[186] Headwear did appear in the depositions infrequently in regard to male attire. 'Capped' rebels (possibly sporting close-fitting, woollen headwear) were deemed untrustworthy by frightened victims.[187] For a deponent looking to accuse, describing a rebel as 'capped' may have provided further evidence of that insurgent's war-like behaviour. Headwear was a vital feature of defensive armour.[188]

Interestingly, while Clapham identified the English female costume (gown), he did not state an equivalent article of clothing for the Irish woman. She was presumed to don the same mantle as her male counterpart. This silence pointed to English paranoia concerning the mantle's ability to not only conceal class, but also gender.[189] Descriptions of cross-dressing

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[181] For aprons, see TCD, Deposition of Mary Hamond, MS 830, fols 136r-137v; Examination of Jane Boswell, MS 831, fols 099r-100v; Examination of Isabell Jameson, MS 838, fols 286v-287v [accessed March 2015].
[182] TCD, Deposition of William Moorehead, MS 817, fols 032r-033v [accessed March 2015].
[183] TCD, Deposition of Katherin Croker, MS 820, fols 161r-161v [accessed March 2015].
[184] TCD, Deposition of Margery King and Margrett Sinnott, MS 814, fols 229r-229v [accessed March 2015].
[185] See glossary provided by Anne Buck, 'The Clothes of Thomasine Petre 1555-1559', *Costume* 24, no. 1 (1990), p. 32. See also 'camlet, n.', *OED Online.* Available from: http://www.oed.com [accessed July 2017].
[186] For an example of female attire, see TCD, Deposition of William Timmes, MS 830, fols 176r-177v [accessed March 2015].
[187] TCD, Deposition of Goodman Walker, MS 815, fols 047r-048v [accessed March 2015].
[188] For the use of caps for armour, see 'capped | capt, adj.', *OED Online*. Available from: http://www.oed.com [accessed July 2017].
[189] For lack of gender, see Jones and Stallybrass, '"Rugges of London and the Divell's Band": Irish Mantles and Yellow Starch as Hybrid London Fashion', in Lena Cowen Orlin (ed.), *Material London ca. 1600* (Philadelphia,

elsewhere in the documentary record, however, suggested an identifiable difference between Irish male and female attire. In the late sixteenth-century, men employed by Sir Richard Bingham and Sir George Bingham mockingly masked their identity by wearing 'women's mantles and caps', disrupting a peace negotiation between the Binghams, O'Flahertys, Burkes and other Connacht lords.[190]

Descriptions of attire are rare when one considers the breadth of the deposition collection. A majority of the deponents were less concerned with the loss of specific clothing items and often amassed their garments into the category 'wearing apparel.' Initially, this vagueness may suggest that most of the settlers did not hold any great material or sentimental value for their clothing. However, the ambiguity most likely spoke to the status and gender of the deponents. For example, in a contemporary English survey, lower level males in the Bedfordshire inventories and the wills of individuals in Essex also employed nonspecific language. These men may have possessed a fairly standard set of attire. Detailed descriptions of cloth and garments appeared more often in the depositions of the affluent, such as the inventories of Sir Hardress Waller, William Browne and Sir Charles Coote.[191]

When discussing the elite's attire, scholars have often addressed themes concerning power and manipulating identity.[192] Those hoping to attain English favour or land during an era of plantation, 'reformed themselves beyond expectation and—those that were able—put on English apparel.'[193] Yet, on a day-to-day level, how would clothing display the economic reality of early modern life? Records from the state papers of Ireland suggested that English attire might have been costlier than the abhorred Irish fashions. In 1593, poor Munster undertakers struggled to maintain their English appearance because the collected Irish rents could 'not maintain English diet and apparel.'[194] Trade records amassed by Susan Flavin

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2000) pp. 128-49; 'Dismantling Irena: The Sexualizing of Ireland in Early Modern England', in Andrew Parker, Mary Russo, Doris Sommer and Patricia Yaeger (eds), *Nationalism and Sexualities* (London, 1992) pp. 157-71, 165-9.

[190] Hans Claude Hamilton (ed.), *CSPI, 1588-1592* (London, 1885) pp. 178-9. The event was also described by Clodagh Tait in 'Disorder and Commotion: Urban Riots and Popular Protest in Ireland 1570-1640', in William Sheehan and Maura Cronin (eds), *Riotous Assemblies: Rebels, Riots and Revolts in Ireland* (Cork, 2011) p. 35.

[191] TCD Deposition of Sir Hardress Waller, MS 829, fols 284r-290v; Deposition of William Browne, MS 831, fols 062r-062v [accessed June 2014]. Coote's cloth is described in the Deposition of Isacke Sandes, MS 815, fols 180v-180r [accessed December 2014].

[192] For examples of elite using clothing, see Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland*, p. 45; Heckett, 'Tomb Effigies and Archaic Dress', pp. 63-75; Horning, 'Clothing and Colonialism', pp. 296-318, specifically pp. 306-7. See also Ohlmeyer, *Making Ireland English*, pp. 411-4.

[193] C. V. Russell and J. P. Prendergast (eds), *CSPI, James I, 1611-1614* (London, 1877) p. xxxiii.

[194] 'Mr. Solicitor Wilbraham to Burghley, 7 September 1593,' in Hamilton, *CSPI, 1592-1596*, p. 145.

during this period suggested that more affordable versions of English items were flowing into Ireland.[195] Nevertheless, it is possible that many Englishmen and women selected Irish clothing because it was more readily available and sometimes better suited for the climate. In the sixteenth-century, few outwear garments such as gowns, doublets, cloak and breeches were imported. Flavin proposed that this may have indicated a 'fundamental difference in tastes between Irish and English consumers, and a preference for domestically produced apparel.'[196] However, as she noted, clothing size in the early modern period was in no way standardised and most individuals presumably made their own clothing or employed a tailor's expertise.

The lack of ambiguity in English travel accounts signals a problem of caricature. Sixteenth-century illustrations, employed as accurate representations of Irish apparel, remerged in the attire used in flamboyant festivals and pageants of the Protestant arena. This caricature would even be employed up until the nineteenth-century. A nineteenth-century print of the 'Irish Brehon' depicted two bearded figures in caps, mantles and striped trews standing beside the symbols of Irish antiquity: a Mesolithic tomb and Ogham stone (Plate 26). As Hiram Morgan stated, the sixteenth-century examples 'tended to employ earlier images and ideas rather than work from real life.' The Irish would fall victim to the generalisations and misrepresentations that would befall many nations in the Renaissance.[197]

Cloth Types and Implications

The 'Englishness' of clothing not only emerged in the style of an outfit, but in the very cloth itself. In England, cloth occupied a unique space of social and economic prestige. Richard Halkluyt the Younger's *Discourse of Western Planting* (1584) decreed that cloth was the means in which England 'raised it selfe from meaner state to greater wealthe and moche higher honour.'[198] As part of England's expanding empire, Ireland might become a significant player in England's cloth tradition and historic fame.

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[195] Flavin, *Consumption and Culture*, p. 99.
[196] Flavin, *Consumption and Culture*, p. 96
[197] Morgan, 'Festive Irishmen', p. 20.
[198] Richard the Younger Hakluyt, *Discourse of Western Planting* (1584); David B Quinn (ed.), *New American World: A Documentary History of North America to 1612, Vol 3* (New York, 1979) p. 118; Roze Hentschell, *The Culture of Cloth in Early Modern England: Textual Construction of a National Identity* (Aldershot, 2008) p. 2.

Yet, in the seventeenth-century, a crisis over England's domestic cloth industry evolved when Englishmen and women began purchasing imported silks and satins from Europe. The steadfast Puritan Philip Stubbes wrote of this luxury consumption in *The Anatomie of Abuses* (1583) and criticised these materials because of their foreign origin.[199] Historian Rose Hentschell has subsequently linked domestic cloth production with English morals and an emerging national ideology.[200] Although Stubbes abhorred the sight of silks and satins in England, the major cause for this crisis was the interrupted trade between England's most loyal customers in Europe following the Eighty Years War between seventeen Dutch provinces and Spain.[201] The growing popularity for luxury textiles simply provided the added blow to the weakening industry. The New World supplied the means to restore the English industry. In 1609, Robert Johnson wrote that new territories may 'cause a mighty vent of English clothes, a great benefit to our Nation, and raising again of that ancient trade of clothing, so much decayed in England.'[202]

The linen and woollens kept inside Protestant victims' trunks reflected an English vision of consumption. The linens appeared in a variety of forms that included diaper, Holland cloth, cambric, flaxen, fustian, Scotch cloth and damask.[203] The deponents' woollens mirrored the common forms found in English merchandisers' inventories in the seventeenth-century, which included broad cloth, kersey, serge and frieze.[204] The finer linens diaper and damask were often used for tablecloths, while Flemish cambric and Holland linens made-up small items of wearing apparel, napery and bed linen.[205] Holland handkerchiefs, like those

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[199] Kidnie, *Philip Stubbes, The Anatomie of Abuses,* pp. 67-90; Roze Hentschell, 'Moralizing Apparel in Early Modern London: Popular Literature, Sermons, and Sartorial Display', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 39, no. 3 (2009), pp. 575-6.
[200] Rose Hentschell, 'Question of Nation', in Catherine Richardson (ed.), *Clothing Culture 1350-1650* (Aldershot, 2004) p. 57.
[201] Hentschell, *The Culture of Cloth*, pp. 4-5.
[202] Robert Johnson, *Nova Britannia: Offering Most Excellent Fruites by Planting in Virginia* (1609); Quinn, *New American World,* p. 245.
[203] TCD, Deposition of Sir Hardress Waller, MS 829, fols 284r-290v [accessed June 2014].
[204] See Table 9.8 in Carole Shammas, 'Changes in English and Anglo-American Consumption from 1550 to 1800', in John Brewer and Roy Porter (eds), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London, 2013) p. 192. For instances of broad cloth, see TCD, Deposition of John Borrell, MS 831, fols 184r-0184v; Deposition of Sir Hardress Waller, MS 829, fols 284r-290v; Deposition of William Smith, MS 833, fols 189r-190v; Deposition of John Holmsted, MS 814, fols 250r-250v; Deposition of Isaak Sandes/ Isacke Sandes, MS 815, fols 180v-181r; Inventory of goods in Robert Scott's possession, MS 826, fols 225r-225v; Deposition of Robert Thorn, MS 821, fols 155r-156v [accessed June 2014]. For kersey, see Deposition of Anne Booth, MS 835, fols 078r-079v [accessed March 2015]. For serge, see Deposition of Isaak Sandes/Isacke Sandes [accessed June 2014]. For frieze, see Deposition of Stephen Clove, MS 823, fols 058r-058v [accessed March 2015].
[205] See 'diaper, n.', and 'damask, n. and adj.', *OED Online.* Available from: http://www.oed.com [accessed March 2015]. For an example of damask cloth, see TCD, Examination of Dorothy Reynolds, MS 812, fols 249r-

owned by the English vicar Robert Brown, had been some of his most prized possessions after arriving in Ireland.[206] Because these linens were largely imported, linen drapers like John Milner in Co. Offaly collected cambric and Holland cloth from merchants to sell to local consumers.[207] William Walsh reported all varieties of linen and woollen cloth, with profits lost from fairs and markets in Templehouse as well as the profits from fairs elsewhere in Co. Sligo.[208]

The presence of serge in the depositions indicated the Irish economy's interaction with the New Drapers. Originally from Flanders, this lighter and cheaper cloth flourished in England after the arrival of Flemish immigrants. As Keith Wrightson stated, because these cloths sat outside regulations set in the 1550s to stabilise woollen production, English manufacturers could under-cut Dutch and Italian competitors.[209] The New Drapers presented new methods of weaving into what seemed like an endless variety of cloth.[210] In the deposition of Isaac Sandes, the gentleman reported Sir Charles Coote's collection of coloured and 'fine serge.'[211] As a finished cloth, New Drapers could further strengthen the economy by facilitating agricultural employment due to the increased demand for dyestuff.[212]

The Ulster port books recorded the import of finished woollens and linens cloths and the export of skins, hides and yarn to Scotland and England. Brendan Scott noted that in 1611, 'it was recorded that linen yarn and wool were among the principal exports from Dublin, while linen and woollen cloth numbered among its main imports.'[213] Giles Dewhurst, a clothworker of Dublin City, had been bringing a ship from Liverpool into the Dublin port carrying 208 pounds of woollen cloth.[214] Port books additionally showed the import of cloth not mentioned in the depositions, such as flannel, the coarse linen cloth 'dowlas' and the coarse woollen 'stammel' that was typically dyed red.[215] For many historians, like Brendan

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250v; Deposition of William Browne, MS 831, fols 062r-062v [accessed March 2015]. For cambric and Holland cloth, see TCD, Deposition of Sir Hardress Waller.

[206] TCD, Deposition of Robert Brown, MS 834, fols 103r-103v [accessed March 2015].

[207] TCD, Deposition of John Milner, MS 824, fols 234r-234v [accessed March 2015].

[208] TCD, Deposition of William Walsh, MS 831, fols065r-066v [accessed December 2014].

[209] Keith Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain* (London, 2002) p. 166.

[210] See Hentschell, *The Culture of Cloth*, pp. 5-6.

[211] TCD, Deposition of Isaak Sandes/ Isacke Sandes, MS 815, fols 180v-180r [accessed June 2014].

[212] Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities*, p. 166.

[213] See Brendan Scott's introduction to Hunter, *Ulster Port Books*, pp. xv-xvi.

[214] TCD, Deposition of Giles Dewhurst, MS 809, fols 273r-273v [accessed January 2015].

[215] Hunter, *Ulster Port Books,* p. 35. For more information on flannel, see Peachey, *Textiles and Materials*, p. 20. For dowlas, see Hunter, *Ulster Port Books*, pp. 21, 71, 77, 79. For stammel, see Hunter, *Ulster Port Books*, p. 39. See also 'stammel, n.1', *OED Online.* Available from: http://www.oed.com [accessed July 2015].

Scott and Raymond Gillespie, this pointed to Ireland's inability to process raw materials at home.[216] While this failure hindered Irish autonomy, it may have bolstered the English cloth industry.

Those who wanted to add visual interest to their cloth could dye them. In the sixteenth-century, saffron (yellow), orchil (purple), madder (red) and woad (blue) were imported with unfinished and dyed cloth.[217] Because such fabrics did not improve durability or warmth, they were purely treasured for their aesthetic value. The depositions presented evidence of coloured fabrics elevated value.[218] Inventory evidence showed that in Dublin, individuals began coordinating the textile colours of their home interiors, using matching sets of stools and armchairs.[219]

Although dyed domestic cloth maintained an English character for the most part, there was one colour abhorred for its foreign, vulgar and luxurious association: yellow. Yellow cloth was created with saffron dye, an expensive material made by collecting thousands of dried stigmas from crocus flowers.[220] It was associated with the traditional English enemies Spain and France; however its strongest connection was that of Ireland. Paradoxically, yellow was linked to both the extravagance of the native elite, and the 'uncouth roughness' of the poor.[221] Fynes Moryson wrote that wild Irish, who never removed their shirts, had them 'colored with saffron to avoid lowsieness, incident to the wearing of foule linnen.'[222] Several English commentators also reported that the Irish soaked their linen in urine to intensify the colour.[223] Yellow only appeared twice in the depositions, but never in the context of linen: the gentleman William Browne possessed thirty-six yards of yellow kersey, and Protestant John Burroughe lost his yellow rug.[224] Yellow starch was absent in the lists of starch coming into

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[216] Scott, 'Introduction', in Hunter, *Ulster Port Books*, p. xvi; Raymond Gillespie, *The Transformation of the Irish Economy, 1550-1700* (Dublin, 1991) pp. 7-8.
[217] Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland*, p. 64.
[218] TCD, Deposition of Isaak Sandes/ Isacke Sandes, MS 815, fols 180v-180r; Deposition of William Browne, MS 831, fols 062r-062v; Deposition of Hugh Gribbell, MS 811, fols 143r-143v; Deposition of Sir Hardress Waller, MS 829, fols 284r-290v [accessed June 2014].
[219] *Pleas in the Sheriffs Court Dublin*, *1638-1639*. BL, Add. MS 11687, fols 137v, 146v; Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure*, p. 86.
[220] 'saffron, n. and adj', *OED Online.* Available from: http://www.oed.com [accessed June 2015]. See also Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing*, p. 66.
[221] Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing*, pp. 66-7.
[222] Moryson, *An Itinerary,* p. 236.
[223] Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing*, p. 67.
[224] TCD, Deposition of William Browne, MS 831, fols 062r-062v; Examination of Dermond McDaniell Carthy, MS 826, fols 076r-077v [accessed March 2015].

Ulster from 1612 to 1615, and saffron only appeared once in a shipment from Chester to Coleraine on the 7th of April 1615.[225] Jones and Stallybrass proposed that this abhorrence for yellow would set a material London 'at odds' with itself.[226] As the importance for luxury grew, the fashionable elite would covet the colour created from costly saffron. Social prohibitions against yellow starch may have reflected attempts to define pure 'English essence', yet this became perplexingly more contradictory in the hybridised English court.[227]

While ships arriving in Ulster often carried coloured fabrics in shades of green or red, dying cloth to create a more aesthetically pleasing material could be performed at home in Ireland. Merchants in Hacketstown Co. Carlow carried dyestuff, yarns and woollen cloth in their shops for their eager costumers.[228] Thomas Campion of Dublin had described himself as a 'woadman' and lost thirty pounds in woad and woad seeds during the rebellion.[229] Madder, aluminium, 'dyeing stuff', and indigo regularly featured in the port books of Londonderry and Coleraine. Green copperas, which was used to fix the dye and 'sadden' the colour, only appeared once in the Ulster port books.[230] Evidence of this material was similarly rare in the information relating the 1641 rebellion. The clothier Edward Escott offered a level of detail indicative of his occupation, describing the 'sadd coloured suite of cloth' with silk loops that decorated the uniform of a lieutenant he encountered in Co. Waterford.[231]

Dyestuff was further circulated into the hinterland through established trade networks. The deposition of Gregory Hickman described how merchant ships in the Limerick river daily traded with rebels in Co. Limerick and Co. Clare. A market held once or twice a week in Tarbot, Co. Kerry further circulated these merchantable goods among the population. This location offered a 'convenient bordering with the River Shannon where slate, fireing, corn and all other profits may be sent by Boat to Limerick.'[232] The ships carried a variety of commodities including tobacco, indigo and woollen cards.[233] An individual who may have

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[225] Hunter, *Ulster Port Books*, p. 74-5.
[226] See Jones and Stallybrass, '"Rugges of London and the Divell's Band'", pp. 128-49.
[227] Argued by Orlin, *Material London*, p. 95.
[228] TCD, Deposition of William Bailie, MS 812, fols 045r-045v. For further mention of 'dyeing stuff' in depositions, see Deposition of Isaak Sandes/ Isacke Sandes, MS 815, fols 180v-181r; Deposition of Andrew Yong, MS 813, fols 378r-378v [accessed June 2014].
[229] TCD, Deposition of Thomas, Catherin and Hugh Campion, MS 809, fols 262r-262v [accessed March 2015].
[230] Hunter, *Ulster Port Books*, p. 79.
[231] TCD, Information of Edward Escott, MS 809, fols 095r-096v [accessed March 2015].
[232] See barony map of 'Iraghticonner', retrieved from TCD, *The Down Survey*. Available from: http://downsurvey.tcd.ie [accessed May 2016].
[233] TCD, Deposition of Gregory Hickman, MS 829, fols 103r-104v [accessed March 2015].

purchased goods at this bi-weekly market was Robert Rudd of Tralee in Co. Kerry who claimed the loss of £13 6s. 8d. in indigo in 1643 and held debts due from Tralee-based merchants.[234]

Dyes could offer an air of luxury to woollen and linen cloth; however, silks and satins were not completely obsolete in Ireland. If anything, the legislation of the earlier century depicted an insatiable taste for the luxury fabrics. In 1573, regulations forbid less affluent individuals from dressing above their status by limiting apprentices of Dublin to Irish cloth.[235] Evidence from fifty years before the rebellion suggested that luxury cloth continued to permeate into the lower levels of society. In 1599, *The Great Parchment Book of Waterford* echoed sentiments similar to those of Philip Stubbs: 'How greatly the city is impoverished and dayly like to decay that not onely the ablest and wealthiest persons do weare in their attire no part or parcel of any thinge wrought within this Citie or Realme, but also their man servants and nurses in like manner do wear…' Evidently the general population's preference for foreign fashions injured the local economy, and soon legislation punished the lower class for their taste in lace and silk.[236]

Desire for luxury cloths continued into the seventeenth-century. In 1613, the *Bride of Hibre* took a delightful cargo of luxury cloth from Chester to Coleraine, which included blue silk from Spain, black silk ribbons and buttons, and an array of cambric, Holland cloth, calico, shag, kersey, serge and canvas.[237] Barnard wrote that 'The most flamboyant interiors of seventeenth-century Ireland—as elsewhere—made their effect chiefly through the quantities and qualities of textiles. In this they followed the fashion throughout much of Europe.'[238] In the early seventeenth-century, Sir Thomas Wingfield left his collection of luxurious attire to various family members, which included an ash coloured satin doublet, numerous velvet cloaks, and articles of clothing decorated with silver buttons and gold lace.[239] In 1641, Sir Hardress Waller in Co. Limerick owned embroidered cloth, turkey-work and silk lace.[240]

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[234] TCD, Deposition of Robert Rudd, MS 828, fols 279r-279v [accessed March 2015].
[235] Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland*, p. 45. See also Flavin, *Consumption and Culture*, p. 99.
[236] Niall J. Bryne (ed.), *The Great Parchment Book of Waterford: Liber Antiquissimus Civitatis Waterfordiae* (Dublin, 2007) pp. 189-90.
[237] Hunter, *The Ulster Port Books*, pp. 57-8.
[238] Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure*, p. 85.
[239] Will of Sir Thomas Wingfeild or Wingfield of Ireland, 13 May 1601, TNA, PROB 11/97/291. The will is viewable online from: http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/D936572 [accessed August 2017].
[240] TCD, Deposition of Sir Hardress Waller, MS 829, fols 284r-290v [accessed June 2014].

Before Cork House (located in Dublin) was abandoned in the 1640s, window curtains, carpets, an embroidered chair and green, silk-covered seating testified to the homeowner's wealth.[241] The Lismore Papers in the National Library of Ireland presented a seventeenth-century account of silks and buttons that would have satisfied the demand of an affluent consumer.[242] The few surviving inventories from Ireland also offer a more detailed list of the types of cloth owned by elite individuals. The inventory of Sir Matthew De Renzy revealed an impressive assortment of fine cloth intended for his funeral arrangements.[243] John Skiddy, a merchant from Co. Cork, was not a member of the aristocracy, nevertheless his inventory from 1640 projected the comfortable lifestyle that successful traders were able to achieve.[244]

Luxury consumption was additionally made possible by local artisans and merchants. The depositions reported the presence of a silk-weaver Jeremy Smith working in Dublin in 1646.[245] Irish Protestant merchant John Murphy had been carrying ribbons and silks among his merchant-wares in Co. Kildare that were quickly seized by insurgents.[246] Another merchant, William Bailie of Hacketstown in Co. Carlow, abandoned his 'principall wares most of silk' before fleeing to Dublin for safety. Desperate to cling to his most treasured textiles, he travelled with his fine silk thread, silk lace, black Naples silk, buttons and cotton tapes until rebels plucked them out of his hands.[247]

As Barnard suggested, 'differences in the willingness to participate fully in the consumption of fashion and luxury arose more from income and temperament than from particular ethnic or confessional affiliations.'[248] Yet, the inventory of the Antrim's household in Dunluce Castle projected a truly Catholic character: sixteen richly embroidered green satin vestments, and a pulpit and alter cloth valued at £40.[249] The Irish peerage may have been inspired to interact with this lavish interior décor after gazing upon Dublin Castle and Thomas Wentworth's efforts in Jigginstown. For those with strong connections to the English and

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[241] Jane Fenlon, *Goods and Chattels: A Survey of Early Household Inventories in Ireland* (Dublin, 2003) pp. 32-4. Also discussed in Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure*, pp. 85-6.
[242] 'Account for cloth and buttons', NLI, Lismore Papers, MS 43,300/2.
[243] Mac Cuarta, 'A Planter's Funeral, Legacies, and Inventory', pp. 18-33.
[244] Walton, 'The Household Effects of a Waterford Merchant Family in 1640', pp. 99-105; See also Barnard, *Making Grand Figure*, p. 88.
[245] TCD, Examination of Jeremy Smith, MS 810, fols 307r-307v [accessed March 2015].
[246] TCD, Deposition of John Murphy, MS 813, fols 328r-328v [accessed March 2015].
[247] TCD, Deposition of William Bailie, MS 812, fols 045r-045v [accessed March 2015].
[248] Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure*, p. 87.
[249] MacDonnell, 'A Seventeenth Century Inventory from Dunluce Castle, Co. Antrim', pp. 117-27. See also Barnard, *Making the Grand Figures*, p. 87.

Continental courts, they could have easily transplanted the most up-to-date fashions into their Irish homes.[250] Irish poetry demonstrated a Gaelic affinity for luxury cloth, particularly when poets praised the homes of their patrons. The late sixteenth-century poet Tadhg Dall Ó Huiginn described the 'satin-clad maidens weaving wondrous golden fringes' in the fair castle at Enniskillen, and the 'precious treasures' and red satin garments decorating the coupled mansion in *An Calbhach Ó Conchobhair*.[251] Although there was clearly a market for a range of cloth types in Ireland, a question remains: was cloth produced in Ireland, and if so, to what extent did it supply the domestic demand?

Evidence of Domestic Production and Distribution

The gentleman Isaac Sandes described Sir Charles Coote's impressive collection of cloth left in Mountrath, Co. Laois during the rebellion. Coote had intended to export these goods to Spain and the Low Counties for a profit. His personal goods, which had been given to his neighbour Florence Fitzpatrick for safekeeping, suggested his involvement not only in clothing trade, but also manufacturing. When Florence joined the rebels, Coote lost £130 of indigo, woollen yarn, coloured and white wool, and twelve looms. [252] It has now been widely established that Coote relied on cloth-working to form the foundation of his settlement in Mountrath.[253] Philip Sergeant the 'overseer of [Coote's] Lynnen and fustian workes' reported that due to the rebellion, Coote lost £716 of fustians, linen and cotton yarn.[254]

Mapping the types and quantity of cloth mentioned in the depositions is one way in which to assess the presence of domestic cloth production in Ireland. The sheer amount of cloth in Sir Charles Coote's inventory suggested his involvement with cloth-works. Yet, the presence of cloth alone does not indicate if the material was made at home or simply acquired from abroad. In some cases, deponents are more forthcoming with information concerning cloth manufacture. Nathaniel Bennett of Newmarket in Co. Cork, for instance, reported that he had been trading in cloth with several employed workmen before the rebellion.[255] Coote's

[250] Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure*, p. 87.
[251] Tadhg Dall Ó Huiginn, *The Bardic Poems of Tadhg Dall Ó Huiginn 1550-1591.* Available from:: http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/T402563/index.html [accessed June 2017].
[252] TCD, Deposition of Isaak Sandes/ Isacke Sandes, MS 815, fols 180v-181r [accessed June 2014].
[253] Gillespie, 'Small Towns in Early Modern Ireland', p. 158.
[254] TCD, Deposition of Phillip Sergeant, MS 815, fols 351r-351v [accessed March 2015].
[255] TCD, Deposition of Nicholas Bennett, MS 810, fols 309r-309v [accessed March 2015].

inventory provided all the necessary equipment for domestic production that can be identified elsewhere in the depositions: raw yarn, looms to weave the cloth, tenters to hang out drying cloth, and dyestuff to alter its colour.[256]

Several depositions reported that settlers also possessed looms and cloth working tools. Many of these featured in the inventories of clothiers or weavers, [257] yet they also found their way into the homes of individuals proclaiming different occupations.[258] In Co. Meath, Abraham Nutow was robbed of his looms and tools by Irish farmers and one weaver.[259] The barber-surgeon John Mandefield lost 'weavers gear looms' worth £6.[260] In four cases, women claimed looms and weaving tools as their possessions, possibly to provide themselves an income or construct clothes for their families.[261] The gentry and some yeomen may have also possessed looms to enable neighbouring weavers to make cloth in their homes.[262] Ralph Lambert, a gentleman living in the city of Galway, reported the loss of three looms. The additional loss of his tuck mill in Cahernamart, Co. Mayo and 'all necessaries for Cloathinge' would suggest that he was involved in the cloth-making industry.[263] Although Mary Netterville, the wife of Nicholas Netterville 1st Viscount Netterville, in Co. Kildare made no mention of looms, the robbery of her wool from the Castle of Coghlandstown (or Collandstown) hinted at her role in the manufacturing process as a supplier. This land, owned by her previous husband Sir John Hoy, came into the hands of Mary who appeared to have employed it to rear sheep. In total, she lost 1,200 stone of sheep's wool, a hundred stone of lambs' wool and forty stone of locks, all valued at £720.[264]

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[256] TCD, Deposition of Isaak Sandes/ Isacke Sandes, MS 815, fols 180v-181r [accessed June 2014].
[257] TCD, Deposition of Ralph Hoose, MS 813, fols 352r-352v; Deposition of Martin Jagger, MS 814, fols 201r-201v; Deposition of Rice Oliverson, MS 811, fols 158r-158v; Deposition of John Steele, MS 817, fols 161r-161v; Deposition of Edmund Arley, MS 812, fol. 062r [accessed March 2015].
[258] TCD, Deposition of Thomas Duckworth, MS 811, fols 045r-045v; Deposition of Ralph Lambart, MS 830, fols 173r-174v; Deposition of John Mandefeild, MS 809, fols 293r-293v [accessed March 2015].
[259] TCD, Deposition of Abraham Nutowe, MS 816, fols 127r-127v [accessed March 2015].
[260] TCD, Deposition of John Mandefeild, MS 809, fols 293r-293v [accessed March 2015].
[261] TCD, Deposition of Mary Ward, MS 834, fols 176r-176v; Deposition of Francis Ragg ex parte Mary Culvert, MS 813, fols 316r-316v; Deposition of Margery Sharpe, MS 833, fols 063r-063v; Deposition of Anne Edwards, MS 829, fols 035r-035v [accessed March 2015].
[262] Buck, 'Clothing and Textiles in Bedfordshire Inventories', p. 34.
[263] TCD, Deposition of Raph Lambart, MS 830, fols 173r-174v [accessed March 2015].
[264] TCD Deposition of Mary Vicountess Nettervile, MS 813, fols 398r-399v [accessed March 2015]. See also Michael Ó Siochrú, 'Netterville, Nicholas', *Dictionary of Irish Biography.* Available from: http://dib.cambridge.org [accessed June 2016]. For possible archaeological remains, see NMS, *The Archaeological Survey of Ireland*, Reference Number KD029-035. Available from: http://webgis.archaeology.ie/historicenvironment [accessed May 2016].

Small-scale domestic construction of clothing from home-spun cloth was depicted in an account provided by Andrew Daniel, a yeoman from Co. Down:

> And saith that hee saw a peece of Cloath, that was bought in the said Ballihornan, from Margret Rauerty; and carried into Sir Bryans house, whereof a suite of cloathes was made, by two taylors in the house, And sent to the said Art which this deponet saw on his back.[265]

Daniel's account claimed that a local woman was paid to weave a cloth of grey frieze that was later provided to tailors working in Sir Bryan's home located in the coastal settlement of Co. Down.[266] Because tailors often worked in the homes of the elite, they possessed inside information concerning the household's dynamics. Thomas Connicke could state the whereabouts of certain individuals during the 1641 rebellion because he was frequently 'at work at his trade' at either the fortified house of Alexander Redmond in Co. Wexford or the home of James Lewis located within the Irish quarters in Great Graiges (or Graigue).[267] Both residences were approximately two miles from Thomas' home in Templetown, Co. Wexford. Apart from these examples, small scale clothing construction is slightly elusive. Many looms may have been included in the 'implements belonging to the trade' of cloth-workers and weavers, or the 'household stuffe' of several other elite individuals.

Assessing the amount of individuals involved in cloth manufacture and retail provides another means to determine the level of industry. The occupations included in this assessment are clothiers, cloth-workers, drapers, mercers, weavers, tailors; as well as the more specialised occupations of embroiders, lace-makers, glovers, shoemakers, hatters, felt-makers and haberdashers.

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[265] TCD, Deposition of Andrew Daniel, MS 837, fols 075r-075v [accessed March 2015].
[266] The townland 'Ballihornan' (Ballyhornan) is located in Dunsfort parish, barony of Lecale. For description of the colour of the cloth, see TCD, Deposition of Robert Merryman, MS 837, fols 080r-080v [accessed March 2015].
[267] TCD, Examination of Thomas Connicke, MS 819, fols 197r-198r; Examination of Thomas Connicke re James Lewes, MS 818, fols 217r-217v [accessed March 2015]. 'Hall' was owned by Robert Redmond in 1641: see Simington, *The Civil Survey, 1654-1656, Vol IX, County of Wexford* (Dublin, 1953) pp. 171-2. For evidence of a fortified house, see NMS, *Archaeological Survey of Ireland*, Reference Number WX054-002---. Available from: http://webgis.archaeology.ie/historicenvironment [accessed May 2016].

	Cloth worker	Clothier	Weaver	Draper	Mercer	Tailor
Ulster	**0**	**3**	**13**	**1**	**0**	**14**
Antrim			1			3
Armagh		2	2 (1 linen)			2
Cavan			4			2
Down			1	1 (woollen)		
Fermanagh		1	4 (1 linen)			3
Londonderry						2
Monaghan			1			1
Tyrone						1
Leinster	**3**	**15**	**21**	**1**	**7**	**49**
Carlow			1		1	1
Dublin	2	3	4 (1 silk)			15
Kildare		2	2			6
Kilkenny		1			2	4
Laois (Queens)	1	3	3			4
Longford		1	1		2	1
Louth						2
Meath			4			4
Offaly (Kings)		2		1	2	5
Westmeath						2
Wexford		3	1			3
Wicklow			5			2
Munster	**4**	**16**	**38**	**0**	**10**	**56**
Cork	1	7	22		5	21
Clare		1	1			1
Limerick	1	3	7			12
Kerry		1	1			4
Tipperary		2	4		4	5
Waterford	1	2	3		1	13
Connacht	**0**	**6**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**
Leitrim		2				
Roscommon		2			1	1
Sligo		2				

Figure 3. Number of individuals listed in the 1641 Depositions involved in clothing production and retail

Clothiers, cloth-workers, weavers, drapers and mercers formed a group of over 120 individuals in the depositions, and a noticeable amount was associated with Gaelic names and/or rebel activity. A majority of these were listed as weavers, followed by clothiers and cloth-workers. The prominence of Irish weavers in this group may indicate the strong presence of native weaving techniques. The specialised term 'linen draper' is only employed once in the depositions: John Milner of Co. Offaly lost his cambric, Holland cloth, ribbons and other merchant goods.[268] In Co. Armagh, there is evidence of a local linen weaver by the name of Thomas Phillis who sold his products in a shop that was later ransacked.[269] Thomas was situated in a reasonably accessible location in the townland of Killmore, along a road leading to Cos Armagh, Coleraine, Cavan and Dublin. It is interesting to note that despite Drogheda's proposed specialisation of linen exportation, no linen weavers were found in the Co. Louth depositions.[270] This is perhaps a result of the small collection of only forty-seven depositions for that county, and may indicate that linen products shipped out of Drogheda were created elsewhere in the north (such as Co. Armagh) or Dublin.[271] Eighteen mercers,

[268] TCD, Deposition of John Milner, MS 814, fols 234r-234v [accessed March 2015].
[269] TCD, Deposition of Margrett Phillis, MS 836, fols 066r-066v [accessed March 2015].
[270] See Donald Woodward, 'Irish Trade and Customs Statistics, 1614-1641', *Irish Economic and Social History* 26 (1999), pp. 54-80.
[271] For linen weaver, see TCD, Deposition of Margrett Phillis. MS 836, fols 066r-066v [accessed March 2015].

who may have been strictly involved in the retail of cloth, emerged in the depositions with debts owed primarily to merchants. The collection of mercers projected a mixture of Protestant victims and rebels.

The presence of clothiers in Ireland is critical because they were traditionally responsible for the manufacturing procedure of woollen cloth. Once the packed wool had been collected by a shepherd and sold to the clothier by a wool broker, the clothier saw through the rest of the process. This included giving the wool to a spinner who transformed it into yarn to supply the weaver. After the yarn was woven into a cloth, a fuller or tucker beat the material in a tucking mill and left it to dry on iron hooks called tenters. A rower would then tease the cloth to raise the nap of the wool. James Slevin, a cottoner who had learned his trade in Dublin, friezed material to create this nap on the cloth.[272] Donnogh Newman, an Irishman from Co. Waterford who lately converted to Protestantism, also participated in this trade.[273] Shearman, like Edward Markham in Co. Cork, would then cut the raised portion of the wool to achieve the desired smooth surface.[274] In a final breakdown, forty-seven clothiers and cloth-makers, two linen drapers, eighteen mercers, two linen weavers, one woollen draper, approximately seventy-two weavers, five fullers and one shearman were recorded in the depositions.[275] A majority of these individuals worked and lived in Co. Cork, and 58 of the 119 clothiers, cloth workers and weavers mentioned resided in Munster. Frequently cited clothier Henry Turner of Cork reported a value of £400 for his annual trade as well as his involvement in the export trade to Amsterdam through a Dutch merchant.[276]

Tailors made up the second largest group within the garment industry of over 120 craftsmen. A majority of these worked out of Dublin and Cork. The second largest presence of tailors featured in Cos Waterford (13) and Limerick (12), but the remainder projected a relatively even spread across Ireland, featured in low numbers of one to six per county. The

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[272] TCD, Information of James Slevin, MS 813, fol. 076v [accessed March 2015].
[273] TCD, Deposition of Donnogh Newman, MS 820, fols 186r-186v [accessed March 2015].
[274] TCD, Deposition of Edward Markham, MS 823, fols 136r-136v [accessed March 2015]. For full description of this manufacturing process, see Hentschell, *The Culture of Cloth*, p. 3; Michael Zell, *Industry in the Countryside: Wealden Society in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1994) chapter 7; Peachey, *Textiles and Material of the Common Man and Woman, 1580-1660*, pp. 10-6.
[275] For fullers and tuckers, see TCD, Deposition of John Rowse, MS 820, fols 060r-060v; Deposition of John Marsh, MS 824, fols 051r-051v; Deposition of William Horsey, MS 824, fols 062r-063v; Deposition of John Lobb, MS 821, fols 125r-125v; Deposition of of Phillipp White, MS 825, fols 280r-280v [accessed February 2014]. For shearman, see Deposition of Edward Markham, MS 823, fols 136r-136v [accessed March 2015].
[276] TCD, Deposition of Henry Turner, MS 824, fols 118r-119v [accessed March 2015]. See also Canny, *Making Ireland British,* pp. 342-3.

only counties that failed to appear were Longford, Donegal, and a majority of Connacht. Over forty were designated rebels, and many of these possessed Gaelic surnames such as Patrick McGire in Fermanagh, Teige O Leary in Cork, and Mulmurry Henigan in Waterford.[277] Several were also attached to elite households and employed as servants rather than operating autonomously in a town or city. As Ohlmeyer noted, 'Those who could afford one also retained a tailor who dispatched specific requests to their country seats.'[278] The wife of a tailor, currently residing in Dublin, reported to have been deprived of a £50 legacy held by Lady Caulfield.[279] Although it is difficult to assess the context of the legacy, it may allude to the will of the recently deceased William Caulfield in 1640 and an unpaid service to the family.[280] William Baker identified a tailor who had been a servant of the 'Lordships house', the earl of Westmeath, who later joined the insurgents.[281] Another servant tailor emerged within the household of the Marquis Clanricarde in Co. Offaly, and Pierce Butler allegedly had an English tailor in his home.[282]

Regarding the more specialised trades, eighteen names emerged in relation to haberdashery and hat-making. Felt-makers, who had strong links to hat-making, appeared twelve times in the depositions, and all the individuals were victims with Anglicised names. In Dublin, the *Pleas of the Sheriffs Court* listed the inventory of a felt-maker who owned a black gown of English mohair, a smoothing iron, and green and ginger coloured garments.[283] There were approximately thirty glovers and over eighty shoe-makers, not including the strong brogue-making tradition in the depositions. One of these glovers was making purses and gloves of 'Cordivant', or Spanish leather, and lost perfume used to treat the leather for his products.[284]

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[277] TCD, Examination of Patrick MaGwire, MS 809, fol. 083r; Deposition of John Radcliffe, MS 824, fols 042r-042v; Deposition of Morgan Evens, MS 820, fols 096r-096v [accessed March 2015].
[278] Ohlmeyer, *Making Ireland English*, p. 412.
[279] TCD, Deposition of Suzanna Stillen, MS 810, fols 261r-261v [accessed March 2015].
[280] For index of wills, see *Ireland Diocesan and Prerogative Wills and Administrations Index, 1595-1858*. Available from: http://search.findmypast.com/search-world-records/ireland-diocesan-and-prerogative-wills-and-administrations-indexes-1595-1858 [accessed October 2015].
[281] TCD, Examination of William Baker, MS 817, fols 065r-067v [accessed March 2015].
[282] TCD, Deposition of Raph Walmisley, MS 814, fols 264r-269v; Examination of Richard Shortall, MS 818, fols 312r-313v [accessed March 2015].
[283] Inventory of William Hay, *Pleas in the Sheriffs Court Dublin*, BL, Add. MS 11687, fol. 124.
[284] TCD, Deposition of Thomas Wilson, MS 815, fols 152r-152v [accessed March 2015].

	Feltmaker	Hatter/ Haberdasher	Glover	Shoe-maker	Other
Ulster	**1**	**1**	**4**	**10**	**2**
Antrim			1	1	
Armagh		1		2	
Cavan	1			5	1 (button)
Down					1 (dyer)
Fermanagh					
Londonderry			1		
Monaghan				2	
Tyrone			2		
Leinster	**2**	**4**	**6**	**18**	**3**
Carlow		1		2	
Dublin		2	2	2	
Kildare	1		1		1 (dyer)
Kilkenny				3	1 (button)
Laois (Queens)			2	3	
Longford				1	
Louth	1			1	
Meath			1	2	
Offaly (Kings)				1	1 (lace)
Wexford				2	
Wicklow		1		1	
Munster	**7**	**13**	**19**	**52**	**2**
Cork	5	5	7	20	1 (embroiderer), 1 (dyer)
Clare		1	2	3	
Limerick			6	6	
Kerry			1	6	
Tiperary	2	4		8	
Waterford		3	3	9	
Connacht	**2**	**0**	**2**	**2**	**0**
Leitrim	1		1		
Roscommon			1		
Sligo	1			2	

Figure 4. Number of individuals in 1641 Depositions involved in specialised clothing industry.

Occupations associated with decorative or luxury wares such as dyers, embroiderers, silk-weavers, lace-makers and button-makers were few in number. The depositions only described one embroiderer, one lace-maker,[285] two button-makers,[286] one silk-weaver,[287] and three dyers.[288] The only embroiderer cited in the depositions was John Hopkins who worked out of Kilbolane in Co. Cork where several other affluent Englishman lived, near the castle of Sir William Power.[289] It is important to note, however, that embroidery may have fallen into the female realm, and thus would not have been recorded in the depositions, particularly in a Gaelic context.[290] The sixteenth-century poem *Deoraidh sonna sliocht Chathaoir* referred to

[285] TCD, Deposition of James Dowdall, MS 814, fols 217r-217v [accessed March 2015].
[286] TCD, Deposition of Richard Jackson, MS 833, fols 018r-018v; Deposition of Mary Corne, MS 812, fols 212r-212v [accessed March 2015].
[287] TCD, Examination of Jeremy Smith, MS 810, fols 307r-307v [accessed March 2015].
[288] TCD, Deposition of Thomas Wright, MS 825, fols 136r-136v; Examination of William Hall, MS 837, fols 183r-183v; Deposition of Humphrey Barnes, MS 813, fols 297r-297v [accessed March 2015].
[289] TCD, Deposition of John Hopkins, MS 823, fols 088r-088v [accessed March 2015]. English neighbours included Robert Meade, Mr. Richard Jermyn and Mr. Edward Austin: see TCD, Examination of Phillip Holmes, MS 827, fols 014r-014v [accessed March 2015]. For Sir William Power's castle and David Power, see TCD, Deposition of Beiamen Barter, MS 824, fols 060r-061v [accessed March 2015]. For the Powers family in this area, see Dennis Power et al., *Archaeological Inventory of Co. Cork. Vol 4: North Cork* (Dublin, 2000); and NMS, *Archaeological Survey of Ireland*, Reference Number CO001-021---. Available from: http://webgis.archaeology.ie/historicenvironment [accessed May 2016].
[290] For embroidery in early modern period, see Merry E. Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2000) p. 178

women's occupation of embroidery.[291] Of the twelve depositions reporting the presence of apprentices, seven were employed for garment production. The accounts cite the apprentices of glovers, cloth-makers, tailors and shoemakers, thus showing an extension of domestic production in Ireland.[292] Further presence of button-making appeared in Dublin with the inventories of Richard Savage and Nicholas Younge.[293]

Outside the more Anglo-Irish centres of industry, settlers may have found it difficult to dress themselves in English fashions. In 1589, a letter from Sir Edward to Walsingham reported that English needed to be planted in Kerry because those wearing English attire only possessed an English cloak, while the rest of their attire was either Irish, or they were '…naked with only such a cloak.'[294] What does the evidence from the depositions reveal about English garment production presence in 1641? Has English clothing become more accessible?

Margaret Spufford's extensive research on rural England discovered a developing trade network that carried goods to the country towns, villages and hamlets in the seventeenth-century.[295] Such a network may not have been established among the scattered settlements of early colonial Ireland, hindered by the undeveloped road system. In the examination of Daniel Cavenagh, Daniel revealed that he had to travel from the barony of Forth in Co. Carlow into Dublin City in order to purchase clothing for himself and his sister.[296] Dublin alone appeared to be the centre of English sartorial distribution. As Jane Ohlmeyer noted, 'Visits to Dublin allowed even the humbler peers and their wives to buy the latest suits, gowns, petticoats, collars, coats, hats and in fabrics (silks, damask, lace) appropriate to their rank and station.'[297] The deposition of a Dublin City merchant hinted at

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[291] See Maoilín Óg Mac Bruaideadha, *Deoraidh sonna sliocht Chathaoir*, retrieved from Katherine Simms, *Bardic Poetry Database*. Available from: https://bardic.celt.dias.ie [accessed June 2017].
[292] TCD, Deposition of Raphe Carr, MS 831, fols 027r-027v; Deposition of Amy Hawkesworth, MS 830, fols 039r-040v; Deposition of Thomas Wilson, MS 815, fols 152-152v; Deposition of John Steele, MS 817, fols 161r-161v; Deposition of James Benn, MS 812, fols 213r-214v; Deposition of Richard Tailor, MS 814, fols 260r-261v. For apprentices of tanners, merchants, butchers, see Deposition of Rice Oliverson, MS 811, fols 158r-158b; Deposition of John Fletcher, MS 824, fols 265r-266v; Deposition of Hugh Gaskein, MS 831, fols 129r-130v [accessed March 2015].
[293] Inventory of Richard Savage; Inventory of Nicholas Younge, *Pleas in Sheriffs Court Dublin,* BL, Add. MS 11687, fol. 129, fol. 152.
[294] 'Sir Edward Denny to Walsingham', in Hamilton, C*SPI, 1588-1592,* pp. 221-2.
[295] Margaret Spufford, *The Great Reclothing of Rural England: Petty Chapmen and their Wares in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1984).
[296] TCD, Examination of Daniel Cavenagh, MS 809, fols 071r-072v [accessed March 2015].
[297] Ohlmeyer, *Making Ireland English,* pp. 411-2.

the developing trade network extending out of the city. James Eddis' list of debts included the names of merchants from Cos Wexford, Longford, Tyrone, Louth, Galway, Roscommon, Sligo, Laois and Leitrim.[298] Canny's map of Protestant merchants (provided in *Making Ireland British, 1580-1650*) illustrated a trade network that extended out of Dublin and into the hinterland.[299]

In England, country craftsmen 'had loyal allies in pedlars and chapmen.'[300] By selling their wares door to door, these chapmen could disseminate goods into the most remote areas of the country. If chapmen were few in Ireland, the reach of goods into the isolated hinterland would be limited. In 1628, Sir George St. George wrote to Secretary Nicholas that goods carried in the *Hope of Rouen* were sold at a lower price as 'demand was not brisk, chapmen were few' in Galway.[301] The depositions showed the presence of at least twenty-six chapmen and peddlers in Ireland in 1641. Chapmen spread throughout Ulster, Leinster and Munster held impending debts to Dublin merchants or other chapmen in various counties.[302] The chapman John Massie of Co. Laois lost the 'benefit of his trade' when insurgents robbed him of his merchant wares and horse in Dublin.[303] A majority of these chapmen were associated with rebel activity. Unfortunately, it is difficult to assess how far these peddlers travelled, what they carried, and how successful they were in drawing custom. The same Dublin merchant who held debts from Leinster, Connacht and Ulster merchants was also owed money from chapmen residing in Wexford, Offaly and Tyrone.[304] Levels of material blending in regard to 'ethnic' sartorial traditions may have been promoted or hindered by accessibility to trade networks connecting individuals to rivers and roads that were travelled by local chapmen and merchants.

The depositions indicated that most individuals associated with the clothing trade and manufacture resided in Munster, and more specifically Co. Cork. While this may have simply reflected the greater volume of the Cork depositions, the number of individuals affiliated with

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[298] TCD, Deposition of James Eddis, TCD, MS 810, fols 136r-137v [accessed March 2015].
[299] See this map in Canny, *Making Ireland British,* p. 369.
[300] Thirsk, *Economic Policy*, p. 122.
[301] 'Sir George St. George to Secretary Nicholas', in Robert Pentland Mahaffy (ed.) *CSPI, 1625-1632* (London, 1900) p. 310.
[302] TCD, Deposition of James Eddis, MS 810, fols 136r-137v; Deposition of Jonas Clone, TCD, MS 824, fols 251r-252v [accessed March 2015].
[303] TCD, Deposition of John Massie, MS 815, fols 342r-342v [accessed March 2015].
[304] TCD, Deposition of James Eddis, MS 810, fols 136r-137v [accessed March 2015].

the clothing industry in the remaining Munster counties supported the province's majority. For example, in the 267 depositions collected from Co. Waterford, twenty cloth-workers, clothiers, weavers and tailors were mentioned. Meanwhile, in Co. Laois, only eleven could be found in the collection of 278 depositions. During the seventeenth-century, English cloth-workers flocked to Munster where several attempts were made to create stable woollen manufactories.[305] Irish trade records placed Waterford as the locus of woollen exports. In a single year, 3,200 mantles, 3,0348 yards of frieze, 3,192 ordinaries and 1,544 rugs were shipped out of the county.[306] The exports of 1621 saw a similar Waterford dominance in woollen products.[307] Such statistics collected by Donald Woodward give a clear picture of regional specialisation with other Irish counties concentrating on varying products.[308] It is possible to propose, therefore, that by the 1640s, it was still difficult to obtain English cloth and clothing for those living far from Cork, Dublin or the bustling seaports of Ireland. The Irish and Scottish presence in the industry indicated that non-English traditions prevailed. When English clothiers or tailors were scarce, settlers may have sought the skills of the native population.

Measuring Personal Consumption

At first glance the depositions may be more useful to assess clothing consumption on a personal level. One way of doing this would be to compare the clothing values reported by individuals within varying occupations. However, it necessary to state that it is possible many deponents exaggerated their losses with the hope that they would receive full compensation. A brief comparison between the inventories of individuals in England with those of the same status in Ireland would suggest that individuals within the same occupation dressed significantly better in Ireland than England.

Anne Buck's research on the Bedfordshire inventories from 1617 to 1620 provides a necessary model in which to begin assessing clothing values.[309] Like these inventories (and a set of wills collected from rural Essex), the 1641 Depositions employed slightly ambiguous

[305] Gillespie, *Transformation of the Irish Economy*, p. 35.
[306] Woodward, 'Irish Trade and Customs Statistics', p. 72.
[307] Woodward, 'Irish Trade and Customs Statistics', p. 69, appendix IXa.
[308] Woodward, 'Irish Trade and Customs Statistics', p. 57.
[309] Buck, 'Clothing and Textiles', pp. 25-38.

language. Many of the documents, particularly those of men, provided a single valuation for 'wearing apparel' that often included linens and woollens. The depositions, however, added a new level of vagueness because clothing was often amalgamated into household goods, money, livestock and trade tools. In other instances, prices quoted for apparel may have only referred to the portion of the victim's wardrobe that was stripped from his or her body. In many cases therefore, it becomes impossible to confidently assert a single value for the deponents' wearing apparel. Several depositions from Munster, including those from Cos Cork, Limerick, Tipperary and Waterford reported values for wearing apparel that were crossed out. The total sum for all the deponents' losses, however, remained, which suggested that details concerning clothing were thought to be unnecessary rather than incorrect. Because of this, eliminated details of apparel have been considered if the stated value agrees with the preserved sum of their total losses.

Aware of these pitfalls, it is still worthwhile to present data concerning the level of clothing consumption within certain occupations. In total, 143 depositions were assessed; 114 of these were males with a stated occupation, 9 were males with no stated occupation, and 20 were women (19 widows and 1 spinster). In these select documents, deponents disclosed their occupation and valued their clothing and/or cloth separately. These values typically reflected the household's clothing as a whole, and occasionally referred to a single individual's wardrobe. Because of this (and other factors that will be discussed later) the depositions showed variance within the same status. However, the overall social hierarchy projected a traditional model. The nobility and gentry remained at the top. Gentlemen's values were far ranging (30s. to £70), yet the sums rarely fell below £5. The lowest value was described by Thomas Ally of Co. Limerick whose total household valuation of £810 suggested that he may have only referred to a small portion of his stolen wardrobe. The gentleman William Browne in Co. Sligo reported that his family's apparel, rich collection of coloured cloth, butter and cheese were worth £90. A considerable portion of this sum presumably projected the value of his fine cloth and the apparel needed to dress his large family of nine.[310] In one case, the gentleman William Walsh separated the price of his linen from his woollen. While his Holland cloth, Scotch cloth, diaper, damask and flaxen linens were valued at £40; the woollen wearing apparel of his father, mother, and five children were valued at £30.[311] Robert

[310] TCD, Deposition of William Browne, MS 831, fols 062r-062v [accessed June 2015].
[311] TCD, Deposition of William Walsh, MS 831, fols065r-066v [accessed December 2014].

Ovington, an English Protestant gentleman in Co. Meath, revealed that his personal wardrobe, which included the clothes stripped from his body and the suits stolen out his home, were worth £8.[312]

The value of merchants' apparel ranged from £10 to £120. Higher sums indicated that merchants could mix into the bottom rungs of the gentry. The considerable value projected by Thomas Dight, a merchant from Co. Kerry, of £120 in wearing apparel to dress his entire family indicated that merchants were able to surpass the affluence of the elite.[313] This was a trend noted by Toby Barnard when he assessed the household inventory of the Cork merchant John Skiddy. However, Skiddy's sum of £42 in wearing apparel looked modest compared to that of Thomas Dight. Dight sold hides and tallow (among other unspecified wares) and partook in agricultural cultivation and livestock rearing. With a home near the 'fair good harbour' of Crookhaven, Dight held a prime location on the most south-western tip of Ireland to conduct his mercantile endeavours while farming in Co. Kerry.[314]

Yeomen followed merchants in clothing consumption with the range of 20s. to £20. At the higher end of the spectrum, yeoman John Watson reported that his clothing and linen were worth £14. This was a significant portion of Watson's total household goods, equal in value to that of his livestock.[315] Watson lived in 'Kilgarran' (Killegar) near Powerscourt in Co. Wicklow, a mountainous area that was nine miles from Dublin by road, which may explain his improved access to cloth.[316] Alexander Haie, a yeoman in Co. Kildare's fertile barony of Castle Carbury, reported a similar sum of £15 in apparel.[317] Another yeoman in Co. Cork, however, projected only £6 worth of household stuff, linen, apparel and provisions.[318]

The contrast in husbandmen's clothing values can be seen when one compares John Dower's collection of linen and wearing apparel (amounting to 30s.) to William Norton's

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[312] TCD, Deposition of Robert Ovington, MS 816, fols 148r-148v [accessed March 2015].
[313] TCD, Deposition of Thomas Dight, MS 828, fols 194r-195v [accessed March 2015].
[314] See terrier of the parish map of Kilmore, retrieved from TCD, *The Down Survey*. Available from: http://downsurvey.tcd.ie [accessed May 2016].
[315] TCD, Deposition of John Watson, MS 811, fols 104r-104v [accessed March 2015].
[316] See barony map of Rathdown, retrieved from TCD, *The Down Survey*. Available from: http://downsurvey.tcd.ie [accessed May 2016].
[317] TCD, Deposition of Alexander Haie, MS 813, fols 356r-356v [accessed March 2015]. Barony map of Castle Carbury describes arable land 'generall good for all sorts of Graine': see TCD, *The Down Survey*. Available from: http://downsurvey.tcd.ie [accessed May 2016].
[318] TCD, Deposition of George Hakes, MS 824, fols 032r-032v [accessed March 2015].

clothing worth £10.[319] Because Norton lived in Thurles, Co. Tipperary, he may have possessed better access to materials due to the fact that Thurles was a site of substantial settlement within the lands of the earl of Ormond.[320] In a majority of the cases, however, husbandmen did not claim clothing values above £6. Like husbandmen, clerks also reported a broad range in clothing values (25s. to £10). However, most of these fell between £10 and £14. Quite astonishingly, the clerk Edward Clare of St. Munchin's parish in Limerick City claimed £100 in apparel, however, he appeared to have several sources of income including husbandry and the benefit of multiple church livings.[321]

Craftsmen and tradesmen (such as bakers, clothiers, tanners, saddlers, millers, blacksmiths, masons and timbermen) projected a similar range of clothing values to that of yeomen: 30s. to £20. In some instances, the higher values may have spoken to cloth or apparel that was intended to be sold rather than personally worn. For example, John Smith, who was involved in dyeing and tanning in Co. Longford, reported a loss of £15 pounds; this may have included some of his merchantable products.[322] Smith's success in tanning may also be attributed to the fact that he lived in St. Johnstown in the barony of Granard, a site identified for its improved timber supply.[323] A tanner from Co. Wexford provided a clearer breakdown of his personal attire: £3 15s. in linen apparel (such as shirts), £1 in woollen cloth, and £3 10s. in his wife's apparel.[324] The two inn-holders described in the depositions described substantial losses of £20 and £30 in wearing apparel. If taken at face value, these prices indicated the relatively well-off lifestyle inn-holders enjoyed in early modern Ireland. The constant flow of travellers during a period of British migration and alternative sources of income may explain their affluence.[325]

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[319] TCD, Deposition of John Dower, MS 823, fols 130r-130v; Deposition of William Norton, MS 821, fols 085r-085v [accessed March 2015].
[320] Barony map of 'Elyogarty' shows stone buildings and settlement in Thurles: see TCD, *The Down Survey*. Available from: http://downsurvey.tcd.ie [accessed May 2016]. See also NMS, *Archaeological Survey of Ireland*, Reference Number TN041-042001. Available from: http://webgis.archaeology.ie/historicenvironment [accessed May 2016].
[321] TCD, Deposition of Edward Clare, MS 829, fols 221r-221v [accessed March 2015].
[322] TCD, Deposition of John Smith, MS 817, fols 197r-198v [accessed March 2015].
[323] See barony map description of Granard, Co. Longford, retrieved from TCD, *The Down Survey.* Available from: http://downsurvey.tcd.ie [accessed May 2016].
[324] TCD, Deposition of William Leigh, MS 181, fols 119r-120v [accessed March 2015].
[325] TCD, Deposition of John Pilkington, MS 829, fols 258r-259v; Deposition of John March, MS 813, fols 327r-327v [accessed March 2015].

The four clergymen depicted another wide range of clothing consumption: £4 to £30. In Castlecomer, Co. Kilkenny (land lately planted with Yorkshire men by Thomas Wentworth) the parson John Wilkinson lost £15 worth of clothing and linen. [326] In Co. Longford, a religious man of more humble means, the vicar Robert Colden reported to have lost £4 in apparel for his family. He invested more in his books than attire.[327] The English vicar Robert Brown, a visitor to Northern Ireland, testified that he had been carrying £4 of clothing when he was attacked. This included a cloak of black English cloth, a cassock of 'turkey [s]tamin', one shirt, six bands with handcuffs and two handkerchiefs.[328]

Military men displayed values more similar to that of affluent merchants like John Skiddy and wealthier gentlemen.[329] In Co. Down, Captain John Henry reported losing wearing apparel to the value of £50.[330] Lieutenant Anthony Stratford, who lived in the plantation settlement of Castlecaulfield in Co. Tyrone, stated that the clothing belonging to himself, his wife and his five children was worth £60.[331] On the upper end of the spectrum, Arthur Culm, Esquire of Co. Cavan and his wife lost £100 in clothing and linen, and the Limerick resident Sir Hardress Waller claimed £100 of apparel in merely one trunk.[332] Lord Lambart, the baron of Cavan, lost an astonishing £300 worth of wearing attire used to dress himself and the ladies in his home. [333] This was a concerning amount for a man chased by his creditors. Spending long stretches of time in England to avoid his deteriorating financial circumstances, Charles Lambart had finally settled into his Irish home in Kilbegan by the time of the rising.[334] The growing wealth of the merchant class, as illustrated by John Skiddy and Thomas Dight, drove elite consumption to unnecessary heights. The high cost of their wardrobes may have reflected the nobility's eagerness to possess more clothing to maintain their superior position and, particularly in the case of Lambart, reassert their landowner

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[326] TCD, Deposition of John Watkinson, MS 812, fols 193r-194v [accessed March 2015]. See also Fiona Pogson, 'Wandesford, Christopher (1592–1640)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004). Available from: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28662 [accessed 7 Aug 2017].
[327] TCD, Deposition of Robert Colden, MS 817, fols 186r-186v [accessed March 2015].
[328] TCD, Deposition of Robert Brown, MS 834, fols 103r-103v [accessed March 2015].
[329] For example, see TCD, Deposition of William Opie, MS 817, fols 019r-019v [accessed March 2015].
[330] TCD, Deposition of Henry Smith, MS 837, fols 014r-017v [accessed March 2015].
[331] TCD, Deposition of Lieutenant Anthony Stratford, MS 839, fols 036r-036v [accessed March 2015].
[332] TCD, Deposition of Arthur Culme, MS 833, fols 127r-132v; Deposition of Sir Hardress Waller, MS 829, fols 284r-290v [accessed June 2014]. For possible will, see 'Arthur Culme Esquire' in Sir Arthur Vicars, *Index to the Prerogative Wills of Ireland, 1536-1810* (Dublin, 1897) p. 116.
[333] TCD, Deposition of Thomas Wilson et al. ex parte Charles Lord Lambert Baron of Cavan, MS 815, fols 221r-224v [accessed March 2015].
[334] Terry Clavin, 'Lambert, Charles,' *Dictionary of Irish Biography.* Available from: http://dib.cambridge.org [accessed June 2016].

status.[335] Irish gentlemen also felt this pressure. In 1638, the earl of Cork's sons felt ashamed that they only had three suits each with them in Paris and wrote home to request more money.[336]

Women presented some of the more detailed descriptions of clothing values. The reason for this may be the fact that these women made some of the cloth by hand, and their personal attire was one of the few possessions they could claim as their own. In the widow Elizabeth Howit's short inventory, for example, she reported a wheel and 'cards in cloth to make her children clothes.'[337] The female reports varied from 40s. to £40, with a majority falling between £3 and £20. The variance undoubtedly speaks to the difference between the households' social statuses. While Irish Protestant Julian Blissitt of Co. Cork reported the meagre value of 40s., the widow of a gentleman in the British settlement of Belturbet in Co. Cavan grieved the loss of £40 pounds in clothing, woollens and linens.[338]

Nobility & Gentlemen (35): 30s.—£300

Vicars & Parsons (4): £4–£42

Merchants (3): £10–£120

Clerks (7): 25s.–£100

Innkeepers (2): £20–£30

Yeomen (18): 20s.–£20

Husbandmen (18): 10s.–£10

Military (2): £50–£100

Widows & Spinsters (20): 40s.–£40

Craftsmen & Tradesmen (25): 30s.–£20

Figure 5. Range of stated clothing values in the1641 Depositions by occupation

The clothing values in these 143 depositions propose interesting implications. In a similar study comparing clothing consumption of individuals in Bedfordshire from 1617 to 1620, the gentry possessed £2–£7; clergy £1–£8; yeomen and husbandmen £1–£5; craftsmen

[335] Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland*, p. 67.
[336] Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland*, p. 67.
[337] TCD, Deposition of Elizabeth Howit, MS 815, fol. 292r [accessed March 2015].
[338] TCD, Deposition of Julian Blissitt, MS 825, fols 139r-139v; Deposition of Margarett Haynes, MS 833, fols 158r-159v [accessed March 2015].

5s.–£5; and labourers 2s. 6d.–£2. [339] The data from the 1641 Depositions suggests that in some cases, individuals in Ireland possessed greater quantity or quality of clothing than those in Bedfordshire, England. Additionally, the deponents' reports indicated the achievable affluence of the merchant class, as well the relative comfort of craftsmen and tradesmen during the period. If accurate, this was mostly likely possible because many individuals could supplement their income with additional husbandry work. Large differences between those of similar occupations may be a result of a larger household, greater success in agricultural endeavours due to land fertility, or proximity to roads, navigable rivers, or ports. Overall, the values indicated a wide range in consumption levels within the same occupation, suggesting that the quality of life in the seventeenth-century greatly depended upon the individual.

Second-Hand Circulation

The emerging, lively second-hand trade of the early modern period demonstrated that recycled clothing could be worn or used as a form of payment in England.[340] In Ireland, archaeological evidence pointed to the presence of recycled clothing with late sixteenth-century deposits of Italian velvet, silk, woollen cloths and silk thread in Dublin.[341] Attempts to draw out the life span of these expensive materials were built into the wills of loved-ones. Individuals' bequeathed their coats, hats and gowns to the living at home or across the ocean during a period of colonisation.[342] My earlier research concerning Irish migrants to the Caribbean unearthed the will of Hugh Collam who in 1653 left pairs of shoes to various friends and family living in Ireland.[343] Susan Flavin explored instances of hybrid fashion in wills from Co. Cork when mothers left their Irish head rolls and English broadcloth coats to their daughters.[344]

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[339] For these totals, see Buck, 'Clothing and Textiles', pp. 25-38.
[340] For more on second-hand clothing, see Lemire, 'Consumerism in Preindustrial and Early Industrial England', pp. 1-24. For the currency of clothing, see Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing,* pp. 17-33.
[341] Heckett, 'Town and Country', pp. 457-9. See also Horning, 'Clothing and Colonialism', p. 7.
[342] For an analysis of clothing in English wills, see Jane E. Huggett, 'Rural Costume in Elizabethan Essex: A Study Based on the Evidence from Wills', *Costume* 33 (1999), pp. 74-88. See also Buck, 'Clothing and Textiles', pp. 25-38.
[343] Heidi Carlson, 'Irish Emigration and Involuntary Migration to Barbados, 1649-1660' (Mphil thesis, University of Cambridge, 2013), pp. 88-9.
[344] Richard Caulfield (ed.), 'Wills and Inventories, Cork, temp. Elizabeth', *Gentlemen's Magazine* (1861), p. 35.

These accepted modes of second-hand use would be threatened by the 1641 rebellion when a very different second-hand operation evolved. Clothing was not exchanged amicably through bequests or inheritance, but rather forced surrender. While the victim Thomas Pasley stood half naked in his breeches and stockings, his attackers systematically distributed his garments among the group:

> That the cloathes which they tooke from this examinat and his fellow prisoner not being sufficient to afford euery one of the Rebells a share they did agree that each peice of the sayd cloathes should be rated and that he that had most use for itt shoulde take itt in lieu of so much money to be deducted out of his share of the ransome…[345]

In England, clothing was the most sought after and easily disposable commodity of the early modern era.[346] J. A. Sharpe revealed that, in Essex, fourteen per cent of all theft between 1620-1680 involved clothing and household linen.[347] Historians have proposed that such theft reflected the English public's desire and recognition of 'correct' dress across social levels. It also suggested that many individuals understood that the growing desire for clothing meant that a profit could be made through second-hand sale.[348] This expression of consumerism is arguably present in the 1641 Depositions. Rebels attacked ships carrying parcels of wool, and brogue-makers targeted tanners and skinners for their raw materials. [349] Desperate for cash, despoiled gentlewomen residing in Dublin were 'reduced to such extremities that the selling away of theire ordinary attire, & necessary wearing apparell at great vndervalues.'[350] Alexander Goryan participated in second-hand trade by pawning clothes to local merchants in Belturbet.[351] As Pasley's deposition demonstrated, clothing was by default a share of the rebels' plunder.

In the later depositions, testifiers employed stolen clothing as evidence of an individual's wrongdoing. Katherine Cary reported seeing Oliver Ashpool, a trooper of the Irish party, sporting the rather memorable cassock of William Beaton—one made of broadcloth and stitched with silver lace.[352] Lady Butler observed soldiers wearing the clothes

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[345] TCD, Deposition of Thomas Paseley, MS 837, fols 130r-130v; Deposition of Bryan Mchelhenny, MS 837, fol. 119r [accessed March 2015].
[346] Lemire, 'The Theft of Clothing and Popular Consumerism', p. 257.
[347] J. A. Sharpe, *Crime in Seventeenth Century England: A Country Study* (Cambridge, 1983) pp. 91-114.
[348] Lemire, 'The Theft of Clothing', p. 258.
[349] TCD, Deposition of Giles Dewhurst, MS 809, fols 273r-273v [accessed March 2015].
[350] TCD, Letter from the distressed ladies in Dublin, MS 840, fols 027r-027v [accessed March 2015].
[351] TCD, Deposition of William Smith, MS 833, fols 189r-190v [accessed March 2015].
[352] TCD, Examination of Katherin Cary, MS 810, fols 371r-372v [accessed March 2015].

of Protestant Richard Lake after he was taken from her home and thrown into a garrison.[353] Richard Cradell, a former member of the foot company, grew suspicious when he met a man wearing a red suit that looked uncannily similar to the suit Cradell had left with his wife.[354] The theft of military garments provided some rebels with a strategic advantage by concealing their identity from their enemy.[355] As the violence escalated, Robert Newgent plotted ways in which he could secure 'blue bonnets'—a visual stereotype heavily employed on the early modern stage to reference Scotsmen. With these, he hoped to spring an attack upon Sir James Cragg who might wrongly assume that they 'were Scotts Cominnge to aid him.'[356] Many may have also coveted the expensive broadcloth used to construct military uniforms during this time.[357] Garments stolen from the English camp in Munster were washed in the river before distributed to relatives and loyal servants.[358]

The known value of clothing did not limit theft to the insurgents' side of the conflict. Donell McGillmurtin reported how the 'bracken' (or tartan plaid cloth) of his mother, sister, and several other Irish men and women were taken after they were killed by British soldiers.[359] Stolen articles were also adapted for their new owners when victims' breeches were transformed into doublets or female waistcoats.[360] The tailor from Co. Louth William Bentley stated that rebels brought him clothing stolen from English victims 'to be made fitt for the Rogues.'[361]

These stolen articles extended Irish access to English attire and granted the common man or woman a unique opportunity to sport the paraphernalia of the elite that they could in

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[353] TCD, Deposition of Lady Butler, MS 812, fols 106r-106v [accessed March 2015]. For additional examples, see Examination of Richard Bryne, MS 817, fols 125r-126v; Examination of Daniell McGillmartin, MS 838, fols 179r-179v; Examination of Art Brien re Joseph and Danyell Ferrall, MS 818, fols 236r-236v; Examination of John Nobbs, MS 826, fols 293r-293v [accessed March 2015].
[354] TCD, Deposition of Richard Cradell, MS 837, fols 095r-096v. For Richard Cusack's defense, see Examination of Richard Cusack, MS 837, fol. 181r [accessed March 2015].
[355] Darcy, 'The Social Order of the 1641 Rebellion', pp. 99-102.
[356] TCD, Deposition of Thomas Crant, MS 832, fols 212r-219v [accessed March 2015]; Robert I. Lubin, *Costuming the Shakespearean Stage: Visual Codes of Representation in Early Modern Theatre and Culture* (Aldershot, 2011) pp. 113-4.
[357] For use of broadcloth in uniforms, see Peachey, *Textiles and Materials*, p. 69.
[358] TCD, Examination of Patrick Bryan, MS 813, fols 194r-195v [accessed March 2015].
[359] TCD, Examination of Donell McGillmurtin, MS 838, fols 139r-139v [accessed March 2015]. See also 'bracken, n.2', *OED Online*. Available from: http://www.oed.com [accessed June 2015].
[360] TCD, Examination of John Crafford, MS 838, fol. 047r; Examination of John Murghlan, MS 838, fol. 047v [accessed March 2015].
[361] TCD, Examination of William Bentley, MS 836, fols 149r-150v [accessed March 2015].

turn pass on to their relatives and descendants. Samuel East detailed how he was going to distribute the wares of the Carlow merchant once they were in his possession:

> your silk and buttons silk lace & cotten tapes are good for provant suits for our Irish souldjers your Ribbandes are good to be favours for them: your fine threed and Incles and black naples silk is very good for my Cozen the wife of Mr ffitzgarrald lord of Ballishannon…[362]

Children of rebels were seen sporting English attire, or obtaining the prized plunder after the death of their parents. Protestant Dennis Kelly testified that the children of the neighbouring rebel James FitzJones were wearing his wife's apparel soon after the he and his wife were stripped naked.[363] Twelve years after the rebellion, Patrick Bryan (the young servant of Patrick Boylan) stated that the doublet his master stole from an English camp had been passed down to Boylan's son.[364] The servant had also acquired his own share of the plunder when he was given a coat. This gift echoed a sentiment found in late sixteenth-century Irish wills when affluent citizens bequeathed clothing to loyal servants.[365] Gifting these valuable items to lower-status individuals allowed new English fashions to circulate across social levels.[366] Such philanthropic acts can be seen again in the surviving wills of the seventeenth-century. John Inkersall, Esquire of Queen's County bequeathed his wife's elite clothing to his servant Alice Pinchard.[367] The Dublin merchant Samuel Rhodes, whose wife made an appearance in the 1641 Depositions, left his best suit of apparel to his servant Phillip Evatt upon his death.[368]

Because of the nature of the depositions, less evidence emerged concerning the resale of these used items. Historians interested in the re-use of clothing acknowledge the difficulty of such an investigation because of the underhand character of the dealings.[369] In the

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[362] TCD, Deposition of William Bailie, MS 812, fols 045r-045v [accessed March 2015].
[363] TCD, Deposition of Dennis Kelly, MS 816, fols 184r-184v [accessed March 2015]. For a similar case, see Examination of Samson Moore, MS 826, fols 239r-239v [accessed March 2015].
[364] TCD, Examination of Patrick Bryan, MS 813, fols 194r-195v [accessed March 2015].
[365] Cited in Flavin, *Consumption and Culture*, p. 99.
[366] For further examples, see Buck, 'Clothing and Textiles', pp. 36-7.
[367] John Ainsworth, 'Abstracts of 17th Century Irish Wills in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury', *JRSAI* 78, no. 1 (1948), pp. 24-37, specifically p. 28.
[368] Ainsworth, 'Abstracts of 17th Century Irish Wills', p. 33; TCD, Deposition of Sarah Roads, MS 810, fols 299r-299v [accessed March 2015].
[369] For a discussion about second-hand trade and analytical issues, see Patricia Allertson, 'Reconstructing the Second-Hand Clothes Trade in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Venice', *Costume* 33 (1999), pp. 45-56; Madeleine Ginsburg, 'Rags to Riches: The Second-Hand Clothes Trade 1700-1978', *Costume* 14 (1980), pp. 121-35. See also the works of Beverly Lemire, including 'Consumerism in Preindustrial and Early Industrial England: The Trade in Secondhand Clothes', pp. 1-24; 'The Theft of Clothes and Popular Consumerism in Early Modern England', pp. 255-76; 'Peddling Fashion: Salesmen, Pawnborkers, Taylors, Thieves and the Second-

depositions, details about clothing's second life emerged from visible evidence, when garments were publically worn by the thief or his/her family. The private act of selling stolen garments, however, did make an appearance in the documents. Bryan Ferall related how the clothes of two English boys taken from Drogheda were sold off in Rathreagh[370] in the barony of Ardagh, Co. Longford after they were murdered.[371] In Co. Meath, Richard Dignan paid thirty-one shillings to three Irish rebels for the clothes and hat of the Englishman Phillip Carr.[372] In Co. Mayo, Gildruff Kelly attacked the steeple of the crumbling friary of Rosserk, taking with him the ring, linen and clothing of Richard Gardner's mother, which he later sold.[373] The hatter Gabriell Maureley of Co. Cork described how a rebel came to him hoping to sell the hatband of a murdered Protestant.[374]

Another means in which to probe this elusive history is to investigate native merchants and chapmen's involvement in the robberies described in the depositions. The deposition of David Roche offered a substantial list of Irish merchants operating in the city of Limerick.[375] Irishmen involved in the business of buying and selling who were now in rebellion were also mentioned in the deposition of Stephen Clove[376] in Co. Cork: 'Daniel Tibbury of Bire in the Kings County pedler or Chapman William Smith of the same Chapman, Donogh o Dwyre of the same Chapman, John Roch of the same merchant.'[377] Coincidentally, many of the chapmen and merchants' victims lived in close proximity to roads or waterways. In Ballyhaise of Co. Cavan, an Irish chapman pillaged a clothier's home (located near seventeenth-century roads) and redistributed the household goods to Thomas and Simon Wesnam.[378] In Co. Meath, the household goods of Daniel Wilson came into the hands of the

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hand Clothes Trade in England, c. 1700-1800', *Textile History* 22 (1991), pp. 67-82; *Dress, Culture and Commerce: The English Clothing Trade Before the Factory, 1660-1800* (London, 1997).

[370] For evidence of settlement in Rathregh, see Irish Manuscript Commission, *Irish Patent Rolls of Ireland, James I* (Dublin, 1966) p. 467.

[371] TCD, Examination of Bryan Ferall, MS 817, fols 242r-243v [accessed March 2015].

[372] TCD, Examination of Henry Higly, MS 816, fols 248r-249v; Examination of Richard Dighonan, MS 816, fols 252r-252v [accessed March 2015].

[373] TCD, Examination of Richard Gardner, MS 831, fols 265r-266v; Examination of Mary Gardener, MS 831, fols 267r-268v [accessed March 2015].

[374] TCD, Deposition of Gabriell Maureley, MS 826, fol. 023r [accessed March 2015].

[375] TCD, Deposition of Dauid Roche, MS 829, fols 178r-179v [accessed March 2015].

[376] A 'Stephen Clove' of Youghal is mentioned in Tallon, *Court of Claims*, p. 155.

[377] TCD, Deposition of Stephen Clove, MS 823, fols 058r-058v [accessed March 2015].

[378] TCD, Deposition of Elizabeth Day, MS 833, fols 245r-245v [accessed March 2015]. Their home was located in Ballyhaise, Castleterra paish, barony of Loughtee. For a projection of seventeenth-century roads, see Historical GIS from TCD, *The Down Survey.* Available from: http://downsurvey.tcd.ie [accessed April 2016].

chapman Patrick McSymon who found his victim's home near a road leading to Dublin.[379] A group of rebellious merchants participated in the attacks on Carlow, a town located near Barrow River that acted as an important commercial waterway to New Ross, Athy and Waterford.[380]

One example, however, does directly attest to a merchant's role in the resale of clothing during the rebellion. William Gaegan of Co. Westmeath, the clerk of the lawyer Thomas Terrill, reported that he had purchased a suit from a merchant by the name of Edmund Warren in the city of Dublin. The clerk explained that the clothing originally belonged to a Mr. Spencer and that Warren had accepted the goods in payment of debts.[381] The deposition further revealed that Garret Terrill, the brother of Gaegan's master, had intended to purchase clothes in the city with cash. However, he soon bought Gaegan's 'second-hand' suit to wear for £10.[382] This narrative described the circulation of Mr. Simon's clothes to a merchant, and then to two different Irish consumers. Interestingly, the suit's high quality prompted accusations against the new wearer. Gaegan had advised the man not to wear the clothing that day 'by reason it was fowle weather.' Yet when the lawyer's clerk heard that Garret Terrill had been 'commited to the castle' he quickly guessed that it was for 'wearing such a sute of cloth and going up and downe the street.' Well acquainted with the legal profession, Gaegan may have been aware of sartorial regulations forbidding and drawing suspicion to such a flamboyant display of attire.

For years to come, these sartorial trophies would be passed down between the generations—perhaps in many ways keeping the memory of 1641 alive within the homes of rebel population. Would these mementos be flaunted in the public domain, or locked away for safe-keeping? In the subsequent months, would officials look to arrest individuals such as Garret Terrill who wore cloth unfitting to their occupation and status? The historian can only hypothesise the fate of many items, but the tantalising notion of widespread recycled clothing hints at the appearance of blended ethnic attire that served as a daily reminder of the violence of 1641.

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[379] TCD, Deposition of Daniel Wilson, MS 816, fols 146r-147v [accessed March 2015].
[380] TCD, Deposition of Raph Bukley, MS 812, fols 084r-085v. For an additional example of an attack carried out by a group of merchants, see Deposition of Lawrence Hooper, MS 820, fols 312r-215v [accessed March 2015].
[381] TCD, Examination of William Gaegan, MS 817, fols 057r-058v [accessed March 2015].
[382] TCD, Examination of Garret Terrill, MS 817, fol. 057r [accessed March 2015].

Conclusion

An investigation into Ireland's clothing culture possesses an unsuspecting richness of material. As Horning pointed out, until recently, the subject of dress in early modern Ireland has been shrouded under a mask of ethnic polarisation. At first glance, the depositions reflected the cultural divide fashioned by English officials. Brogues implied an Irish origin, shoes were overtly English, and the mantle was worn by the Irish to indicate their barbarity. English traveller accounts shared many of these biases, degrading Irish culture through the example of the lowly Irishman's pitiful attire. Yet, as the prior analysis demonstrated, many of these observations were unjustly focused upon the poor and sought, in part, to discourage the already existing level of cultural exchange. Certainty not immune to the glamour of consumption, Irish elites treasured the richly coloured satins that decorated their tower-houses, and looked upon the poor Irishman with a similarly contemptuous air.[383]

Cloth was a hotly contested topic in early modern England, tied inextricably to an emerging national identity. England's drive to establish its own economic prowess during the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries added layers of meaning to the public condemnation of foreign silk, yellow cloth, or indeed any product that may have assisted their competitors' economies. The contents of settlers' trunks reflected their praiseworthy support of the domestic English cloth industry. Yet, the luxurious cloth loaded onto ships destined for Ireland, stored within the shops of merchants, and decorating the homes of the elite demonstrated the sustained demand for these lavish materials, perhaps for Protestants and Catholics alike.

Slowly, the depositions began to craft a narrative (albeit still quite skeletal) of clothing consumption during the seventeenth-century. The presence of domestic cloth manufacturing can be assessed by measuring the recorded occupations in the testimonies. The documents showed an overwhelming majority of craftsmen in Munster, which supported evidence that settlers flocked to this province to establish stable woollen manufactories. The quantity of rebel weavers and tailors with ambiguously Irish or Scottish surnames hinted at the strong native presence within the clothing culture.

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[383] Joep Leerssen, 'Wildness, Wilderness, and Ireland: Medieval and Early-Modern Patterns in the Demarcation of Civility', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 56, no. 1 (1995), p. 38

While addressing several established trends in the Irish economy, the depositions also raised important questions concerning personal identity and the level of clothing consumption across all social levels. With so much literature concerning elite consumption and sartorial regulations, the ordinary function of clothing in many individuals' daily lives is lost. In Ireland, the adoption of ethnically associated garments (particularly that of the less affluent) may not have indicated a turn towards Irish identity, but rather the wearer's realisation of that garments' practicality. Englishmen living in remote areas may have accepted what the local chapman had to offer, or employed a neighbouring weaver or tailor to ensure that they had clothes on their backs. Desperate to define English identity in a changing world, English writers were disturbed and threatened by the sartorial ambiguity of Ireland's population. Marmaduke Clapham saw a direct correlation between dress and the subsequent betrayal that he experienced within his own parish in Co. Offaly. The remains of the man found in Co. Londonderry—who dressed in an Irish mantle, English doublet, native trews, and ethnically ambiguous shoes—may not have been a fluke in sartorial history.[384] The Dungiven costume speaks volumes about the complex role that clothing occupies in early modern Ireland.

If English style clothing was rare in Ireland, the rebellion presented the perfect moment for individuals across the social scale to obtain this civilised attire. Stolen materials could be used as personal garments, sold for financial gain, or gifted to family members to signify that family's reclaimed status after a period of plantation. Rebels' adoption of the garments suggested that English attire was not, as many official accounts reported, abhorrent to the native population. A surprising bi-product of the 1641 rebellion may have been the ironic achievement of what the English civilising mission mandated: that the Irish look more English.

[384] Similar observations have been made in a North American context, see Horning, 'Cloth and Colonialism', pp. 312-3; Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Indians and English: Facing Off in Early America* (Ithaca, 2000).

THE INTERIOR

The Material Culture of Leisure and Luxury

In 1641, the account of Englishman Sir Hardress Waller listed a colourful array of household goods that would have been at the disposal of the elites in Ireland. Turkey-work stools, tapestries, Venetian glass and house clocks furnished his home in Co. Limerick. The knight had married Elizabeth Dowdall, daughter of the Protestant Old English landowner Sir John Dowdall, to form an advantageous union that made him sympathetic to the Old English. The objects he brought from England, his five furnished fireplaces, and his plans to build a great hall demonstrated his eagerness to improve the uncivilised landscape. However, any sympathy he had for the Old English obliterated during 1641 rebellion. A total value of £1,1443 in goods, property, provision and livestock were lost along with the lives of many of his Protestant neighbours.[1]

In the context of Irish history, many questions concerning household consumption and material culture remain largely unanswered. Toby Barnard warned that 'without substantial series of inventories, wills and plans, trends are at best gauged impressionistically.'[2] For Barnard one cannot statistically prove the 'chronology and extent of the arrival, adoption and spread of consumer novelties' for the seventeenth and eighteenth-centuries of Irish history.[3] The skeletal narrative that emerged from the available information described the lives of the elite who possessed fervour for fashionable consumption. As Barnard remarked, Irish notables during the 1630s decorated their homes more lavishly than before, inspired by Lord Deputy Wentworth's projects at Dublin Castle and Jigginstown.[4] At best, this narrative does not reflect the ordinary experience of the population, however, the 1641 Depositions and a small collection of inventories discount the notion that the wealthiest aristocratic residences singularly enjoyed daily luxuries. An investigation employing seventeenth-century inventories, the 1641 Depositions, and archaeological findings may allow historians to construct a new – albeit incomplete—narrative of daily life in plantation Ireland.

Historians studying material possessions in Ireland have probed particular accessories to investigate the expression of ethnic identity and often grant complex meanings to various

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[1] TCD, 1641 Depositions Project, online transcript of the Deposition of Sir Hardress Waller, MS 829, fols 284r-290v [accessed June 2014]. All the following cited depositions have been retrieved online from: http://1641.tcd.ie. For more concerning Hardress Waller, see Patrick Litte, 'Waller, Sir Hardress (c. 1604-1666)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.* Available from: http://www.oxforddnb.com [accessed August 2016].
[2] Toby C. Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure: Lives and Possessions in Ireland, 1641-1770* (London, 2004) p. 84.
[3] Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure*, p. 84.
[4] Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure*, p. 87.

items concerning cultural loyalties. Objects are read 'as evidence of the assimilation of the island to the modes and manners of its immediate neighbours.'[5] Because of this, work relating to Irish material culture often divides into the rival groups of Irish or English, and Catholic or Protestant.[6] This chapter will draw out such cultural indicators, however its purpose will not be to embark upon the treacherous task of categorising possessions into two distinct religious and ethnic groups. The depositions can postulate categories as they were perceived by the deponents, but the ambiguity of the domestic economy and the population's loyalties impedes complete clarity. As Horning argued, 'material culture becomes less a reflection of identity than an active constituent in dynamic processes of identity formation.'[7]

Yet, some social differences must be addressed that occurred within English and Irish conceptions of space—namely the notion of a private arena. During the early modern period, the internal features of an elite English home became increasingly defined by the ideas of comfort and privacy. Philippe Ariès proclaimed that England was 'the birthplace of privacy' and Donald R. Kelly pointed to common law as a reason for English 'property fetish.'[8] A concern for inheritance and private property became 'the overriding issue…in English civil society.'[9] In *Private Matters and Public Culture,* Lena Orlin identified this idea of private property in both real and moveable forms that had been pushed to its pinnacle in sixteenth-century England following the Reformation. Foreign travellers' perceived lack of privacy upon their visits to Ireland heavily coloured their written accounts, of which historians should be wary. The domestic interior became another means to assess the civility of the indigenous population.

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[5] Toby C. Barnard, *A Guide to Sources for the History of Material Culture in Ireland 1500-2000* (Dublin, 2005) p. 1.

[6] For cases drawing out issues concerning religious or ethnic identity, see Clodagh Tait, '"Legacie upon my soul": The Wills of the Irish Catholic Community, c.1550-1660', in Robert Armstrong and Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin (eds), *Community in Early Modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2006) pp. 178-98; Audrey J. Horning, 'Clothing and Colonialism: The Dungivon Costume and the Refashioning of Early Modern Identities', *Journal of Social Archaeology* 14, no. 3 (2014), pp. 296-318. For identity in a broader sense, see Helen Berry, 'Regional Identity and Material Culture', in Karen Harvey (ed.), *History and Material Culture: A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources* (London, 2009) pp. 139-57.

[7] Audrey J. Horning, *Ireland and the Virginian Sea: Colonialism in the British Atlantic* (North Carolina, 2013) pp. 11-12. See also Bhabha's discussion of cultural hybridity in Homi K. Bhabha*, The Location of Culture* (London, 1994).

[8] Philippe Ariès, 'Introduction' in Phlippe Ariés and Georges Duby (eds), *A History of Private Life: Vol. 3. Passions of the Renaissance* (London, 1989) p. 5; Lena Cowen Orlin, *Private Matters and Public Culture in Post-Reformation England* (London, 1994) pp. 1-2.

[9] Donald R. Kelly, *The Human Measure: Social Thought in the Western Legal Tradition* (Cambridge, 1990) pp. 167-71.

Like inventories, the depositions described the supply of goods at a single moment rather than consumption activity across a lifetime.[10] As Mark Overton has stated, inventories recorded durable goods that reflected both household consumption, but also investment. This tendency to emphasise goods of transcendent value buries evidence of ephemeral or intangible consumption, such as foodstuffs, services, or children's toys.[11] Archaeological excavations presented inkwells, clay pipes, stone querns, and wooden vessels—objects that are invisible in most inventories.[12] In the case of inventories, Overton suggested that it is safer to discuss the material culture, meaning 'the world of goods as it exists and given meaning by the inhabitants of that world,' rather than the consumption of the population.[13] The depositions, however, do reveal some more ephemeral goods, including household provisions, garden fruits and wooden objects. On some level, therefore, consumption can be investigated.

Susan Flavin has provided an invaluable resource for the beginning of this investigation by drawing out the consumption of several household items, as well as the material culture of cooking, eating and drinking in the sixteenth-century.[14] Using the Bristol port books as her primary source, Flavin contextualised goods destined for Ireland to extract their importance in Ireland's economy within a wider European perspective. Research in a similar vein can be extended into the seventeenth-century to incorporate integral household items such as furniture, which is something port books infrequently record. While many depositions presented a static inventory, other accounts pointed to nuanced expressions of the objects' roles in society within a narrative structure. Consequently, a quantitative approach will not be attempted to plot the popularity of objects. Rather, objects will be assessed according to their context within the depositions. Acts of burglary and violence can illuminate ideas intrinsically tied to household goods, including inheritance, privacy, and status. Where possible, additional sources will be included such as inventories from the *Pleas in the Sheriffs Court Dublin* collected between 1638 and 1639; as well as printed wills and inventories to explore the material culture of the interior through the activities of sleeping, sitting, storing and decoration. While the exterior of a home may not have always served as a reliable indication of its owners' socioeconomic status, the contents of their homes may provide more concrete clues concerning the intimate lives of those living in a changing early modern world.

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[10] Mark Overton et al. (eds), *Production and Consumption in English Households, 1600-1750* (London, 2004) p. 87.
[11] Overton, *Production and Consumption*, p. 87.
[12] For example, see Ellen Prendergast and A. T. Lucas, 'National Museum of Ireland Archaeological Acquisitions in Year 1960', *JRSAI* 92, no. 2 (1962), pp. 161-8.
[13] Overton, *Production and Consumption*, p. 88.
[14] Susan Flavin, *Consumption and Culture in Sixteenth-Century Ireland: Saffron, Stockings and Silk* (Woodbridge, 2014).

Furniture

In 1644, the minster of Dysart in Co. Laois mourned the destruction of his beautifully fitted home 'with furniture in a plentiful measure and manner.'[15] Unlike the barren descriptions of contemptible Irish dwellings, the minister's house would provide enough furniture to accommodate his wife, sister, nine children (eight of them step-children) and six servants. Many of his household items were most likely incorporated into the home when he married his wife, the relict of Thomas Barrington. While the minister made no mention of the look of furniture pieces, many objects would have been valued by its purchasers according to its decoration and colour. The seventeenth-century saw a dramatic transformation in the furniture of the elite with the appearance of novel styles, materials and veneers.[16] Price was ultimately determined by the rarity of wood and 'virtuosity of the fashioning', and furniture could be decorated by carving, painting or using rough inlay.[17]

The 'plentiful' description of the Protestant minister's furniture laid in direct opposition to accounts of the native Irish. In 1620, Luke Gernon described the uninspiring sleeping conditions of a guest in an Irish home: 'When you come to your chamber, do not expect canopy and curtaynes. It is very well if your bedd content you, and if the company be greate, you may happen to be bodkin in the middle.'[18] Due to an absence of native wills and inventories, discussion of Irish furniture primarily stems from visitors' accounts of Irish hospitality. The French traveller François de la Boullaye Le Gouz wrote:

> They have little furniture, and cover their rooms with rushes, of which they make their beds in summer, and of straw in winter. They put the rushes a foot deep on their floors, and on their windows, and many of them ornament the ceilings with branches.[19]

The lack of furniture troubled foreign visitors who were accustomed to a different standard of amenity that ensured personal privacy and comfort.[20] Richard Stanihurst's experience of an Irish noble's feast described seating and mattresses made of straw.[21] Other social scenes

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[15] TCD, Deposition of Jonathan Hoyle, MS 815, fols 330r-333v [accessed June 2015].
[16] David Knell, *English Country Furniture: The National and Regional Vernacular 1500-1900* (London, 1992) p. 45.
[17] Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure*, p. 124; Overton, *Production and Consumption*, p. 96.
[18] Luke Gernon, *A Discourse of Ireland* (1620) p. 361. Available at CELT from: http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/E620001 [accessed October 2014].
[19] François de La Boullaye de la Gouz, *The Tour of the French Traveller M. de La Boullaye Le Gouz in Ireland* (1644) p. 41. Available at CELT from: http://celt.ucc.ie/published/T100076 [accessed October 2014].
[20] For discussion of comfort, see John E. Crowley, *Invention of Comfort*: *Sensibilities and Design in Early Modern Britain and Early American* (London, 2000).
[21] Raphaell Holinshed, *Irish Chronicle,* edited by L. Miller and E. Power (Dublin, 1979) p. 113.

detailed by Fynes Moryson featured a 'poor house of clay' or a 'cabin made of the boughs of trees and covered with turf' with a central fire and no seating so that guests were inhospitably forced to sit on the ground.[22] For the Irish population, furniture seemed to be a completely alien concept.

Folklore studies have sought to carry this tradition of sparse furnishings throughout Irish history, and linked better quality thatched houses and the presence of built in ovens to seventeenth-century planters.[23] In the context of these cabins, it is important to remember that there were no room partitions, implying that most furniture, if any, had to be positioned against the walls to leave the floor and hearth area clear.[24] Alan Gailey discussed 'the older tradition' of eating in the kitchen which lacked a table: '…the family and guests, if any, sat about the fire to eat, not in frequently from a common dish or basket.' While it is not clear how broadly this 'older tradition' applied, it has come to fog the historical memory and perhaps over romanticise sparse living conditions.[25]

Yet, despite these accounts of a bare Irish home, the mention of houses and furnishings in bardic poetry during the seventeenth-century suggested that material culture was growing in importance as a means to describe status.[26] In *Courtier and Rebel,* the poet praised Eó ghan Bán for upholding his traditional life: he 'has no longing for a feather bed, he had rather lie upon rushes.'[27] Gaelic literature lamented many Irishmen's engagement with the lavish material possessions of the Tudor courtier. Ornamental luxuries, such as a gold ring, '…would only be irksome.' Due to the Irish poet's occupation, however, he would have rejected material objects. The practice of his craft required a dark space without distracting furniture or light. The only internal features were 'a Table, some Seats, and a Conveniency for Cloaths to hang upon.'[28] The poet's very existence relied upon the preservation of this old Gaelic world, and as the only source of native literature, the poetry of the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries portrayed an emphatic opposition to English influence that may or may not have been felt by the remainder of Irish society.[29]

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[22] Henry Morley (ed.), *Ireland under Elizabeth and James I* (London, 1890) p. 430.
[23] Alan Gailey, 'Kitchen Furniture', *Ulster Folkilife* 12 (1966), p. 23; F. H. Aalen, 'Furnishings of Traditional Houses in the Wicklow Hills', *Ulster Folklife* 13 (1967), pp. 61-8.
[24] Gailey, 'Kitchen Furniture', pp. 18-34.
[25] Gailey, 'Kitchen Furniture', p. 23.
[26] Raymond Gillespie, 'The Problem of Plantations: Material Culture and Social Change in Early Modern Ireland', in James Lyttleton and Colin Rynne (eds), *Plantation Ireland: Settlement and Material Culture, c. 1500-c. 1700,* (Dublin, 2009) pp. 55-6.
[27] Osborn Bergin, David Greene and Fergus Kelly (eds), *Irish Bardic Poetry: Texts and Translations, Together with an Introductory Lecture by Osborn Bergin; With a Foreword by D.A. Binchy* (Dublin, 1970) pp. 231-2.
[28] Cited in Bergin, Greene and Kelly, *Irish Bardic Poetry*, pp. 5-8.
[29] For more on bardic poetry and Gaelic identity, see Brendan Bradshaw, 'Native Reaction to the Westward Enterprise: A Case Study in Gaelic Ideology', in Kenneth R. Andrews, Nicholas P. Canny and Paul E. Hair

However, poets' words were not always critical of luxury. In the late sixteenth-century, poems captured the material prosperity of the Gaelic elite as an offer of praise. Tadhg Dall Ó Huiginn's description of Lifford Castle in Co. Tyrone remembered the lofty building's '…tables, its coverlets, its cupboards; its wonderous, handsome, firm walls, its smooth marble arches.' It was a scene of intellect where visitors would have spent 'a while at chess-playing, a while with the daughters of the men of Bregia, a while with the fair books of the poets.'[30] In the 'fair castle' of Enniskillen, mattresses of down 'were prepared for the noblest of the alert, instructed host.'[31]

One of the few wills of native Irish origin left to historians is that of Sir John MacCoghlan, chief of Delvin-MacCoghlan. In 1590, Sir John MacCoghlan's household possessions suggested that his fortune rested primarily in his cattle when he gifted cows to various churches and descendants. A similar trend emerged in the 1610 will of Donagh O'Brien of 'Clanbegin', Co. Waterford who left various cows to his wife, daughter and cousin.[32] However, the chief of Delvin-MacCoghlan also possessed dishes, 'hauberks', pots, flagons, vessels, and pewter including one large pan that he inherited from his mother. His six silver vessels called English 'tonna' and two cups 'made in his own name' were also listed. While Sir MacCoghlan stated he had various pieces of furniture, he did not specify further.[33] James Lyttleton suggested that his furniture would have featured a functional collection of benches, stools, boxes, and work-tables, as well as pieces meant to demonstrate status such as a master's chair, dining tables, display cupboards, storage chests and bedsteads.[34] Such furniture could be typically found in elite residences of tower-houses and would be ornamented with heraldic devices and rich cloth to reflect the status of their owners. Customarily, they were constructed from oak, ash, elm and sycamore. Luxurious native

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(eds), *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic and America, 1480-1650* (Liverpool, 1978) pp. 66-80; T. J. Dunne, 'The Gaelic Response to Conquest and Colonisation: Evidence of the Poetry', *Studia Hibernica*, no. 20 (1980), pp. 7-30; Nicholas P. Canny, 'The Formation of the Irish Mind: Religion, Politics and Gaelic Irish Literature, 1580-1750', *Past & Present,* no. 95 (1982), pp. 91-116; Bernadatte Cunningham, 'Native Culture and Political Change in Ireland, 1580-1640', in Ciaran Brady and Raymond Gillespie (eds), *Natives and Newcomers: Essays on the Making of Irish Colonial Society, 1534-1641* (Dublin, 1986) pp. 148-70; Michelle O Riodan, *The Gaelic Mind and the Collapse of the Gaelic World* (Cork, 1990); Steven G. Ellis, 'The Collape of the Gaelic World, 1450-1650', *Irish Historical Studies* 31, no. 124 (1999), pp. 449-69.

[30] Tadhg Dall Ó Huiginn, 'Lifford Castle', in Eleanor Knott (ed.) *The Bardic Poems of Tadhg Dall Ó Huiginn 1550-1591* (London, 1922) p. 24. Available at CELT from: http://celt.ucc.ie/published/T402563/index.html [accessed April 2017].

[31] Tadhg Dall Ó Huiginn, 'Enniskillen', in Eleanor Knott (ed.) *The Bardic Poems of Tadhg Dall Ó Huiginn 1550-1591* (London, 1922) p. 51. Available at CELT from: http://celt.ucc.ie/published/T402563/index.html [accessed April 2017].

[32] Ormonde Papers, NLI, MS 48,377/1.

[33] Walter Fitzgerald, 'Notes on Sir John MacCoghlan, Knight of Cloghan, Chief of Delvin-MacCoghlan, Who Died in 1590', *JRSAI* 43 (1913), pp. 223-31.

[34] James Lyttleton, *The Jacobean Plantations in Seventeenth-Century Offaly: An Archaeology of a Changing World* (Dublin, 2013) pp. 77-8.

woods, such as walnut and spruce, also could have been used as well as imported cypress, yew tree, and juniper.[35]

As discussed in the chapter on architecture, native elites began incorporating aspects of English styled homes within their defensive tower-houses. Susan Flavin's research on the sixteenth-century port books presented parallel changes in the Irish economy to those occurring in England and the Continent, aided by the presence of Irish merchants in the European market.[36] The recent excavation at Rathfarnham Castle proposed that those living in Ireland had access to rare and extravagant materials when archaeologists stumbled upon a trove of rare artefacts, including exotic fruits, wine glasses and jewellery.[37]

Although indigenous inhabitants were subject to the settlers' legal system, traditional ways of thinking about space may not have been so easily shaken. As explored in the chapter on domestic building, the *creaght* remained to be an important aspect of Irish life up until the seventeenth-century that allowed for transhumance as well as quick military mobilisation. Would impermanent homes devalue investment in material possessions and elevate the prestige of livestock ownership?[38] One must remain conscious that travellers' accounts often compared the impoverished native Irish home with the domestic image of the elite in South East England. This obstructed an appreciation for the development of elite Irish society, but also ignored the economic realties that defined common Irish vernacular.[39]

The depositions remain silent on the state of Irish furniture; however, much can be gleaned from the insurgents' interaction with the wooden fixtures of the Protestant victims' homes. Due to the lack of explicit physical descriptions, this chapter separates objects according to their domestic activity. The beds, tables, chairs, benches and cabinets described within the documents uncover functional as well as cultural implications of sleeping, sitting and storing. Interior decoration and evidence of luxury consumption and production will also be addressed to lend to a discussion about the Irish economy. The aim of this chapter is to

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[35] See Victor Chinnery, 'Barryscourt Refurbished: The Reinstatement of a Late Sixteenth-Century Irish Domestic Interior', in John Ludlow and Noel Jameson (eds), *The Barryscourt Lectures* (Cork, 2004) pp. 177-224. See also Lyttleton, *The Jacobean Plantations,* p. 78.
[36] See Flavin, *Culture and Consumption,* p. 34-57.
[37] For reports of the excavation, see Antoine Giacometti, 'Rathfarnham Castle 2014 Excavation', *Archaeology Plan: Heritage Solutions.* Available from: https://www.archaeologyplan.com/rathfarnham-castle [accessed September 2016].
[38] For more on livestock ownership, see L. A. Clarkson and E. Crawford, *Feast and Famine: Food and Nutrition in Ireland, 1500-1920* (Oxford, 2001) p. 25. For lack of permancy and investment, see Matthew H. Johnson, 'Rethinking Houses, Rethinking Transitions: Of Vernacular Architecture, Ordinary People and Everyday Culture', in David Gaimster and Paul Stamper (eds), *The Age of Transition: Archaeology of English Culture 1400-1600* (Oxford, 1997) p. 152.
[39] Crowley, *Invention of Comfort,* p. 78.

explore what these treasured objects communicated both in an early modern context as well as in the unique context of the 1641 rebellion.

Sleeping

The bed played a fundamental role in the depositions to heighten the sense of violence felt by traumatised deponents. In 1641, women heavy with child and men weakened by fever were cruelly turned out of their mattresses in the middle of cold winter nights, often with the result of their early deaths.[40] Beds established a sense of security within a household because they provide shelter for individuals in their most vulnerable state. Due to this acknowledged state of defencelessness, robberies in England that took place at night were considered more intrusive than those committed during the day and received far stricter punishments.[41] The rebellion eliminated any sense of domestic tranquillity that the bed brought for critical moments of the human experience such as childbirth, marriage, sickness and death. Ultimately, it denied dying individuals of their 'final moment' that offered them salvation.[42] 'Comfort' in this spiritual sense emerged in the commentary of sixteenth-century English physicians who described sleep's ability to 'comforte all the naturall, and anymall, and sprytuall powers of man.' In this statement, Andrew Boorde prescribed man's specific need for quilts, a feather bed and white fustian coverings.[43]

For the English, the bed, along with a permanent house, was a 'metonym of '"civility."'[44] Edmund Spenser had denounced native 'woodkerns' by proposing that they employed their woollen mantles as mattresses: 'It is his Bedd', Spenser wrote, 'yea and almost all his household stuffd. For the wood is his howse against all wethers, and his mantle his cave to sleepe in.'[45] As previously discussed, in times of war, the Irish poets praised the egalitarian and utilitarian nature of the mantle.[46] Nevertheless, for the English, the absence of a bed came to symbolise the population's nomadic lifestyle and its relentless backwardness.

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[40] For example, see TCD, Deposition of Robert Maxwell, MS 809, fols 005r-012v [accessed June 2015].
[41] J. A. Sharpe, *Crime in Early Modern England: 1550-1750* (London, 1998).
[42] Richard Wunderli and Gerard Broce, 'The Final Moment before Death in Early Modern England', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 20, no. 2 (1989), pp. 259-75; Sarah Ann Robin, 'The Public and Private Realms in the Seventeenth Century', *The Luminary. Issue 3: Sleep(less) Beds* (2013), pp. 62-73.
[43] See Crowley, *Invention of Comfort,* pp. 75-6.
[44] Crowley, *Invention of Comfort*, p. 76.
[45] Edmund Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland*. Available at CELT from: http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/E500000-001 [accessed October 2014].
[46] See chapter 'The Person: The Material Culture of Dress', p. 113.

In contrast, England had incorporated new standards of accommodation across regions and social classes. In 1577, William Harrison observed that 'three or four feather beds, so many coverlets,' and bedsteads were no longer reserved to nobles, gentry, and merchants, but were enjoyed by select farmers and 'inferior artificers.'[47] In the 1650s, flock beds stuffed with wool could be found in stables and outbuildings, and servants indulged in the comfort of a feather bed.[48]Across all households, beds were often the most expensive and decorative items of furniture.[49] Investment in bedding reached its peak in areas of England during the seventeenth-century. Wills showed that individuals often placed greater wealth in bedding than apparel, linen, brass, pewter, plate and jewellery.[50] Beds' expense foretold the items' tendency to be passed down through the generations. In the will of Thomas Smith, a Cork resident, he bequeathed his featherbed and bedding to his daughter Martha.[51] As Sarti's assessment of European sleeping accommodation demonstrated, increased investment was not unique to England. In the sixteenth-century, the desire for private sleeping arrangements inspired elites to go as far as build a second bedroom: one for 'show' and one for private use.[52]

Unlike the Irish experience described by Luke Gernon, the beds listed in the depositions would not provide a shared sleeping space. Documents regularly featured multiple beds in the homes of deponents that attested to the size of affluent households. In Co. Laois, Walter Gilbert's home had space for twelve beds. [53] Rebels plundered nine flock beds and five feather beds, including their bedsteads, from William Golburn in Co. Kildare.[54] According to his servant, Nicholas White had fifteen bedsteads in his possession before the rebellion.[55] For the less well-to-do, however, having a bedfellow was largely a product of circumstance. Sarah Ann Robins described a colourful scene of varying sleeping accommodation, from the English couple in an inherited poster bed, to the yeoman sleeping with his cat and dog in his oak

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[47] William Harrison, *Description of England* (London, 1577) pp. 200-2.
[48] Crowley, *Invention of Comfort,* p. 74.
[49] Jane Whittle and Elizabeth Griffiths, *Consumption and Gender in the Early Seventeenth-Century Household: The World of Alice Le Strange* (Oxford, 2012) p. 132*;* Natalie Rothstein and Santina M. Levey, 'Furnishings, c. 1500-1780', in David T. Jenkins (ed.), *Cambridge History of Western Textiles* (Cambridge, 2003) p. 633; Carole Shammas, *The Pre-Industrial Consumer in England and America* (Oxford, 1990) pp. 170-1; Fredrick G. Emmison, *Elizabethan Life: Home, Work and Land* (Essex, 1976) p. 12.
[50] Carole Shammas, 'The Domestic Environment in Early Modern England and America', *Journal of Social History* 14, no. 1 (1980), pp. 3-24.
[51] John Ainsworth, 'Abstracts of 17th Century Irish Wills in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury', *JRSAI* 78 (1948), p. 29. For beds in the context of inheritance and marriage, see Raffaella Sarti, *Europe at Home: Family and Material Culture, 1500-1800* (London, 2002) p. 46.
[52] Sarti, *Europe at Home*, p. 130.
[53] TCD, Deposition of Grace Gilbert, MS 815, fols 199r-199v [accessed June 2015].
[54] TCD, Deposition of William Golburn, MS 813, fols 273r-274r [accessed June 2015].
[55] TCD, Deposition of Hugh Vaudery, MS 813, fols 241r-241v [accessed June 2015].

framed mattress.[56] Similar scenes could be seen across Europe. As Sarti explained, it was 'not uncommon for families [in sixteenth-century Venice] only to own mattresses in some cases straw mattress.' In Paris, shared sleeping arrangements were usual in the lower classes up until the early eighteenth-century. Overall, Sarti declared, 'beds were a more crowded and promiscuous affair then they are today.'[57]

In Antony Buxton's investigation of Oxfordshire inventories, the term bed and bedstead implied different furniture and often a different level of prosperity.[58] Those with bedsteads most likely enjoyed wooden furniture that lifted the bed off the ground. Still, these items were less costly than their textile accompaniments, feather and flock mattresses, and coverlets.[59] Like several other deponents, Hugh Madden, a native Protestant living in Co. Wicklow, listed his bed separately from his bedstead.[60] As the inventory of the widow Eleanor Luttrell revealed, bedsteads could be made of wainscot, or 'half-headed', which indicated a lack of decoration on the lower heard-board. This style was a more financially astute option for middling households.[61] However, the furniture was not exclusively constructed from wood. Henry Brabazon described his down feathered bed with pewter and brass fittings highly valued at £20.[62] More often than not, bedsteads appeared in the reports of the gentry, ministers or clerks.[63] A joiner, who likely built his own bedstead, was one of the few less affluent individuals claiming the loss of this item.[64] The presence of bedsteads, however, may have been obscured under the terms of 'household goods', 'furniture', or even the term 'bed' itself.[65] The tanner William Leighe living in Co. Wexford, reported the loss of two beds with their furniture worth £4.[66] Inventories from Dublin yeomen, vintners and shoemakers listed the presence of bedsteads, flock beds and feathered beds in the home of the non-elite. One of these merchants kept a bedstead in the chamber within his kitchen, which may attest to a variety of social practices. Beds were left in kitchens for an aging family

[56] Robins, 'The Public and Private Realms', p. 62.
[57] Sarti, *Europe at Home*, pp. 121-3.
[58] Antony Buxton, *Domestic Culture in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge, 2015) pp. 176-83.
[59] Shammas, 'The Domestic Environment in Early Modern England and America', p. 8.
[60] TCD, Deposition of Hugh Madden, MS 811, fols 074r-074v. For further examples, see Deposition of Edmond Keatinge, MS 813, fols 233r-235v; Deposition of Hugh Vaudery, MS 813, fols 241r-241v; Deposition of William Golburn, MS 813, fols 273r-274r [accessed June 2015].
[61] Inventory of Ellinor Luttrell, *Pleas in the Sheriffs Court Dublin*, BL, Add. MS 11687, fols 125-126; Knell, *English Country Furniture*, pp. 72-3.
[62] TCD, Deposition of Henry Brabazon, MS 811, fols 030r-030v [accessed June 2015].
[63] For clerk, see TCD, Deposition of Robert Hamilton, MS 821, fols 017r-24v [accessed June 2015].
[64] TCD, Deposition of Beniamin Willomet, MS 815, fols 294r-294v [accessed June 2015].
[65] Knell, *English Country Furniture*, p. 74.
[66] TCD, Deposition of William Leighe, MS 818, fols 119r-120r [accessed June 2015].

member who could no longer climb stairs, to provide sleeping quarters for a maidservant near her place of work, or to store furniture no longer in use.[67]

Unfortunately, the variety of bed forms was not always apparent in the depositions. Evidence elsewhere pointed to the presence of settle beds (adaptively used as a seat), trundle beds, and standing beds in the early modern household.[68] This variety existed within the single household of the Waterford merchant John Skiddy.[69] In 1603, Edward Diggs (sergeant-major of the army in Loughfoyle) bequeathed his prized standing bed in his house in Lifford to a lieutenant Applegate.[70] Yorkshire inventories from the same time period demonstrated that trundle beds were typically low-framed pieces mounted on wheels that would be stored underneath higher beds to increase sleeping accommodation.[71] Carpenters living in Dublin kept trundle beds with mats and cords in their homes three years before rebellion.[72] While the depositions failed to address these differences in form, they did describe assorted decorative elements. In Co. Cavan, Paul Mitchell had been robbed of his three feather beds and two flock beds as well as curtains and valances.[73] This canopied style created an atmosphere of privacy that was becoming increasingly more important to the elite. The curtains and woodwork separated the occupant from the bustling domestic space allowing for sleep, reflection, shelter and sexual intercourse.[74] Other instances of this luxurious sleeping arrangement appeared in the depositions of Francis Knight, Willliam Browne and Sir Hardress Waller.[75] Waller's inventory claimed the presence of eleven down feathered beds, six flocks beds with bolsters (stuffed pillows), blankets, rugs and caddows (a rough woollen covering) valued at £80.[76] Two of these beds presented canopies of 'cloth of tissue' while the remaining had curtains and valances of 'cloth and stuff.'[77] In Dublin, Sarah Darworthy slept in a bedstead of 'Indian work' encased with curtains of coloured prints.[78] This private sleeping arrangement was even accessible to those outside the gentry class. The Dublin vintner Anthony Rookes's inventory

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[67] Inventory of Richard Walsh, *Pleas in the Sheriffs Court Dublin,* BL, Add. MS 11687, fol. 123. For a discussion of bedsteads in kitchens, see Sasha Handley, *Sleep in Early Modern England* (New Haven, 2016) p. 112
[68] See 'settle-bed, n.', *OED Online.* Available from: http://www.oed.com [accessed November 2015].
[69] Walton, 'The Household Effects of a Waterford Merchant Family', p. 102.
[70] Will of Edward Digges, Serjeant Major to Her Majesty's Army of Loughfoyle of Ireland (27 January 1603), TNA, PROB 11/101/57. Also Available from: http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/D938014 [accessed August 2017].
[71] Peter C. Brears (ed.), *Yorkshire Probate Inventories 1542-1689* (Kendal, 1972) p. xi.
[72] Inventory of Richard Tailor, *Please in the Sheriffs Court Dublin,* BL, Add. MS 11687, fol. 153.
[73] TCD, Deposition of Paull Mitchell, MS 833, fols 02r-027v [accessed June 2015].
[74] Sarti, *Europe at Home*, pp. 120-1; Robin, 'The Public and Private Realms', pp. 62-70.
[75] TCD, Deposition of Frances Knight, MS 835, fols 126r-127v; Deposition of Paull Mitchell, MS 833, fols 02r-027v; Deposition of William Browne, MS 831, fols 062r-062v [accessed June 2015].
[76] 'caddow, n.2', *OED Online.* Available from: http://www.oed.com [accessed March 2016].
[77] TCD, Deposition of Sir Hardress Waller, MS 829, fols 284r-290v [accessed June 2014].
[78] Inventory of Sarah Darworthy, *Pleas in the Sheriffs Court Dublin*, BL, Add. MS 11687, fol. 145.

listed three curtains with valances of 'stripped stuff' for one side of his bed.[79] Merchants such as William Smith appeared to specialise in the sale of sleeping related items. When rebels attacked Co. Cavan, the merchant lost thirty tie beds with their bedsteads as well as forty-four pairs of sheets.[80]

Owing to their value, beds became items of desire for insurgents. Featherbeds and bedsteads were plundered from houses in Cos Wexford, Kildare and Dublin.[81] On occasion they were reincorporated into the new owners' elite homes. James Clandalke reported that George Cheevers looted two feather beds from an England-bound ship and placed them in his hall in Co. Wexford.[82] Bedsteads were often initially left behind due to their weight and difficulty to carry.[83] Thieves, however, did not always value beds for their use in slumber. Martha Slacke angrily remembered how rebels 'took out my feather beds ript them vp and threw the feathers on the dunghill…' Yet, this reoccurring act did hold a practical use. Rebels employed the empty sacks to carry goods of perceived higher value such as linen and other smaller wares.[84]

In elite homes, the bed would become a site of refuge, placed in a private room and enshrined with curtains to isolate oneself from the outside world. Symbolically, as Crowley proposed, the bed (as well as the chimney) 'had priority in early modern English accommodation. They involved the greatest expense and they drew the most visual attention.'[85] When insurgents pillaged these costly—and often inherited—items, victims mourned the loss of a prestigious as well as comforting place to lay their heads. For English deponents, the violence committed against their beds symbolised an attack upon civil society.

Seating

With a table and a chair, one could partake in eating, writing and—as the character Robinson Crusoe stated– 'do several things with so much pleasure.' *Robinson Crusoe*, a narrative of 'realistic fiction', described the main character's needs in a foreign landscape, of

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[79] Inventory of Anthony Rookes, *Pleas in the Sheriffs Court Dublin*, BL, Add. MS 11687, fols 128-129.
[80] TCD, Deposition of William Smith, MS 833, fols 189r-190v [accessed 2015].
[81] TCD, Deposition of William Dynes, MS 813, fols 360r-360v; Examination of George Cannon, MS 819, fols 239r-239v; Deposition of Henry Partington, MS 810, fols 171r-172v [accessed June 2015].
[82] TCD, Examination of James Clandalke re George Cheevers, MS 818, fols 247r-248r [accessed June 2015]. For a potential site of the tower-house, see NMS, *Archaeological Survey of Ireland*, Reference Number WX042-020002-. Available from: http://webgis.archaeology.ie/historicenvironment [accessed May 2016].
[83] TCD, Deposition of [H] Bringhurst, MS 831, fols 201v-208v; Examination of John Curtis, MS 819, fols 034r-034v [accessed December 2014].
[84] TCD, Deposition of Margaret Rawson, MS 813, fols 246r-246v [accessed June 2015].
[85] Crowley, *Invention of Comfort,* p. 78.

which John Crowley argued 'would not have been out of place for the third quarter of the seventeenth century.'[86] While visiting Irish homes, Fynes Moryson would have likely agreed with Crusoe as he gazed disapprovingly at the dirty earthen floor of the turf-covered cabins. The desire for seats pointed to developing ideas of cleanliness that had been employed to wage a war against vernacular buildings, specifically their foul floors that collected the filth of their inhabitants.[87] Chairs, stools and benches additionally upheld civility by catering to the acts of reading and writing. Without a place to sit, a home's private study failed to fulfil the ideal humanist environment.[88]

An analysis of seating described in Irish documents pointed to changes in the social dynamic of the home occurring elsewhere in the early modern period. Inventories taken from Kent and Cornwall from the seventeenth and early eighteenth-century showed the growth in chairs and diminishment of traditional benches.[89] The prevalence of chairs and stools in the depositions signalled a similar trend within the deponent population. Only three cases revealed the use of benches. Henry Bringhurst's deposition is the single account in which benches were the exclusive seating type.[90] In the remaining relevant depositions, 'forms', or benches, appeared among a mixture of seating arrangements.[91]

Benches would become less practical with the emergence of circular dining surfaces.[92] In Dublin, Owen Weston's array of blue chairs, wainscot backed chairs, and stools spoke to the size and shape of his playing tables and round dinning table.[93] Eleanor Luttrell's collection of square tables, on the other hand, could easily accommodate her three benches, footed chairs and stools.[94] The inventories from Dublin showed that many living in the county possessed detachable table boards.[95] Overton's work on Cornish inventories revealed that this table type was common to households in Cornwall with the conclusion that, 'the popularity of the Cornish table board indicates the persistence of a local tradition of furniture which, when compared with the furniture in contemporary Kentish households, appears to have been little

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[86] Crowley, *Invention of Comfort*, p. 156.
[87] Crowley, *Invention of Comfort*, p. 49.
[88] Crowley, *Invention of Comfort*, p. 72.
[89] Overton, *Production and Consumption*, pp. 93-4.
[90] TCD, Deposition of [H] Bringhurst, MS 831, fols 201v-208v [accessed December 2014].
[91] TCD, Deposition of Sir Hardress Waller, MS 829, fols 284r-290v; Deposition of Henrie Brabazon, MS 811, fols 030r-030v [accessed June 2015].
[92] For an example of a round table, see TCD, Deposition of Edmund Welsh, MS 814, fols 118r-118v [accessed June 2015].
[93] Inventory of O. Weston, *Pleas in the Sheriffs Court of Dublin*, BL, Add. MS 11687, fols 124-125.
[94] Inventory of Ellinor Luttrell, *Pleas in the Sheriffs Court of Dublin*, BL, Add. MS 11687, fols 125-126.
[95] Inventory of Richard Walsh; Inventory of O. Weston; Inventory of Elinnor Luttrell; Inventory of John Robinson, *Pleas in the Sheriffs Court of Dublin*, BL, Add. MS 11687, fol. 123v; fols 124-125; fols 125-126; fol. 151.

affected by new fashions.'[96] Yet, the appearance of circular tables indicated a changing social dynamic of the seventeenth-century that was spreading into Ireland as affluent households engaged with their social peers in the already spatially divided home.[97]

Overton noted that stools increased in number in Kent alongside chairs. His reasoning for this positive trend was the fact that many stools were upholstered. Upholstered stools featured in households of Waterford merchants, knights in Limerick and Offaly, and the Ulster Catholic gentry.[98] These objects were decorated with turkey-work (often made in Europe to imitate the look of Turkish or Eastern styles), embroidery or coloured cloths; and they were often described by their joint framed construction.[99]

To cover less visually impressive seating, homeowners used thick (and often woollen) carpets.[100] Overton argued that this medieval tradition began fading following the development of improved furniture construction and decorative techniques, however, the peak of this practice occurred in the 1650s.[101] Carpets could be found in the inventories of various mercantile and aristocratic households (as well as used for decoration inside churches) during the first half of the seventeenth-century.[102] Cushions functioned in a similar capacity, but also supplied a level of physical comfort. Without these items, 'wanscot stooles [were] so hard that since great breeches were layd aside, men can scant endewr to sitt upon.'[103] In craftsmen's homes, old cushions provided greater comfort to stools tirelessly employed for their work.[104] Depositions described cushions covering chairs and stools in homes in Cos Sligo, Longford, Wicklow, Limerick and Offaly with examples of embroidered, silk cushions lavishly festooning the seating of the elite.[105] Jane Fenlon noted a long cushion in the

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[96] Overton, *Production and Consumption*, p. 95.
[97] For further discussion, see Buxton, *Domestic Culture of Early Modern England,* p. 150.
[98] Walton, 'The Household Effects of a Waterford Merchant Family in 1640', pp 99-105; Brian Mac Cuarta (ed.), 'A Planter's Funeral, Legacies, and Inventory: Sir Matthew De Renzy (1577-1634)', *JRSAI* 127 (1997), pp. 18-33; Hector MacDonnell, 'A Seventeenth Century Inventory from Dunluce Castle, County Antrim', *JRSAI* 122 (1992), pp. 116-7.
[99] For turkey-work, see Jane Fenlon, *Goods and Chattels: A Survey of Early Household Inventories in Ireland* (Dublin, 2003) p. 18. For joint stools, see Buxton, *Domestic Culture in Early Modern England,* p. 137.
[100] 'carpet, n.', *OED Online.* Available from: http://www.oed.com [accessed August 2017].
[101] Overton, *Production and Consumption,* pp. 94-5.
[102] TCD, Deposition of Sir Hardress Waller, MS 829, fols 284r-290v; Deposition of William Browne, MS 831, fols 062r-062v; Deposition of William Timmes, MS 821, fols 187r-196v; Deposition of Nathaniel Hollington, MS 817, fols 148r-149v [accessed June 2015]. Walton, 'The Household Effects', p. 102.
[103] As cited in Buxton, *Domestic Culture of Early Modern England,* p. 147; Ralph Fastnedge, *English Furniture Styles from 1500 to 1830* (Harmondsworth, 1955) p. 31.
[104] See the shoemaker's inventory in *Pleas of the Sheriffs Court of Dublin,* BL, Add. MS 11687, fol. 127.
[105] TCD, Deposition of William Browne; Deposition of Nathaniel Hollington; Deposition of Sir Hardress Waller, MS 829, fols 284r-290v; Deposition of Henrie Brabazon, MS 811, fols 030r-030v; Deposition of Colley Phillips, MS 814, fols 123r-124v [accessed January 2015]. For additional examples of cushions, see a merchant's inventory in Fenlon, *Goods and Chattels*, p. 13-14.

inventory of Thomas Butler that designated a seat of authority because it could be used as a footrest.[106]

Display and Storage

The cupboards and cabinets in the homes of Ireland stored an assortment of household goods, but more importantly displayed the plates and curiosities that their owners desired their guests to see.[107] In the seventeenth-century, however, the term 'cupboard' was ambiguous, 'being used either for an open set of shelves or for an enclosed cupboards in the modern sense but with the connotations of the storage of "cups" (or plate).'[108] In the depositions, cupboards appeared in the accounts of knights, gentry, archbishops, and wealthy widows. [109] William Secheverill of Co. Wexford declared the loss of the cupboards lodged within his mansion house.[110] Elizabeth Williams, who had been living in a brewhouse with her husband in Co. Monaghan, reportedly lost a cupboard during the rebellion. [111] A yeoman from Kilgarran, Co. Wicklow had £7 worth of cupboards, tables, dale boards and wooden vessels.[112] Cupboards were broken down and destroyed in Matha's Slacke's home in Co. Fermanagh, and inside the residence of the countess of Kildare.[113] One is tempted to speculate if one of the destroyed pieces was the 'delicate cabinet' that the countess's nephew George Fitzgerald sent years earlier when she was unwell.[114] Arguably, the insurgents' behaviour showed a thrill for destruction. However, dismantled cupboards also provided the rebels with a valuable supply of wood. Cupboards may have been built into the interiors of houses, as was done in some areas of England during the seventeenth-century.[115] Timber from Adam Waller's home in Co. Wexford had been removed and used in the house of John Strafford, as well as employed to

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[106] Fenlon, *Goods and Chattels,* p. 18.
[107] Overton, *Production and Consumption*, p. 93.
[108] Knell, *English Country Furniture,* p. 52.
[109] For instances of cupboards, see TCD, Deposition of Sir Hardress Waller, MS 829, fols 284r-290v; Deposition of [H] Bringhurst, MS 831, fols 201v-208v; Deposition of Colley Phillips, MS 814, fols 123r-124v; Deposition of William Secheuerill, MS 818, fols 095r-096v; Deposition of Elizabeth Williams, MS 834, fols 179r-180v; Deposition of William Golburn, MS 813, fols 273r-274r; Deposition of George Kinge, MS 814, fols 131r-131v [accessed January 2015]. See also See Hector MacDonnell, 'A Seventeenth Century Inventory from Dunluce Castle', pp. 109-21.
[110] TCD, Deposition of William Secheuerill, MS 818, fols 095r-096v [accessed January 2015].
[111] TCD, Deposition of Elizabeth Williams, MS 834, fols 179r-180v [accessed January 2015].
[112] TCD, Deposition of John Watson, MS 811, fols 104r-104v [accessed January 2015].
[113] TCD, Deposition of Martha Slacke, MS 835, fols 168r-169v; Deposition of William Vowells, MS 813, fols 330r-331v [accessed January 2015].
[114] Aidan Clarke and Bríd McGrath (eds), *Letterbook of George, 16th Earl of Kildare* (Dublin, 2013) p. 64.
[115] Knell, *English Country Furniture,* p. 53.

repair the Church of Kilrane.[116] James Garstang's servant recalled how individuals stole wooden furniture, timber, the locks from his doors, and the very door to his house.[117]

Cupboards in Ireland ranged in value and form, and featured in a variety of socio-economic contexts. Elite individuals, like Sir Hardress Waller, ornamented their cupboards with specially fitted, embroidered cloths. In less affluent households, residents were still able to afford decorated cupboards. In Dublin, the malster Owen Weston owned two side cupboards (likely used to serve food to the table during a meal), a wainscot cupboard and a striped cupboard cloth.[118] William Golburn, the Archdeacon of Kildare, reported the loss of a court cupboard that was located either in the hall or parlour of his castle. [119] This large and decorative piece rose in popularity during the early seventeenth-century. The two-shelved unit was customarily carved with ornamentation and used to display plates or rest food during meals.[120] Lower class households most likely used boards or shelves to serve food in keeping with the older medieval tradition.[121] A few depositions, such as that of Hardress Waller, mention the presence of a 'press.'[122] These instances most likely referred to the elite press cupboard that was used to display plate on the upper section, and store linen in the lower concealed shelves (Plate 27).[123] In the same year, the widow Eleanor Luttrell owned a press cupboard that was worth more than triple the value of her two older side cupboards.[124] Many of these furniture items may have been passed down between the generations. Surviving pieces indicated that they were often carved with the initials of the owner or dated to commemorate the year of a couple's marriage.[125] Arguably, the age of a Dublin merchant's 'old wainscot presse' and an 'old small dale board presse' may have implied the objects' legacy in the family because it was passed down through the generations.[126]

While cabinets and cupboards could enclose various objects to gaze upon with admiration, chests and trunks were the primary forms of storage for deponents in 1641 that lacked any suggestion of display. These vessels functioned in a household with a manageable number of goods to carry linen, plate, wool and other valuables. During the Middle Ages in

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[116] TCD, Examination of James Perice, MS 819, fols 115r-115v [accessed June 2015].
[117] TCD, Deposition of Margrett Roch, MS 813, fols 272r-272v [accessed June 2015].
[118] TCD, Deposition of Sir Hardress Waller, MS 829, fols 284r-290v [accessed January 2015]; Inventory of O. Weston, *Pleas in the Sheriffs Court of Dublin*, BL, Add. MS 11687, fols 124-125. For side cupboards, see Buxton, *Domestic Culture of Early Modern England,* p. 153.
[119] TCD, Deposition of William Golburn, MS 813, fols 273r-274r [accessed January 2015].
[120] For a discussion about cupboards, see Overton, *Production and Consumption*, p. 92.
[121] Overton, *Production and Consumption*, p. 92.
[122] TCD, Deposition of Sir Hardress Waller, MS 829, fols 284r-290v [accessed January 2015].
[123] For information on the press cupboard, see Overton, *Production and Consumption*, p. 92. For another instance of a press, see TCD, Deposition of William Golburn, MS 813, fols 273r-274r [accessed January 2015].
[124] Inventory of Ellinor Luttrell, *Pleas in the Sheriffs Court of Dublin*, BL, Add. MS 11687, fols 125-126.
[125] Knell, *English Country Furniture,* p. 55.
[126] Inventory of Richard Walsh, *Pleas in the Sheriffs Court of Dublin*, BL, Add. MS 11687, fol. 123.

England, chests filled with valuables were often placed in churches for safekeeping and left behind as a token of thanks once the objects had been removed.[127] Because of this—and their tendency to store records, alms and other valuables—a disproportionate number of chests survive in comparison to cupboards, chairs, stools, tables and bedsteads.

Well aware of these storage vessels' function, rebels targeted the wooden containers searching for high value items such as 'Plate, mony, or jewells.'[128] Charles Anthony, a Londonderry clerk, reported that Scottish rebels commenced their pillage of Coleraine with the threat, 'We will search your shops coffers trunckes chest &c for what you have…'[129] To the misfortune of Oliver Walsh, the exigenter of the Court of Common Pleas of Ireland, his servant and two other men commandeered a locked trunk containing £73 of silver and gold.[130] In Co. Tipperary, William Timmes packed his chest with an assortment of transportable goods including clothing, carpets, curtains, valances and pewter. The British Protestant Elizabeth Huntpage chose to store miscellaneous locks in a coffer. [131] Although these examples proved that the vessels could hold a range of objects, the primary content of deponents' chests and trunks was often their linen. Robert Scott's chest held fifteen bundles of white cloth, a bundle of broad cloth, and an old saddlecloth.[132] In Co. Offaly, rebels took possession of Colley Phillip's chest containing rich linens such as diaper, damask and Holland linen. [133]

The routine implementation of these objects expressed individuals' modest consumption patterns that were typical for the period. Although the stacking technique used to store linens made it more difficult for individuals to reach the bottom contents of the trunk, this would only cause issue if the household increased its number of personal possessions. Mark Overton noted how novel storage furniture developed in England in response to the increase of consumption during the seventeenth-century.[134] The key development was the

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[127] Knell, *English Country Furniture,* p. 35.
[128] TCD, Examination of Nicholas Dowdall, MS 816, fols 066r-071v [accessed January 2015].
[129] TCD, Deposition of Charles Anthony, MS 839, fols 096r-097v [accessed January 2015].
[130] TCD, Examination of Oliver Walsh, MS 815, fols 149r-150v [accessed January 2015].
[131] TCD, Deposition of William Timmes, MS 821, fols 187r-196v; Deposition of Elizabeth Huntpage, MS 811, fols 065r-065v [accessed January 2015]. For another instance of a chest, see TCD, Deposition of Edmund Welsh, MS 814, fols 118r-118v [accessed June 2015].
[132] TCD, Inventory of goods in Robert Scott's possession, MS 826, fols 225r-225v [accessed June 2015]. Scott is also mentioned in TCD, Examination of William Murphew, MS 826, fol. 230r; Examination of Callahan Carthy, MS 826, fol. 234r [accessed June 2015].
[133] TCD, Deposition of Colley Phillips, MS 814, fols 123r-124v [accessed January 2015]. For additional examples, see TCD, Deposition of William Eams, MS 823, fols 157r-158v; Deposition of James Pace, MS 825, fols 267r-267v; Deposition of John Wade, MS 813, fols 348v-349v; Deposition of Paul Mitchell, MS 833, fols 027r-027v; Deposition of Hugh Vaudery, MS 813, fols 241r-241v; Deposition of John Watkinson, MS 812, fols 193r-194v [accessed January 2015].
[134] Overton, *Production and Consumption*, pp. 90-3.

chest of drawers, and the absence of this piece in the depositions is not surprising. In England, the popularity of the more practical storage unit only rose significantly after 1660.[135]

Trunks and chests proved to be central to the 1641 rebellion not simply because of their storage capacity, but because they were transportable. However, rather than sending the items to a church for protection, victims shifted their goods to fortified estates or sent them abroad. Edward Pearse of Co. Kildare used a great chest to transport valuable linen and various household goods to neighbours for safekeeping. [136] During the rebellion, James Clandalke spied broken trunks laying in the property near the Castle of Killiane, Co. Wexford that had been taken off a ship bound for England.[137] The disordered contents of the duchess's trunks in Dunluce Castle hinted at her frantic attempt to relocate her family's prized possessions to Chester after her husband had been taken prisoner during the rebellion.[138] The instability of colonial life may have elevated the practicality of transportable storage items. Ordinary homes in England reflected negligible expenditure on furniture when compared to bedding, linen, brass and pewter: 'In effect, all the valuables in the house could be quickly grabbed and stuffed into these chests without fear of breakage or of great expense in moving.'[139] Similar patterns of domestic life may have prevailed in middling homes of struggling settlers whose expenditure on their exterior home foretold a feeling of impermanency.

Trunks also spoke directly to the English practices of possession. A locked trunk ensured that the owner's valuables would remain in the private sphere, accessible only to those who possessed the key. Peter Moore, a servant of Sir Nicholas White, remembered how he saw trunks with three locks each brought into White's home. Other deponents lamented the loss of entire vessels filled with spare locks.[140] Although several accounts described the rebels' eagerness to destroy deponents' possessions, some rebels found the transportable pieces of furniture applicable to their own lives. A trunk stolen from the British Protestant weaver Hugh Parke would not be thrown away, but salvaged to 'keepe his the said mcHahownes books.'[141]

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[135] See table 5.1 in Overton, *Production and Consumption*, p. 91.
[136] TCD, Deposition of Edward Pearsse, MS 813, fols 382r-383v [accessed January 2015].
[137] TCD, Examination of James Clandalke re George Cheevers, MS 818, fols 247r-248r [accessed January 2015].
[138] MacDonnell, 'A Seventeenth Century Inventory from Dunluce Castle', pp. 109-21.
[139] Shammas, 'The Domestic Environment of Early Modern England and America', p. 8.
[140] TCD, Deposition of Elizabeth Huntpage; Examination of Peeter Moore, MS 813, fols 003r-004r [accessed January 2015].
[141] TCD, Deposition of Hugh Parke, MS 818, fols 086r-086v [accessed January 2015].

As the previous deposition suggested, trunks served to safeguard manuscripts, private papers and important household records. George Boothe, a British Protestant living in Co. Meath, lost one large trunk filled with books worth £15.[142] One can only wonder what type of printed books and manuscripts the Archbishop of Meath kept in his closet worth £400.[143] Religious texts stored in these trunks came to affirm individuals' 'heretical' practices. A shoemaker in Dublin possessed an old chest, which may have been employed to store the various 'popish' books' he hid in his home to conceal his religious affiliation.[144] Much to the dislike of a rebel friar, the clerk John Walsh of Co. Kildare kept his private writings and two Protestant Bibles in one of his trunks. [145] Texts also held the keys to transporting English culture to Ireland. Hugh Madden, an Irish Protestant, had kept over a hundred English and Latin books worth £10 in his home in Co. Wicklow.[146]

Deponents became deeply distressed by the destruction and disappearance of their private papers. Land-owning victims watched in dismay as rebels wrenched open their trunks and took their accounts of debts, deeds and claims to inheritance.[147] Nicholas Canny argued that rebels coerced debt collectors to surrender their bills and bonds as well as write letters of quittance or credit to chosen individuals.[148] By attacking the locked trunks of Protestant victims, rebels not only obtained their prized objects, but also deprived their enemies of documents relating to their land-holding rights.

Craftsmen and Domestic Production

Judging by the Ulster port books, furniture was not a common import into Ireland in the early years of plantation. Many of the ships' contents listed portable goods and small wares including cloth, stockings, shoes, cooking utensils, coal and salt. Over a three-year period, only one case of furniture transportation appeared: *The Greyhound* of Londonderry carried four framed chairs and ten framed stools into the Irish port.[149] For many elite, furniture might have been brought over from England to their new homes across the Irish Sea. An

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[142] TCD, Deposition of George Boothe, MS 816, fols 108r-108v [accessed January 2015].
[143] TCD, Deposition of the Archbishop of Meath, MS 816, fol. 085r [accessed January 2015].
[144] Inventory of John [ ], *Pleas in the Sheriffs Court of Dublin*, BL, Add. MS 11687, fols 127-128.
[145] TCD, Deposition of John Walsh, MS 813, fols 306r-307v [accessed January 2015].
[146] TCD, Deposition of Hugh Madden, MS 811, fols 074r-074v [accessed January 2015]. For further discussion about books mentioned in the depositions, see Raymond Gillespie, *Reading Ireland: Print, Reading and Social Change in Early Modern Ireland* (Manchester, 2005).
[147] For further discussion, see Patricia Stapleton, '"In Monies and Other Requisites": The 1641 Depositions and the Social Role of Credit in Early Seventeenth-Century Ireland', in Eamon Darcy, Annaleigh Margey and Elaine Murphy (eds), *The 1641 Depositions and the Irish Rebellion* (London, 2012) pp. 65-77.
[148] Nicholas P. Canny, *Making Ireland British, 1580-1650* (Oxford, 2001) p. 476.
[149] Hunter, *The Ulster Port Books,* p. 45.

undated account collected with Sir Richard Boyle's expenses and Sir Lawrence Parson's payments presented a tantalizing list of turkey-work and red leather stools from London.[150]

In theory, furniture makers would have been equipped with enough timber to supply the domestic market during the seventeenth-century.[151] Lettice Digby's estate in Co. Offaly featured stools of Irish work, and the earl of Cork held an Irish stitch stool in one of the street rooms of his home in Cork House, Co. Dublin.[152] The accoutrements of furniture construction appeared in the Ulster port books to supply the newcomers. Axes, hatchets and locks were shipped together from Barnstaple to Coleraine, and chest locks were brought to Londonderry and Coleraine between 1614 and 1615.[153]

The occupations of deponents and rebels additionally expressed Ireland's ability to supply a domestic market, although it is still unclear if they could meet the demand. Similar to other occupational statistics so far addressed, tradesmen associated with the domestic production of furniture occurred primarily in Munster and Leinster.[154] Only eleven turners were reported in the collection, emerging from Cos Cavan, Fermanagh, Offaly, Laois, Clare, Carlow, Cork, Waterford, Tipperary, and Limerick.[155] These craftsmen transformed wood using a lathe to carve a piece of wood into a cylindrical shape.[156] The physical strength required to produce these items was defined in the deposition of Richard Bennett. When thirty-three people were allegedly thrown into the river, a turner 'being an active man' was the only individual able to swim safely to shore.[157] The turner Henry Briggs reported that he had lost new chairs that he most likely created for future sale, and stated that he gained a sufficient income of £16 a year from his trade.[158] Carpenters and joiners also may have been involved with the production of wooden furniture. Their distribution has been discussed concerning domestic architecture. Like many other craftsmen, their presence dominated the Munster counties, followed closely behind by Leinster. The joiner Benjamin Willmet lost

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[150] 'Account for blankets, pillows, rugs and cloth' [n.d.], Lismore Papers, NLI, MS 43,300/2.
[151] Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure*, p. 126.
[152] Fenlon, *Goods and Chattels,* pp. 21, 32-4.
[153] Hunter, *Ulster Port Books,* pp. 39, 65, 73.
[154] See chapter 'The Home: The Built Environment of the Domestic', pp. 51-64.
[155] TCD, Examination of James Boy Kernan, MS 812, fols 104r-105v; Deposition of Richard Bennett, MS 833, fols 220r-220v; Deposition of John Rinders & ffrancis Rinders, MS 829, fols 056r-057v; Deposition of Augustine Hickes, MS 824, fols 047r-047v; Deposition of Walter Baldwin, MS 823, fols 165r-168v; Deposition of Elizabeth Fletcher, MS 835, fols 242r-242v; Deposition of Mary Swarbreck, MS 815, fols 360r-360v; Deposition of Henry Briggs, MS 829, fols 129r-129v; Deposition of John Robinson, MS 814, fols 189r-190r; Deposition of Peeter Wailch, MS 821, fols 070r-070v; Deposition of John Rowse, MS 820, fols 060r-060v [accessed January 2015].
[156] Buxton, *Domestic Culture in Early Modern England,* p. 137.
[157] TCD, Deposition of Richard Bennett, MS 833, fols 220r-220v [accessed January 2015].
[158] TCD, Deposition of Henry Briggs.

many of the products he had constructed including six tables, two chairs and two bedsteads.[159] Evidence collected from Dublin inventories and Sir Arthur Vicars's *Index of Wills* revealed the presence of these craftsmen elsewhere. In Dublin of 1639, John Heath worked as a trunk maker, and the list of wills featured one turner and six joiners operating in Dublin and New Ross between 1589 to 1659.[160] The single turner Lewis Fullwood, however, was identified with the city of London.[161]

	Carpenter	Joiner	Turner	Cooper
Ulster	**10**	**1**	**2**	**4**
Antrim	1	1		2
Armagh	1			1
Cavan	4		1	1
Coleraine				
Donegal				
Down	1			
Fermanagh			1	
Londonderry				
Monaghan	1			
Tyrone	2			
Leinster	**35**	**10**	**3**	**6**
Carlow	5	1	1	1
Dublin	4	1		1
Kildare	6			1
Kilkenny	2			
Laois (Queens)	2	4	1	
Longford	6			
Louth				
Meath	1			
Offaly (Kings)	1	1	1	
Westmeath	1			
Wexford	6	2		2
Wicklow	1	1		1
Munster	**41**	**17**	**7**	**24**
Cork	21	9	2	13
Clare			2	
Limerick	6	2	1	4
Kerry				
Tipperary	4	4	1	4
Waterford	10	2	1	3
Connacht	**3**	**1**	**0**	**1**
Galway	2			
Leitrim		1		1
Mayo				
Roscommon	1			
Sligo				

Figure 6.
Number of individuals associated with timber-based crafts

Decoration

The objects put on display in elite cabinets or locked within the contents of wooden trunks constituted many of the luxury items described in the depositions. For the well-to-do in Ireland, high status objects were used to assert their place in the social hierarchy. The earl of Cork notably advised his young ward George, the sixteenth earl of Kildare, to 'learn to be a good husband of your own purse, for you have many things to do with money… furnishing of [houses] with plate, bedding hangings and household stuff and the redeeming of a great part

[159] TCD, Deposition of Beniamin Willomet, MS 815, fols 294r-294v [accessed January 2015].
[160] *Pleas in the Sheriffs Court Dublin*, BL, Add. MS 11687, fol. 150v; Sir Arthur Vicars (ed.), *Index to the Prerogative Wills of Ireland, 1536-1810* (Dublin, 1897) pp. 135, 158, 185, 280, 390, 499.
[161] Vicars, *Index to the Prerogative Wills of Ireland*, p. 185.

of your estate which is in mortgage….'[162] Victims of the 1641 Depositions spoke of gold rings, jewels, clocks, instruments and elegant decorative fabrics employed to festoon their person or their parlours. While some individuals refused to participate in the violence, they offered aid discretely by providing information in exchange for the novelties sitting in the homes of English settlers.[163] The presence of luxury consumption in Ireland should not be a startling notion. Barnard and Fenlon have examined the homes of the elite to uncover the lavish possessions displayed in affluent residences. For some, the conquest of Ireland signalled a blank slate for luxury production. In 1530s, Piers earl of Ormonde, brought Flemish craftsmen to Kilkenny to establish an Irish tapestry factory. In 1643, the earl of Arundel sent individuals to Ireland with the hope of developing a trade in marble.[164] Yet, because these entrepreneurial endeavours ended with little success, evidence of luxury consumption in Ireland remains to be frustratingly elusive. The depositions provide one way in which to investigate the presence and role of high status items in Ireland, specifically during a moment of social conflict.

Historians including John Styles, Amanda Vickery and Maxine Berg have redefined the approach to luxury consumption so that increased acquisition of non-necessary goods 'occurred not because these new consumers wanted to buy into luxury ethic, but because the goods they purchased were now seen as useful or appropriate.'[165] This idea can certainly be discussed in the context of the house clock. In Ireland, this luxury object would ensure the timely function of the household, specifically in the homes of gentlemen, parsons, archdeacons and knights.[166] In general, time-keeping speaks to practices meant to promote long term economic growth, particularly in the context of the household during the

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[162] Clarke and McGrath, *Letterbook of George,16th Earl of Kildare,* p. 23.
[163] Referred to in TCD, Deposition of [H] Bringhurst, MS 831, fols 201v-208v [accessed January 2015].
[164] Clare Williams (ed.), *Thomas Platter's Travels in England 1599* (London, 1937); David Howarth, 'Lord Arundel as an Entrepreneur of the Arts', *The Burlington Magazine* 122, no 931 (1980), pp. 690; Linda Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendor: Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 2005) p. 156; Rolf Loeber, 'English and Irish Sources for the History of Dutch Economic Activity in Ireland, 1600-89', *Irish Economic and Social History* 8 (1981), pp. 70-85.
[165] Quoted Sara Pennell, '"For a crack or flaw despis'd": Thinking about Ceramic Durability and the "Everyday" in Late Seventeenth Century and Early Eighteenth Century England', in Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson (eds), *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and its Meanings* (Farnham, 2010) p. 29. See Maxine Berg, 'New Commodities, Luxuries and Their Consumers in Eighteenth Century England', in Maxine Berg and Helen Cliffords (eds), *Consumers and Luxury: Consumer Culture in Europe 1650-1850* (Manchester, 1999) pp. 63-85; 'The Rise and Fall of Luxury Debates', in Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger (eds.), *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Luxury Debates, Desires, and Delectable Goods* (Basingstoke, 2003) pp. 7-26; Maxine Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth Century Britain* (Oxford, 2005) pp. 17-45, 85-100; John Styles and Amanda Vickers, 'Introduction', in John Styles and Amanda Vickers (eds.), *Gender, Taste and Material Culture in Britain and North America, 1700-1830* (London, 2006) pp. 16-21.
[166] TCD, Deposition of Edmond Keatinge, MS 813, fols 233r-235v; Deposition of John Carpenter, MS 815, fols 308r-312v; Deposition of William Meoles, MS 816, fols 087r-087v [accessed January 2015].

seventeenth-century.[167] Sir Hardress Waller's clock valued at £6 had been brought over to Ireland from England. The presence of the clockmaker James Craven in Limerick City indicated that clocks could also be obtained domestically.[168] Watchmakers in Dublin possessed lead clock weights, hammers and small anchors to repair or construct new time-pieces for their customers.[169] The appearance of musical instruments in domestic households also communicated individuals' participation in lavish expenditure. During the 1641 rebellion, pairs of virginals, viols, harps and wind instruments were stolen by thieves, or thrown down stairs to impede an attack by approaching rebels.[170] Insurgents seized a minister wife's prized harps that she had kept for thirty years, gleefully reporting that she would never see them again.[171] Although instruments are customarily discussed in the context of the royal court, noble residences, cathedral churches and university colleges—they have been observed in the wills and probate inventories of non-noble, rural England.[172] However, instrument owners in the depositions either held a high social status (such as John Piggot residing in the Castle Dysart in Co. Laois) or they were associated with the church. It is curious to propose what would have become of these instruments in rebel hands. Music had played an important role in Irish culture to signal the presence of high Gaelic civility. Irish harps were found in the inventories of Catholic elites, such as that of the earl of Antrim's home in Dunluce Castle.[173] New concepts of honour indicated that donations of harps proved a donor's nobility, as well as the ability to play a musical instrument.[174]

Like his clock, Sir Hardress Waller's Venetian glass had recently been brought to his home in Ireland from England. As Barnard noted, it is uncertain if this barrel and box of glass was manufactured in England or in imitation of *facon de Venise*.[175] Archaeologists have found seventeenth-century examples of this kind of glass at Clare Abbey, Co. Clare, most likely

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[167] For a discussion on how the household contributed to economic growth before the Industrial Revolution, see Jan de Vries, *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behaviour and the Household to the Present* (Cambridge, 2008).
[168] TCD, Deposition of James Craven, MS 829, fols 379r-380v [accessed January 2015].
[169] Inventory of Isaacke Browne, *Pleas in the Sheriffs Court Dublin,* BL, Add. MS 11687, fol. 124.
[170] TCD, Deposition of Colley Phillips, MS 814, fols 123r-124v; Deposition of William Golburn, MS 813, fols 273r-274r; Deposition of Martha Piggot, MS 815, fols 374r-378v; Examination of Manus McTumulty, MS 817, fols 250r-251v; Examination of James Murphy, MS 819, fols 150r-150v; Report of what happened at Cashell by Simon Salle, MS 821, fols 255r-256v [accessed January 2015].
[171] TCD, Examination of Manus McTumulty, MS 817, fols 250r-251v [accessed January 2015].
[172] Michael Fleming, 'An "Old Old Violl" and Other Lumber: Musical Remains in Provincial, Non-Noble England c. 1580-1660', *The Galphin Society Journal* 58 (2005), pp. 89-99.
[173] See MacDonnell, 'A Seventeenth Century Inventory from Dunluce Castle', pp. 109-27.
[174] Nicholas P. Canny, 'The Formation of the Irish Mind: Religion, Politics and Gaelic Literature 1580-1750', *Past and Present* n. 95 (1982), p. 104.
[175] Barnard, *Making the Grand Figures,* p. 87.

originating from the Low Countries.[176] Perhaps one of the more interesting items mentioned in the 1641 Depositions was Colley Phillips' lost unicorn cup. Phillips can be found elsewhere in seventeenth-century documentation. In 1625, he gave up the position of the office of searcher and gainer of the port of Dublin that had been granted to him in April.[177] In the early modern period, unicorns were inextricably tied to the culture of collecting. During the seventeenth-century, narwhal tucks were falsely presented to collectors as unicorn horns, particularly in Germany and the Low Countries. Unicorn objects appeared in the collection of the English elite: Sir Walter Cope had the best known *Wunderkammer* in England during the late sixteenth-century that displayed a rhinoceros horn and unicorn tail.[178] The inventory of the castle at Castleisland recorded a 'unicorne horn set in golde,' which may have been coveted for its status as well as medicinal properties. In some cases, unicorn horns were thought to give off smoke if they came into contact with poison.[179] Colley Phillip's object may have merely featured a unicorn motif, however, it is possible that it held greater curiosity. His remaining lost items included a suit made with a cloth of Arras, a clock, musical instruments and fine linens.

The interior walls of a house provided its occupant with another tool to proclaim his or her status. Barnard wrote 'in Dublin as well as Waterford the appearance of "pictures" reminds of a taste not confined to the aristocracy and which, thanks to the availability of numerous types of images—some painted, other drawn or engraved—could be indulged cheaply.'[180] In Dublin, Humphrey Penn listed several pictures, one of them featuring the Roman Emperors valued at £3.[181] Francis Lovell of Co. Cork owned a painting that portrayed a more religious subject, one depicting Adam and Eve.[182] The depositions revealed that hangings were displayed in the homes of elite such as Arthur Champion in Co. Fermanagh and John Edgeworth in Co. Longford.[183] The imagery depicted in these paintings and

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[176] Graham Hull and Sébastien Joubet, 'Medieval Monastic Occupation and Post Medieval Military Activity at Clare Abbey, Co. Clare', in Jerry O'Sullivan and Michael Stanley (eds), *Roads, Rediscovery and Research* (Dublin, 2008) p. 67.
[177] Ireland Chancery, *Calendar of the Patent Rolls of Chancery of Ireland: 1 James I to 22 James I* (Dublin, 1800) p. 133.
[178] Lorraine J. Daston and Katherine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature 1150-1750* (New York, 2001) pp. 69-75; Odell Shepard, *The Lore of the Unicorn* (New York 1993); Peck, *Consuming Splendour,* p. 80.
[179] For discussion of medicinal properities and the Castleisland inventory, see Flavin, *Consumption and Culture,* p. 222.
[180] Barnard, *Making the Grand Figur*e, p. 90. For evidence of numerous paintings in a merchant's home, see Walton, 'The Household Effects of a Waterford Merchant Family', pp. 99-105.
[181] Inventory of Humphrey Penn, *Pleas in the Sheriffs Court Dublin*, BL, Add. MS 11687, fols 139-141.
[182] As cited by Barnard in *Making the Grand Figure,* p. 90. For further examples, see *Pleas in the Sheriffs Court Dublin,* BL, Add. MS. 11,687, fols 137, 142, 145.
[183] TCD, Deposition of Alice Champyn, MS 835, fols 196r-197v; Deposition of John Edgworth, MS 817, fols 144r-145v [accessed January 2015]. For another example, see the Deposition of Sir Hardress Waller, MS 829, fols 284r-290v [accessed January 2015].

tapestries held important clues to the ideological beliefs of its owners. They could project the homeowner's admiration for the civilised legacy of the Roman Empire, or assert his or her Catholic or Protestant affiliation. In the depositions, John Cliffe, a gentleman in Co. Wexford, had hung several paintings in his study that were 'damned Puritan' due to their subject matter.[184]

Arguably, the most desirable luxury items for the rebels were not paintings, clocks, or instruments, but rather objects made of silver. As Barnard suggested, the occasional piece of silver found in Irish inventories were not always acquired through cash exchange, but through several alternative routes such as gifts, legacies or robbery.[185] Waterford wills attested to the tradition of bequests. Catholic Richard Maden left a great silver cup and cupboard to his son William in 1602.[186] Silver and other metalwork was sometimes brought into a household as part of the wife's dowry. In 1628, Francis Aungier specified that the silver tankard and silver cup that his wife acquired through her travels and acquaintances would remain in her possession after his death.[187]

Due to the system of inheritance and bequests—as well as its value—silver made a regular appearance as a remembered stolen material in the depositions. Alexander Listen of Co. Tipperary, a clothier, reported how a preacher named Mr. Banister attempted to save his life by throwing a bag of gold and silver at the rebels, and then followed that with a dozen silver spoons.[188] A servant wrenched a silver tankard out of the hands of the single woman Magdalene Duckworth, and rebels confessed that they quarrelled over who would be allowed to keep the object. [189] Silver utensils (usually in the form of spoons and cups) could be found amongst the possessions of women, clerks, hatters and yeomen.[190] As other historians have noted, the prevalence of spoons—paired with the relative absence of knives and forks—in the early seventeenth-century indicated that spoons were not solely employed for liquids.[191] In

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[184] TCD, Deposition of Alice Champyn, MS 835, fols 196r-197v; Deposition of John Cliffe, MS 818, fols 107r-109v [accessed January 2015].
[185] Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure*, p. 136.
[186] Anon, 'Old Waterford Wills', *Journal of Waterford and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society* 7 (1909), pp. 168-70.
[187] Lettice O'Hanlon, 'Testamentary Records from Lettice Evoryna O'Hanlon of Orior', *Irish Genealogist* 2, no. 6 (1948), pp. 180-2. See also Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure*, p. 140.
[188] TCD, Deposition of Alexander Listen, MS 821, fols 080r-080v [accessed January 2015].
[189] TCD, Examination of Magdalen Duckworth, MS 836, fols 121r-122v; Examination of Edmund Flaherty, MS 830, fols 276r-277v [accessed January 2015].
[190] TCD, Deposition of Richard Katerin, MS 818, fols 121r-121v; Examination of Art Breine, MS 819, fols 041v; Depositions of Anne Smyth, Susana Wright, Anne Walton, MS 839, fols 102r-102v; Deposition of Robert Bonynge, MS 816, fols 155r-155v; Deposition of Christopher Cheriton, MS 820, fols 237r-237v; Examinations touching murder in Cashel, MS 821, fols 225r-226v; Note of losses of William Free, MS 813, fols 007r-007v; Deposition of William Annion, MS 818, fols 097r-097v [accessed January 2015].
[191] For discussion of spoons, see Flavin, *Consumption and Culture,* pp. 197, 206-7.

England, it would have been 'difficult any time for the last six hundred years to find a man, of however humble station, without a spoon to bequeath to his widow or his son.'[192] The silver spoon that an insurgent stole off of John Mayre's person spoke to the tradition of carrying eating utensils to hosts' homes.[193] Even lower on the social spectrum, the husbandman John Winter stated that he lost two silver spoons.[194]

Some individuals in the depositions possessed quantities of silver that more confidently conveyed their elite status, such as those who owned silver bowls, salts and beakers.[195] In the early modern period, salts were given centre stage on a table and declared the social hierarchy of those seated around it. These primarily decorative objects appeared in the inventories of English individuals and Cork citizens, and also embellished the tables of the elite Munster household in Castleisland in Co. Kerry. Flavin proposed that the unique bell-shaped saltcellar of Castleisland (a style briefly popular at the end of the sixteenth-century) spoke to the castle's occupant Sir William Herbert and his Welsh origin.[196] In Ireland, noble residents could use the salt to impose their own notions of status and wealth upon their local guests. Because they were primarily inherited items, salts communicated the prestigious legacy of their owners' family.[197]

References to 'plate' in the depositions also indicated the presence of vessels plated in silver or gold.[198] The term 'plate' emerged with greater frequency than 'silver': it appeared in over 200 depositions from twenty-eight counties (although the lack of specificity may imply the deponents desire to attain exaggerated reimbursement). Lady Staples, daughter of Sir Baptist Jones of Co. Londonderry, and her family had been absent from their home in Lissan, Co. Tyrone (near her husband's ironworks) when rebellion broke out. She quickly sent word to her servants, ordering them to the pack the household plate in sacks so that the objects could be easily transported to safety.[199] A vicar in Co. Kilkenny mourned the plate stolen

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[192] Wilfred Joseph Cripps, *Old English Plate Ecclesiastical, Decorative, and Domestic; Its Makers and Marks* (London, 1878) p. 281.
[193] TCD, Deposition of John Mayre, MS 812, fols 246r-247v [accessed January 2015]. Mark Dawson, *Plenti and Grase: Food and Drink in a Sixteenth-century Household* (Totnes, 2009) p. 219.
[194] TCD, Deposition of John Winter, MS 823, fols 087r-087v [accessed January 2015].
[195] TCD, Deposition of William Walsh, MS 831, fols 065r-066v; Depositions of Anne Smyth, Susana Wright, Anne Walton, MS 839, fols 102r-102v [accessed January 2015].
[196] Flavin, *Culture and Consumption,* pp. 194-5.
[197] For more on salts, see Buxton, *Domestic Culture*, p. 164; Margaret Visser, *The Rituals of Dinner: The Origins, Evolution, Eccentricities, and Meaning of Table Manners* (London, 1993) p. 158; Beth Carver Wees, *English, Irish, Scottish Silver at the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute* (New York, 1997) p. 119.
[198] 'plate, n.', *OED Online.* Available from: http://www.oed.com [accessed March 2016]. For silver plate, See TCD, Deposition of William Moorehead, MS 817, fols 032r-033v; Deposition of John Peerson, MS 812, fols 024r-024v [accessed January 2015].
[199] TCD, Deposition of Roger Markham, MS 839, fols 017r-023v [accessed January 2015].

from his home that had been intended for his daughter's inheritance.[200] Plate was found amid the possessions of yeomen and merchants, but more frequently appeared in the depositions of gentry, clerks and religious men. The latter suggested the material's role in the practice of worship.[201]

Surviving artefacts from the seventeenth-century reiterated silver's use in religious ceremony. Scripture required that precious metals would be used for communion vessels, and evidence collected from Clodagh Tait proposed the many Protestant individuals often left such objects to a church in their will.[202] Because of this religious association, silver was customarily divorced from everyday use. A stockpile of pewter, brass or wooden utensils would have often appeared in elite households to accompany food preparation or be used by the servants.[203] The religious as well as the financial value of silver may explain why it became such a desirable object to the rebel population. While some stolen items may have been incorporated into native households, others may have been placed in recently reconsecrated Catholic churches. There was also no need for the insurgents to be particularly fastidious about the state or design of the silver objects. Damaged items could be melted down and altered according to personal taste, or refashioned for religious use. The value of silver also meant that it could be employed as currency in case of emergency. Barnard suggested that a rector of Enniskillen in Co. Fermanagh sold a flagon belonging to the parish in Liverpool to pay for his family's keep. In the years following, he was able to replace the item.[204] Indeed, resale of precious metals was not a rare occurrence in the depositions. A vicar John Shrawley stated that a gold ring worth twenty-four shillings had been taken from Mrs Gardner and sold for a measly six shillings to a merchant in Ardnaree.[205]

Domestic Production of Luxury

As Sir Hardress Waller's deposition suggested, some of these luxury items would have been imported into Ireland from England or the Continent. However, cited craftsmen

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[200] TCD, Deposition of John Brockbank, MS 812, fols 186r-186v [accessed January 2015].
[201] For silver in a religious context, see TCD, Deposition of Ellenor Fullerton, MS 836, fols 050r-051v; Deposition of Henry Dodwell, MS 831, fols 058r-058v; Deposition of William Meoles, MS 816, fols 087r-087v; Deposition of Robert Boyle, MS 834, fols 098r-099v; Deposition of William Domvill and George Clapham, MS 814, fols 121r-122r; Deposition of John Brockbank, MS 812, fols 186r-186v [accessed January 2015].
[202] Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure*, p. 138; Clodagh Tait, *Death Burial and Commemoration in Ireland, 1550-1650* (Basingstoke, 2002); Tait, '"Legacie upon my soul": The Wills of the Irish Catholic Community', pp. 179-98.
[203] Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure*, p. 138.
[204] Barnard, *Guide to Sources,* p. 55; Ainsworth, 'Abstracts to Seventeenth Century Irish Wills', pp. 36-7.
[205] TCD, Deposition of John Shrawley, MS 831, fols 075r-076v [accessed January 2015].

indicated that elite objects could also be produced domestically. Their presence was limited in number and geographic distribution when compared to the presence of craftsmen associated with clothworking and building. Prior industrial experiments performed by entrepreneurial individuals failed to establish centres of luxury production in Ireland. Six goldsmiths appeared in the depositions primarily operating out of Leinster, more specifically Dublin.[206] When it came to silver, Irish consumers favoured London craftsmanship, which allowed for the transmission of fashion into provincial Ireland.[207] George Fitzgerald, the sixteenth earl of Kildare, sought the talent of the London goldsmith Nathanial Stoughton who in 1632 wrote to the earl for directions:

> …whether the candlesticks shall be all one size or no and how near they shall be to those I sent my Lord of Cork by Sir Edward Bagshaw, or whether the three dozen spoons shall be all of one size, all of a fashion, because we make 6 pounds a dozen, and well as of five etc., but the fashion and price I will wait upon your Lordship for direction.'[208]

London silver was more expensive than Irish silver, yet in 1637 the establishment of the Goldsmiths' Company of Dublin ensured the end of using lower standard metal.[209] By 1638, Dublin merchants were selling Irish silver spoons alongside silver spoons of the 'London touch.'[210] Nathanial Stoughton could be found in the Dublin Company by 1649, but his deposition in 1642 suggested an earlier move to Ireland with a growing client list consisting of Audley Marvin, Lord Bishop of Kilfenora, Ambrose Plunket, James Talbot, and Pierce Butler.[211] The goldsmith Thomas Parnell appeared to have found a profitable trade in Dublin and claimed that his craft brought him £40 per year. Loeber noted that at least twenty-five Dutch goldsmiths were identified living near Dublin City in 1639.[212] As previously mentioned, however, the depositions did not provide extensive evidence concerning other occupations associated with luxury production. Only one clockmaker appeared in Limerick

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[206] TCD, Deposition of Gregory Hickman, MS 829, fols 063r-065v; Deposition of John Woodcock, MS 810, fols 193r-194v; Deposition of Nathaniell Stoufhton, MS 810, fols 181r-182v; Deposition of Thomas Parnell, MS 810, fols 242r-243v; Deposition of Lilles, MS 829, fols 132r-133v; Deposition of William Cooke, MS 815, fols 114r-114v [accessed January 2015]. For additional goldsmiths in Dublin, see Inventory of William Cotton and Inventory of Thomas Preston, *Pleas in the Sheriffs Court of Dublin,* BL, Add. MS 11687, fols 123, 133.
[207] Jessica Cunningham, '"The fashion and price I will wait upon your lordship's direction": The Acquisition of Domestic Silver in Early Seventeenth-century Ireland.' Paper presented at The Tudor and Stuart Ireland Conference, 2014. Available from: https://tudorstuartireland.com/past-conferences [accessed August 2016].
[208] Clarke and McGrath, *Letterbook of George, 16th Earl of Kildare,* pp. 50-1.
[209] H. F. Berry, 'The Goldsmiths' Company of Dublin', *Journal of Cork Historical and Archaeological Society, Series 2* 8 (1902), pp. 29-50.
[210] See the Inventory of Nicholas [H]ewes, *Please in the Sheriffs Court Dublin,* BL, Add. MS 11687, fols 132-3.
[211] TCD, Deposition of Nathaniell Stoughton, MS 810, fols 181r-182v [accessed January 2015].
[212] Loeber, 'English and Irish Sources for the History of Dutch Economic Activity in Ireland', p. 74.

and few craftsmen existed to carry out skilled labour required for embroidery or silk weaving.[213]

Of course, the depositions failed to illuminate prior native traditions of luxury consumption. Gernon's account of Irish necklaces decorated with precious stones, and attire ornamented with silver buttons spoke to the work of native goldsmiths. Pictorial evidence of Irish jewellery emerged in the sixteenth-century illustrations of Lucas d'Heere. Crucifixes and metal adornments decorated the Irishwomen's necks and gowns in the artist's representations (Plate 24). After the 'spoliation' of the monasteries beginning in 1538, traditional Irish goldsmiths' former patrons vanished, and the artisans had to find a place in the new Protestant order.[214] Evidence of Elizabethan native goldsmiths can be found in graveyard slabs and legal documents. In 1538, a grant of pardon was provided to John Conil, a goldsmith of Dungarvan, Co. Waterford; and a carved memorial in 'French Church' Waterford commemorates the goldsmith Cornelius Hurley.[215]

Conclusion

At first glance, the destruction of household goods in 1641 reaffirmed earlier English accounts that described the Irish population's disregard for material objects. Instead of preserving the objects for domestic use, insurgents' chose to sell, break, refashion and sometimes burn the items. Cabinets were dismantled into useful pieces of timber, feathers were pulled out of mattresses to create carrying vessels, and pages from bibles were torn to wrap candles. While some of these actions clearly held stronger undertones of religious discontent than others, the depositions illustrated how individuals employed household goods during a state of societal upheaval. Arguably, the deponents' delicate cabinets and musical instruments would have initially appeared impractical to many poorer Irishmen and women. The Protestants' collection of livestock and provision spoke to the Irish population's more immediate needs. Yet, similar to the recirculation of clothing, the value of stolen household goods was not wholly overlooked. Many of these items would be adopted into the homes of insurgents, widening the reach of luxury consumption.

In a broader European context, the appearance of canopied beds, chairs, concealed cupboard shelves and locked trunks spoke to the growing desire for privacy in the deponents'

[213] For clockmaker, see TCD, Deposition of James Craven, MS 829, fols 379r-380v [accessed January 2015]. For embroider, see TCD, Deposition of John Hopkins, MS 823, fol. 088r [accessed January 2015].
[214] Conor O'Brien, 'The Goldsmiths of Waterford', *JRSAI* 133 (2003), pp. 111-129, specifically p. 114.
[215] O'Brien, 'The Goldsmiths of Waterford', pp. 113-4.

homes. The violence enacted upon beds communicated an intense disruption of English civil society. During the rebellion, victims were deprived of the comfort that a bed provided for sleep, sickness and death. While privacy played a significant role in the curtained sleeping accommodation of the well-to-do, it was not the superseding ideal for life in early modern Ireland.[216] Decorative objects could be placed in the more public areas of the home to announce the occupant's elite status, particularly in homes that upheld the hall's traditional importance as a social space.[217] Indeed, the rebellion presented a chance for neighbours to acquire the fine silver and embroidered hangings they had admired in these public spaces during prior visits. The Gaelic elite involved in the rebellion incorporated stolen plate and trunks into their home furnishings, relishing the opportunity to increase the material accoutrements of their households. As the deposition of the goldsmith Nathanial Stoughton suggested, the movement of London's goldsmiths to Dublin proposed that there was a fruitful market for luxury goods in Ireland by 1642. Dublin inventories taken two to three years before the rebellion spoke to the standard of amenity that those in the Pale enjoyed. Like their counterparts in England, yeomen, shoemakers and maltsters in Dublin embraced the fashionable furnishings that had previously been reserved for the elite.[218]

For household goods, transportability was a crucial quality not only within the context of widespread robbery, but also the broader context of colonial life. During an era of migration, these objects held clues to their owners' providence and their prior travels. Engaging with the most up-to-date fashions, Sir Hardress Waller brought house clocks and Venice glass from England to his residence in Co. Limerick. The moveable locked trunks and chests restated practices of possession discussed in the context of architecture that defined English spatial boundaries. In Ireland, where such boundaries were more porous, rebels made a direct attack upon the 'civilised' settlement of the Protestant deponents. Lists of highly valued lost items (such as beds, saltcellars, silver plate and court cupboards) pointed to traditions of inheritance. In these instances, robbery not only ensured the poverty of the victim, but also that victim's children.

As with the case of clothing, one must question how particular objects would be employed in their new homes. Would stolen saltcellars be set upon the tables of the Gaelic elite? Would insurgents sleep upon the mattresses and bedsteads of their Protestant victims? The role of household objects in the memory of the 1641 rebellion is something left to be

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[216] For debate of privacy, see Lena Cowen Orlin, *Private Matters and Public Culture in Post-Reformation England* (London, 1994).
[217] For further discussion, see Susan Flavin's forthcoming article 'Domestic Materiality in Ireland, 1530-1730.' Many thanks to Dr. Flavin for sharing this with me.
[218] For English context, see Crowley, *Invention of Comfort,* pp. 69-74.

explored. Yet, clearly victims would not forget the financial and emotional distress it inflicted upon them in the years to come.

THE HEARTH

The Material Culture of Cooking and Eating

William Free's deposition provided the image of a fully equipped kitchen in 1641. As a resident of Co. Kildare's 'chief corporate town', Free possessed four salts, one basin, flagons, a brass pot, brass skillets, ladles, a chafing dish, a spice mortar, iron pots, pot hooks, racks, spits and two iron grates. To dine, William Free, his wife and daughter had the choice of twenty-four pewter dishes and six silver spoons, and could enjoy the home-brewed beer that he stored in the cellar.[1] However, following the outbreak of rebellion, Free could no longer account for the location of his cooking and dining utensils. They were either destroyed or dispersed among the households of his rebellious neighbours.

While there is a growing interest in the material culture of cooking in England, the historiography concerning the cooking implements of Gaelic Irish relies primarily upon visitors' accounts.[2] Illustrations dating back from Gerald of Wales in the twelfth-century and John Derricke's *Image of Ireland* (1581) showed meat cooked its own hide over a fire (Plate 17). In *The First Book of the Introduction of Knowledge*, Andrew Boorde's comical account of an Irishman rhymed, 'I do not use no pot to seethe my meat in/ Wherefore I do boil it in a beast's skin.'[3] Food was presented on wooden platters rather than pewter (a tradition akin to the 'English trade') and Moryson scoffed at the abhorrent lack of spoons.[4] Such accounts suggested a complete disinterest in using cooking and eating utensils or, at the very least, a preference for ephemeral materials. In some ways, native dietary practices were intrinsically tied to culinary choices. Their enjoyment of cockles, cited in the 1641 Depositions and noted later by William Petty, indicated a tradition in which pots and plates became expendable.[5] Irishmen and women ate these molluscs fresh from the sea.

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[1] TCD, online transcript of the Note of losses of William Free, MS 813, fols 007r-007v. Available from: http://1641.tcd.ie [accessed June 2014]. All the following cited depositions have been retrieved online from: http://1641.tcd.ie.

[2] For England, see Antony Buxton, *Domestic Culture of Early Modern England* (Woodbridge, 2014); Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson (eds), *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and Its Meanings* (Farnham, 2010); Sara Pennell, 'Pots and Pans History: The Material Culture of the Kitchen in Early Modern England', *Journal of Design History* 11, no. 3 (1998), pp. 201-16

[3] Printed in Tony Crowley, *The Politics of Language in Ireland 1366-1922: A Sourcebook* (London, 2000) pp. 243-4.

[4] John Small (ed.), *The Image of Irelande with a Discouerie of Woodkerne, by John Derricke, 1581* (Edinburgh, 1883) p. 54; Clare McCutcheon and Rosanne Meenan, 'Pots on the Hearth: Domestic Pottery in Historic Ireland', in Elizabeth Fitzpatrick and James Kelly (eds.), *Domestic Life in Ireland* (Dublin, 2011) pp. 92-3.

[5] TCD, Deposition of Edward Leech, MS 810, fols 244r-245v [accessed May 2015]; Sir William Petty, *The Political Anatomy of Ireland [1672],* in Charles Henry Hull (ed.), *The Economic Writings of Sir William Petty* (Cambridge, 1899) p. 191.

By the seventeenth-century, the diet of Ireland's inhabitants exhibited a range of consumables. Deponents' reported the loss of poultry, beef, bacon, herring, eggs, wheat and oats stored within the barrels, tubs and pots of their homes. Rebels dug up potatoes and parsnips from deponents' gardens and plucked the ripened apples from their orchards. Much like the native Irish, British deponents kept small herds of dairy cows and employed dairy vessels to produce milk and cheese. According to Moryson, milk—rather than meat—was the life source of the Irish inhabitants. It was drunk in great quantities, mixed into broths and transformed into curds, cheese and butter.[6] In Ulster, a relative absence of dairies, outhouses and their associated vessels suggested to Nicholas Canny that settlers were merely continuing a pre-existing Gaelic industry rather than building something new.[7]

Regarding indigenous cuisine, A. T. Lucas's pioneering study in the 1960s set the scene by using well-known literary sources.[8] Clarkson and Crawford have built upon this research in an attempt to reject the famine-obsessed literature concerning the nineteenth-century. In a chapter solely devoted to the early modern period, the pair employed military records and the 1641 Depositions to explore the basic elements of diet: meat, dairy and bread.[9] In more recent investigations, researchers have analysed placenames to extract evidence of indigenous food traditions that included cattle, dairy products, pigs, poultry, game, fish, cereals, honey, wild garlic, apples and wine. [10] Recent archaeological discoveries of animal bones have shown a greater consumption of beef than previously proposed.[11] Such sources force historians to revaluate literary sources, not simply for accounts of food, but also dinning customs.

Susan Flavin's study of the sixteenth-century portrayed an Irish population that was interacting with Continental as well as English tastes.[12] Of what has been previously established, the material culture of Ireland has been deeply impacted by the fact that it did not possess a strong pottery trade. What little pottery it required was often imported after the Anglo-Norman invasion rather then produced in local kilns. Although English surnames appeared in the *Guild Merchant Roll* of Dublin's potters, crockers and tillers of the twelfth-century, by the fifteenth-century many of professions most likely found themselves associated

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[6] Fynes Moryson, 'Description of Ireland', p. 228. Available at CELT from: http://www.ucc.ie/celt/online/T100071.html [accessed October 2014].
[7] Nicholas P. Canny, *Making Ireland British 1580-1650* (Oxford, 2001) p. 351.
[8] A. T. Lucas, 'Irish Food Before the Potato', *Gwerin* 3 (1960), pp. 8-43.
[9] L. A. Clarkson and E. Margaret Crawford, *Feast and Famine: A History of Food and Nutrition in Ireland, 1500-1920* (Oxford, 2001).
[10] Máirtín Mac Con Iomaire, 'Gastro-Topography: Exploring Food-Related Placenames in Ireland', *The Canadian Journal of the Irish Studies* 38 n.1/2 (2014), pp. 126–57
[11] McCon Iomaire, 'Gastro-Topography', p. 129.
[12] See Susan Flavin, *Consumption and Culture in Sixteenth-Century Ireland* (Woodbridge, 2014) pp. 243-9.

with the building trade rather than pottery.[13] However, the tradition of wooden vessels, as historians McCutcheon and Meenan noted, were 'long standing.' Regulations listed in the *Dublin Assembly Roll* in 1633 specifically addressed those 'that bringe earthen wares and timber wares.'[14] Unsurprisingly, evidence concerning the native elite painted a very different scene. Affluent households in Ireland and their range of cooking equipment reflected castles' self-sufficiency in providing food and drink for its residents. The inventory of Castleisland, Co. Kerry, listed tubs for cheese, butter churns and equipment used to make mustard.[15]

Unfortunately, little has been written concerning Ireland's cooking and eating utensils, primarily due to an absence of recipe books, probate inventories and household accounts. Madeline Shanahan isolated a collection of recipe manuscripts in the National Library of Ireland, however, her sources emerged from the mid-seventeenth-century to the nineteenth-century.[16] The absence of medieval Irish language examples suggested that such texts can be 'seen as part of a suite of English cultural elements which took root in Ireland at this time, as part of the colonisation and ultimately partial Anglicisation of the island.'[17] Although the depositions did not reveal the use of recipes or cookbooks, they did indicate the use of instructive texts and the spread of such material in Ireland. When faced with growing cattle disease, George Creighton turned to 'Gowges husbandry' to show the rebels how to save the lives of the stolen beasts.[18] While somewhat sparsely described, cooking items can be explored in the depositions, adding to a needed discussion of Ireland's culinary world. Deponents' tendency not to name cooking materials in a majority of cases stops statistical analysis to establish consumption patterns. Although this limits the overall analytical nature of this chapter, instances of material culture must be sifted out for the benefit of future researchers once trends have been established. This study will inevitably draw out more detailed descriptions of British deponents' inventories, however, it will also highlight native traditions embedded within the depositions to reveal the co-existence of cultures in early modern Ireland.

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[13] McCutcheon and Meenan, 'Pots on the Hearth', pp. 94-5.
[14] Cited in McCutcheon and Meenan, 'Pots on the Hearth', p. 95. See also John T. Gilbert, *Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin, Vol. 1* (London, 1889) pp. 278-9.
[15] Kiernan O'Shea, 'A Castleisland Inventory, 1590', *Journal of the Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society* xv-xvi (1982), pp. 37-46.
[16] Madeline Shanahan, *Manuscript Recipe Books as Archaeological Objects: Text and Food in the Early Modern World* (Maryland, 2014).
[17] Shanahan, *Manuscript Recipe Books,* p. 87.
[18] This may refer to Markham Gervases' *Cheape and Good Husbandry* (1615). See TCD, Deposition of George Creighton, MS 833, fols 227r-242v [accessed June 2015].

Cooking and Eating Materials

Wood, Leather and Clay

Toby Barnard reported that in Ireland wealth and status, 'were largely embodied in perishables—livestock and their by-products—the strongest impression is of material deprivation.' [19] Yet, as Flavin's research demonstrated, shipments of glass, pottery and metalware proposed that more refined habits existed before the influx of English and Welsh settlers in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth-centuries.[20] By the end of the sixteenth-century, wooden trenchers (flat tableware common in sixteenth-century England) would be an item of mass consumption in Ireland. Flavin suggested that the upturn in trenchers after the 1580s reflected the arrival of settlers into Munster following the plantation.[21] In the parallel world of early America, wooden platters and trenchers were just some of the 'needefull things' settlers were advised to take to New England colonies.[22] The sustained demand for the dishes following the failure of the Munster Plantation suggested that these wooden vessels were acquired by both native and newcomer populations in the seventeenth-century.[23] In 1640, the merchant John Skiddy listed six dozen trenchers in his Waterford home.[24] Wooden vessels appeared in the depositions of the Protestant victims to demonstrate that more ordinary consumption traditions existed alongside elite dinning conventions.[25] Edward Hamnet—a gentleman in Co. Offaly who claimed over £4,000 in assets—possessed utilitarian wooden wares 'of all sorts' as well as brass, pewter and iron items.[26] Wooden vessels would additionally feature in the homes of other gentlemen, tanners and Protestant yeomen.[27]

Additional forms of wooden storage were those built by coopers, such as casks and barrels.[28] Irish history boosted a strong coopering tradition with early literature describing wooden vessels used to hold ale or milk, or employed as tubs for bathing. Such vessels would

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[19] Toby Barnard, 'Material Cultures', in Alvin Jackson (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Modern History* (Oxford, 2014) p. 252. See also Susan Flavin and Evan T. Jones (eds), *Bristol's Trade with Ireland and the Continent 1503–1601* (Dublin, 2009).
[20] Flavin and Jones, *Bristol's Trade with Ireland.* Flavin's research is also discussed in Barnard, 'Material Cultures', p. 252.
[21] Flavin, *Consumption and Culture*, pp. 196-7.
[22] George F. Dow, *Every Day Life in the Massachusetts Bay Colony* (Maryland, 2007) p. 84; Flavin, *Consumption and Culture,* p. 197.
[23] Flavin, *Consumption and Culture,* p. 197.
[24] Julian C. Walton, 'The Household Effects of a Waterford Merchant Family', *The Journal of Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* 83 (1978), pp. 102-5.
[25] For examples, see TCD, Deposition of Grizell Holmstead, MS 814, fols 251r-252v; Deposition of George Creighton, MS 833, fols 227r-242v [accessed June 2015].
[26] TCD, Deposition of Edward Hamnett, MS 814, fols 180r-181v [accessed June 2015].
[27] TCD, Deposition of John Watson, MS 811, fols 104r-104v; Deposition of [H] Bringhurst, MS 831, fols 201v-208v; Deposition of William Leighe, MS 818, fols 119r-120v [accessed June 2014].
[28] Frank Ryan, 'A History of Coopering', *Archaeology Ireland* 7, no. 2 (1993), pp. 27-30.

be integral features of monasteries and wealthy households where social and religious pressures required them to keep vats of beer and milk for passing guests.[29] Because ceramics were less widely used in Ireland than the rest of early and later medieval Western Europe, casks and barrels proved to be particularly important in an Irish context.[30] Archaeological evidence from the medieval period showed that native coopers' work was aesthetically motivated: 'ornamental consideration were often given precedence over efficiency' when they combined naturally attractive wood with metal furnishings.[31] Deponents listed as coopers lost hoops and vessels of timber required for their trade.[32] Over thirty coopers were cited in the depositions as Protestant victims, native Irish rebels, or 'papist' converts. A majority of these individuals were cited in Co. Cork's depositions. Because they could be found throughout Munster, Ulster and Leinster, the depositions suggested that there was a sustained coopering tradition in the seventeenth-century that could contribute to storing Irish goods and carry them abroad.

The prevalence of butchers and tanners involved in the production of animal skins suggested that leather would have been a more accessible material to carry drink or food when compared to glass or pottery (Figure 7). Of all the trades listed in the depositions, butchery and tannery were some of the most pervasive (second only to smiths) and featured across all provinces in twenty-six counties.[33] This not only suggested their multitude, but also the community's habitual interaction with the local butcher or tanner. Richard Knowles of Co. Fermanagh stated that he knew parishioners because they were neighbours whom he had dealings with as a butcher.[34] The regular presence of Gaelic surnames in the collection of butchers may indicate a mixture of traditions, but more strongly implied the presence of trade relationships between differing ethnicities and religious identities. After selling the glover Peter Fletcher sheep skins, a Catholic butcher invited Peter to a tavern for a drink of wine where he warned Peter about upcoming events, urging him to attend mass and carry rosary beads to shroud his Protestant identity.[35]

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[29] Ryan, 'A History of Coopering', p. 29; Martin G. Cornet, 'Stave-Built Wooden Vessels from Medieval Ireland', *The Journal of Irish Archaeology* 12/13 (2003/2004), pp. 33-77.
[30] Cornet, 'Stave-Built Wooden Vessels', p. 55.
[31] Cornet, 'Stave-Built Wooden Vessels', pp. 55-6.
[32] TCD, Deposition of John Dane and Johane Dane, MS 820, fols 190r-190v [accessed June 2015].
[33] For discussion of smiths' importance in the social context of seventeenth-century towns, see Colin Breen, *Dunluce Castle: Archaeology and History* (Dublin, 2012) pp. 157-60.
[34] TCD, Deposition of Richard Knowles, MS 835, fols 129r-130v [accessed June 2015].
[35] TCD, Examination of Peter Fletcher, MS 809, fols 210r-210v [accessed June 2015].

	Butcher	Tanner	Chandler	Dairyman	Baker	Cook	Innholder/ Innkeeper	Alehouse-keeper	Vintner	Brewer
Ulster	**13**	**17**	**2**	**0**	**5**	**4**	**9**	**0**	**1**	**0**
Antrim	2	1			1	2				
Armagh	2	4	2		1		2			
Cavan	4	6			3		2			
Coleraine		1								
Donegal	1									
Down						2				
Fermanagh	4	3					1			
Londonderry		2					1			
Monaghan							2		1	
Tyrone							1			
Leinster	**39**	**23**	**1**	**1**	**9**	**13**	**35**	**5**	**8**	**3**
Carlow	2						1			
Dublin	12	2		1	5	3	10	2	7	2
Kildare	3	1			1	2	6	1		
Kilkenny	4					1				
Laois	2	6				2	1			
Longford	2	1					2		1	
Louth							1			
Meath	5	4					4	2		
Offaly	1	2				1	3			
Westmeath	5	2				2				
Wexford	2	3	1		2	1	2			
Wicklow	1	2			1	1	5			1
Munster	**52**	**53**	**7**	**1**	**5**	**5**	**53**	**1**	**3**	**5**
Cork	24	35	2	1	2	2	17	1	1	1
Clare	5	1					5			
Limerick	6	6	2		1	2	3			2
Kerry	2		1				5			
Tipperary	1	6			1		18			1
Waterford	14	5	2		1	1	5		2	1
Connacht	**4**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**
Galway			1		**1**					
Leitrim		1				1				
Mayo							1			
Roscommon	2									
Sligo	2					1				

Figure. 7 Number of individuals associated with animal products and food preparation.

It comes to no surprise that tanners and skinners reported the loss of leather more frequently than the remaining deponents. This was, of course, because the material was central to their livelihood. Because of leathers' ephemeral value, many claimants may not have reported its absence, apart from those instances that specifically mentioned shoes or gloves. It also may have been more closely associated with individuals from lower economic backgrounds participating in native pastoral traditions as in Ulster where 'leather working activity reflected the continued centrality of pastoralism in Ireland.'[36] Archaeological evidence pointed to the use of leather, as well as wood and basketry, in sod homes built during the late sixteenth or early seventeenth-centuries.[37] Although tanners' uncollected debts from brogue-makers indicated that large volumes of leather provided footwear, the material may have also been fashioned into food and drink receptacles as well as exported abroad.[38]

Throughout the early modern world ceramic pots played an important role in preserving consumables such as salted meats and fish, particularly over the winter. Depositions describing the robberies committed in the weeks before Christmas reported the

[36] Audrey J. Horning, *Ireland in the Virginian Sea: Colonialism in the British Atlantic* (Chapel Hill, 2013) p. 254.
[37] Horning, *Ireland in the Virginian Sea,* p. 58.
[38] For examples, see TCD, Deposition of John Sampson, MS 822, fols 020r-020v; Deposition of Rebecca Bennet ex parte Nicholas Bennett, MS 825, fols 148r-148v; Deposition of Thomas Lassells, MS 825, fols 314r-314v; Deposition of Giles Dangger, MS 824, fols 163r-163v [accessed January 2015]. For export of animal hides and skins, see Robert J. Hunter (ed.), *Ulster Port Books 1612-1615* (Belfast, 2012).

presence of salt, herring, bacon and barrels of beef.[39] Artefacts recovered from Jamestown, Virginia present examples of English ceramics employed by seventeenth-century settler populations.[40] Interestingly, no herring could be found in the Ulster depositions, which is a reoccurring trend in the documentary record. Vicky McAlister observed its absence in the Ulster port books and attributed this to the movement of the Irish sea herring shoals that only returned to the region in the eighteenth-century.[41]

While beef and fish were often described in relation to wooden barrels or large casks, butter may have also been produced and stored in stoneware.[42] In England, cooper-made vessels as well as earthenware were employed for butter churns.[43] Gervase Markham encouraged households to salt and pot unwashed butter into 'clean earthen pots, exceedingly well leaded' for long-term preservation.[44] Thomas Porter, a British Protestant in Co. Cavan, allegedly kept his butter in three tubs, or open wooden vessels, which would have been preferred for cold vaults rather than long keeping.[45]

The frequency of drinking in the depositions and the prevalence of inn, alehouse and tavern keepers may indicate a more prevalent use of glass, stone or earthenware than initially evident.[46] A Dublin vintner Anthony Rookes possessed a range of glassware and drinking receptacles to serve his customers.[47] Archaeologists use assemblages of drinking vessels, many of them ceramic, as well as wine glasses and pipe stems to identify the remains of

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[39] TCD, Deposition of William Hull, MS 824, fols 253r-259r; Deposition of John Todd, MS 818, fols 044r-044v [accessed June 2015]. For herring, see Deposition of John Barlett, MS 812, fols 049r-049v; Deposition of William Gellson, MS 811, fols 054r-054v; Depositions of Margery Hazard and Thomas Hincke, MS 822, fols 113r-113v; Deposition of William Woodes, MS 811, fols 114r-115v; Examination of Bryan o Hara, MS 809, fols 122r-123v [accessed June 2015].

[40] McCutcheon and Meenan, 'Pots on the Hearth', p. 105. For examples of beef, fish and butter, see TCD, Note of Losses of William Free; Deposition of Thomas Richardson, MS 837, fols 012r-013v; Deposition of Richard Northcrosse, MS 811, fols 086r-086v; Deposition of William Woodes, MS 811, fols 114r-115v [accessed June 2014].

[41] See Vicky McAlister, 'The Death of the Towerhouse? An Examination of the Decline of the Irish Castle Tradition', in Vicky McAlister and Terrence B. Barry (eds), *Space and Settlement in Medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 2015) p. 139.

[42] For examples of butter, TCD, Deposition of Hugh Madden, MS 811, fols 074r-074v; Deposition of Thomas Watson, MS 812, fols 042r-043v; Deposition of Edward Sherwyn, TCD, MS 833, fols 064r-065v [accessed January 2015].

[43] Peter Brears, *Cooking and Dining in Tudor and Early Stuart England* (Totnes, 2015) p. 91.

[44] Gervase Markham, *The English Housewife: Containing the Inward and Outward Virtues Which Ought to be in a Complete Woman…*, edited by Michael R. Best (London, 1994) pp. 173-4.

[45] TCD, Deposition of Thomas Porter, MS 833, fols 180r-180v [accessed June 2015]. For more on butter, see Markham, *The English Housewife,* pp. 169-70; Antony Buxton, *Domestic Culture in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge, 2015) p. 103.

[46] For a few drinking examples, see TCD, Examination of Blaughlyn Hart, MS 826, fol. 072r; Deposition of Henry Boyne, MS 839, fols 010r-011v; Examination of Richard Duff, MS 834, fols 024r-024v [accessed June 2015].

[47] Inventory of Anthonie Rookes, *Pleas in the Sheriffs Court Dublin,* BL, Add. MS 11687, fols 128-9.

taverns.[48] In his examination, Gilduff O'Cahan testified that he drank wine inside James Stewart's home in the town near Dunluce.[49] Archaeologists have uncovered shards of glass bottles during excavations on the town's site.[50] Themes concerning alcoholic consumption, and its nationalistic implications, have been discussed more broadly by Susan Flavin and Audrey Horning.[51] An assessment of alcohol-related establishments in the depositions revealed an ethnically mixed population of inn-keepers and alehouse-keepers. The depositions, therefore, projected a more optimistic image of inn distribution than that described by Edmund Spencer who made the claim that there were '…noe Innes, nor none otherwise to bee bought for money.'[52] As Spenser noted, Gaelic traditions of hospitality, or 'coshering', initially hindered the popularity of these institutions by commercialising a service customarily provided freely.[53] Katherine Simms argued it was 'the practice of humbler travellers also to demand hospitality as a right rather than a favour.'[54] Irish residents could be observed in the depositions providing 'meat and drink and aquavitae' to fellow Irishmen, but also inciting quarrels when they refused to pay the British hosts for their drinks.[55]

Lists of pots or bottles in the depositions suggested the presence of stone or ceramic material, particularly in regard to the consumption of aqua vita, or medicinal practices.[56] Excavations at Rathfarnham Castle in Dublin presented a set of seventeenth-century pottery used as ointment jars (Plate 28). Similar materials might have been employed by Thomas Andrew, a gentleman in Co. Clare, who kept his 'Phisical druggs' in pots and glasses.[57] However, most cases described pots in reference to brass or iron, presumably because of these

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[48] Kathleen Joan Bragdon, 'Occupational Difference Reflected in Material Culture', *Northeast Historical Archaeology* 10, no. 10 (1981), article 4.
[49] TCD, Examination of Gilduff O'Cahan, MS 838, fols 24r-26v [accessed June 2015].
[50] Breen, *Dunluce Castle: Archaeology and History*, p. 168.
[51] Flavin, *Consumption and Culture,* pp. 173-84; Audrey J. Horning, '"The Root of All Vice and Bestiality": Exploring the Cultural Role of the Alehouse in the Ulster Plantation', in James Lyttleton and Colin Rynne (eds), *Plantation Ireland: Settlement and Material Culture, C. 1500-1700* (Dublin, 2009) pp. 113-31. For discussion of alcohol and English nationalism, see John Nicholls, *The Politics of Alcohol: A History of Drink Question in England* (Manchester, 2011).
[52] See statement of Irenius in Edmund Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland.* Available at CELT from: http://celt.ucc.ie/published/E500000-001 [accessed February 2014).
[53] For more on Irish hospitality, see Katharine Simms, 'Guesting and Feasting in Gaelic Ireland', *JRSAI* 108 (1978), p. 68; Jane H. Ohlmeyer, *Making Ireland English: The Irish Aristocracy in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 2012) pp. 426-28; Paul Walsh, *Irish Chiefs and Leaders,* edited by Colm O'Lochlainn (Dublin, 1960) pp. 134-5; Horning 'The Root of All Vice and Bestiality', p. 118.
[54] Simms, 'Guesting and Feasting', p. 75.
[55] TCD, Deposition of John Wyld, MS 817, fols 081r-081v. For tobacco see, Deposition of Mary Phillipps, MS 829, fols 435r-436v; Deposition of William Tynnes, MS 821, fols 035r-036v; Declaration by Patrick Mooreheade, MS 830, fols 077r-078v; Deposition of John Glencorse, MS 837, fol. 131v; Examination of Neile oge o Quin, MS 838, fols 038r-039v [accessed June 2015].
[56] For aqua vita bottles and pots, see TCD, Examination of Robert ffuthy, MS 838, fols 059r-060r; Deposition of John Wyld; Information of Thomas Dixon, MS 838, fols 087r-087v; Deposition of Edmund Welsh, MS 814, fols 118r-118v [accessed June 2015].
[57] TCD, Deposition of Thomas Andrew, MS 829, fols 008r-008v [accessed June 2015].

items' superior value to that of pottery.[58] As observed in the probate inventories of seventeenth-century England, pottery may not have been listed because of its cheapness.[59] The depositions also cited the presence of mortars and pestles, used to grind ingredients for cookery and or pharmacy.[60] During the seventeenth-century, these could be fashioned from marble, glass, brass, iron or wood.[61] Alabaster mortars appeared in the kitchen of the sixteenth earl of Kildare as well as the home of a wealthy widow in Dublin.[62]

Claims of lost earthenware (a material made from porous fired clay and glazed to make impermeable) were rare in the depositions.[63] Susan Flavin proposed that an absence of earthenware in the late sixteenth-century Bristol trade accounts suggested the diversified role of minor ports in England rather than a lack of demand.[64] Large quantities of earthenware appeared in Sir Hardress Waller's Limerick residence where he kept white earthenware bottles, basins, cups, chamber pots and a dozen more earthen bottles used for storage in his cellar.[65] Its general absence in the depositions may be a result of the undetailed accounts of household goods. Additionally, new settlers stocking their homes must have considered ceramic items' durability. As Sara Pennell proposed, early modern consumers may have pondered 'How long is this going to last? How much am I willing to spend on this, if it has this inbuilt weakness? And, if it is damaged or breaks, what shall I do with it?'[66] Lucy Spell was willing to risk the destruction of a prized ceramic object while travelling back to England. After a failed attempt to escape by boat to Liverpool that resulted in the loss of her goods, Lucy recognised her missing earthen jug sitting in the home of Dennis Connor.[67] Her ability to identify her object may speak to the decorative personalisation techniques used on earthenware. Inherited objects were often inscribed with a name or memorable date to identify

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[58] For examples, see TCD, Deposition of William Seamer, MS 811, fols 093r-093v; Deposition of John Watson, MS 811, fols 104r-104v; Deposition of George Boothe, MS 816, fols 108r-108v; Deposition of Edmund Welsh, MS 814, fols 118r-118v [accessed June 2015].
[59] Jane Whittle and Elizabeth Griffiths, *Consumption and Gender in Early Seventeenth-Century Household: The World of Alice Le Strange* (Oxford, 2912) p. 144.
[60] TCD, Deposition of Colley Phillips, MS 814, fols 123r-124v; Note of losses of William Free, MS 813, fols 007r-007v; Deposition of Robert Howell, MS 812, fols 244r-245v [accessed June 2014].
[61] 'mortar, n.1', *OED Online*. Available from: http://www.oed.com [accessed March 2016]. For an example of a marble pestle, see the Inventory of Humphrey Penn, *Pleas in the Sheriffs Court Dublin,* BL, Add. MS 11687, fol. 140.
[62] Jane Fenlon, *Goods & Chattels: A Survey of Early Household Inventories in Ireland* (Dublin, 2003) pp. 39-40; Inventory of Ellinor Luttrell, *Pleas in the Sheriffs Court Dublin*. BL, Add. MS 11687, fol. 125-6.
[63] 'earthenware, n.', *OED Online*. Available from: http://www.oed.com [accessed March 2016].
[64] Flavin, *Consumption and Culture,* pp. 216-7.
[65] TCD, Deposition of Sir Hardress Waller, MS 829, fols 284r-290v [accessed June 2014].
[66] Sara Pennell, '"For a crack or flaw despis'd": Thinking about Ceramic Durability and the "Everyday" in Late Seventeenth Century and Early Eighteenth Century England', in Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson (eds), *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and Its Meanings* (Farnham, 2010) p. 24. Her set of questions was adapted from Brown, 'Social Significance of Imported Medieval Pottery', in Christopher G. Cumperbatch and Paul Blinkhorn (eds), *Not So Much a Pot, More a Way of Life* (Oxford, 1997) pp. 95-112.
[67] TCD, Deposition of Luce Spell, MS 834, fols 006r-007v [accessed June 2015].

the time of donation or marriage. Pennell explained that on a practical level, 'monograms and decorative patterns enabled the owner to identify objects and vessels when they had been stolen.'[68] Lucy's account presented one obvious method in which English materials circulated in Ireland: accompanying their owners by ship. In other cases, pirate ships laded with dozens of earthen dishes carried the material into Ireland bringing other valuables such luxury cloth and elephants' teeth.[69] In the southeast of Ireland, merchants were able to stock their homes with earthen dishes, jugs, pots and glass bottles that they collected from their travels.[70]

In regard to the domestic production of clay material, there is only one instance of a 'clay potter' in the depositions: Edward Bisphum of Co. Leitrim.[71] Other cases of ceramic manufacturing occurred in Leinster and Munster. William Hodgson, a blacksmith for 'Viscount Merriyong' in Co. Dublin, recalled that his master's potter Daniel Dillon attacked two soldiers one evening in July.[72] The chandler John Johnson reported that George Cole had been a potter practicing in Co. Kerry.[73] The English Protestant potter James Dober had been employed at McCollop Castle (historically a Fitzgerald castle granted to Sir Walter Raleigh in 1587) in Co. Waterford to supply the household with necessary ceramic objects. Transplanted artisans, like James Dober, helped to spread English craftsmanship into southeast Ireland in the seventeenth-century.[74] The tobacco pipe-maker Edward Abott of Co. Waterford additionally indicated the use of pottery for the production of clay pipes (Plate 29).[75] As such, an investigation into the occurrence of smoking in the depositions may also reflect a greater use of ceramic material than initially evident.[76] In the beginning of the century, smoking appeared to be an elite, English activity. In 1603, Josias Bodley reported that pipes had been

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[68] Pennell, 'Pots and Pans History', p. 211.
[69] Charles W. Russell and John P. Prendergast (eds), *CSPI, James I, 1615-1625* (London, 1880) p. 586.
[70] Walton, 'The Household Effects of a Waterford Merchant Family', p. 103.
[71] TCD, Deposition of Edward Bisphum, MS 831, fols 024r-24v [accessed June 2015].
[72] TCD, Deposition of William Hodgson, MS 810, fols 318r-319r [accessed June 2015].
[73] TCD, Deposition of John Johnson, MS 828, fols 286r-287v [accessed June 2015].
[74] TCD, Deposition of Thomas Carter, MS 820, fols 270r-270v [accessed June 2014]. For castle, see NMS, *Archaeological Survey of Ireland*, Reference Number WA019-003. Available from: http://webgis.archaeology.ie/historicenvironment [accessed May 2016].
[75] TCD, Deposition of Christmas Spurgent, MS 820, fols 098r-099v [accessed June 2015]. For more on clay pipes, see Fiona White, 'Post-Medieval Pottery: An Assemblage of Post-medieval Local Wares from Merchants Road, Galway', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* 58 (2006), pp. 176-84; Peter Davey, 'The Seventeenth-Century Clay Pipe Industry in Britain, Ireland and the Atlantic World', in Nick Brannon and Audrey J. Horning (eds), *Ireland and Britain in the Atlantic World* (Dublin, 2009) p. 181; Alexandra Hartnett, 'The Politics of the Pipe: Clay Pipes and Tobacco Consumption in Galway, Ireland', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 8, no. 2 (2004), p. 139.
[76] For evidence of smoking tobacco, see TCD, Examination of Nicholas Elliott, MS 826, fols 143r-143v; Deposition of John Godsell, MS 825, fols 218r-218v; Deposition of Symon Lightfoote, MS 823, fols 024r-024v; Deposition of John Glencorse, MS 837, fol. 131v; Deposition of Mary Phillipps, MS 829, fols 435r-436v; Declaration by Patrick Mooreheade, MS 830, fols 077r-078v [accessed June 2015]. Tobacco smoking is also represented in Nicholas J. A. Williams (ed.), *Pairlement Chloinne Tomáis* (Dublin, 1981) pp. 23-41, 83-98; and Sir Josias Bodley, 'Bodley's Visit to Lecale, Country of Down, A. D. 1602-3', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 2 (1854), p. 83.

set out in his bedroom after he dined in the wealthy English household of Sir Richard Moryson, the Lecale governor.[77] The Gaelic source *Pairlement Chloinne Tomáis* described how this English practice crept into Gaelic life. The text has been attributed to the hand of a sympathiser of the Old Catholic landed families who denounced the 'overreaching ambition' of the Irish peasants for ultimately turning on the Catholic landowners.[78] The author's portrayal of the smoking peasants epitomised this act of betrayal. After purchasing tobacco from an English pedlar, they partook in the English habit of smoking their prize: 'every man among them brought out his dirty, broken clay-pipe from the bottom of his jerkin or the ear piece of his cap, and they set to expelling smoke through their nostrils and the next moment to inhaling it deep into their gullets for a long time.'[79] Shammas's close investigation of England and America demonstrated that mass consumption of tobacco had already begun in the 1630s or 1640s because producer prices had significantly decreased.[80] The depositions suggested that smoking was a prominent social activity in Ireland by the 1640s that was often carried out in the home. Rebels employed the well-known Irish hospitality to their advantage by luring Protestant neighbours into their houses to consume tobacco before launching an attack.[81] Access to the product increased as merchants and chapman travelled across Ireland selling tobacco.[82] In some cases, it was used in place of hard cash.[83]

The archaeological record presents more concrete evidence of ceramic, clay and earthenware material during the seventeenth-century. The local pottery that would have been accessible to many new planters in Ulster was coarse pottery. This pottery, also called everted-rim ware, was produced by a 'small number of itinerant potters who travelled to different locations where suitable clays were available…'[84] Archaeological evidence also showed, however, that earthenware produced in the English potteries of North Devon and

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[77] Bodley, 'Bodley's Visit to Lecale', p. 83. For more about Richard Moryson, see Edward H. Thompson, 'Moryson, Fynes (1565/6–1630)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Available from: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19385 [accessed October 2015].
[78] Nicholas Canny discussed this text in *Making Ireland British*, pp. 437-9.
[79] Williams, *Pairlement Chloinne Tomáis,* pp. 23-41, 83-98.
[80] Carole Shammas, 'Changes in English and Anglo-American Consumption from 1550 to 1800', in John Brewer and Roy Porter (eds), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London, 1993) pp. 180-1.
[81] TCD, Deposition of Mary Phillipps, MS 829, fols 435r-436v; Deposition of William Tynnes, MS 821, fols 035r-036v [accessed June 2015].
[82] For examples of merchants and chapmen, see TCD, Deposition of Francis Louett, MS 832, fols 165v-166r; Deposition of Joane Woods (the younger), MS 832, fol. 166v; Examination of Rosse McMahon, MS 809, fols 058r-059v; Examination of Brian Modder McQuire, MS 809, fols 103r-104v [accessed June 2015].
[83] For examples of exchange, see TCD, Examination of Bryan O Hara, MS 809, fols 122r-123v; Deposition of Mary Rowane, fols 112r-112v; Examination of Isacke Quarrie, MS 820, fol. 347r [accessed January 2015]. For further discussion of tobacco, see notes of Robert Hunter held in PRONI in folder titled 'Tobacco', D4446/A/1/44.
[84] Cited from McCutcheon and Meenan, 'Pots on the Hearth', p. 102. See also Horning, *Ireland in the Virginian Sea,* p. 38; C. McSparron, 'A Potted History: Medieval Ulster Coarse Potters', *Archaeology Ireland* 87 (2009), pp. 13-15.

Somerset were common vessels on sites such as Movanagher in Northern Ireland. [85] Further evidence of pottery has been located in excavation sites at Essex St. West, Dublin; Skiddy's Castle and Christ Church, Cork; and Merchants Road, Galway.[86] An excavation carried out in Co. Cork sought to situate Edmund Spenser's occupancy of the modified tower-house Kilcolman Castle.[87] English pottery wares were discovered at the site corresponding to his time (c. 1590-1620). [88] In Dublin, archaeologists have unearthed the population's Continental flair for ceramic consumption, which included a particular enjoyment for Rhenish stoneware.[89]

Uncovered ceramic material in Ireland also has the potential to tell a less divided story of cultural interaction. Audrey Horning noted that the mixture of Irish and English pottery of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth-centuries found in the land of O'Cahan and Phillips 'speaks to the meeting of O'Cahan's Gaelic world and Phillip's plantation world.'[90] The hand-built pottery found in sites relating to the London Companies' plantation settlements may have been left behind by Irish tenants who, contrary to plantation orders, were allowed to remain on their lands.[91]

Metalwork

Metalwork provided a durable alternative for residents without ceramic cooking vessels. Deponents across Ireland in varying occupations reported the loss of these goods in the form of fish pans, tri-pots, aqua vita pots and kettles.[92] In wealthy households, cooking implements used for cooking were often kept in kitchens or various outhouses used for dairying, brewing or baking. At the home of Lettice Digby in Geashill, Co. Offaly, those

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[85] Horning, *Ireland in the Virginian Sea,* p. 232.
[86] C. McCutcheon, 'Medieval and Post-Medieval Pottery', in Linzi Simpson (ed.), *Archaeology in Temple Bar, Excavations at Essex St. West, Dublin* (Dublin, 1995); A. Gahan and D. C. Twohig, 'Late Medieval and Post-Medieval/ Modern Pottery', in Rose M. Clearly, Maurice F. Hurley, Elizabeth Shee Twohig, and Mairead Dunlevy (eds), *Skiddy's Castle and Christ Church Cork: Excavations 1974-77* (Dublin, 1997); White, 'Post-Medieval Pottery', pp. 176-84.
[87] For visual references for the castle, see East Carolina University's website *Centering Spenser: A Digital Resource for Kilcolman Castle.* Available from: http://core.ecu.edu/umc/Munster/virtual-tour.html [accessed June 2017].
[88] Eric Klingelhofer, et al., 'Edmund Spenser at Kilcolman Castle', *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 39, no. 1 (2005), p. 147.
[89] See Rosanne Meehan, 'Post-Medieval Pottery', in Clare Walsh (ed.), *Archaeological Excavations at Patrick, Nicholas and Winetavern Streets, Dublin* (Dublin, 1997) pp. 129-31.
[90] Horning, *Ireland in the Virginian Sea*, p. 210.
[91] Horning*, Ireland in the Virginian Sea*, p. 220. For discussion of material cultural interaction in Dunluce town, see Breen, *Dunluce Castle,* p. 154.
[92] For examples, see TCD, Deposition of Colley Phillips, MS 814, fols 123r-124v; Deposition of Robert Howell, MS 812, fols 244r-245v [accessed June 2014].

working in the brewhouse and bakehouse used brass equipment and kettles.[93] John Edgeworth Esquire in Co. Longford lost the vessels located in his dairy kitchen, and other deponents reported various lost milk tubs and 'milk vessels.'[94] Robert Hamilton, a clerk in Co. Tipperary, kept ironware and brass pans and pots in his kitchen.[95] Such utensils were integral for food preparation that occurred in these spaces. While depositions often described the possessions of affluent Protestants, new technology may have signalled greater accessibility of metalwork for Irish inhabitants than ever before. The abundance of smiths (when compared to other occupations) cited in the depositions attested to the high demand for metal-work in seventeenth-century Ireland (Figure 1).[96] Board game pieces found near the remains of a blacksmith shop in Dunluce town unearthed the smith's role in the social arena. A frequently visited site, his shop would provide a space for people to meet, gossip and discuss the day's events.[97] The metal processing industry exploded following the Elizabethan reconquest due to the increased desire to exploit Ireland's resources as well as the introduction of the blast furnace.[98] The question that remains to be asked is whether the raw material was employed at home, or sent abroad for finishing?

In the depositions, vessels used to domestically produce dairy products and beer were frequently fashioned out of brass (an alloy of copper and zinc).[99] As Buxton noted in particular areas of England during this time, brass was predominately used for larger cooking receptacles due to insufficient casting processes of iron on a larger scale.[100] Numerous examples suggested this trend with the appearance of expensive, brass brewing pans ranging in price from £5 to £7.[101] Brass was also used for kettles, smaller pots, skillets and candlesticks. [102] The bishop of Kildare allegedly lost a brewing furnace made of brass with

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[93] Fenlon, *Goods & Chattels,* p. 21.
[94] TCD, Deposition of John Edgworth, MS 817, fols 144r-145v; Deposition of Sara Butler, MS 825, fols 075r-075v; Deposition of Elizabeth Day, MS 833, fols 245r-245v [accessed January 2015].
[95] TCD, Deposition of Robert Hamilton, MS 821, fols 017r-024v [accessed January 2015].
[96] See chapter 'The Home: The Built Environment of the Domestic', p. 60.
[97] See Breen, *Dunluce Castle,* pp. 157-60.
[98] Colin Rynne, 'The Social Archaeology of Plantation-period Ironworks in Ireland', in James Lyttleton and Colin Rynne (eds), *Plantation Ireland: Settlement and Material Culture, c. 1550-c.1700* (Dublin, 2009) pp. 248-64.
[99] Buxton, *Domestic Culture*, p. 121; David J. Everleigh, *Brass and Brassware* (London, 1993) p. 3.
[100] Buxton, *Domestic Culture,* p. 119. See also N. Cox, '"A Flesh Pott, or a Brasse Pott or a Pott to Boile in": Changes in Metal and Fuel Technology in the Early Modern Period and the Implications for Cooking', in Moira Donald and Linda Hurcombe (eds), *Gender and Material Culture in Historical Perspective* (Basingstoke, 2000) p. 152.
[101] TCD, Deposition of William Walsh, MS 831, fols 065r-066v; Deposition of Henrie Brabazon, MS 811, fols 030r-030v; Deposition of William Golburn, MS 813, fols 273r-274r; Deposition of Christopher Golburne, MS 813, fols 277r-278v; Deposition of George Kinge, MS 814, fols 131r-131v; Deposition of Edward Pearsse, MS 813, fols 382r-383v; Deposition of Colley Phillips, MS 814, fols 123r-124v; Deposition of Edmund Welsh, MS 814, fols 118r-118v [accessed June 2014].
[102] TCD, Examination of Dorothy Reynolds, MS 812, fols 249r-250v; Deposition of Sir Hardress Waller, MS 829, fols 284r-290v [accessed June 2014].

brass pots, spits, iron racks and pewter brewing vessels valued at £10.[103] While brass items more regularly featured in the gentry's inventories, the depositions demonstrated that it was accessible to those of lower statuses, such as shoemakers, yeomen and merchants.[104] The merchant Robert Fitzsymons was not as affluent as the Waterford merchant John Skiddy, but his inventory included a variety of brassware including pots, a mortar, a bell, ladle and chafing dish.[105] Copper utensils made an irregular appearance in the depositions. However, as David Everleigh suggested, this term may have been congruous with brass. 'Brass' referred to any alloy of copper until the eighteenth-century.[106] Copper items were implemented in a similar fashion to those made of brass: to create larger vessels required for brewing and washing.[107]

Pewter emerged as the dominant form of metalware in the depositions with over 120 deponents reporting its loss. Many of these depositions came from Cos Cavan, Kildare and Wicklow. Phillip Bushen's inventory of goods in Co. Kildare demonstrated that pewter could be fashioned into pint pots, dishes and salts.[108] In England, William Harrison observed the exchange of wooden trenchers and spoons for pewter in ordinary households.[109] Overton's investigation of Kentish and Cornish households showed that pewter was among the new goods consumed because such plates were 'practical and traditional in the sense that pewter was an investment since it could be sold or re-fashioned.'[110] While the depositions vastly lack detail, they suggested similarly pragmatic consumption practices. Pewter was present in the elite residences of gentlemen, but also the more common abodes of craftsmen.[111] The skinner, John Frith chased after Frances Dempsy to find six of his pewter spoons in the thief's pocket.[112]

It is perhaps unsurprising that metal objects became an item of desire for the rebels. Many thieves had been the neighbours or servants of their victims, and may have spotted the

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[103] TCD, Deposition of William Golburn, MS 813, fols 273r-274r [accessed June 2014].
[104] For shoemaker, see TCD, Deposition of James Pace, MS 825, fols 267r-267v [accessed June 2014]. For yeomen, see TCD, Deposition of Nathaniell Maie, MS 823, fols 076r-076v; Deposition of John Watson, MS 811, fols 104r-104v; Deposition of Jane Tomlinson, MS 833, fols 197r-197v; Deposition of William Yatts, MS 816, fols 210r-211v; Deposition of William Garton, MS 832, fols 228r-228v; Deposition of William Coleman, MS 813, fol. 284r; Deposition of Ann Whitley, MS 813, fols 322r-322v [accessed January 2015]. For merchant, see TCD, Deposition of Thomas Dight, MS 828, fols 194r-195v [accessed June 2015].
[105] Fenlon, *Goods and Chattels,* pp. 13-14.
[106] Everleigh, *Brass and Brassware,* p. 3.
[107] TCD, Deposition of Sir Hardress Waller, MS 829, fols 284r-290v; Deposition of Edward Pearsse, MS 813, fols 382r-383v; Deposition of William Secheuerill, MS 818, fols 095r-096v [accessed June 2014].
[108] James Morrin (ed.), *Calendar of the Patent and Close Rolls of Chancery in Ireland of the Reign of Charles the First. First to Eighth Year, Inclusive* (Dublin, 1861) pp. 145-6.
[109] William Harrison, *The Description of England [1587]*, edited by G. Edelen (New York, 1968) p. 201.
[110] Mark Overton et al., *Production and Consumption in English Households 1600-1750* (London, 2004) p. 120.
[111] TCD, Deposition of John Wade, MS 813, fols 348v-349v [accessed June 2015].
[112] TCD, Deposition of John Frith, MS 813, fols 362r-363v [accessed June 2015].

objects upon prior visits or while working about the home.[113] Rebel Morogh O'Bryne confessed to stealing, among other things, a brass and iron pan from his master John Grea in Co. Mayo.[114] After robbing Englishmen in Co. Kildare, rebels brought sheets, eight pewter dishes and petticoats into the castle of Clongowes.[115] Not only was metalwork a novelty for those in the lower social spectrum of Irish society, it could also be melted down and recast into items more useful to those individuals, such as weaponry or husbandry tools.[116] The depositions described smiths who were employed to make iron implements for battle during the rebellion.[117]

Of course, these items held greater significance beyond that of pure utility. Pennell wrote that 'Except for the very large metal pots, most kitchen goods were of negligible value, but the moral resonances of hearth goods and vessels projected them as key items of social capital, in household formation and maintenance.' [118] Large metal cooking vessels would be a vital part of the female domestic sphere, as they '…were frequently incorporated into the "paraphernalia'—conventionally clothing, linen and jewellery—legally allowed as limited property to married women in the early modern period, and were common bequests between and to female kin and friends.'[119] In Co. Cavan, the shoemaker Henry Cooke was desperate to restore the losses of his cousin and her husband who, because they did not have children, made Henry the sole inheritor of their clothing, brass and pewter. [120] As this account suggested, the redistribution of cooking objects was not restricted to the female domain. In 1618, a will from Andrew Roche demonstrated that such objects could be inherited through the male generations when Andrew left a brass pan, that once belonged to his father, to his son.[121] The 1590 will of Sir John MacCoghlan, chief of Delvin-MacCoghlan, demonstrated that vessels could be passed down between mother and son in a Gaelic context when he inherited her large pewter pan.[122] In the depositions, female victims were anxious to have their stolen cooking implements returned and quoted the items' exact values. Joan Hooper of

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[113] For example of neighbour, see TCD, Deposition of Edward Pearsse, MS 813, fols 382r-383v [accessed June 2014].
[114] TCD, Examination of Morogh O'Bryne, MS 831, fol. 261v [accessed January 2015].
[115] TCD, Information of Roger Barnewall, MS 813, fol. 077v [accessed June 2015].
[116] For evidence of recycled metal in Ireland, see McCutcheon and Meenan, 'Pots on the Hearth', p. 95.
[117] TCD, Examination of Bryan oge McCahelboy Maron, MS 830, fols 284r-285v; Deposition of John Winder, MS 831, fols 017r-017v; Deposition of Edward Perison, MS 830, fols 012r-013v; Deposition of Peeter O Crean, MS 831, fols 114r-115v [accessed June 2015].
[118] Pennell, 'Pots and Pans History', p. 211.
[119] Pennell, 'Pots and Pans History', p. 211.
[120] TCD, Deposition of Henry Cooke, MS 833, fols 118r-199v [accessed June 2015].
[121] Richard Caulfield, 'Original Documents: Wills and Inventories, Cork', *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Review* (1862), p. 441. For further discussion, see forthcoming article by Susan Flavin, 'Domestic Materiality in Ireland, 1530-1730.'
[122] Walter Fitzgerald, 'Notes on Sir John MacCoghlan, Knight of Cloghan, Chief of Delvin-MacCoghlan, Who Died in 1590', *JRSAI* 43 (1913), pp. 223-31.

Co. Cork indignantly stated that Edmond Slabba took her 'greate brasse pan and denied to deliuer the said pan to' her. [123] The widow Helenor Adshed of Co. Leitrim reported that she lost a pewter vessel worth 30s. and the widow Elizabeth Williams of Co. Monaghan reported £15 in brass and pewter, as well as £6 in plate.[124] Even before the rebellion, women's desperation to acquire these items motivated criminal activity. In 1625, the spinster Johanna Sutton of Co. Wexford was convicted for stealing two brass pots.[125]

The theft of women's goods raises concerns about differing views of inheritance under brehon and common law.[126] The structured legal language of the depositions identified British women by their martial status as appendages of their husbands. In many cases, their individual testimonies were a result of the death or absence of their spouses.[127] In Gaelic Ireland and Stuart England alike, a patriarchal system limited women's legal rights and placed them under the constant surveillance of their fathers and husbands.[128] Because marriages were strongly seen as political alliances in Gaelic custom, women received the goods they brought to their husband if the marriage came to an end and they had no entitlement to their husband's land. In England, however, families employed the transfer of land to secure marriage negotiations. Under common law, widows were permitted a third of their husband's property.[129]

According to brehon law, women could own property independently, and they possessed the right to the property of their own labour. For many women, this meant that hours spent dairying or weaving granted them the right to the any milk, cheese or wool they produced.[130] Because of this, goods were not only important because of the their cash value, but also because pans, pots and spinning wheels created the finished products that Irish women were entitled to own. Irish Protestant Julian Blisset, a widow, held a majority of her wealth in her household goods and provision, with no mention of land or livestock. Elizabeth

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[123] TCD, Deposition of Joan Hooper, MS 823, fols 22r-222v [accessed June 2015].
[124] TCD, Deposition of Helenor Adshed, MS 831, fols 033r-033v; Deposition of Elizabeth Williams, MS 834, fols 179r-180v [accessed June 2015].
[125] Morrin, *Calendar of the Patent and Close Rolls…Reign of Charles the First*, p. 45.
[126] K. W. Nicholls, 'Irishwomen and Property in Sixteenth-Century Ireland', in Margaret MacCurtain and Mary O'Dowd (eds), *Women in Early Modern Ireland* (Edinburgh, 1991) pp. 17-31.
[127] Discussed in Barbara Fennell, 'Routine Appropriation: Women's Voices and Women's Experiences in the 1641 Depositions', *Journal of Irish and Scottish Studies* 6.2 (2013), pp. 53-70.
[128] For European perspective, see James R. Farr, 'The Pure and Disciplined Body: Hierarchy, Morality, and Symbolism in France during the Catholic Reformation', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History,* 21 (1991), pp. 399-400. For Irish context, see Ohlmeyer, *Making Ireland English,* pp. 172-3.
[129] Nicholls, 'Irishwomen and Property', p. 22; Mary O'Dowd, 'Women and the Irish Chancery Court in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries', *Irish Historical Studies* 31, no. 124 (1999), p. 486.
[130] Caroline Newcombe, 'How Early Irish Marital Property Law Influenced the End of Brehon Laws.' Paper presented at the Tudor and Stuart Ireland Conference, 2016. Available from: https://tudorstuartireland.com/past-conferences [accessed August 2016].

Twaite also possessed her fortune within her moveable goods, and although she mentioned £30 worth of cows, this sum was crossed out and not included in the total value.[131] Yet, the Irish chancery's determination to uphold English common law proved 'instrumental in improving the legal status of women in Ireland' during the first half of the seventeenth-century.[132] Irishwoman Margaret Coyne knew to report any land, crops and houses that had belonged to her late husband.[133] As Mary O'Dowd demonstrated, groups of Irish 'she-soldiers' in the rebellion may have grown from 'a concern to stay with their husbands for reasons of economic necessity' rather than simply affection.[134] Yet, even if women were subject to laws that only granted them moveable property, it did not spell financial ruin. As Amy Louise Erickson pointed out, in the seventeenth-century the cash value between goods and land was relatively close—allowing women more monetary independence than previously assumed if they inherited brass pots and featherbeds. In England, during a time when land was regularly bought and sold, cash in hand could buy a modest home.[135] Nevertheless, the question as to 'how' and 'if' these economic considerations also played out in Ireland must be assessed, particularly in the 1641 rebellion when women plundered household goods.[136]

Domestic Production

In England, the domestic production of brassware struggled to compete with imported goods from Dutch and German merchants.[137] Interestingly, a deposition from a merchant who lost a collection of ironworks equipment cited debts due from Continent, specifically Germany.[138] Following the Mineral and Battery Works monopoly established in England in 1568, domestic industry failed to gain stable ground and looked to foreign raw materials to combat inferior native brass. In this way, Ireland provided a way to bolster a struggling industry, and more successful brassworks across the country appeared by the outbreak of the Civil War.[139]

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[131] TCD, Deposition of Julian Blisset, MS 825, fols 139r; Deposition of Elizabeth Twaite, MS 822, fols 277r-277v [accessed June 2015].
[132] O'Dowd, 'Women and the Irish Chancery Court', p. 487.
[133] TCD, Deposition of Margaret Coyne, MS 829, fols 242r-242v [accessed June 2015].
[134] Mary O'Dowd, 'Women and War in Ireland in the 1640s', in Margaret MacCurtain and Mary O'Dowd (eds), *Women in Early Modern Ireland* (Edinburgh, 1991) p. 95.
[135] Amy Louise Erickson, *Women and Property in Early Modern England* (London, 1993) pp. 65-6.
[136] For more on women in the 1641 rebellion, see '1641 Depositions', in Marie- Louise Coolahan, *Women, Writing, and Language in Early Modern Ireland* (Oxford, 2010) pp. 142-79.
[137] Henry Hamilton, *Brass and Copper Industries to 1800* (London, 1926) pp. 57-8.
[138] TCD, Deposition of Robert Howell, MS 812, fols 244r-245v [accessed June 2014].
[139] Rupert Gentle and Rachael Field, *Domestic Metalwork 1640-1820* (Woodbridge, 1994); Buxton, *Domestic Culture*, pp. 121-2.

The raw materials needed to create these cooking and eating implements could be procured in Ireland. Trade statistics from 1626 presented the export of iron and old brass out of Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, Limerick and Galway.[140] Employees of ironworks reported losing 'writings of consequence as instructions for the casting of brass and iron ordnance.'[141] Smiths could be found in all but three counties in the depositions, indicating the possible ease of acquiring iron goods. However, evidence of domestically produced pewter was less promising. In early seventeenth-century America, a 1532 doctrine forbid English pewterers from transporting their skills to 'any strange Regions or Countries.'[142] It was solely exercised for the benefit of Englishmen and colonists were advised to bring 'platters, dishes, spoones of woods' rather than that of pewter.[143] Only two pewterers and one brazier were mentioned in the depositions, all from Munster.[144] These occupations were also occasionally mentioned in the index of wills: Sir Arthur Vicars' index listed the presence of Ralph Banks of Kilkenny in 1658. However, this is the earliest record and the ten remaining pewterers appeared after the 1660s, primarily in the eighteenth-century.[145] Cutlers (responsible for making utensils and repairing knives) featured in the depositions as victims in Cos Dublin, Cork and Sligo, but again were few in number.[146] Cutlers made a minor appearance in the index of wills: Walter and William Bird in Dublin in 1648 and 1649.[147]

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[140] Donald Woodward, 'Irish Trade and Customs Statistics 1614-1641', *Irish Economic and Social History* 26 (1999), pp. 54-80.
[141] TCD, Deposition of John Winsmore, MS 815, fols 154r-155v [accessed June 2015].
[142] As cited in William Bailey, 'Notes on the Use of Pewter in Virginia During the Seventeenth Century', *William and Mary Quarterly* 18, no. 2 (1938), p. 228.
[143] Captain John Smith, *Generall Histore of Virginia [1624]* (London, 1819) p. 98.
[144] TCD, Deposition of John Globe, MS 829, fols 149r-149v; Deposition of Isacke Quarrie, MS 820, fols 114r-144v [accessed June 2014].
[145] Sir Arthur Vicars (ed.), *Index to Prerogative Wills of Ireland 1536-1810* (Dublin, 1897) p. 20.
[146] TCD, Deposition of Edmund Spring et al., MS 810, fols 257r-259v; Deposition Examination of James Bowler, MS 827, fol. 001r; Deposition of John William, MS 823, fols 077r-077v; Deposition of William Symon, MS 824, fols 175r-175v; Deposition of Henry Langford, Robert Browne and James Browne, MS 830, fols 036r-037v [accessed June 2015].
[147] Vicars, *Index to Prerogative Wills of Ireland,* p. 36.

	Blacksmith/ Smith	Pewterer	Brasier	Potter	Glasier	Cutler
Ulster	**17**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
Antrim	3					
Armagh	2					
Cavan	1					
Donegal						
Down	1					
Fermanagh	5					
Londonderry	1					
Monaghan	2					
Tyrone	2					
Leinster	**29**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**1**
Carlow	2					
Dublin	4			1	1	1
Kildare	3					
Kilkenny	1					
Longford	1					
Louth						
Meath	1					
Offaly (Kings'	3					
Laois (Queen:	8					
Westmeath	2					
Wexford	3					
Wicklow	1					
Munster	**57**	**2**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**3**
Cork	22				1	3
Clare	1					
Limerick	9	1	1			
Kerry	5			1		
Tiperary	6				1	
Waterford	14	1		1		
Connacht	**8**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**
Galway	1					
Leitrim	2			1		
Mayo	2					
Roscommon	2					
Sligo	1					1

Figure 8. Number of individuals associated with metalwork, pottery, and glasswork

Susan Flavin's study of sixteenth-century trade argued that knives were regularly imported into Ireland. Despite the English knife industry's growing quality and production, many of these imported knives may have been acquired from the Continent.[148] Knives and other small wares (such as pewter spoons) featured in the lists of goods shipped to Ulster during the early seventeenth-century.[149] Large shipments of pewter, such as that made by *William of Barnstaple* to Coleraine in 1614, carried 71 lbs of pewter plates, candlesticks, beakers and spoons as well as brass kettles, iron frying pans and dripping pans to Ireland.[150] Tinkers, who were also involved in mending metal cooking implements and utensils, could be found in Cos Donegal, Fermanagh and Tipperary.[151] In the northern counties, the tinkers possessed strictly Irish and Scottish surnames, which hinted at potentially blended ethnic techniques. Overall, the depositions and trade accounts pointed to limited domestic production of British styled metalwork that required importation to meet demand. Yet, of course further research must be conducted to bolster these preliminary findings.

[148] Flavin, *Consumption and Culture,* pp. 203-6.
[149] Hunter, *Ulster Port Books,* pp. 19, 37, 45, 61, 69, 73, 83.
[150] Hunter, *Ulster Port Books*, p. 73.
[151] TCD, Deposition of Hugh Gaskein, MS 831, fols 129r-130v; Deposition of Dorothy Talbott, MS 835, fols 175r-175v; Deposition of John Dan, MS 821, fols 058r-058v [accessed June 2015].

Cooking Methods

In an Irish context, cooking methods hold interesting clues regarding the differing internal features of the natives and newcomers' homes. English accounts highlighted Irish open hearths, and observed the 'barbaric' process of boiling meat in animal skins rather than pots. The more civilised method utilised an enclosed hearth attached to a chimney, as well as a variety of metal or ceramic cooking vessels. In Co. Sligo, William Walsh listed equipment associated with a variety of refined cooking processes including brewing pans, skillets, posnets, pots, spits, trivets and dripping pans.[152] In Antony Buxton's study of domestic culture in seventeenth-century Oxfordshire, he employed the presence of cooking irons (such as spits and fire irons) as evidence of the hearth and the process of domestication within the central space. He argued that the hearth provided the 'spatial organisation of the household, and the identity of the home.'[153] During the 1641 rebellion, Margery Grey reported that her cob-irons, used to turn the spit over a fire, and andirons (Plate 30) had been stolen.[154] Judith Allen, living in the town of Cavan near Farnham Castle, stated that she and her husband had been roasting meat on a spit and boiling it in a pot over the fire for dinner when the meat was greedily taken by rebels.[155]

Frying pans, made of earthenware or metal, were essential for cooking the most characteristic English dish—bacon and eggs.[156] While few appeared in the depositions, evidence indicated that they were shipped into Ulster in large numbers. In July 1615, a ship took forty frying pans to Carrickfergus carrying with it fashionable foodstuffs of the early modern era such as sugar, liquorice, raisins, currants, nutmeg and pepper.[157] Flat-bottomed vessels, like kettles, indicated a shift away from open hearth cooking and could be found among the household goods of husbandmen, merchants and the elite.[158] Unlike skillets and posnets (which were placed in the fire directly), kettles were usually fitted with a loop for hanging over a fire. In order to use a kettle effectively, therefore, pot-hangers and hooks were built into the hearth.[159] Interestingly, kettles appeared in the depositions alongside materials necessary for cloth or iron production, which may have pointed to its primary function in

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[152] TCD, Deposition of William Walsh, MS 831, fols 065r-066v [accessed January 2014].
[153] Buxton, *Domestic Culture,* p. 117.
[154] TCD, Examination of Margery Grey, MS 831, fols 22r-224v [accessed June 2015].
[155] TCD, Deposition of Stephen Allen and Judith Allen, MS 832, fols 174r-175v [accessed June 2015]. For castle, see NMS, *Archaeological Survey of Ireland*, Reference Number CV020-044001-. Available from: http://webgis.archaeology.ie/historicenvironment [accessed May 2016].
[156] Brears, *Cooking and Dining,* pp. 354-5.
[157] Hunter, *Ulster Port Books,* p. 95.
[158] TCD, Roger Waters, MS 822, fols 167r-167v; Deposition of Robert Howell, MS 812, fols 244r-245v; Deposition of Sir Hardress Waller, MS 829, fols 284r-290v; Deposition of Henrie Brabazon, MS 811, fols 030r-030v [accessed June 2014].
[159] Buxton, *Domestic Culture,* p. 125.

industry rather than cookery.[160] Kettles were also included in shipments containing materials specific to cloth and cloth dying sent to the northern counties.[161] While some of these vessels may have indicated a transition toward a fitted hearth, a level of ambiguity remains. As Pennell asserted, 'food-related utensils are problematic due to the scarcity of dateable artefacts and the consequent shortage of reliable formal and functional vessel typologies.'[162]

Unfortunately, the lack of detail concerning hearth and cooking implements in the depositions does not allow for a level of statistical analysis that has been achieved in an English context.[163] Yet, isolated cases reported the manufacture of consumables in kitchens or detached service houses. Kitchens, as a place devoted solely to food preparation, separated the gentry from yeomen.[164] In Everard Castle, the home of Sir Richard Everard, two kitchens were used to dress meat in preparation for a meal.[165] The kitchen of a stone house located next to Birr Castle was used to prepare food for an approaching dinner party.[166] Kitchens were often detached outhouses from the central residence, but in some homes, they were integrated into the house as separate rooms. In the home of Sir Nicholas White in Co. Kildare, an entryway divided his hall and kitchen.[167] This layout presumably influenced the type of activities occurring in the kitchen, to avoid undesirable smells from wafting into the other rooms of the home. In the integrated kitchen located on the ground of a home in Co. Cork, an Irish widow was starching cloth rather than preparing food.[168]

Hearths have often been employed by historians to indicate the socioeconomic level of inhabitants.[169] The prevailing absence of chimneys in Irish cabins and tower-houses has been previously discussed in the chapter on architecture. In Edmond Wall's account of the rebellion, one can deduce that the castle he used to hide from the English army featured a native open hearth because he baked bread using a griddle.[170] This cooking method was typically associated with the production of oatcakes linked to Irish and Scottish cuisine.[171] It

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[160] TCD, Deposition of Isacke Sandes, MS 815, fols 180v-180r; Deposition of Robert Howell, MS 812, fols 244r-245v [accessed June 2014].
[161] Hunter, *Ulster Port Books*, p. 83.
[162] Pennell, 'Pots and Pans History', p. 208.
[163] For examples of an English context, see Buxton, *Domestic Culture*; Overton, *Production and Consumption*.
[164] Brears, *Cooking and Dining,* p. 206. For more on kitchens in a British context, see Sara Pennell, *The Birth of the English Kitchen, 1600-1850* (London, 2016).
[165] TCD, Deposition of Henry Pope and Thomas Colman, MS 821, fols 136r-136v [accessed June 2015].
[166] TCD, Deposition of John Holmsted, MS 814, fols 244r-249v [accessed June 2015].
[167] TCD, Examination of Peeter Moore, MS 813, fols 003r-004r [accessed June 2015].
[168] TCD, Examination of Alice Slabagh, MS 826, fols 214r-214v [accessed January 2015].
[169] For such an investigation in a later Irish context, see Thomas E. Jordan, '"The Quick and the Dead…" in Late Seventeenth Century Dublin', *Dublin Historical Record* 61, no. 1 (2008), pp. 62-77; R. A. Butlin, 'The Population of Dublin in the Late Seventeenth Century', *Irish Geography* 5 (1965), pp. 51-66.
[170] TCD, Examination of Edmond Wall, MS 813, fol. 081r [accessed June 2015].
[171] Flavin, *Consumption and Culture,* p. 190.

additionally employed the use of peat that was not suitable for oven baking. The unfamiliar cooking method may explain why Protestants like Eleanor Stringer felt incapable of creating an oatcake for Irish rebels who complained that it would 'have an English tast.' [172] Griddles were also found in more elite households such as that of Colley Phillips, whose range of cooking implements pointed to turf or wood fuelled cooking, including skillets, tripots and an andiron.[173]

Instances of culinary integration suggested potential moments of shared cooking processes. Insurgents falsely incriminated an Irish boy as an 'English churle' because he was carrying biscuit, made from flour rather than oats, and cheese in his pocket.[174] While oats were often classed as Gaelic, English style bread could be sold and purchased within the Pale. Manchet bread, made of wheat of the finest quality, and white bread made of flour stocked a Dublin baker's inventory in the late 1630s.[175] Throughout Europe, bread was used to designate social hierarchies. Bread of any kind was preferred to cakes made with oats, but freshly baked, white bread was ideal. This was because bread paid homage to the civilised diet of the Romans.[176]

During the rebellion, Protestants were found providing bottles of clabber (an Irish buttermilk drink abhorred by Gernon and Moryson) to suckling children.[177] This fact not only indicated cross-culinary behaviour, but also suggested Protestants' reliance upon Irish wetnurses that left mothers is despair when rebellion struck.[178] Cooks, operating as servants in affluent households, often featured the Gaelic names of individuals who eagerly joined the rebellion. Many of these corresponded with employers who held Gaelic ties or rebellious associations.[179] While some Gaelic cooks may have been employed in English settlers' kitchens, others such as Lord Cork were careful to hire English Protestants.[180] The rebel cook Henry Magraith of Maynooth Castle (remodelled in 1635 by Richard Boyle when his daughter married George Fitzgerald) however pointed to the level of ethnic ambiguity that

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[172] TCD, Deposition of Ellenor Stringer, MS 826, fols 243r-244v [accessed June 2015].
[173] TCD, Deposition of Colley Phillips, MS 814, fols 123r-124v [accessed June 2014]. For discussion of turf, see Brears, *Cooking and Dining,* p. 56.
[174] TCD, Examination of Richard Pheeps, MS 826, fols 242r-242v [accessed June 2015].
[175] The Inventory of John Palmer, *Pleas in the Sheriffs Court Dublin,* BL, Add. MS 11687, fol. 144.
[176] Rafaella Sarti, *Europe at Home: Family and Material Culture, 1500-1800* (London, 2002) pp. 171-2.
[177] TCD, Deposition of Faithfull Teate, Elizabeth Day and William Thorp, MS 833, fols 061r-062v [accessed June 2015].
[178] See also TCD, Deposition of Ann Read, MS 831, fols 39r-040v [accessed June 2015]. In contrast, Flavin proposes settlers did not widely use Irish wetnurses in the sixteenth-century: see Flavin, *Consumption and Culture*, pp. 218-9. For breastfeeding in a European context, see Sarti, *Europe at Home*, p. 167.
[179] TCD, Examination of Murphy oge McMurphy, MS 838, fol. 038r [accessed June 2015]. For others see, TCD, Deposition of Alice Cowper, MS 815, fols 057r-058r; Deposition of Jane Stewart, MS 831, fols 120r-121v; Deposition of William Vowells, MS 813, fols 330r-331v [accessed January 2015].
[180] TCD, Deposition of Arthure Byrt, MS 820, fols 303r-303rv [accessed June 2015].

existed within households.[181] If evidence allowed, a greater investigation into the ethnicity of cooks within Irish, Old English, Scottish and New English residences may unveil further moments of culinary segregation or blending. The presence of male cooks is also worthy of observation. Madeline Shanahan wrote, male cooks from the mid-seventeenth-century up to the nineteenth-century 'were certainly more prestigious, but not necessarily the most common in this period in an Irish context.'[182] Across Europe, elite households universally preferred male cooks as they were seen to be cleaner and more reliable than women. In England, a make cook was reserved to the 'highest echelons of society.'[183]

As previously addressed, differences in preferred fuel types may have been a factor in early modern Ireland's cooking traditions. In England, the local environment determined the predominate fuel type, yet 'every available resource was exploited.'[184] As timber became less available in many areas of England, inhabitants were forced to purchase mineral coal rather than collect fuel from their locality. As William Cavert pointed out, however, several forests remained in England, but a lack of infrastructure and legal obstructions made transportation problematic.[185] English inventory analysis revealed a decline in ownership of 'cooking pots traditional hung over a wood fire…' including posnets and smaller tripod cooking pots.[186] In Ireland, the abundance of wood and peat collected from bogs may have slowed the transition to coal cooking. Yet, the prevalence of such wood fire vessels is impossible to determine due to the deponents' tendency to apply the broad category of 'household goods.' The adoption of domestic coal required more restricted chimney flues made of brick or stone to direct the smoke and soot out of the home.[187] Due to limited resources, as explored in the previous chapter on domestic architecture, many inhabitants may not have equipped their homes with the updated chimney features. Impermanent buildings reflected the settlers' uncertainty about the future and indicated an immediate investment placed upon livestock and agricultural production.[188]

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[181] TCD, Deposition of William Vowells, MS 813, fols 330r-331v [accessed January 2015].
[182] Shanahan, *Manuscript Recipe Books*, p. 108. See also Katherine Cahill, *Mrs Delany's Menus, Medicines and Manner* (Dublin, 2005) p. 68.
[183] Sarti, *Europe at Home*, pp. 158-60.
[184] Brears, *Cooking and Dining,* p. 55.
[185] William M. Cavert, *The Smoke of London: Energy and Environment in the Early Modern City* (Cambridge, 2016) p. 20. A lack of infrastructure was initially argued in Philip A. J. Pettit's *The Royal Forests of Northamptonshire: A Study in their Economy 1558-1714* (Gateshead, 1968) pp. 5, 103, 127.
[186] Frank Trentmann, *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption* (Oxford, 2012) p. 72.
[187] Trentmann, *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption*, p. 71; Margaret Spufford, 'Chimneys, Wood and Coal', in P. S. Barnwell and Malcolm Airs (eds.), *Houses and the Hearth Tax: The Later Stuart House and Society* (York, 2006) pp. 22-31.
[188] For similar conclusions in the context of the New World, see Willie Graham, et al., 'Adaption and Innovation: Archaeological and Architectural Perspectives on the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake', *The William and Mary Quarterly* 64, no. 3 (2007), pp. 451-522.

Evidence of a transition towards coal fuelled ovens appeared in a limited context within the depositions when deponents listed furnaces and grates of iron. [189] Iron grates were necessary to lift the coal in order to achieve a favourable under-draught.[190] Innkeepers in Cos Limerick and Kildare used coal, wood, and turf to carry out their brewing and cooking activities.[191] Coal was uniquely mentioned in the inventory of a Dublin vintner whose long list of drinking vessels and wine glasses spoke to the social space he provided for drinking.[192] However, in these instances, it is unclear if the individuals were employing charcoal or coal. Until the end of the seventeenth-century, the word 'coal' was applied to both the mineral and charcoal.[193] Charcoal (baked wood devoid of any moisture) produced no soot, usually burned through the use of stoves or furnaces, and was 'cheap enough to give Irish producers a distinct cost advantage.'[194] William Free's inventory implied his household's use of charcoal through the appearance of his chafing dish.[195] Chafing dishes were typically used to hold charcoal under another pan and used for 'fine cooking.'[196] As Buxton noted, their appearance in early modern inventories indicated 'the problems of keeping food at a palatably temperature, especially where consumption was moving for reasons of convenience and prestige away from the hearth.'[197] Francis White, a Limerick merchant, owed David Roche 'two bills for the deliverie of one hundred fortie six barrels of charcoal.'[198] Such debts proposed Irish merchants' role in circulating the material in Ireland. 'Charcoal' was only listed in two remaining depositions from Cos Offaly and Kildare, and fourteen colliers appeared in the depositions, primarily in Munster.[199]

Because of the inexpensive price of mineral coal, it was one of the few raw materials imported into Ireland from England. The Ulster port books noted vast amounts of coal

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[189] TCD, Note of losses of William Free, MS 813, fols 007r-007v; Deposition of Anthonie Atkinson, MS 834, fols 147r-150v [accessed June 2014].
[190] Brears, *Cooking and Dining,* p. 63.
[191] TCD, Deposition of John Pilkington, MS 829, fols 258r-259v; Deposition of John March, MS 813, fols 327r-327v [accessed June 2015].
[192] Inventory of Anthonie Rookes, *Pleas in the Sheriffs Court Dublin,* BL, Add. MS 11687, fols 128-9.
[193] Brears, *Cooking and Dining,* p. 60.
[194] Cited in Aidan Clarke, 'Irish Economy 1600-60', p. 184. See also J. H. Andrews, 'Notes on the Historical Geography of Irish Iron Industry', *Irish Geography* 3, no. 3 (1956), pp. 139-49; Brears, *Cooking and Dining,* p. 65.
[195] TCD, Note of losses of William Free, MS 813, fols 007r-007v [accessed June 2014]. For additional examples of seventeenth-century chafing dishes, see Brian Mac Cuarta (ed.), 'A Planter's Funeral, Legacies, and Inventory: Sir Matthew De Renzy (1577-1634)', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 127 (1997), pp. 18-33; Walton, 'The Household Effects of a Waterford Merchant Family', pp. 99-105.
[196] Anne Ahmed (ed.), *A Proper Newe Booke of Cookerye: Margaret Parker's Cookery Book* (Cambridge, 2002); Flavin, *Culture and Consumption,* p. 188; Brears, *Cooking and Dining,* p. 57.
[197] Buxton, *Domestic Culture,* p. 163.
[198] TCD, Deposition of Dauid Roche, MS 829, fols 178r-179v [accessed June 2015]. For an additional example of coal, see TCD, Deposition of John Watkinson, MS 812, fols 193r-194v [accessed January 2015].
[199] For two instances, see TCD, Deposition of John March, MS 813, fols 327r-327v; Deposition of Robert Lloyd, MS 814, fols 186r-187v [accessed June 2015].

imported into the northern counties during the period of plantation.[200] Clarke argued that coal was primarily employed for domestic use.[201] However, the mineral created more work in the kitchen by coating pots in soot and tar, and pumped foul sulphurous smoke into the air.[202] In England, the lack of alternatives made coal a necessity, but there were few contented by the idea other than those involved in the coal trade. In the seventeenth-century Thames community, wood also appeared to be the preferred fuel type with only one mention of coal in the home of a blacksmith.[203] By the late sixteenth-century, it is still unclear when coal became used widely in Ireland as a cooking fuel and it presumably took time for it to transition from its industrial to domestic role.[204]

The mention of the mineral coal in the depositions strengthens the argument proposing its primary industrial rather than household consumption. Sir Hardress Waller's 'seacoal' was used strictly to burn lime for building purposes. 'For firing', he employed his timber and the turf stored in his turf house.[205] Due to their professions, smiths, miners and ironworks owners were some of the few who claimed the loss of coal and coalmines.[206] Gentleman Richard Hendra additionally lost seacoal and culm, which may have been transported abroad his ship to assist the coal trade.[207] Resistance to the mineral's popularity may have rested in the indigenous preference for local materials better suited for open hearth cooking. When native inhabitants' eagerly pillaged ships carrying coal to Clontarf, Co Dublin, they were not interested in the commodity's monetary value. Rather, as Edward Leech suspected, they used the coal to burn the village to the ground.[208]

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[200] For examples, see Hunter, *Ulster Port Books,* pp. 33, 35, 37, 39, 43, 45, 47, 57, 61, 63, 65, 67, 69, 79.
[201] Clarke, 'Irish Economy, 1600-60', p. 184.
[202] Brears, *Cooking and Dining*, pp. 61-2. See also Peter Brimblecombe, 'Attitudes and Responses Towards Air Pollution in Medieval England', *Journal of the Air Pollution Control Association* 26, no. 10 (1976), pp. 941-5.
[203] Buxton, *Domestic Culture,* p. 118.
[204] Flavin, *Consumption and Culture,* p. 190.
[205] TCD, Deposition of Sir Hadress Waller, MS 829, fols 284r-290v [accessed June 2014]. Lime can also be found in the Deposition of Nevill Lorymer and Thomas Bingham, MS 825, fols 003r-004v; Deposition of Margrett Carthwright, MS 820, fols 086r-086v [accessed June 2014].
[206] TCD, Deposition of John Jones, MS 821, fols 163r-163v; Deposition of William Cooke, MS 815, fols 144, 154; Deposition of John Pue, MS 811, fols 166r-167v; Deposition of John Bourk, MS 833, fols 223r-223v; Deposition of Joseph Wheeler, Elizabeth Gilbert, Rebecca Hill, Thomas Lewis, Jonas Wheeler, Patrick Maxwell, John Kevan, MS 812, fols 202r-208v [accessed June 2015]. For the coal of additional ironworks, see TCD, Deposition of Edward Rushell, MS 820, fols 101r-101v [accessed January 2015]. See also Eileen McCracken, 'Charcoal-Burning Ironworks in Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Ireland', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology,* 20 (1957), pp. 123-38; Canny, *Making Ireland British,* p. 359.
[207] TCD, Deposition of Phillipa Hendra, MS 811, fols 145r-146v [accessed June 2015]. For culm, see 'culm, n.1', *OED Online*. Available from: http:///www.oed.com [accessed March 2016].
[208] TCD, Deposition of Edward Leech, MS 810, fols 244r-245v [accessed May 20.

Conclusion

In his study of seventeenth-century English consumption, Mark Overton proposed that for those in Kent and Cornwall, 'considerably greater expenditure went on more mundane (and inconspicuous) goods, such as new cooking equipment, linen, pewter and earthenware plates, and furniture, than on goods designed to display one's fashionableness or copy the nobility.'[209] It can be argued that the depositions displayed a similar trend. As in parts of England, those living in Ireland may have been less concerned with emulating their social superiors and sought to improve 'personal comfort and convenience, as and when the goods became available, and when they could afford them.'[210] As discussed in the previous chapter, particular cases described elite consumers who purchased silver, clocks, Venetian glass and elaborate hangings to decorate their homes. Generally, however, deponents reported the loss of pewter, brass, iron and storage vessels. Barnard proposed that 'differences in the willingness to participate fully in the consumption of fashion and luxury arose more from income and temperament than from particular ethnic or confessional affiliations.'[211]

The cooking equipment hinted at a variety of food preparation methods ranging between open hearths to enclosed ovens as well as all manner of materials—including wood, earthenware, pewter, brass, copper and iron. Although the number of artisans associated with the production of these items was limited, their presence can still be observed. Trade records and inventories indicated the spread of cooking implements into Ireland where small wares, such as spoons and knives, may have been carried by merchants or local chapmen into the hinterland of Ireland.

When recalling the valuables within their homes, it is curious that many failed to provide detailed descriptions. This either indicated the priority for cash reimbursements, or an absence of luxury over practical consumption. Rebels were eager to claim the goods of Protestant victims—perhaps using the English pewter to replace the wooden vessels in their own homes, selling it on, or melting down the material to new objects. Archaeological evidence pointed to the mixture of material culture between the Gaelic and settler worlds that is not always apparent in documentary sources. Lists of pots, pans, plate and various cooking utensils not only signalled the items' value and utility, but additionally spoke to tradition of

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[209] Overton, *Production and Consumption,* p. 120.
[210] Overton, *Production and Consumption*, p. 120.
[211] Toby C. Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure: Lives and Possessions in Ireland, 1641-1770* (London, 2004) p. 87.

personal inscription and inheritance. Because of these social practices, deponents were able to recognise their possessions once they had been placed inside rebels' homes.[212]

The theft of cooking implements proved to be particularly relevant in a gendered context. Such vessels, connected intrinsically to a woman's domestic role, communicated female reliance upon such objects for independent financial stability in both (albeit different) Irish and English legal constructs. The presence of innkeepers, bakers, butchers, dairyman and cooks provided clues as to what contexts these materials were employed. The mixture of English and Gaelic names hinted at varying cooking processes that, sadly due to the lack of detail in the depositions, cannot be further extrapolated. While the presence of coal tied it more strongly to industrial pursuits, the variety of fuel types and cooking vessels suggested the dual presence of open and enclosed hearths in Ireland. What the depositions projected is a fact well-known to Irish historians and archaeologists: the coexistence of different standards of amenity during the seventeenth-century.

Due to a lack of comprehensive collections of wills and inventories for Ireland, the extent of these findings cannot be proposed with certainty, yet select cases help construct a picture of Ireland that challenges the polarised accounts of seventeenth-century travellers. Inns, taverns and alehouses indicated possible points of contact for particular localities. Instances of culinary exchange unveiled the reality of seventeenth-century life for settlers and Gaelic inhabitants alike. As discussed in the context of architecture, the sense of impermanency felt by natives and newcomers may have informed their decisions concerning investment and consumption, particularly when goods were not readily accessible, or individuals faced impending relocation. With more research, the depositions may be placed within an established field of early modern Irish material culture to not simply propose cultural blending, but determine its extent.

[212] TCD, Examination of James Clandalke re George Cheevers, MS 818, fols 247r-248r [accessed June 2015].

THE CHURCH

The Built Environment and Material Culture of Religion

Following a robbery on the night of 24 November 1641, a priest reassured Robert Wadding that all his goods would be returned to him and he would be able to live peacefully among the Gaelic Irish on one condition: that he attend Mass.[1] That year, however, the structures built for religious services no longer remained as fixed points of confessional identity. As in the early years following the Reformation, churches would shift hands once more. Only this time, it would be into those of the Catholic community.

Protestant doctrine had been inseparable from the plantation scheme's building policy. Agricultural and domestic building projects intended to reshape the Irish landscape into a manifestation of Christian ideals: civility through cultivated fields and an English built environment 'might present harmony and proportion imposed by men in ways similar to God's imposition of order over the natural world.'[2] The church comfortably nestled into this image as the physical expression of Protestantism. However, the Protestant Church of Ireland was a church of the minority where a majority of the population looked to the authority of the Church of Rome. Would the Gaelic community see a newly constructed Protestant stone church as a blemish on God's landscape? Or would a certain level of pragmatism exist on both sides to ensure a level of peaceful co-existence?

While the standard narrative described the Protestant Englishman and the Catholic Irishman, Ireland's religious climate was far from straightforward. The island's inhabitants could identity with a combination of affiliations, alternating between Catholic or Protestant and English, Irish or Scottish. In the sixteenth-century, Ireland operated as a haven for English Catholics subjected to stricter laws in England.[3] By the 1640s, the religious environment became even more fragmented within the Protestant community. Unwilling to subscribe to Archbishop Laud of Canterbury's remodelled theology that had been imposed on Ireland by his ally Thomas Wentworth, many (particularly Ulster Presbyterians) left the Church of

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[1] TCD, 1641 Depositions Project, online transcript of the Deposition of Robert Wadding, MS 812, fols 027r-028v. Available from: http://1641.tcd.ie [accessed June 2014]. All the following cited depositions have been retrieved online from: http://1641.tcd.ie.
[2] John Patrick Montaño, *The Roots of English Colonialism in Ireland* (Cambridge, 2011) p. 252.
[3] David Edwards, 'A Haven of Popery: English Catholic Migration to Ireland in the Age of Plantations', in Alan Ford and David McCafferty (eds), *The Origins of Sectarianism in Early Modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2005) pp. 95-127.

Ireland.[4] How and to what extent religion played a role in the formation of identity in Ireland has been contentiously debated.[5] For some early modern individuals, religion operated as a form of custom, others used it to define political allegiances, while many deeply believed in its power to influence fate.[6]

Questions have been raised concerning Catholicism's influence upon Irish identity formation in the early modern period. Marianne Elliot argued that popular religion in sixteenth-century Ulster 'was mostly one of localised folk practices.'[7] She proposed that religion reflected cultural identity rather than defined it.[8] In 1570, Edmund Tanner wrote to Rome stating the shambled state of the Catholic faith—a 'pious Catholic [was] hardly to be found.'[9] The period between 1618 and 1648 saw a series of Episcopal appointments that seemingly re-established the Catholic hierarchy. Yet, scholars noted this reform had limited impact.[10] Scott Spurlock argued that the 'reconstruction, or perhaps overestimation of a consistent Catholic lineage in Ireland' existed in works written between 1616 and 1632. Political rebels were recast as Catholic martyrs, and Gaelic sources were carefully selected from the writings of disposed Gaelic elite 'showing Catholicism the true religion.'[11]

On the Protestant side, religious identity was also not clear-cut. As Raymond Gillespie pointed out, there was a difference between the institutional structures of Protestantism and the lived religious experience of the Protestant community in Ireland. For many Protestants, personal theology sometimes contradicted the faith's official doctrine—a symptom of a period of religious change. In their final testaments, some could be seen engaging with typical post-mortem Catholic traditions.[12]

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[4] Raymond Gillespie, 'The Religion of the Protestant Laity in Early Modern Ireland', in Brendan Bradshaw and Dáire Keogh (eds), *Christianity in Ireland: Revisiting the Story* (Blackrock, 2002) p. 112.
[5] See, Colin Kidd, *British Identities Before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World, 1600-1800* (Cambridge, 1999) pp. 146-50; Ian Campbell, *Renaissance Humanism and Ethnicity Before Race: The Irish and the English in the Seventeenth Century* (Manchester 2013); Marianne Elliot, *When God Took Sides: Religion and Identity in Ireland—Unfinished History* (Oxford, 2009); Scott Spurlock, 'Problems with Religion as Identity', *Irish and Scottish Studies* 6, no. 2 (2013), pp. 1-30.
[6] For examples of personal religious expression in the Protestant community, see Gillespie, 'The Religion of the Protestant Laity', p. 115.
[7] Marianne Elliot, *The Catholics of Ulster: A History* (New York, 2001) p. 66.
[8] See Spurlock's discussion of Elliot's work in 'Problems with Religion as Identity', p. 4; Elliot, *The Catholics in Ulster,* p. 67.
[9] Spurlock, 'Problems with Religion as Identity', p. 3
[10] See Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic Reformation in Ireland: The Mission of Rinuccini 1645*-1649 (Oxford, 2003) pp. 3-11.
[11] Spurlock, 'Problems with Religion as Identity', pp. 11-12. See also Elliot, *When God Took Sides*, p. 22.
[12] Gillespie, 'The Religion of the Protestant Laity', p. 109.

Religious material culture offers one avenue in which to assess the expression of religious identity in Ireland, particularly in regard to parish churches. Often sitting at the heart of the local community, the church provided spiritual comfort as well as social belonging. In medieval times, Irish churches possessed the dual function as the meeting place for guilds, or operated as the space for corporation meetings and assemblies if there was no secular building present in a town.[13] In Bishop Anthony Dopping's visitation (c. 1685), he noted that several churches were out of use and ruined since 1641.[14] During the 1641 rebellion, churches were attacked and defaced, ministers were subject to torture, and the bodies of those long deceased were unearthed from the grave. The mob behaviour of the men and women involved can be read as a form of protest. As Clodagh Tait stated, in Ireland (as in Europe) 'we see the theatrical and tactical exploitation of space, symbol and ritual, or special times and meaningful gestures by protesting crowds.'[15] For these crowds, the aim was to draw attention to their grievances in that particular spatial context. Such activities had been part of the seventeenth-century, albeit more minor incidences as explored by Tait.[16] Why and how the Gaelic community employed these religious structures and objects in the context of protest is in need of investigation.

The material culture of early modern Irish churches is a subject that is desperately in need of examination. Unfortunately, the scarcity of documentary sources has hindered archaeologists from interpreting these church buildings. Unlike the rest of Europe, church court records and baptism, marriage and burial records were not routinely recorded in Ireland. As James Lyttleton pointed out, this is most likely because of the 'non-centralised nature of the Anglican church in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Ireland, coupled with extensive disorganisation at parish level…'[17] Additionally, only a single set of churchwarden accounts exists in Dublin (St. Werbugh's parish in Dublin) and there are no surviving portrayals of

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[13] John Bradley, 'Town Life in Medieval Ireland', *Archaeology Ireland* 5, no. 3 (1991), pp. 25-8, specifically p. 27.
[14] C. C. Ellison, 'Bishop Dopping's Visitation Book 1682-1685', *Riocht na Midhe* V, no. 1-5 (1971-75), pp. 2-11; Philippe Loupes, 'Bishop Dopping's Visitation of the Diocese of Meath 1693', *Studia Hibernica* 24 (1984-8), pp. 127-51; Michael O'Neill, 'The Medieval Parish Churches in Co. Meath', *JRSAI* 132 (2002), p. 49.
[15] Clodagh Tait, 'Disorder and Commotion: Urban Riots and Popular Protest in Ireland 1570-1640', in William Sheehan and Maura Cronin (eds), *Riotous Assemblies: Rebels, Riots and Revolts in Ireland* (Cork, 2011) p. 42.
[16] Tait, 'Disorder and Commotion', pp. 22-49; Clodagh Tait, 'Riots, Rescues and "Grene Bowes": Catholics and Protest in Ireland, 1570-1640', in Robert Armstrong and Tadhg Ó hAnnachaín (eds), *Insular Christianity: Alternative Models of the Church in Britain and Ireland c. 1570-c. 1700* (Manchester, 2013) pp. 67-87.
[17] James Lyttleton, 'Anglican Church Architecture in Seventeenth-Century Offaly', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 138 (2008), p. 84.

church interiors.[18] Severely limited by the lack of sources, it is perhaps impossible to draw a complete picture of the physical churches throughout Ireland. However, the texts available to historians can provide context to these buildings and their role on the Irish landscape.

The depositions deliver an untapped resource for seventeenth-century church building, as well as an avenue to discuss the religiosity of the native Irish community. The violent acts committed upon religious material culture in 1641 speak to the contradictory worldviews between the majority Catholic Irish population and the Protestant elite who were determined to drag the heretical population into the light of the reformed faith. While they have been used in works such as Raymond Gillespie's *Devoted People*, no one has systematically picked through the collection to isolate the presence of church buildings, and extract instances of structural and interior destruction during the 1641 uprising. In *Death, Burial and Commemoration in Ireland*, Clodagh Tait found evidence in the depositions for the disinterment of human remains and analysed it alongside similar practices occurring throughout the early modern period.[19] In this chapter, I have sought to employ pertinent archaeological and cartographical evidence alongside the depositions. However, it must be noted, that the ability to use the Down Survey maps is limited due to the inconsistency of detail between the county and barony maps, and the poor state of many parish maps. By looking deeper into the testimonies of the afflicted Protestants, one may be able to discern a church's medieval origin or post-Reformation construction, and explore the early modern population's connection to the sacred landscape during a period of religious change.

Construction: New Protestant Churches

In 1608, Arthur Chichester lamented that the churches in Ulster were, 'So defaced, and the glebe and bishops' lands so obscured, that all is confused and out of order, as it were in a wilderness where neither Christianity nor Religion was ever heard of.'[20] The impact of the Reformation in the north had been minimal in the early seventeenth-century. Protestant

[18] Lyttleton, 'Anglican Church Architecture', p. 84.
[19] For references to the depositions, see Clodagh Tait, *Death, Burial and Commemoration in Ireland, 1550-1650* (New York, 2002) pp. 82-3, 94-6.
[20] See Chichester's instructions to Sir James Ley and Sir John Davies (Oct. 14, 1608), in C. W. Russell and John P. Prendergast (eds), *CSPI, James I, 1608-1610, Vol. 3* (London, 1874) p. 64; Robert J. Hunter, *The Ulster Plantation in the Counties of Armagh and Cavan 1608-41* (Belfast, 2012) p. 285; Audrey J. Horning, *Ireland in the Virginian Sea: Colonialism in the British Atlantic* (Chapel Hill, 2013) p. 182.

reform proved to be an uphill battle for newly settled Protestants surrounded by a native population who allegedly held onto the localised folk practices with a questionable grasp of Roman Catholicism.[21] Reform only began to gather steam following the Nine Years War and the Flight of the Earls with the construction of new churches for the Ulster Plantation.[22] In Ulster, the distributed land was formed into parishes each of which was to be provided with a new parish church.[23] By 1629, a commissioner's report showed that churches and parsonages in Armagh were either recently rebuilt, or in the process of being built or repaired.[24] Robert J. Hunter wrote, '…although the proposal at the time of plantation that a new church should be built for each plantation estate was on the whole not acted on at the time, a process of rationalisation in church location was beginning to receive some attention. These churches were also very much an element in the town planning of the time.'[25] Protestantism appeared to making strides towards establishing its physical presence.

While new Protestant churches were constructed in Ulster as part of the plantation policy, existing Catholic churches in Leinster and Munster were converted into places of Protestant worship.[26] Although this method was widespread, evidence of conversion has proven elusive for archaeologists in areas such as Leinster. James Lyttleton's archaeological research of Co. Offaly found only seventeen (out of sixty-six) sites with evidence of continued use through the seventeenth-century. This may be representative of the whole of Ireland.[27]

This small sample in Co. Offaly, however, may suggest that there was limited religious architectural development during the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries when pre-existing churches were employed for Protestant worship.[28] The simplistic church architecture in Co. Offaly indicated that skilled architects might not have been employed for the task in the later plantations. As Lyttleton stated, builders may have been more concerned with repairing older churches rather than building new ones. Much of their energy was exerted into

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[21] See Elliot, *The Catholics of Ulster,* pp. 66-7.
[22] Lyttleton, 'Anglican Church Architecture', p. 86.
[23] Hunter, *The Ulster Plantation*, pp. 284-323.
[24] Hunter, *The Ulster Plantation*, pp. 298-9.
[25] Robert J. Hunter, 'The Bible and the Bawn: An Ulster Planter Inventorised', in Ciaran Brady and Jane H. Ohlmeyer (eds) *British Interventions in Early Modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2005) p. 120.
[26] Sean J. Connolly, *Divided Kingdom: Ireland 1630-1800* (Oxford, 2010).
[27] Lyttleton, 'Anglican Church Architecture', p. 84.
[28] Lyttleton, 'Anglican Church Architecture', p. 88.

converting Catholic spaces into Protestant ones by placing glass panes in the chancel and nave windows, and white-washing the walls once covered in images of saints, angels, biblical scenes and heraldic beasts.[29] William Roulston suggested that the way to approach church architecture, specifically in the north of Ireland, is to see the structure as a product of the patron's stylistic choices. In most cases, the patron had to decide between a traditional Gothic or new Renaissance style, or an English Late Gothic or Irish Late Gothic style.[30] In many instances, structures failed to reflect any degree of inventiveness or regional variability.[31]

In the north, the patron was often an undertaker. Landlords took a principal role in the creation of the new parish church and frequently contributed to the interior furnishings by providing the church with a communion plate.[32] Although building a church was not a requirement for an Ulster undertaker, many participated in the process because a church would encourage settlement, bring esteem to that individual's name, and provide a vital space for worship and burial.[33] As the depositions demonstrated, Sir William Stewart took this idea to heart by constructing a new church, three large houses and two market towns in Newsteward of Co. Tyrone.[34] Outside Ulster in Co. Wexford, Sir Walsingham Cooke built a new church and chancel for the two hundred English families in the parish of Killenagh.[35] Cooke's adherence to Anglicisation policies, however, indicated another debilitating road block in front of Protestantism in Ireland. Similar to the Protestant clergy, wealthy settlers like Cooke tended to build and settle in places substantially populated with English settlers instead of attempting to extend Protestant influence into the 'wild' Gaelic community.[36]

One may wonder what these churches built by Sir Stewart and Sir Cooke would have looked like. It has already been mentioned that these structures would have been quite plain in appearance. Church plans were typically rectangular or cruciform in shape, and in newly Protestant churches there was no structural differentiation between the chancel (where Mass was performed) and the nave. In 1619, Sir Richard Hansard instructed that the chancel in the

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[29] See Lyttleton, 'Anglican Church Architecture', p. 89.
[30] William J. Roulston, 'The Provision, Building and Architecture of Anglican Churches in the North of Ireland, 1600-1740' (PhD diss., Queen's University Belfast, 2004) p. 234.
[31] Roulston, 'The Provision, Building and Architecture', p. 252.
[32] See Lyttleton, Anglican Church Architecture', p. 96.
[33] Roulston, 'The Provision, Building and Architecture', pp. 109, 111.
[34] TCD, Deposition of Sir William Stewart, MS 839, fols 045r-046v [accessed February 2014].
[35] TCD, Deposition of Sir Walsingham Cooke, MS 818, fols 082-083v [accessed February 2014].
[36] See Alan Ford, 'The Protestant Reformation in Ireland', in Ciaran Brady and Raymond Gillespie (eds) *Natives and Newcomers: Essays on the Making of Irish Colonial Society, 1534-164* (Dublin, 1986) pp. 50-74.

new church in Lifford in the parish of Clonleigh would be 'in breadth equal to the church' and have side walls that were the same height as those of the church. This rectangular form, a common style of medieval Scottish churches, would not only reflect Protestant aims to incorporate the congregation in the service, but also Scottish settlers' influence upon the northern Irish built environment.[37] Thomas Raven's map of the Merchant Taylor's Company settlement in Macosquin illustrated a newly built church with a slate roof for its new Protestant residents.[38]

The materials needed to build such a structure were described in the plans for a parish church in Ballymore in Co. Armagh. The 'handsome' parish church was to be sixty feet long, twenty-four feet wide, with walls four feet thick and made of brick. Three windows were to be inserted on each side and its 'well-fitted' interior would include a bell, a pulpit cloth and cushion, a communion cup and 'a plate for bread.'[39] During the seventeenth-century, churches may have also exhibited defensive features due to the social instability of particular regions. Newly constructed upon a site of a medieval parish in 1622, the church of Templecorran possessed protective gun-loops that communicated settlers' anticipation of an enemy attack (Plate 31).[40] Overall new buildings often reflected a sense of unadorned practicality to swiftly provide an integral space for Protestant communities in the foreign landscape.

Conversion: Interior Changes

While the simplicity of the exteriors in newly built churches may have been a pragmatic decision, the simplicity of the interior was an overt representation of Protestant dogma. In general, the church's internal fittings remained minimalist out of fear that the presence of images or ornamentation would encourage idolatry.[41] Perhaps the greatest

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[37] Cited in Roulston, 'The Provision, Building and Architecture', pp. 206- 9.
[38] See Thomas Raven's map of the Merchant Taylor's Company settlement in Macosquin (1622), PRONI, T510/1/1.
[39] Hunter, *The Ulster Plantation*, p. 300.
[40] Roulston, 'The Provision, Building and Architecture', p. 233; Brian Sloan and Emily Murray, 'Excavations at the Southern Doorway of Templecorran Church Ballycarry Co. Antrim', *Queen's University Belfast, Centre for Archaeological Fieldwork* (2013) p. 4. Available from: https://www.qub.ac.uk/schools/CentreforArchaeologicalFieldworkCAF/PDFFileStore/Filetoupload,458386,en.pdf [accessed September 2016]. See also NMS, *Archaeology Survey of Ireland*, Reference Number ANT047 010. Available from: http://webgis.archaeology.ie/historicenvironment [accessed May 2016].
[41] Lyttleton, 'Anglican Church Architecture', p 87.

Protestant alterations to pre-existing Catholic churches in Ireland were the removal of rood screens and stone altars, and replacing them with wooden communion tables.[42] Rood screens had been used in the Catholic service to separate the congregation from the chancel. However, because this interior fixture contradicted Protestant doctrine of congregational involvement, it was removed in newly modified Protestant places of worship.[43]

The English strategy to convert Catholic churches into Protestant churches made the church's interior the space to designate denominational identity. Rebels in the depositions wreaked havoc on the material symbols of Protestantism housed within the structures. Ironically, rebels resorted to behaviour similar to the iconoclasm that the native population had seen enacted on their churches years before the uprising.[44] English troops cleared out the bells, images, altars, books and 'even glass in the window' in 1552 from Clonmacnoise in Co. Offaly because of the items' association with Catholic idolatry.[45] Rebels in 1641 attacked Protestant churches in the same county with a similar eye for confessional difference. Communion tables were thrown out, bibles were burnt, and pulpits were smashed to pieces.[46]

In the Church of Ireland, the two most common items used for interior decoration were the silver communion plate and the pulpit Bible.[47] Insurgents' attraction to these items, particularly the Bible, added a distinctly sectarian tone to the rebellion.[48] Following the iconoclastic refurbishment of the Reformation, Protestant preachers began replacing the 'artistic clutter' of Catholic worship with the word of God, the Bible.[49] The burning of bibles

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[42] Lyttleton, 'Anglican Church Architecture', p. 88.
[43] For discussion of Anglican architecture, see G. W. O Addleshaw and Fredrick Etchells, *The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship: An Inquiry into the Arrangements for Public Worship in the Church of England from the Reformation to Present Day* (London, 1948); Elizabeth Fitzpatrick, 'The Material World of the Parish', in Elizabeth Fitzpatrick and Raymond Gillespie (eds), *The Parish in Medieval and Early Modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2006) p. 74.
[44] For iconoclasm in a seventeenth-century English context, see John Morrill, 'William Dowsing and the Administration of Iconoclasm', in Trevor Cooper (ed.) *The Journal of William Dowsing: Iconoclasm in East Anglia during the English Civil War* (Woodbridge, 2001) pp. 1-28; Margaret Aston, 'Public Worship and Iconoclasm', in David Gaimster and Roberta Gilchrist (eds), *The Archaeology of Reformation 1480-1580* (Leeds, 2003) pp. 9-28.
[45] See Lyttleton, 'Anglican Church Architecture', p. 88; Francis R. M. Hitchcock, *The Midland Septs and the Pales, an Account of the Early Septs and the Later Settlers of King's County and of Life in the English Pale* (Dublin, 1908) pp. 241-2; William J. Smyth, 'Towards a Cultural Geography of the 1641 Rising/Rebellion', in Micheál Ó Siochrú and Jane H. Ohlmeyer (eds), *Ireland, 1641: Contexts and Reactions* (Manchester, 2013) pp. 79-80.
[46] TCD, Deposition of Thomas Scott, MS 814, fols 240r-241v; Deposition of Henry Bolton, MS 814, fols 161r-161v [accessed February 2014].
[47] Raymond Gillespie, *Devoted People: Belief and Religion in Early Modern Ireland* (Manchester, 1997) p. 93.
[48] TCD, Deposition of Alexander Creichton, MS 834, fols 108r-109v.
[49] See Aston, 'Worship and Iconoclasm', p. 12.

flaunted the rebels' contempt for the new Protestant faith and its English association.[50] In Belturbet, bibles were stolen and publicly burnt beneath the shadow of the high cross in the centre of the town.[51] Raymond Gillespie outlined these rampant acts of ritualised destruction: religious texts were cut up in church yards, trampled upon in pools of water, placed upon insurgents' 'privy parts in contempt', and urinated upon in disgust.[52] Other instances revealed rebels using the remains to wrap candles they hoped to sell.[53] Such acts symbolically destroyed the ideas of the opposing faith, but also forcibly eliminated Protestants' access to their chosen religion. As Gillespie argued, 'It is no coincidence the rebels at Mountrath…demanded of a woman that she should burn her Bible and go to Mass.'[54]

However, bibles were not the only items subject to attack. In Kildare, the Archbishop William Golborne reported the loss of the 'ornaments' of the cathedral and 'the bookes belonginge to the same.'[55] In Longford, rebels stole the church key and cleared out the ornaments and books in Kilcommock.[56] A church is drawn in this parish on the Down Survey barony map of Rathcline, Co. Longford.[57] To extrapolate what types of religious objects fell under the category of ornaments, the deposition of the Waterford clerk Phillip Chappel described the stolen 'vtensils' of the church of Whitechurch: a silver cup, a bible, two New Common prayer books, linen table cloth, a carpet, a pulpit cloth, and a piece of new cloth that was going to be used to make a pulpit cushion.[58] The servant of the Archdeacon of Dublin

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[50] See Mark S. Sweetnam, '"Sheep in the Midst of Wolves"?: The Protestant Ministry in the 1641 Depositions', *Journal of Irish and Scottish Studies* 6, no. 2 (2013), pp. 1-30; Annaleigh Margey, '1641 and the Ulster Plantation Towns', in Eamon Darcy, Annaleigh Margey and Elaine Murphy (eds), *The 1641 Depositions and the Irish Rebellion* (London, 2012) p 86; Smyth, 'Towards a Cultural Geography of the 1641 Rising/Rebellion', p. 79.

[51] TCD, Deposition of John Anderson, MS 833, fol. 99r; Deposition of Richard Parsons, MS 833, fol. 279r [accessed February 2014]. See also Brendan Scott, 'The Rising in the Plantation Town of Belturbet', *Breifne*, 40 (2001), pp. 155-75; and Margey, '1641 and the Ulster Plantation Towns', p. 86. For discussion on public space in crowd action, see Donald Horowitz, *Deadly Ethnic Riot* (Berkley, 2001).

[52] See Raymond Gillespie, *Reading Ireland: Print, Reading and Social Change in Early Modern Ireland* (Manchester, 2005) p. 19.

[53] For destruction of bibles, see TCD, Deposition of Morgan Couraghie, MS 815, fols 046v-047v; Deposition of Robert French, MS 835, fols 109r-110v; Deposition of Henry Plamer, MS 818, fols 088r-089v; Deposition of James Benn, MS 812, fols 213r-214v [accessed February 2014].

[54] Gillespie, *Reading Ireland*, p. 20. See also TCD, Deposition of John Glasse, MS 815, fols 197v-197r [accessed February 2014].

[55] TCD, Deposition of William Golborne and William Lightbond, MS 813, fols 264r-264v [accessed February 2014].

[56] TCD, Deposition of Thomas Steele, MS 817, fols 160r-160v [accessed February 2014].

[57] See parish of 'Kildamog' on the barony map of Rathcline, Co. Longford, retrieved from TCD, *The Down Survey of Ireland.* Available from: http://downsurvey.tcd.ie [accessed May 2017].

[58] TCD, Deposition of Phillip Chappell, MS 820, fols 211r-211v [accessed February 2014]. For archaeological findings, see NMS, *Archaeological Survey of Ireland*, Reference Number WA030-017001-. Available from: http://webgis.archaeology.ie/historicenvironment [accessed May 2016]. For the Buckley family in Dunlavin, see

William Buckley revealed that his master had bought a bell for the church of Dunlavin in Co. Wicklow (a site of prior medieval settlement purchased by his father) that the rebels snatched during the uprising.[59] The bell's metal attracted rebels looking to build weapons, however its removal also enacted a defensive advantage. The inaccessibility of a bell during the election riots of 1612 thwarted any attempt to 'ring the alarum' to warn citizens.[60] Without a bell, the church of Dunlavin was similarly unprepared to challenge a rebel attack in 1641.[61]

The loss of religious objects spelled disaster for particular elite Protestants who had donated luxury items to their parish church. While these were generous acts, the intent of the gifts often expressed the less altruistic belief that the donated objects would elevate one's social standing. Silver designated a church's higher status for elite Protestants and has already been touch upon briefly in the context of luxury consumption.[62] In 1635, Philip Culme, a merchant tailor of London, paid to have two silver flagons, a chalice and two silver plates made for St. Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin so that it would be a suitable burial site. [63] In 1644, a church in Clonmel was restored with a collection of significant objects: a silver communion cup, two white surplices, one Holland broadcloth, a green carpet, a green plush pulpit cover, a green cushion, a bible and a book of common prayer.[64] The loss of such high-status items reduced the church's prestige and, by consequence, cut the status of those Protestants buried within its walls.

Chris Lawlor, 'Sir Richard Buckley and the Foundation of Dunlavin Village', *Kildare Archaeological Society* (2003). Available from: http://www.kildarearchsoc.ie/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/Dunlavin.pdf [accessed August 2016]; Lord Walter Fitzgerald, 'Dunlavin, Tornant and Tober, Co. Wicklow,' *Journal of Co. Kildare Archaeological Society* 8, no. 4 (1912), p. 220.

[59] TCD, Deposition of William Myles ex parte William Bulkeley, MS 809, fol. 254r [accessed February 2014]. For archaeological evidence of the town and seventeenth-century church, see NMS, *Archaeological Survey of Ireland*, Reference Number WI015-016----. Available from: http://webgis.archaeology.ie/historicenvironment [accessed May 2016].

[60] See Tait, 'Disorder and Commotion', p. 46.

[61] For bells, see Raymond Gillespie, 'Urban Parishes in Early Seventeenth-Century Ireland: The Case of Dublin', in Elizabeth FitzPatrick and Raymond Gillespie (eds), *The Parish in Medieval and Early Modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2006) p. 229. For further discussion, see F. Peacock, 'Church Bells: When and Why They Were Rung', in William Andrews (ed.) *Curious Church Customs* (Hull, 1895) pp. 33-48.

[62] See chapter on the interior, p. 186.

[63] Ainsworth, 'Abstracts of 17th Century Irish Wills in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury', *JRSAI* 78, no. 1 (1948), p. 26; Also cited in Tait, *Death, Burial and Commemoration,* p. 71.

[64] Bríd McGrath (ed.), *The Minute Book of the Corporation of Clonmel, 1608-1649* (Dublin, 2006) p. 308. For archaeological evidence of the fourteenth/fifteenth-century church and seventeenth-century extension, see NMS, *Archaeological Survey of Ireland*, Reference Number TS083-019001-. Available from: http://webgis.archaeology.ie/historicenvironment [accessed May 2016].

Destruction: Religion and Society in 1641

For those recounting the atrocities enacted by the rebels, the physical mutilation of the parish churches fixed the Irish population concretely to the dangerous 'papist' ideology. Scholars agree that the Reformation in Ireland failed to grab hold, and this was largely due to an inherent flaw in the civilising scheme. [65] Modes of Anglicisation, that imposed English culture upon the natives, distanced the Gaelic population (particularly in language) from the Protestant religion.[66] The Bible, for instance, was not translated into Irish until the seventeenth-century when William Bedell took it upon himself to gain the support of the Irish people.[67] The failure of the Reformation seemed evident in the 1641 Depositions' portrayal of church destruction, predominantly that of the north. Christopher Parmenter, a gentleman from Donegal, bleakly summarised of the devastation Ulster:

> …the Rebells in the Countie of Tirone have burnd with fyre and distroyed the Churches of Newtowne and of Cappey, the Church of Ogher the Church of Clogher, the Abb ey and Church in the Countie of Tirone, And the Abbey and Chappell of Rathmullan in the County of Donnegall, and by report the Church of Killabeg in that County And this deponent hath heard it credibly reported That the Rebells in the province of Vlster haue consumed with fyre and distroyed the Churches of Clownisse the of Balliheys, of Cavan, Belturbett Armagh Yoghall Ballimore Charlemont and generally most of the Churches of & within the Province of Vlster And indeed this deponent hath heard & verely beleeveth that the Rebells haue spared vnburnt and not spoiled none of the protestant Churches at all other then such Wherein they fortify themselues and keepe their amunition armes and or provision:[68]

Settlers acknowledged that the destruction of churches laid the ideals of the plantation in ruin. Francis Leiland testified that the burning of Armagh left 'those braue Rojall plantacions…quite demolished wasted and tarnished and of all the former Inhabitants (saveing the base irish) depopulated.'[69] Although some scholars cast doubt on the depositions due to their biased nature, archaeological and documentary evidence propose that Christopher Parmenter's account was not complete fabrication. The abbey and chapel of Rathmullan

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[65] For further discussion on the Reformation in Ireland, see Alan Ford, *The Protestant Reformation in Ireland, 1590-1641* (Frankfurt, 1985); Alan Ford and John McCafferty (eds), *The Origins of Sectarianism in Early Modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2005).
[66] For discussion on the 'Act of Uniformity', see Brady and Gillespie, *Natives and Newcomers*, p. 58.
[67] See Karl S. Bottigheimer and Vivienne Larminie, 'Bedell, William (*bap.* 1572, *d.* 1642)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Available from: http://www.oxforddnb.com [accessed October 2016]; Deasún Breathnach, *The Best of the English: A Short Account of the Life and Work of William Bedell, and the Irish Version of the Bible for Which He Was Responsible* (Dublin, 1971).
[68] TCD, Deposition of Christopher Parmenter, MS 839, fols 136r-137v [accessed February 2014].
[69] TCD, The Deposition of Francis Leiland, MS 836, fols 098r-099v [accessed February 2014].

identified by Parmenter may have been the priory that Andrew Knox, Bishop of Raphoe, converted into a private dwelling as well as his private chapel in 1618.[70] Additionally, the church located near Rathmullan showed the effects of fire upon the interior wall-faces. [71] A Down Survey map presented a drawing of the town of Rathmullan with a castle, three large buildings and two smaller domestic structures near the church of Kilgarvan in the Protestant land of Knox. The terrier for the parish map of Kilgarvan described a 'church in repaire.'[72] Another church cited by Parmenter, the church of 'Killabeg' (Killybegs) in Co. Donegal, had been described as, 'newly re-edified and well repaired' in 1622, but had to be repaired again by the time of the Civil Survey (1654-5).[73]

Yet, even before the rebellion, the state of Irish churches had been a point of concern. Because of the divisions between the Gaelic and Old English Catholics, Patrick Corish wrote that by the end of the fifteenth-century the churches had 'already fall[en] into disrepair and even into total ruin in the "land of so long continual war within himself."'[74] This established interpretation of the pre-Reformation churches as being 'in decline', however, has been called into question. Henry Jefferies argued that the Tudor reformations interrupted a programme of rebuilding that had been enacted to revive the older churches.[75]

The lackadaisical enforcement of anti-Catholic policies was a testament to Ireland's blended religious society.[76] As Gillespie pointed out, leading Protestants often knew the location of Catholic chapels and meetinghouses, but ordinarily chose not to act.[77] A deposition from the hatter John Smith of Co. Waterford revealed that fellow artisans entered a

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[70] NMS, *Archaeological Survey of Ireland*, Reference Number DG037-007003-. Available from: http://webgis.archaeology.ie/historicenvironment [accessed May 2016].
[71] NMS, *Archaeological Survey of Ireland*, Reference Number DG028-024----. Available from: http://webgis.archaeology.ie/historicenvironment [accessed May 2016].
[72] See parish map of Kilgarvan, barony of Killmacreenan, Co. Donegal, retrieved from TCD, *The Down Survey*. Available from: http://downsurvey.tcd.ie [accessed May 2017].
[73] Robert C. Simington (ed.), *The Civil Survey… Donegal, Londonderry and Tyrone, Vol. 3* (Dublin, 1937) p. 79; NMS, *Archaeological Survey of Ireland,* Reference Number DG097-015002-. Available from: http://webgis.archaeology.ie/historicenvironment [accessed May 2016]
[74] Spurlock, 'Problems with Religion as Identity', pp. 2-3. See also Patrick J. Cornish, *The Irish Catholic Experience: A Historical Survey* (Dublin, 1985) p. 62.
[75] Henry Jeffries, 'A Church "in decline"? The Pre-Reformation Irish Church', *History Ireland* 14, no. 6 (2006), pp. 13-18.
[76] Edwards, 'A Haven of Popery', pp. 95-126; Spurlock, 'The Problems with Religion as Identity', p. 5; J. Michael Hill, 'The Origins of Scottish Plantations in Ulster to 1652: A Reinterpretation', *Journal of British Studies*, 32 (1993), pp. 32, 40.
[77] Gillespie, *Devoted People*, p. 4.

mass house in Christchurch without any hindrance.[78] In the early seventeenth-century, Waterford's predominantly Catholic population ensured that pro-Catholic sympathies would survive up until the 1650s.[79] In the testimony of George and Suzanna Stockdale, the deponents described another means in which the Catholic Irish were able to practice their faith in Co. Offaly during the early modern period: '…the said Rebells in the said Campe did daylie resort to the said John Heywood to Mass, whoe kept a preist in the howse.'[80] Brian Mac Cuarta's research proposed that resident priests living in elite homes were sometimes English Catholic refugees.[81] Catholicism was not always driven into the secrecy of private homes. In 1629, the Archbishop of Dublin Lancelot Bulkeley attempted to raid a public mass being held in a Carmelite friary. Successfully silencing a Catholic majority, however, proved to be an implausible task. The Catholic aldermen turned a blind eye when Bulkeley was later attacked in the street.[82]

Moments of protests, such as that in 1629 and the rebellion of 1641, attempted to impose a sectarian image upon the early modern community that extended before and after 1641. Alan Ford, on the other hand, claimed that the Ireland of the earlier seventeenth-century 'seemed to have adjusted to the unusual situation of having two rival churches.'[83] As stated by John Morrill, 'An attack on the guilds and chantries was central to the fundamental challenge to that belief in the communion of saints (living and dead) which was the defining characteristic of the Edwardine reformation in England; it is not so easy to find evidence of that challenge taking place in mid-century Ireland.'[84] In Reformation England, monastic houses—that had once similarly operated as elite burial grounds—were stripped of their original character to prevent the religious communities' return.[85] However, in Ireland

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[78] TCD, Deposition of John Smith, MS 820, fols 056r-046v [accessed February 2014].
[79] See T. G. Fewer, 'An Apparent Funerary Anomaly from Seventeenth-Century Waterford', *JRSAI* 128 (1998), p. 22; J. C. W. Walton, 'Church, Crown and Corporation in Waterford', in William Nolan, Thomas P. Power (eds), *Waterford History and Society: Interdisciplinary Essays on the History of an Irish County* (Dublin, 1992) pp. 177-97.
[80] TCD, Deposition of George and Suzanna Stockdale, MS 810, fols 081r-082v [accessed February 2014].
[81] Brian Mac Cuarta, 'A Priest's Will, Maynooth, Co. Kildare, 1604', *Archivium Hibernicum* 66 (2013), pp. 9-15.
[82] Tait, 'Disorder and Commotion', pp. 72-3.
[83] Alan Ford, 'Living Together, Living Apart: Sectarianism in Early Modern Ireland'; and Brian Jackson, 'Sectarianism: Division and Dissent in Irish Catholicism', in Alan Ford and David McCafferty (eds), *The Origins of Sectarianism in Early Modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2012) pp. 11-12, 203-15.
[84] John Morrill, 'Concluding Reflection: Confronting the Violence of the Irish Reformations', in Alan Ford and David McCafferty (eds), *The Origins of Sectarianism in Early Modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2012) p. 238.
[85] Annia Cherryson, Zoë Crossland and Sarah Tarlow, *A Fine and Private Place: The Archaeology of Death and Burial in Post-Medieval Britain and Ireland* (Leicester, 2012) p. 81.

converted sites maintained an air of holiness for the Catholic community.[86] In Galway, Catholics visited a courthouse, once a Franciscan monastery, on certain days of the year.[87] The native custom of grave visitation additionally bound Catholics to converted sites. Confused English observers watched as those within the Gaelic community returned to spaces no longer used for Catholic worship, carrying flowers and crosses to dress graves.[88] In 1626, the Lord Deputy and the Commissioners for the Plantation of Ulster, complained that even though a new church was to be constructed 'of brick, covered with tiles, to be erected, with seats and needful ornament,' the 'inhabitants of the parish, out of mere malice, without any ground or reason, daily threaten to draw the church again to Taughnataly, where there is a no church at all; and as the seat or place of the old church lieth upon the edge of the county and parish…'[89] The English observers' bewilderment over the situation exposed a significant characteristic of popular religion in Ireland: it was 'profoundly implicated with topography.'[90]

The Lord Deputy's complaint suggested that reverence was more often tied to the natural rather than manufactured features of the Irish landscape. Local Irishmen and women failed to attend services in the newly constructed church, looking instead to a site of more historic spiritual significance tucked away in the dark forest. As Alexandra Walsham's wide-ranging study of the British Isles demonstrated, the tendency to link woods, stones and springs to ritual was not unique to the Irish community. Yet, each landscape played an integral role in forging those inhabitants' confessional identities and memories.[91] In Ireland, the limited impact of the Reformation foretold the Gaelic community's unremitting attachment to the 'idols in the landscape', a relationship that had been actively purged in England during the prior century.[92] The ordinance of a synod at Armagh in 1618

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[86] FitzPatrick, 'The Material World of the Parish', p. 74.
[87] Found in Brendan Jennings, 'Donatus Moneyus de Provincia Hiberniae S. Francisci', *Analecta Hibernica* 6 (1934), p. 55. Translation discussed and cited in Gillespie, *Devoted People*, p. 89.
[88] See Graham Kew (ed.), *Fynes Moryson's Unpublished Itinerary* (Dublin, 1998) p. 110. Also discussed in Tait, *Death, Burial and Commemoration*, p. 63.
[89] James Morrin (ed.), *Calendar of the Patent and Close Rolls of Chancery in Ireland of the Reign of Charles the First. First to Eighth Year, Inclusive* (Dublin, 1863) p. 555.
[90] Catherine McKenna, 'Gone to Ground: Relics and Holy Wells in Medieval and Early Modern Ireland', in Elizabeth Robertson and Jennifer Jahner (eds), *Medieval and Early Modern Devotional Objects in Global Perspective* (Basingstoke, 2010) p. 74.
[91] Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity, and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 2011).
[92] Walsham uses this phrase in her chapter 'Idols in the Landscape', in *The Reformation of the Landscape,* pp. 81-152

demonstrated the effects of the increased devotional and social activities around natural sites, specifically those occurring at holy wells.[93]

For the Irish populace, an imaginative geography linked the bodies of those long gone to specific areas—irrespective of whether these individuals were buried at these places or simply passed through the region. From a Protestant perspective, as Raymond Gillespie argued, 'sort of quasi-magical' activities were 'not the work of God, but the devil.'[94] In the depositions, rebels leading an unsuccessful siege in Co. Roscommon blamed their failure on 'the breakeing of the ffontstone in Saint Maries Church at Elfin where (as they said Saint Patrick left the print of his knee and for other abuseing of that church being our Ladies Church.'[95] Saint Patrick held particular importance on a national level due to the prevailing belief that he controlled access to heaven for the Irish.[96] Many parishes also held ties to obscure local saints who acted as protectors for a community at large.[97] The bodies of saints and associated objects possessed miraculous powers that could be taken into battle, mark treaties, or carried through regions so that individuals might evoke the power for their personal needs.[98] This raises a significant question: would rebels have only burnt new Protestant sites because older sites still harboured former religious importance? William J. Smyth's analysis of the depositions showed that attacks upon churches, ministers and interior objects occurred in all four of the provinces, but to a greater extent in midland and south Ulster, midland and south Leinster, and only parts of Munster.[99] Did these forms of destruction vary between provinces and to what extent?

Destruction: Churches in Ulster, Leinster and Munster

The depositions revealed at least sixteen burned churches in Ulster, seven in Leinster, two in Munster, and none in Connacht. While there were more churches destroyed in Ulster

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[93] For discussion of the synod at Armagh, see McKenna, 'Gone to Ground', pp. 72-4.
[94] Gillespie, 'Popular and Unpopular Religion: A View from Early Modern Ireland', in James S. Jr. Donnelly and Kerby A. Miller (eds), *Irish Popular Culture 1650-1850* (Dublin, 1998) p. 33.
[95] TCD, Deposition of Ismah Darby, MS 831, fols 216r-217v [accessed February 2014]. For more on superstition, see Andrew Sneddon, *Witchcraft and Magic in Ireland* (Hampshire, 2015).
[96] Gillespie, 'Popular and Unpopular Religion', p. 37.
[97] Gillespie, 'Popular and Unpopular Religion', pp. 37.
[98] McKenna, 'Gone to Ground', p. 69; Sarah Tarlow, *Ritual, Belief and the Dead in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, 2011) p. 166
[99] See Smyth, 'Towards a Cultural Geography of the 1641 Rising/Rebellion', pp. 71-94, specifically p. 79.

than the other provinces, for acts of disinterment, it was the reverse. Approximately two cases arose in Ulster, while there were six in Leinster and six in Munster. I use the word 'approximately' because it is sometimes unclear which church deponents are referring to within their county (i.e. several deponents may be referring to the same church) or words such as 'assaulted' or 'profane' do not irrefutably indicate that the church was burnt to the ground and may be referring to interior damage.

A number of depositions relayed the destruction of Armagh and the mass burning of the churches located in that county. Nineteen years prior to the uprising, the 1622 inquiry of Armagh presented a blossoming Protestant landscape. A vast majority of the churches were either newly built or in repair.[100] The church in Loughgall, one of the three Armagh churches burnt in the depositions, was mentioned in the inquiry of 1622 as 'well repaired', which hinted that this church may have been an older construction originally used for Catholic worship.[101] Today, remains of a multi-period church sit in Loughgall village: a ruined fifteenth-century church body with seventeenth-century alterations.[102] Yet, this late medieval association made it all the more curious that rebels destroyed it. Owing to its ultimate demise, Loughgall and the nearby district of Drumilly sat in thickly settled plantations lands that became a scene of immense violence, and the church operated as a prison for Protestant victims.[103] In Co. Limerick, insurgents showed their hostility towards the recent improvements that Protestant churchman made to religious sites. The clerk Richard Germin testified that the chancel of Rathgoonan which had been 'fairly built up; together with the Chuors' for £10 was now destroyed with the rest of the church.[104] Other newly built churches, such as the 'handsome' church in Ballymore, would be burnt to the ground as an overt attack on Protestant architecture and power.[105]

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[100] For inquiry, see Hunter, *The Ulster Plantation*, pp. 298-9.
[101] TCD, Deposition of Frauncis Sacheverell, MS 836, fols 107r-111v [accessed February 2014].
[102] For archaeological evidence, see DoENI Environment and Heritage Service, 'Levallieglish, Loughgall. Multiperiod Church Site and Graveyard: Loughgall; Levallieglish.'Available from: http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleId=2600794 [accessed November 2016].
[103] For plantation efforts in this area, see George Hill, *A Historical Account of the Plantation of Ulster* (Belfast, 1970) p 559. See also Sir Anthony Cope's fortified house near Loughgall described in E. M. Jope, 'Castleraw, near Loughgall, Co. Armagh', *Ulster Archaeological Society* 16 (1953), pp. 63-7. For Protestants held in the church, see TCD, Deposition of Edward Saltenstall and George Littlefeild, MS 836, fols 069r-079v [accessed February 2014].
[104] TCD, Deposition of Richard Germin, MS 829, fols 175r-176v [accessed February 2014].
[105] TCD, Deposition of Frauncis Sacheverell, MS 836, fols 107r-111v [accessed February 2014].

The churches in Co. Cavan presented a very different picture from that of Co. Armagh. In the 1622 inquiry, several parish churches remained in a poor state. Lara, Annagelliff and Drumgoon were described as 'ruinous' while the cathedral was being used as the parish church in Kilmore due to inadequate facilities. Perhaps not coincidently, none of these churches were burnt down in the depositions and the only site to receive a new church was consumed in the fire in Belturbet. [106] In the cases of Lara and Kilmore, rebels made attempts to repossess these structures, a topic that will be discussed later as means of reconsecration. In Annagelliff and Drumgoon, rebels choose not to set the sites on fire, but instead steal religious objects and wooden seats out of the structures because of the financial gain these items provided.[107]

Acts of robbery such as these were more prevalent in Leinster and Munster than Ulster. In Waterford, it appeared that many churches' interiors were attacked rather than the structures themselves. Mary Baulte stated that rebels in Waterford went to the Church of Dungarvan 'Raised burnt the seats the Comunion Table the pulpit and all the seats in the aforesaid Church and Made a stable for theire Horses and a prisson for the stript protestants.'[108] A drawing of a seemingly intact church can be noted on the Down Survey map of Co. Waterford in Dungarvan town.[109] Phillip Chappell reported that the church of Whitechurch had been robbed of its ornaments and there was no statement that the church had any structural damage.[110]

In Wicklow, rebels burnt the pulpits and bibles in the parish church of Powerscourt, perhaps salvaging the exterior of the building.[111] Yet, another instance in the same county reported that the Church of Carnew had been 'defaced & demolished.'[112] This is a unique case of total destruction in the context of Leinster and Munster. Other cases in Leinster demonstrated rebels' attempts to preserve the exterior structure. In Wexford, Henry Palmer stated that a church (located near the manor of Ferthard owned by Nicholas Loftus) merely

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[106] Hunter, *The Ulster Plantation*, pp. 301-2.
[107] TCD, Deposition of Jennett Kearnes, Brian Sherin and William Beatagh, MS 833, fols 254r-254v; Deposition of William Jamesone, TCD, MS 833, fols 160r-161v [accessed February 2014].
[108] TCD, Examination of Mary Baulte, MS 820, fols 044r-045v [accessed February 2014].
[109] See county map of Waterford on TCD, *The Down Survey.* Available from: http://downsurvey.tcd.ie [accessed May 2016].
[110] TCD, Deposition of Phillip Chappell, MS 820, fols 211r-211v [accessed February 2014].
[111] TCD, Deposition of Henry ffisher, MS 811, fols 047r-048v [accessed February 2014].
[112] TCD, Deposition of Calcott Chambre, MS 811, fols 174r-175v [accessed March 2014].

lost its pulpit cloth and the minister's books, which had been torn and strewn about the churchyard.[113] Archaeologists and historians propose that this church may pre-date the Anglo-Norman arrival, and the church and chancel had been repaired twenty-six years earlier in 1615.[114] In Offaly, the pulpit in the church of Tisaran was pulled down, and its seats and communion table were thrown out of the structure. Evidence of church remains in this area points to the existence of an early medieval church that was altered in the sixteenth/seventeenth-century. [115] A potentially significant site to the Gaelic community, it was originally founded by St. Saran in the seventh-century and located a mile from a holy well dedicated to the saint.[116] In another medieval church in the town of 'Larraghberine' (Laraghbryon) of Kildare, the exterior was spared, but the seats and pulpit were burnt. The site has been associated with an early Christian monastery tied to Saint Senan, and had survived in good condition at least until 1630.[117]

An interesting case emerged in Co. Meath when rebels erected an altar by order of a 'popish priest' in the medieval parish church of Athboy—a church that was decidedly ruined in 1622, but the chancel remained in repair.[118] The deposition of John Mayre also described the insurgents' destruction of the pulpit inside St. Mary's church in Kilkenny. St. Mary's church was a testament to the changeable religious environment during the early modern period. The influence of Kings Henry VIII and Edward VI transformed the parish church into a place of Anglican worship. The Catholic community eagerly reclaimed the site when Queen Mary took the throne, but it was placed back into Protestant hands under Elizabeth I.[119] Mayre described the church's fourth confessional change when Catholics beat the Protestant pulpit to

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[113] TCD, Deposition of Henry Palmer, MS 818, fols 088r-089v [accessed March 2014].
[114] NMS, *Archaeological Survey of Ireland*, Reference number WX050-011001-. Available from: http://webgis.archaeology.ie/historicenvironment [accessed May 2016]. For early records of the diocese, see Philip H. Hore, *History of the Town and County of Wexford, Vol. 4* (London, 1900-11) pp. 307-14. For an example of minimal interior destruction in Co. Longford, see TCD, Deposition of Nathaniell Hollington, MS 817, fols 148r-149v [accessed February 2014].
[115] TCD, Deposition of Thomas Scott, MS 814, fols 240r-241v [accessed February 2014]. For possible archaeological evidence, see NMS, *Archaeological Survey of Ireland*, Reference Number OF022-004----. Available from: http://webgis.archaeology.ie/historicenvironment [accessed May 2016].
[116] See Elizabeth Rees, *Celtic Sites and Their Saints: A Guide-Book* (London, 2003) p. 47.
[117] TCD, Deposition of William Vowells, fols 330r-331v [accessed February 2014]; NMS, *Archaeological Survey of Ireland,* Reference Number KD005-009002-. Available from: http://webgis.archaeology.ie/historicenvironment [accessed May 2016].
[118] TCD, Deposition of George Gonne, MS 816, fols 105r-105v [accessed February 2014]; C. R. Erlington (ed.), *The Whole Works of the Most Reverend James Ussher, Vol. 1* (Dublin, 1847) p. 82; NMS, *Archaeological Survey of Ireland*, Reference Number ME029-023003. Available from: http://webgis.archaeology.ie/historicenvironment [accessed May 2016].
[119] Martin Maguire, 'Churches and Symbolic Power in the Irish Landscape', *Landscapes* 5, no. 2 (2004), p. 96.

pieces.[120] This act, as well as those addressed earlier, confirmed rebels' attempts to purge the interiors of their Protestant association in order to prepare them for Catholic use.

The most pronounced expression of anti-Protestant authority appeared in the British settlement of Belturbet, Co. Cavan. Rebels attacking the 'goodly faire' church tore down the King's Arms inside the structure and trampled over it.[121] The appearance of these secular symbols increased during the Reformation, often as a means to replace images of Christ and the saints.[122] While it is uncertain whether the destruction of the King's Arms was a reaction to the iconoclastic activities that had replaced religious imagery in Irish churches, it undoubtedly demonstrated the insurgents' contempt for English rule. The newly built Protestant church would be burned to the ground with no desire to use it for Catholic worship.

Depositions that relayed instances in which Protestant churches were reconsecrated as Catholic sites confirmed the intent behind the rebels' interior destruction. In Ulster, rebels led by the 'Romish Bishop' Edmond McSwane took hold of the church of Kilmore and 'consecrate[d] it anew' by setting up an altar and holding mass.[123] Reestablishment of an altar spoke to the Irish laity's notable devotion for the Eucharist. Reports of Eucharistic miracles as well as the medieval establishment of the feast of Corpus Christi in Dublin testified to the importance of this sacrament for the Catholic community.[124] Instances of possible reconsecration also emerged in cases in which rebels disgraced Protestant authority rather than the physical church. Again in Co. Cavan, a priest demanded the key to the church of Lara—a symbolic a transfer of ownership from the Protestant deponent's brother to the Catholic community.[125] In Dublin, rebels did not burn down the church in Ballyboghil, but instead successfully chased the minister John Lukey out of his church with dogs.[126]

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[120] TCD, Deposition of John Mayre, MS 812, fols 246r-247v [accessed March 2014].
[121] TCD, Deposition of Audrey Carington, MS 833, fols 282r-282v; Deposition of Elizabeth Pole, MS 833, fols 256r-257v [accessed February 2014].
[122] Sarah Tarlow, 'Reformation and Transformation: What Happened to Catholic Things in a Protestant World?', in Gaimster and Gilchrist (eds), *Archaeology of Reformation, 1480-1580* (Leeds, 2003) p. 112; John Phillips, *The Reformation of Images: Destruction of Art in England, 1535-1660* (Berkley, 1973) pp. 118-21.
[123] TCD, Deposition of Thomas Crant, MS 832, fols 212r-219v [accessed February 2014].
[124] Gillespie, 'Popular and Unpopular Religion', p. 35.
[125] TCD, Deposition of John and George Cooke, MS 832, fols 207r-208v [accessed February 2014].
[126] TCD, Deposition of John Lukey, MS 810, fols 168r-168v [accessed February 2014]. For remains of a church with evidence of extensive rebuilding at Ballyboghil, see NMS, *Archaeological Survey of Ireland*, Reference Number DU007-010001-. Available from: http://webgis.archaeology.ie/historicenvironment [accessed May 2016]

The case of John Lukey raises another characteristic of the violence toward churches in the depositions: rebels' hostility towards ministers. In Co. Armagh, Protestant ministers in Loughgall, Dungannon and Kilmore were murdered before Armagh was set aflame.[127] Yet, as Mark Sweetnam argued, native Irish aggression towards Protestantism may be intertwined with the Protestant ministers' role in money lending and debt collection as well as religious dogma. [128] The profusion of crimes committed against the Protestant clergy in the depositions seemed to suggest that rebels singled out the ministers.[129] Although historians such as Raymond Gillespie have questioned this trend (attributing violence to a myriad of motivations) it was a belief held by contemporaries of the time such as Henry Jones.[130] Scholars often coupled the attack upon church buildings with those committed against the Protestant clergy: the churches were '…important symbols of Protestant power, and their destruction had important symbolic value.'[131] Yet, in keeping with Sweetnam's proposition that hostility was sometimes economically motivated, the Protestant churches were also symbols of tithe collection and held valuable objects that could be sold for financial gain. The rebels' complaint in Co. Waterford that Protestants' bodies laid in grounds that 'a Catholique pays Rent for' suggested that daily economic pressures heightened religious hostility.[132]

Some churches were spared not because of their religious importance, but because they were 'convenient place[s] for a Garrison.'[133] Other rebels stripped stone churches of their interior furnishings so that they could operate as stables or prisons for Protestant victims.[134] Ordinarily pulpit cloths and seats were destroyed, but on some occasions, they were preserved for personal use. In Co. Cavan, the priest Mackbride 'broke all the seats in the Church and tooke them home to his howse.'[135] In regard to the rebels' treatment of religious structures, a

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[127] TCD, Deposition of Charity Chappell, MS 836, fols 044r-045v [accessed February 2014].
[128] See Nicholas Canny, 'What Really Happened in Ireland in 1641', in Jane H. Ohlmeyer (ed.), *Ireland from Independence to Occupation* (Cambridge, 2002) p. 33. See also Mark S. Sweetnam, '"Sheep in the Midst of Wolves"?', p. 82.
[129] William J. Smyth noted this in 'Towards a Cultural Geography of the 1641 Rising/Rebellion', p. 79.
[130] Raymond Gillespie, 'Destabililzing Ulster, 1641—2', in Brian Mac Cuarta (ed.), *Ulster 1641: Aspects of the Rising* (Belfast, 1993), p. 113. See also Sweetnam, '"Sheep in the Midst of Wolves"?', p. 87.
[131] William J. Smyth, *Map-Making, Landscapes and Memory: A Geography of Colonial and Early Modern Ireland* (Notre Dame, 1989) pp. 142-3. See also Sweetnam, '"Sheep in the Midst of Wolves"?'', p. 89; Maguire, 'Churches and Symbolic Power in the Irish Landscape', pp. 91-114.
[132] TCD, Deposition of Minard Christian, MS 820, fols 012r-012v [accessed February 2014].
[133] TCD, Deposition of Danielle Enos, MS 813, fols 023r-025v [accessed February 2014].
[134] TCD, Examination of Mary Baulte, MS 820, fols 044r-045v [accessed February 2014].
[135] TCD, Deposition of William Jamesone, MS 833, fols 160r-161v [accessed February 2014].

sense of economic practicality and the desire for a military advantage crept into the chaos of the depositions.

However, there is one final perspective to consider, specifically in the context of rebellion. Donald Horowitz argued that crowds choose locations of protests that reduce danger to participants, an idea adopted by Clodagh Tait in her investigation of Irish unrest in the early modern period.[136] In 1599, Limerick citizens, who were discontented by the soldiers cessed on the city, attacked the men in residential streets and inside St. Mary's Cathedral.[137] While church violence can be attributed to religious and social discontent, how might the public nature of the site explain reoccurring acts of violence? Did insurgents perceive the church as a safer space to enact their crimes? Ironically, fearful British inhabitants naïvely collected in the stone structures for protection. Perceiving this as a strategic advantage, rebels would assault the sacred spaces to swiftly annihilate the Protestant community.[138]

Destruction: Gravesites

Although church buildings were subject to destruction in 1641, the fabric of the parish extended well beneath the church walls. For those living in seventeenth-century Ireland, the graveyards and burial sites of loved ones forged a permanent connection to the parish. Elizabeth Fitzpatrick stated that the presence of a fenced graveyard was one of the surest signs of a parish church.[139] Graveyards stressed the idea of community that was important to both Protestants and Catholics and helped bind individuals to a locality.[140] In some cases this bond was deeply implicated in the social hierarchy of the community. Church burial, a distasteful remnant of the Catholic tradition, continued to be a symbol of local prestige. As such, some elite Protestants would adopt the practice because it represented 'the order imposed upon society by God.'[141] Other Protestants, for instance the Bishop of Kilmore William Bedell,

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[136] Tait, 'Disorder and Commotion', pp. 22-49; Tait, '"Riots, Rescues and "Grene Bowes": Catholics and Protest in Ireland', pp. 67-87.
[137] Tait, 'Disorder and Commotion', pp. 41-3.
[138] For examples, see TCD, Examination of Donel O Cahan, MS 838, fol. 033v; Deposition of Elizabeth Taylor, TCD, MS 835, fols 176r-176v [accessed March 2014].
[139] Fitzpatrick, 'The Material World of the Parish', p. 63.
[140] For the importance of the parish for early moderns, see Gillespie, 'Urban Parishes in Early Seventeenth Century Ireland', pp. 228-41, specifically p. 229.
[141] Tait, *Death, Burial and Commemoration*, p. 61.

chose more humble burials in remote areas of the churchyard due to church burials' vain and Catholic overtone.[142] The muddled expression of Christian doctrine in the context of burial practices set the graveyard as a potential site of religious blending. How would the bodies of the deceased create a space of co-existence for Catholics and Protestants?

In early modern Ireland, burial sites were also important spaces for the living. Against church authorities' wishes, churchyards were often used for grazing livestock and various social activities. Sometimes the quiet churchyards were invigorated with bustling economic activity with the appearance of shops, taverns and workshops.[143] Stem pipe fragments of clay pipes (dating from at least 1600 and onwards) were discovered in the areas surrounding burial remains in the graveyard of St. Elizabeth's church in Dundonald, Co. Down.[144] Historically, Irish texts described how legal oaths were sworn in cemeteries to fortify the spoken promises. It was believed that these oaths would gain legal authority through the spiritual power of the sacred dead.[145] Dissimilar to England, the parish was primarily social rather than spatial—its importance owing not to ideas of ownership, but saints or sites of important spiritual interaction.[146] For many, the shift into a landlord/tenant system decontextualised spiritual sites by placing them in a more economic framework—as Catherine McKenna wrote, it set them 'in someone's field.' Mckenna argued this point specifically in regard to the Irish veneration of holy wells, a practice that grew in reaction to changing territorial arrangement under English reconquest. Those visiting holy wells hoped to reestablish their collective connection to a particular landscape in a 'newly monetised economy.'[147]

This Irish attachment to land may in part explain rampant acts of disinterment during the rebellion. The violence that erupted in 1641 sent insurgents into the churches and churchyards, where both Catholics and Protestants laid, to dig up the bodies that had contaminated the sacred parish. Richard Bourk reported that in Enniskillen, rebels dug up the

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[142] Bedell is mentioned in TCD, Deposition of Thomas Crant, MS 832, fols 212r-219v [accessed February 2014]. For more on Bedell, see William Bedell, *A True Relation of the Life of William Bedell* (London, 1872); A. Clarke, 'Bishop William Bedell (1571-1642) and the Irish Reformation', in Ciaran Brady, *Worsted in the Game: Losers in Irish History* (Dublin, 1989) pp. 61-70; Tait, *Death, Burial and Commemoration*, p. 64.
[143] Tait, *Death, Burial and Commemoration*, p. 65.
[144] Clare McGranaghan, 'Burials in a Country Churchyard', *Archaeology Ireland* 21, no. 3 (2007), pp. 24-5. The church is mentioned in the Ulster Visitation Book of 1622, see Thomas Fitzpatrick, 'The Royal Visitation of 1622', *Journal of the County Louth Archaeological Society* 6, no. 1 (1925), pp. 4-11.
[145] McKenna, 'Gone to Ground', p. 72.
[146] Robert A. Houston, 'People, Space, and Law in Late Medieval and Early Modern Britain and Ireland', *Past and Present* 230, no. 1 (2016), pp. 47-89.
[147] McKenna, 'Gone to Ground', p. 74.

bones of the archdeacon of 'Killalow' Mr. Lodge who had been 'buried about six yeres…'[148] Cases such as these were more frequent in Cos Offaly, Kildare and Limerick. In Co. Limerick, rebels uprooted the Bishop of Limerick four to five days after his burial in Munchin's church, and stole his shroud.[149] Other murdered or deceased Protestants were denied the right to the Christian burial for reasons that 'Hereticks must not be buried in hallowed ground.'[150] Such words were often proclaimed by 'popish priests', and motivated by their desire to reclaim the land. Nicholas Canny pointed out the similarities between the debasement of bodies and destruction of places of veneration in 1641 and 'the cultural rites of purification enacted by Catholics against Protestants in France during the wars of religion of the late sixteenth century.'[151] These acts were seen in part as 'just revenge' to recover places of worship for the Catholic population.[152]

The insurgents' malice was compounded by the fact that burial location remained important to the Protestant community. When the body of Edmund Dalton had been found in a newly dug grave near the residence of his alleged captors, the deponent collected the body and set it in the church of Ballymoran, 'it being his father's burial place.'[153] To Anne Graham's horror, rebels did not bury murdered Protestants in the church, but rather buried them 'north and south', in direct opposition of a Christian burial lying east to west.[154] As the rebellion raged on, individuals used burial sites in their acts of retaliation. In 1643, the examination of Edward Roe claimed that Sir Thomas Meredith broke a tomb in the church of Castle Martin because his brother's home had been burnt. Damaging this tomb 'would vex the said Eustace more than anything he could doe unto him.'[155]

Instances of disinterment may be reasonably employed to indicate that the church had once been a Catholic site.[156] In Co. Waterford, a priest refused to let the Protestant

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[148] TCD, Deposition of Riccard Bourk, MS 835, fols 238r-239v [accessed February 2014].
[149] TCD, Deposition of Vrsula Lory, MS 829, fols 180r-180v; Deposition of Michael Swainton, MS 829, fols 381r-382v [accessed February 2014].
[150] TCD, Deposition of Riccard Bourk, MS 835, fols 238r-239v [accessed February 2014].
[151] Nicholas P. Canny, *Making Ireland British 1580-1650* (Oxford,2001) p. 545.
[152] For more on French context, see Natalie Zemon Davis, 'The Sacred and the Body Social in Sixteenth Century Lyon', *Past and Present,* no. 90 (1981), pp. 40-70.
[153] TCD, Examination of James Dalton, MS 817-117r-117v [accessed February 2014].
[154] TCD, Deposition of Anne Graham, MS 829, fols 280r-281v [accessed February 2014].
[155] 'Examination of Edward Roe to Sir Thomas Meredyth taken at Castle-Martin, 24 June 1643', Ormonde Papers, NLI, MS 11060,7.
[156] See Gillespie, *Devoted People*, p. 90.

community bury John Collins in an 'old church yard.'[157] It is possible that rebels targeted older, medieval churchyards and churches that had been refashioned for Protestant worship. In several cases in Leinster and Munster, rebels explicitly stated that corpses were dug up in order to consecrate the church to reestablish it as a sacred space. In the town of Clonmel in Co. Tipperary, rebels dug up the remains of 'English and protestants buryed in the Church and Church yard' and burnt the bones, or (in the case of newly buried Protestants) 'threwe them into a ditch & newe consecrated their church againe.'[158] Rebels in Kildare stated that 'they could not sanctify or hallow the said Church of Kildare untill the hereticks bones were removed out of it.'[159] A similar statement emerged in the testimony of Barnabe Dunne who claimed to have heard that the priest and bishops refused to perform Mass in structures until 'the Corpses of the protestants whould bee removed thereout.'[160]

In Co. Meath, the Protestant Walter Evers was brought into the church yard of Siddan and ordered to indicate where English 'were buried for xxty yeres last past, that they might be turned out of their graves church and Churchyard.'[161] This relatively recent Protestant site had only been transformed for Protestant use in the 1620s and remained an important space for the Catholic community. Bishop Ellis's visitation reports from 1723/33 listed Siddan as one of the medieval parish churches still in use in its medieval state.[162] The grotesque acts of disinterment characterised much of the sectarian violence in 1641, but perhaps more importantly, they also hinted at a prior state of co-existence. Siddan's graveyard had most likely been a shared space for the past twenty years. While the rebels' fear of social contamination and the orders of the Catholic clergy encouraged their actions in 1641, they also exposed potential sites of religious blending.[163]

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[157] TCD, Deposition of Minard Christian, MS 820, fols 012r-012v [accessed February 2014].
[158] TCD, Deposition of Hugh Croker, MS 820, fols 056r-056v [accessed February 2014]. Possible location of this church is St. Mary's Church where late sixteenth and seventeenth-century graveslabs have been found in the town of Clonmel. See NMS, *Archaeological Survey of Ireland*, Reference Numbers TS083-019001-, TS083-019020--, TS083-019047. Available from: http://webgis.archaeology.ie/historicenvironment [accessed May 2016].
[159] TCD, Deposition of Thomas Huetsonn, MS 813, fols 260r-260v [accessed February 2014].
[160] TCD, Deposition of Barnabee Dunne, MS 815, fols 190r-193v [accessed February 2014].
[161] TCD, Deposition of William Metcalfe, MS 816, fols 178r-178v [accessed February 2014].
[162] Cited in Michael O'Neill, 'Medieval Parish Churches in County Meath', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 132 (2001), p. 51. For a possible site of the church, see NMS, *Archaeological Survey of Ireland*, Reference Number ME006-056001-. Available from: http://webgis.archaeology.ie/historicenvironment [accessed May 2016].
[163] For this idea of social contamination, see K.P. Luria, 'Separated by Death? Burials, Cemeteries, and Confessional Boundaries in Seventeenth-Century France', *French Historical Studies* 24 (2001), pp. 188-90.

Conclusion

This investigation of material culture ends with the most pervasive element of early modern life: religion. Truthfully, the depositions do not provide expansive details regarding the physical features of the religious material culture. However, the defacement of churches, robbery of religious ornaments, and destruction of pulpits, bibles and communion tables provide invaluable clues as to how these materials operated during episodes of protest. Arguably, these acts suggested the rebels' contempt for English Protestant presence in Ireland—a feature compounded by the fact that the depositions were primarily given by Protestant victims. In the following years, recollections of 1641 would form the legislative behaviour of the seventeenth-century Irish state that justified penal laws dramatically reducing Catholic power.[164] The aim of this chapter is to provide some credence to the deponents' accounts by employing archaeological evidence that may in turn better situate the cited churches in the religious landscape of Ireland.

Economic pressures arguably compressed the populace into a state of explosive resistance throughout the early modern period. Clodagh Tait noted instances of unlawful assembly resulting from economic hardship in times of food shortages, foreign competition or religious discontent.[165] In a similar vein, churches were not only symbols of Protestant power, but also of tithe collection; their ministers were symbols of the natives' debt; and the precious silver, wood and cloth kept within their doors were sources of easy revenue. As in the case of household goods, acts of theft were sometimes paired with an economic pragmatism when objects were sold or taken home for personal use. However, for many Catholic conspirators, rebellion would more importantly reclaim the sites associated with buried loved ones and holy saints.

The depositions presented suggestive trends in church destruction and disinterment that in many ways confirmed historians' knowledge of new or converted Protestant structures in Ulster, Leinster and Munster. In Perceval-Maxwell's analysis of the 1641 Depositions, he argued that violence was restrained when the rebels had more interaction with the English

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[164] John Gibney, 'Protestant Interests? The 1641 Rebellion and State Formation in Early Modern Ireland', *Historical Research* 84, no. 223 (2010), pp. 67-86.
[165] Tait, 'Disorder and Commotion', pp. 22-49, 38-40

culture prior to 1641.[166] According to the depositions, churches were at less risk in Leinster and Munster (where the Gaelic community had more long-term interaction with the English community) than Ulster. This trend may have also existed because converted churches outside Ulster were more likely to be medieval in origin and therefore still held social and spiritual importance to the Catholic community. It should also be noted that in the primarily Gaelic province of Connacht, no church destruction occurred in the depositions. However, some older churches in Roscommon and Ulster were still victims to the violent chaos.

The presence of Mass houses and Protestant churches in Co. Waterford pointed to a level of co-existence before 1641. John Smith denounced his neighbours' 'papist' behaviour in his deposition, but it is possible that he ignored their actions for several months or even years before the violent outbreak. Catholic and Protestant individuals' co-use of religious spaces also indicated a level of fluidity between the two confessions. As Raymond Gillespie noted, Protestants ultimately sought their own path to salvation that allowed them to employ elements of the Catholic belief system—a trend also observed by archaeologists studying the Reformation across Britain.[167] Graveyards, whether they were historically Catholic or officially Protestant, remained important sites for both sides of the community prior to 1641, and the acts of disinterment in the depositions make it possible to pick out integral sites of shared space.

The destruction enacted against new and old churches in the uprising raises several questions concerning early modern communities in Ireland. Can the process of interior destruction and consecration draw out differences in confessional belief that were recognised at a popular level? Because clergymen oversaw many of the acts, they may have reflected the priest's knowledge of doctrinal difference rather than that of his eager flock. In the eyes of the laity, the priest—the consecrator of the Eucharist—was the direct channel to the holy.[168] His orders would not be easily or willingly ignored. Thomas O'Conner argued that for the seventeenth-century, limited use of printed aids and reliance upon preaching 'facilitated the survival of folk practices and… a selective acceptance of reformed Catholicism.'[169] Yet, it

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[166] Michael Perceval-Maxwell, *The Outbreak of the Irish Rebellion of 1641* (Dublin, 1994) p. 228.
[167] Gillespie, 'The Religion of the Protestant Laity', pp. 122-3; Tarlow, 'Reformation and Transformation', p. 118.
[168] Gillespie, 'Popular and Unpopular Religion', p. 35.
[169] Thomas O'Conner, 'Religious Change, 1550-1800', in Raymond Gillespie and Andrew Hadfield (eds), *Oxford History of the Irish Book, Volume 3: The Irish Book in English, 1550-1800* (Oxford, 2005) p. 177.

would be wrong to conclude that less religious motivation existed behind the rebels' actions because they all did not flawlessly adhere to the doctrinal orders issued from Rome. Their devotion was duly noted: French traveller Boulaye-le-Gouz stated in 1644 that the native Irish were 'very good Catholics, though knowing little of their religion.'[170]

The religious built environment existed differently in the minds of the Protestant elite hoping to impose the reformed faith than it did in the memories of the Gaelic population. Tied inextricably to their own topography, Irish Catholics returned to spiritual sites regardless of its changed built character—a quality that officials read as the Gaelic community's dismissal of English authority. Perhaps the Irish Catholics would not sneer at the newly constructed Protestant churches, but many would fight to retain their sites of daily ritual. In many ways, the rebellion not only offered the insurgents an opportunity to usurp English authority, but also reconnect to the sacred dead on Protestant land. Yet, with all the twisted motivations of the rebellion, one cannot ignore the simple element of chaos. Insurgents' dismay over the destroyed font stone where St. Patrick had once laid his knee demonstrated the unregulated nature of mob violence. In 1641, religious material culture suffered losses on both sides, proving that all was indeed not sacred.

[170] François de la Boullaye le Gouz, *The Tour of the French Traveller M. De La Boullaye Le Gouz in Ireland, A.D. 1644*, edited by T. Crofton Croker (London, 1837) p. 39.

CONCLUSION

Andrew Boorde's Irishman blissfully accepted a life of material deprivation, sleeping on the earthen ground in the only yellowed rags that he owned.[1] Early modern accounts have prevailed to paint a static image of Irish material culture in a similar shade: one plagued by willful poverty and rebellious resistance to civility. Following the discovery of the New World, Ireland was no longer on the periphery of the early modern sphere. Its once alien or other-worldly customs were familiarised into satirical poetry. It was to become part of the 'English cultural horizon.'[2]

In many ways, Ireland's material culture has struggled against this scene of impoverishment. Arguably, the island's more recent history placed insurmountable barriers to the study of material culture. The destruction of the public records in 1921 reduced to ash vital testamentary material, inventories, manorial records and estate papers. Modern Ireland's political and social unrest up until the 1970s significantly curtailed interest in post-medieval archaeology. Consequently, much of the island's material culture has been assessed using the travellers' accounts whose intention of painting Irish backwardness established an image of English superiority. To Ireland's determent, this depiction of the Irish people would resurface in the nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries, a similarly famine and war-torn period. Thatched cottages linked to chronic poverty and theatrical depictions of 'historic' native attire clung to the myth of 'traditional' Ireland that in many ways persists in today's memory.[3]

Previously, the objects of the early modern period often crept back into the shadows of Irish history, particularly in Northern Ireland where the Ulster Plantation remains to be a source of sectarian conflict. However, as Eric Klingelhofer stated, 'Changes in the intellectual and political climates—north and south of the Irish border—are bringing opportunities to seek out archaeological evidence relating to the trauma that has deeply affected both Irish and English, both Protestant and Catholic, and that still scars many.'[4] This thesis has sought to prove that there are clear avenues in which to pursue Ireland's early modern material culture.

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[1] F. J. Furnivall (ed.), *The Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge made by Andrew Borde, of Physycke Doctor* (London, 1870) pp. 116-7, 132.
[2] Joep Leerssen, 'Wildness, Wilderness, and Ireland: Medieval and Early-Modern Patterns in the Demarcation of Civility', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 56, no. 1 (1995), p. 34.
[3] For the nineteenth-century comparison using traveller accounts of material culture, see Fidelma Mullane, 'Distorted Views of the People and Their Houses in the Claddagh in the Nineteenth-Century', *Journal of Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* 61 (2009), pp. 170-200.
[4] Eric C. Klingelhöfer, *Castles and Colonists: An Archaeology of Elizabethan Ireland* (Oxford, 2013) p. 166.

In order to 'dispel the myths of both the conquered and the conqueror', the seventeenth-century should not be relegated to one of the more uncomfortable episodes of Ireland's past.[5]

The 1641 Depositions and archaeological evidence propose an intriguing period of cultural exchange. When the individuals are no longer visitors but inhabitants of the island, much to the fear of English officials, they began incorporating indigenous culture without hindrance. In recent years, archaeology has unearthed these long-buried secrets of two-way assimilation. From an ecological perspective, this outcome seems entirely reasonable. Barnard summarised, 'Immigrants necessarily adjusted to the conditions. A tension existed between the desire to hang on to what spoke of their origins and to succeed in the different environment of Ireland.'[6]

As Edmund Spencer noted, the 'unpeopled' landscape of Ireland seemed to hold immense potential for extensive industrial and agricultural growth. Market accessibility, however, was a factor that reformers vastly underestimated. In her investigation of English settlement in America, Carole Shammas described the level of self-sufficiency required if '…a person lived in a frontier area or a remote country village as opposed to a market town or city.'[7] As England's population grew, it sought to create its own distinctive economy; one that domestically produced goods traditionally imported and could support its own expanding population.[8] While England and Wales pushed ahead, Scotland trailed behind due to a lack of urbanisation. With far less inhabitants, Scotland likely did not possess 'the broad foundation of consumer demand necessary for development of closer commercial integration.'[9] Ireland, much like Scotland, lacked the same foundation. Despite an influx of settlers—war, harvest crisis, and early transportation policies in Ireland failed to produce a congested landscape similar to the one that had driven England towards commercial development. One only has to glance at the scattered settlements on Thomas Raven's maps to predict the slow progress, and ultimate failure, of the Ulster Plantation. Beyond the Pale, home-spun cloth and hand-ground grain provided all that was needed for its self-sufficient inhabitants. As Nicholas Canny noted, the depositions speak to different levels of specialisation inside and outside sites of dense settlement.[10] Gaining access to artisans, builders, and craftsmen who were well versed in the

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[5] Klingelhöfer, *Castles and Colonists*, p. 166.
[6] Toby C. Barnard, 'Material Cultures', in Alvin Jackson (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Irish History* (Oxford, 2014) p. 251.
[7] Carole Shammas, 'Changes in English and Anglo-American Consumption from 1550 to 1800', in John Brewer and Roy Porter (eds), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London, 2013) p. 198.
[8] Keith Wrightson, *Earthy Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain* (London, 2002) pp. 154-81.
[9] Wrightson, *Earthy Necessities,* p. 176.
[10] Nicholas P. Canny, *Making Ireland British, 1580-1650* (Oxford, 2001); Nicholas P. Canny, 'Migration and Opportunity: Britain, Ireland and the New World', *Irish Economic and Social History* 12 (1985), pp. 7-32.

'English' style would have been far more difficult in Ulster and Connacht than Leinster and Munster.

The material elements of life in the early seventeenth-century spoke loudly of conflicting ideas regarding law, space and possession. In South East England, 'law was legible to space' and 'territory's legal status added an important dimension.'[11] Plantation plans and land surveys conveyed this territory-focused (as opposed to people-focused) legal construct. During the rebellion, acts of robbery struck a blow against an ordered landscape by ignoring the idea of private property. In many ways, the depositions highlighted the 'property fetish' that historians associate with English civil society.[12] Several deponents listed their stolen household belongings, land holdings and livestock in immaculate detail. Their homes 'with furniture in a plentiful measure and manner' had once been a symbol of family prestige.[13] Now, victims were distraught by their unprecedented material poverty.

Control over Ireland not only meant legal control over the land, but the population's accompanying material culture and built environment. Yet, an odd paradox persisted in the early seventeenth-century that thwarted the success of official policies. As the Ulster Plantation demonstrated, planters' short-term vision for settlement in Ireland hindered Anglicisation. Settler communities showed symptoms of semi-nomadism, a disease afflicting the Irish *creaghts*, when individuals inhabited flimsy cabins that could be quickly and cheaply constructed. Locked trunks in part projected this contradiction: it asserted owners' permanent possession of goods, but remained easily transportable in the event of organised violence in an unstable colonial world.

However, for those settlers who aspired to establish roots in Ireland, a house issued a clear statement of possession. During England's era of Great Rebuilding, many homes shed the wooden and thatched skin of their former exterior in favour of stone, brick, slate and tile. Elite homes in South East England followed the model set by Italian Renaissance culture whereby a house was no longer a 'fortress.' Instead, it encapsulated 'public elegance and private comfort.'[14] English accounts looked upon the beehive-shaped huts of the poor Irish and the thatched towers of the elite with disapproval. Criticism, however, often served to mask fear. For years, English observers employed Irish vernacular architecture to condemn

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[11] Robert A. Houston, 'People, Space, and Law in Late Medieval and Early Modern Britain and Ireland', *Past and Present* 230, no. 1 (2016), p. 85.
[12] See Donald R. Kelly, *The Human Measure* (Cambridge, 1990) pp. 167-71.
[13] TCD, 1641 Depositions Project, online transcript of Deposition of Jonathan Hoyle, MS 815, fols 330r-333v. Available from: http://1641.tcd.ie [accessed June 2015].
[14] Rafaella Sarti, *Europe at Home: Family and Material Culture 1500-1800* (London, 2002) p. 129.

the native population's semi-nomadic lifestyle. In 1641, their fears were realised when *creaghts* became instruments of war.

Gaelic conceptions of land and inheritance—as well as the social instability of the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries—brought context to their impermanent abodes. Mobility ensured survival in a changing world where defence ruled over decoration. Though, again, such customs were not typical of all Irish or Old English residences. Elites willingly adopted polite architecture by constructing grand estates with glass windows, separate rooms and gardens. These improvements helped them reposition themselves within the new social order and thus, ensure their own social survival.

English traveller accounts and land surveys attempted to establish a 'national' vernacular in opposition to Ireland's uncivilised buildings—a vernacular that promoted permanent settlement through permanent materials. With this, English colonists could lay claim to foreign lands in the following centuries by asserting their unshakable presence. Yet, in many ways, building requirements projected an image of England that simply did not fit in Ireland. Disgust for earthen floors that spread disease, and the fear of easily combustible thatch grew from previous catastrophes in over-populated English towns. In the dispersed settlements of Ireland, these risks were greatly reduced. As documentary and archaeological sources revealed, the 'national vernacular' of England also failed to grab hold when settlers faced ecological realities. Irish, English and Scottish craftsmen in the depositions supported the appearance of blended building traditions. The depositions also suggested, due to Ireland's smaller population, building craftsmen enjoyed a higher level of financial comfort than their English counterparts. As Wrightson noted, craftsmen and labourers in England had faced diminishing real wages throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries.[15] For many, 'unpeopled' Ireland offered an opportunity to escape poverty.

English-styled homes in Ireland came to signify areas of improvement, but mills generated the driving force behind these plans for reform. As the power of water and wind turned the cogs of progress, settlers hoped to reap the rewards of Ireland's fertile soil and establish sites of profitable industrialisation. However, mills were important structures for the Irish population prior to the English plantations. Medieval milling traditions unmasked the fallacy that the Irish economy lacked tillage and possessed a resolute preference for cattle. The depositions demonstrated the mill's contentious presence as a site of violence as well as an apparatus for the commodification of the landscape. Following periods of harvest crisis,

[15] Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities*, pp. 159-60.

the treatment of mills and millers in 1641 bolstered arguments blaming the economic hardships of the 1630s for the rebellion. For scholars interested in the complexities of sectarian conflict, the mill also presents an avenue in which to investigate local interaction and cooperation within a divided society.

For Andrew Boorde and his contemporaries, the absence of clothing and household goods was another symptom of the Irish incivility. However, after examining objects during a period of social and political change, evidence of material culture did not always indicate the 'backwardness' of the indigenous lifestyle. While many Irish elites adopted elements of English material culture, others chose differently due to personal economic circumstance or their unique cultural priorities. One may see this most profoundly in the case of the fireplace. Relocating the hearth to a wall compromised its central, egalitarian nature and created the unnecessary problem of heat loss.

Cultural priorities had a strong influence upon the clothing strategies of Ireland's inhabitants. For years, English observers slated the Irish population for their attachment to mantles, trews and brogues. However, Marmaduke Clapham's accusation of 'backward' assimilation in the direction of the Irish attire spoke to settlers' adoption of native customs. Such hybridisation (noted in the archaeological record) may have resulted from intermarriage, garments' environmental advantage in the damp climate, or ease of accessibility in the Irish hinterland.

As Clapham's statement demonstrated, the depositions confirmed a contemporary awareness of 'ethnic' dress. Through the agency of clothing, insurgents and victims established and concealed their social identity. British deponents wrapped themselves in woollen mantles as a form of camouflage. Rebels were unduly attacked because their boots made their comrades mistake them for their English enemy. However, the adoption of differing sartorial traditions was not always met with opposition. The presence of artisans possessing English, Scottish and Irish names provides another avenue for extended cultural blending. Slowly, the depositions begin to create a framework of clothing distribution and production in Ireland. Merchants and chapmen travelled out from Dublin, selling cloth and dyes beyond the Pale. Ships carrying imported woollen and linens docked in Irish ports, and some ambitious entrepreneurs established their own clothworks. Most profoundly, the rebellion produced a moment of intense second-hand garment circulation. Insurgents were free to sell stolen clothing for cash, refashion textiles into new garments, or dress the part of a British settler. Droves of desperate men and women, who were left destitute by the rebellion,

pawned their best attire in Dublin City. The victims' elegant doublets and satin gowns were appraised by city merchants and snatched up by the Irish consumers. Ironically, the rebellion provided the opportunity for the Irishmen and women to finally dress 'more English.'

Household goods, and the lack thereof, presented another point of cultural difference between the civilised and the uncivilised. English accounts described visitors who were forced to sit on the ground while their hosts cooked meat in an animal skin rather than a pot. Such images, apart from problematically overgeneralising Irish customs, makes one wonder how newly arrived Englishmen and women would have furnished their homes. Evidence of trade and domestic production suggested a more optimistic view of household consumption and decoration. While some occupations pertaining to luxury production were limited in scope, they were not wholly absent in a land reputedly uncivilised. A market for luxury persisted for the elite whose inventories (while few in number) spoke to the consumption of silver, cloth and fashionable foodstuffs.

An investigation of household goods and material culture of eating and dinning provides tentative evidence that at times incites intriguing propositions concerning daily life, but fails to state definitive trends. However, select cases from the depositions indicated items' social function in the early modern world society. For many victims, their household goods had equipped them with a sense of economic and cultural identity. The insurgents, who took without permission, disarmed their neighbours and rattled the foundation of the English social order. Deponents' declarations of lost goods spoke to objects' role in inheritance and wealth transmission. Attacks upon beds and trunks suggested an abhorrent perversion of the domestic boundaries within the home during the rebellion. The depositions provide a handful of accounts that demonstrated the importance of pots and pans in the female domestic sphere and identified the location of craftsmen able to produce leather, ceramic, wooden, iron, and brass vessels in Ireland. The presence of griddles used over an open fire, or pot hooks fitted for an enclosed hearth hinted at the different locations of households' hearths. While acknowledging the fragility of the evidence for these objects, the two chapters of household consumables operate as a starting point for extended research.

Conflicting notions of the built environment, material culture and natural landscape fused together in the expression of religious belief. A key aim of the seventeenth-century civilising schemes and policies of plantation was to encourage the spread of Protestantism. This desire for religious uniformity took its physical form in the construction of churches. Determined to establish a permanent Protestant presence, medieval churches in Leinster and

Munster were converted for Protestant worship, while undertakers in Ulster constructed new structures for their English tenants. Yet, for the practising Gaelic Catholic, manufactured permanence in the form of new stone churches could not replace the sacred sites embedded within the island's wild topography. The rebels' decision to destroy recently built churches and spare older structures through reconsecration suggested this tie to ancient ritual spaces. Although the rebellion depicted a boiling point for religious discontent, the insurgents' motivations were confusingly complex—owing in part to religious difference, economic hardship and mob violence. The depositions described the behaviour of a community that had neither been wholly segregated nor conquered by one religion. Acts of disinterment indicated the co-use of graveyards by Protestants and Catholics before the rebellion. The mention of mass houses again reiterated Catholicism ability to co-exist in a land subjugated to Protestant doctrine.

Ethnicity is frequently called into question in the context of early modern Ireland. Although this thesis has employed the terms reflected in the seventeenth-century accounts (i.e. Irish, English and Scottish) these divisions quickly become problematic. The very concept of distinct 'ethnic' traditions becomes even more futile when one considers the centuries of migration between Ireland and the Britain by the time of plantation. The presence of the Old English community, Scottish and English Catholics, Dutch Protestants and Welsh migrants added to this confusion. Contemporary literature's adherence to divisive rhetoric forces historians to consider ethnic typologies in regard to material culture. In the early modern period, ethnic terms seemed to apply changeable cultural differences rather than permanent physical differences associated with race. Englishmen, Scotsmen and Welshmen received the same manner of abuse if they exhibited similar behaviour to that of Irishmen.[16] As a result, early modern writers' motivations and lack of geographical perspective assumes a sense of Englishness typical only of South East England, and often only the elite segment of that society. In many ways, British settlement in Ireland reflected an 'English essence' at odds with itself.

Contrary to what might have been believed, the Irish and Old English elite did not look upon the scene of Irish material deprivation with an approving eye. *Parliament Chloinne Tomáis* and its unflattering description of the poor Irishman proved that the 'denigrated Irish

[16] Debra Shuger, 'Irishmen, Aristocrat, and Other White Barbarians', *Renaissance Quarterly* 50 (1997), pp. 494-525; Steven G. Ellis, *Tudor Frontiers and Noble Power: The Making of the British State* (Oxford, 1995) pp. 60, 74; Ian Campbell, *Renaissance Humanism and Ethnicity Before Race: The Irish and the English in the Seventeenth Century* (Manchester 2013) p. 10; Barnard, 'Material Cultures', p. 251. See also James Muldoon, *Identity on the Medieval Frontier* (Gainesville, 2003).

as plebeian is at the point of intersection of these two perspectives [Irish and English elite], the other against which both derive their different ideas of cultural superiority.'[17] Fynes Moryson and Barnabe Riche employed their observation of the poor to characterise all of Ireland's inhabitants. The Gaelic elite, however, used it to prove the destructive force of English intervention. Bardic poetry recounted the magnificence of a not so distant past when the richly decorated tower-houses stood resiliently against the winds of change. Moryson and his contemporaries seemed to describe Ireland's state of chronic poverty. Yet, much of what they saw lacked insight into what Ireland may have once been.

Future research may look to incorporate Irish sources more fully to address the cultural differences embedded within language itself that would have deeply impacted contemporary views about objects and buildings. This thesis, although limited by English sources and translations, has sought to raise potential avenues of such research. Irish conceptions of native land (as expressed through *duchás*) inheritance, leadership and hospitality presented potential points of cultural conflict between the indigenous inhabitants and foreign settlers. In England, the growing desire for privacy and property sat at odds with Gaelic conceptions of communal space. These clashes would inevitably lead to the misrepresentation and misunderstanding of one another's world view, and consequently one another's material culture.

This thesis has made a preliminary attempt to locate developments in Ireland within a wider European narrative of cultural reform. Across the Continent, impermanent homes accommodated the semi-nomadic habits of herdsmen and the insecure life of the poorer classes. As Sarti argued, the use of a material in no way implied the quality of a home. However, the spread of the 'stone disease' took the Roman example to heart, and this was later harnessed by Renaissance Italy.[18] The prevalence of the Roman ideal throughout Western Europe injected bias into early modern accounts and, as in the case of Ireland, served as a model in which to justify economic, social, religious and legal reform. This thesis's investigation has drawn parallels between domestic architecture and furnishings, and it is my hope that future researchers will look to fully incorporate Ireland into Europe's early modern material culture. Wider geographic comparisons not only affirm Ireland's relevance in

[17] Leerssen, 'Wildness, Wilderness, and Ireland', p. 38.
[18] See Pierre Chauna, *La Civilisation de L'Europe des Lumières* (Paris, 1971) p. 158. Cited in Sarti, *Europe at Home*, pp. 97-8.

European history, but also contribute to a growing historiography about objects and their role in human behaviour across cultures and time periods.[19]

As a whole, this thesis has sought to demonstrate a novel approach to a highly utilised and contested resource. The 1641 Depositions' exaggerations and biases often act as a point of controversy for scholars, many of whom question the documents' validity. Yet, through the lens of material culture, the witnesses' biases can provide meaningful clues about how objects and buildings were valued and used. Here, the minute details have been plucked off the pages and placed squarely in their cultural context. Although the depositions captured moments of sectarian violence, they hinted at years of relative peace. Instances of neighbourly protection showed the signs of an integrated community when those living in Ireland had points of contact—at the mill, fairs and markets, homes, inns or, in some cases, the church.

Unfortunately, this level cultural exchange stained the vision of Ireland as a 'blank slate.' Following the 1641 rebellion, Oliver Cromwell would initiate a brutal campaign that would lead to death and transportation for much of the population and severe disruption to the island's economic infrastructure—forcefully wiping it clean of much of its prevailing native features. The memory of the rebellion weighed heavily on the victims' minds as they relayed their testimonies in the following years. Items would be destroyed, pawned, gifted, and refashioned long after the violence. As scholars work to fill in the gaps of the island's material culture, they must look to these moments of conflict for clues. The legacy of the 1641 rebellion endured in a very material way. It was both a tale of woe concerning the destruction of human life, as well as its objects. In those moments, Ireland's material culture was in crisis.

[19] For example, see Susan Flavin, *Consumption and Culture in Sixteenth-Century Ireland: Saffron, Stockings and Silk* (Woodbridge, 2013).

For illustrations, please see hardbound copy

APPENDIX 1

Craftsmen associated with building trades

County	Occupation	Identity	Reference
Antrim	Blacksmith	John Murghlan	Examination of John Murghlan, MS 838, fol. 047v
Carlow	Blacksmith	Francis Waring	Deposition of Francis Waring, MS 812, fols 079r-079v
Cork	Blacksmith	Ralph Steeres	Deposition of Ralph Steeres, MS 822, fols 022r-022v
Cork	Blacksmith	Symon Lightfoote	Deposition of Symon Lightfoote, MS 823, fols 024r-024v
Cork	Blacksmith	John Holland	Deposition of Diana Holland, MS 822, fols 054r-054v
Cork	Blacksmith	Cornelius Cullan	Deposition of Amy Taylor, MS 822, fols 062r-063v
Cork	Blacksmith	James Buy	Deposition of John Northdran, MS 823, fols 212r-212v
Cork	Blacksmith	Dermod O Coughhane	Deposition of Richard Shute, MS 825, fols 252r-252v
Cork	Blacksmith	Mortagh o Fflin	Deposition of Thomas Williams, MS 822, fols 285r-285v
Cork	Blacksmith	Thomas Sheepard	Deposition of Thomas Sheepard, MS 824, fols 120r-120v
Cork	Blacksmith	Ralph Steeres	Deposition of Ralph Steeres, MS 822, fols 022r-022v
Cork	Blacksmith	Alexander Hope	Deposition of Annes Hope, MS 824, fols 099r-099v
Down	Blacksmith	Gilbert Craig	Deposition of Donell Ruch, MS 837, fols 057r-058v
Dublin	Blacksmith	William Hodgson	Deposition of William Hodgson, MS 810, fols 318r-319r
Fermanagh	Blacksmith	Robert Barton	Deposition of Robert Barton, MS 835, fols 073r-073v
Kildare	Blacksmith	John Dickson	Deposition of John Dickson, MS 813, fol. 380v
Kildare	Blacksmith	Nic Squerrel	Deposition of Mary Squerrel, MS 813, fol. 380v
Laois	Blacksmith	William Dullon/Dillon	Deposition of Goodman Walker, MS 815, fols 047r-048v; Deposition of Danielle o Fullan, MS 815, fol. 049r

Laois	Blacksmith	John Grissell	Deposition of John Grissell, MS 815, fols 202r-203v
Laois	Blacksmith	William Dillon	Deposition of Daniell o Fullan, MS 815, fol. 049r
Leitrim	Blacksmith	William Rogers	Deposition of William Rogers, MS 831, fol. 041r
Leitrim	Blacksmith	William Rogers	Deposition of William Rogers, MS 831, fol. 041r
Limerick	Blacksmith	Richard Turnor	Deposition of Richard Turnor, MS 829, fols 145r-146v
Limerick	Blacksmith	Cnougher Mc Geffery	Deposition of John Williams, MS 829, fols 177r-177v
Limerick	Blacksmith	John Skigg	Deposition Edward Clare, MS 829, fols 221r-221v
Limerick	Blacksmith	William Hodkins	Deposition of William Hodkins, MS 829, fols 300r-300v
Limerick	Blacksmith	John Huntmill	Deposition of Walter James & Thomas Atkins, MS 829, fols 327r-328v
Limerick	Blacksmith	Roger Mc Cave	Deposition of Roger Mc Cave, MS 829, fols 457r-458v
Longford	Blacksmith	Robert Bradley	Deposition of Robert Bradley, MS 817, fols 136r-137v
Meath	Blacksmith	Rory Lenan	Deposition of Hugh Cooke, MS 816, fols 095r-095v
Monaghan	Blacksmith	Christopher Watson	Deposition of Jane Watson, MS 834 fols 177r-177v
Monaghan	Blacksmith	ffrancis Ward	Deposition of Dorothy Ward, MS 834, fols 146r-146v
Tipperary	Blacksmith	Josias Broome	Deposition of Thomas Whiteby, MS 821, fols 084r-084v
Tipperary	Blacksmith	William Smith	Deposition of William Smith, MS 821, fols 092r-092v
Tipperary	Blacksmith	Thomas Wills	Deposition of Thomas Wills, MS 821, fols 112r-112v
Tyrone	Blacksmith	Edmond Knowles	Examination of Edmond Knowles, MS 839, fol. 066r
Tyrone/Antrim	Blacksmith	Thomas Smyth 'of Belfast'	Examination of Thomas Smyth, MS 839, fol. 056v
Waterford	Blacksmith	Unnamed	Examination of William Hibard, MS 821, fols 276r-277v

Waterford	Blacksmith	Henry Rippon	Deposition of Hugh Croker, MS 820, fols 054r-055v
Waterford	Blacksmith	John O ffline	Deposition of John Bruer, MS 820, fols 066r-067v; Examination of John Buckner MS 820, fols 261r-262v
Waterford	Blacksmith	Thomas Farell	Deposition of Elizabeth Hatherington, MS 820, fols 091r-091v
Waterford	Blacksmith	Richard Hadynot	Deposition of Richard Hadynot, MS 820, fols 304r-304v
Waterford	Blacksmith	Teege O Donnell	Deposition of William Carewe, MS 820, fols 035r-036v
Wexford	Blacksmith	Donough Mc Mrotho	Deposition of Robeart Berchall, MS 818, fols 123r-123v
Dublin	Bricklayer	Peter Harrison	Deposition of Peter Harrison ex parte Thomas Wakefield, MS 809, fols 306r-306v
Kildare	Bricklayer	Edward Cullen	Deposition of William Hoobs, MS 813, fols 351r-351v
Kilkenny	Bricklayer	William Leih	Deposition of William Leih, MS 812, fol. 227v
Limerick	Bricklayer	James Kenne	Deposition of James Keene and Thomas Doyly, MS 829, fols 168r-169v
Wexford	Bricklayer	Henry Palmer	Deposition of Henry Palmer, MS 818, fols 088r-089v
Dublin	Brick-maker	Peter de Coster	Deposition of Peter de Coster, MS 810, fols 294r-294v
Antrim	Carpenter	John Hunter	Examination of Alice Countesse Dowager of Antrim, MS 838, fols 022r-023v
Armagh	Carpenter	William Cooke	Deposition of Katherin Cooke, MS 836, fols 092r-093v
Carlow	Carpenter	Patrick Moore	Deposition of Robert Dunster, MS 812, fols 011r-011v
Carlow	Carpenter	Morrogh Mc James	Deposition of Raph Bulkley, MS 812, fols 084r-085v
Carlow	Carpenter	Husband of Baranaby Bolger's daughter	Examination of Brian Kavanagh, MS 812, fols 116r-119v
Carlow	Carpenter	John Stone	Examination of Donogh O Bane Hortnan, MS 812, fols 261r-262v; Examination of Ann Grace, MS 812, fols 281r-281v
Carlow	Carpenter	William Stone	Examination of Walter Bagnall, MS 812, fols 122r-125v
Cavan	Carpenter	John Dudd	Deposition of John Dudd, MS 833, fols 145r-145v

Cavan	Carpenter	John Smith	Deposition of John Smith, MS 832, fols 169v-171v
Cavan	Carpenter	Richard Bennett	Deposition of Richard Bennett, MS 833, fols 220r-220v
Cavan	Carpenter	Donnell Bane	Deposition of Jenett Kearnes, Brian Sherin and William Beatagh, MS 833, fols 254r-254v
Cavan	Carpenter	John Smith	Deposition of John Smith, MS 833, fols 267r-267v
Clare	Carpenter	Abraham Baker	Deposition of John Cookesson, MS 829, fols 001r-001v
Clare	Carpenter	Donogh O Cullinga ne	Deposition of Elizabeth Tunsted, MS 829, fols 010r-010v
Cork	Carpenter	William Coker	Deposition of William Coker, MS 822, fols 007r-007v
Cork	Carpenter	John Creagh	Deposition of Juan Lee, William Coker, Richard Gaely and Thomas Johnson, MS 825, fols 048r-049v.
Cork	Carpenter	John Forest	Deposition of eedy Forest ex parte John Forest, MS 822, fols 094r-094v
Cork	Carpenter	Daniel Maxfield	Deposition of Daniell Maxfield, MS 822, fols 105r-105v
Cork	Carpenter	Thomas Haynes	Deposition of Thomas Haynes, MS 822, fols 117r-118v
Cork	Carpenter	Richard Goulducke	Deposition of Richard Goulducke, MS 823, fols 124r-124v
Cork	Carpenter	Thomas Muree	Deposition of Thomas Murree, MS 825, fols 125r-125v
Cork	Carpenter	Thomas Colman	Deposition of Henry Pope and Thomas Colman, MS 821, fols 136r-136v; Deposition of Thomas Collman, MS 825, fols 137r-137v
Cork	Carpenter	Cnohor O Carny	Deposition of John Radcliffe, MS 824, fols 042r-042v
Cork	Carpenter	Daniel O Sullyvan	Deposition of Phillipp Tancocke, MS 822, fols 077r-077v
Cork	Carpenter	Coghoggory O Pohogye	Deposition of Mourish Fiz Gerrald, MS 829, fols 161r-162v
Cork	Carpenter	Michael Chatterton	Deposition of Michael Chatterton, MS 822, fols 212r-212v
Cork	Carpenter	Thomas Latchford	Deposition of Thomas Latchford, MS 824, fols 240r-240v
Cork	Carpenter	Edmond Mc Carty	Deposition of John Landon, MS 824, fols 242r-243v

Cork	Carpenter	Phillip Hill	Examination of Mary Austin, MS 826, fols 249r-249v
Cork	Carpenter	Philip Nainer	Deposition of Symon Lightfoote, MS 823, fols 024r-024v
Cork	Carpenter	Francis Smith	Deposition of Symon Lightfoote, MS 823, fols 024r-024v
Cork	Carpenter	Joahn Mc Daniel O Callahane	Deposition of John Radcliffe, MS 824, fols 042r-042v
Cork	Carpenter	William Cary	Deposition of Andrew Lacy, MS 824, fols 056r-057v
Cork	Carpenter	John Flemine	Deposition of Miles Cooke, MS 824, fols 115r-226v
Cork	Carpenter	John Mc Owen O Murrance	Deposition of Anthony Wiseman, MS 823, fols 064r-064v
Down	Carpenter	Thomas Emdin	Examination of Thomas Emdin, MS 837, fols 175r-175v
Dublin	Carpenter	Michael Sweeteman	Deposition of Katherin Magee, MS 810, fols 174r-174v
Dublin	Carpenter	Phillip Maxwell	Examination of Phillip Maxwell, MS 809, fols 192r-193v
Dublin	Carpenter	Daniell White	Deposition of Elizabeth White, MS 809, fols 271r-271v
Dublin	Carpenter	Edward Carey	Examination of Edward Carey, MS 810, fols 368r-369v
Galway	Carpenter	Carpenter of Mr. Robert Clearke	Information of Oliver Smyth, MS 830, fols 158r-159v
Galway	Carpenter	Hugh Langredge	Deposition of Raph Lambart, MS 830, fols 173r-174v
Kerry	Carpenter	Philip o Nuolane	Deposition of Frances Mosley, MS 829, fols 024r-024v
Kerry	Carpenter	Morogh O Nuolane	Deposition of Frances Mosley, MS 829, fols 024r-024v
Kerry	Carpenter	Thomas Sanffort	Deposition of Margaret Percy, MS 828, fols 265r-266v
Kerry	Carpenter	William Hayles	Deposition of William Hayles, MS 828, fols 2723r-274v
Kildare	Carpenter	Thomas Holliwood	Examination of Thomas Holliwood, MS 813, fols 082r-082v
Kildare	Carpenter	Edward Cromwell	Deposition of Patricke Gosson, MS 813, fols 250r-250v

Kildare	Carpenter	Henry of Leslip	Deposition of Elinor McGuire, MS 813, fols 335r-335v
Kildare	Carpenter	William Dynes	Deposition of Willyam Dynes, MS 813, fols 360r-360v
Kildare	Carpenter	Thomas Whitey	Desposition of Thomas Whitey, MS 813, fol. 381r
Kildare	Carpenter	Alexander Hay	Examination of Alexander Hay, MS 815, fols 407r-407v
Kilkenny	Carpenter	George Hilton	Deposition of George Hilton, MS 812, fols 216r-216v
Kilkenny	Carpenter	Husband of Ann Bosworth	Deposition of Ann Bosworth, MS 812, fols 227r-227v
Laois	Carpenter	David Dempsie	Deposition of John Winsmore, MS 815, fols 154r-155v
Laois	Carpenter	Richard Rany	Deposition of Thomas Knowells, MS 815, fol. 227r
Limerick	Carpenter	Phillip Meade	Deposition of Gylbert Jhonstone, MS 821, fols 042r-043v
Limerick	Carpenter	John McDavid	Deposition of John Williams, MS 829, fols 177r-177v
Limerick	Carpenter	James Brenagh	Deposition of Thomas Beare, MS 829, fols 213r-213v
Limerick	Carpenter	Symon Lane	Deposition of Ambrose Martin, MS 829, fols 239r-240v
Limerick	Carpenter	Thomas Ragg	Deposition of Thomas Ragg, Robert Ragg and Henry Briggs, MS 829, fols 254r-255v
Limerick	Carpenter	Thomas Browne	Deposition of Dermod Grady, MS 829, fols 295r-296v
Londonderry/ Tyrone	Carpenter	Unnamed (multiple British)	Examination of Neile oge Quin, MS 838, fols 038r-039v
Longford	Carpenter	John Berry	Deposition of John Berry, MS 817, fols 135r-135v
Longford	Carpenter	John Barlow	Deposition of John Barloe, MS 817, fols 134r-134v
Longford	Carpenter	Thomas Barlow	Deposition of Joane Barlow, MS 817, fols 132r-133v
Longford	Carpenter	Humphrey Barlow	Deposition of Humphrey Barlow, MS 817, fols 168r-169v
Longford	Carpenter	John Limrick	Deposition of James Clarke, MS 817, fols 185r-185v

Longford	Carpenter	John Robins	Deposition of John Robins, MS 817, fol. 196r
Meath	Carpenter	Phelim McBryan	Examination of Phelim Mc Bryan, MS 816, fols 294r-295v
Meath/Longford	Carpenter	John*	Examination of William Kenny, MS 817, fols 254r-255v
Monaghan	Carpenter	Richard Lee	Deposition of Brigitt Lee, MS 834, fols 162r-162v
Offaly	Carpenter	Richard Roofe	Deposition of Richard Roofe, MS 814, fols 239r-239v
Roscommon	Carpenter	Ambrose Hobson	Deposition of Ambrose and Katherin Hobson, MS 830, fols 034r-034v
Tipperary	Carpenter	Richard Best	Deposition of Richard Best, MS 821, fols 053r-054v
Tipperary	Carpenter	Edmond Frances	Deposition of Edmond Frances, MS 821, fols 055r-055v
Tipperary	Carpenter	William Williamson	Deposition of Edward Chayny, MS 821, fols 040r-041v
Tipperary	Carpenter	Thomas Coolman	Deposition of Thomas Coolman, MS 821, fols 171r-171v
Tyrone	Carpenter	Hugh Jones	Examination of Hugh Jones, MS 839, fols 051r-052v
Waterford	Carpenter	Hercules Beere	Deposition of Hercules Beere, MS 820, fols 129r-129v
Waterford	Carpenter	John Baldon	Deposition of Barnard Pabe, MS 820, fols 128r-128v
Waterford	Carpenter	Edmong Balden	Deposition of Barnard Pabe, MS 820, fols 128r-128v
Waterford	Carpenter	Daniell Burke	Deposition of Barnard Pabe, MS 820, fols 128r-128v
Waterford	Carpenter	Philipp William Allon	Deposition of William Ledshaw, MS 820, fols 134r-135v
Waterford	Carpenter	Richard Curry	Deposition of Richard Curry, MS 820, fols 164r-164v
Waterford	Carpenter	John Dartnall	Deposition of John Dartnall, MS 820, fols 168r-169v
Waterford	Carpenter	Matthew Johnson	Deposition of Jeremy Wise, MS 820, fols 239r-240v
Waterford	Carpenter	John Godsell	Deposition of John Godsell, MS 820, fols 272r-272v

Waterford	Carpenter	Thomas Lewis	Deposition of Lawrence Hagley, MS 820, fols 276r-276v
Westmeath	Carpenter	Dermot Duff	Examination of Katheryn nyn Irr, MS 817, fols 092r-093v
Westmeath	Carpenter	William Beaver	Deposition of Martin Jagger, MS 814, fols 201r-201v
Wexford	Carpenter	Lawrence Noy	Deposition of Lawrence Noy, MS 818, fols 143r-143v
Wexford	Carpenter	Garratt O Clowny	Examination of Oker Butt, MS 818, fols 036r-037v
Wexford	Carpenter	Dennis Day	Deposition of Peter Harrison ex parte Thomas Wakefield, MS 809, fols 306r-306v
Wexford	Carpenter	Patrick O Quouny	Examination of John Quouny, MS 819, fols 203r-203v
Wexford	Carpenter	James Clandalke	Examination of James Clandalke re George Cheevers, MS 818, fols 247r-248r
Wexford	Carpenter	Morris Bryne	Deposition of Peter Harrison ex parte Thomas Wakefield, MS 809, fols 306r-306v
Wicklow	Carpenter	Richard the carpenter	Examination of John Marryner, MS 811, fols 189r-190v
Cork	Hewer	Garren Martin	Deposition of John Lake, MS 823, fols 186r-186v
Cork	Hewer	Richard Cleis	Deposition of Elizabeth Cleyes ex parte Richard Cleis, MS 825, fols 149r-149v
Cork	Hewer	John Arthure	Deposition of John Arthure, MS 825, fols 293r-293v
Antrim	Joiner	John Hunter	Examination of Jennett Service, MS 838, fols 046r-046v
Cork	Joiner	William Godwin	Deposition of Robert Tirrell, MS 825, fols 025r-026v
Cork	Joiner	William Wood	Deposition of William Wood, MS 823, fols 055r-055v
Cork	Joiner	John Gibbon	Deposition of William Horsey, MS 824, fols 062r-063v
Cork	Joiner	Edward Blisset	Deposition of William Horsey, MS 824, fols 062r-063v
Cork	Joiner	James Bully	Deposition of George Blackburne, MS 824, fols 161r-161v
Cork	Joiner	Henry Churchfield	Deposition of Joseph Scott and Humphrey Wood, MS 823, fols 201r-201v

Cork	Joiner	Edward White	Deposition of Edward White, MS 825, fols 205r-205v
Cork	Joiner	Robert Stringer	Deposition of Ellenor Stringer, MS 826, fols 243r-244v; Examination of William Carey, MS 826, fols 265r-267r
Cork	Joiner	Humphrey Wood	Deposition of Joseph Scott and Humphrey Wood, MS 823, fols 201-201v
Carlow	Joiner and Carver	Walter Shirley	Examination of Sarah Frances, MS 812, fols 263r-266v
Dublin/Wexford	Joiner	Robert Eustace	Deposition of William Whalley, MS 818, fols 024r-026v
Laois	Joiner	Benjamin Willomet	Deposition of Beniamin Willomett, MS 815, fols 294r-294v
Laois	Joiner	Edmond Daligan	Deposition of Beniamin Willomett, MS 815, fols 294r-294v
Laois	Joiner	Nicholas Woulfe	Deposition of Nicholas woulfe. MS 815, fols 290r-290v
Laois	Joiner	John Wilmott	Deposition of John Wilmott, Ms 815, fols 295r-295v
Leitrim	Joiner	Anthony Milles	Deposition of Anthony Milles, MS 831, fols 021r-022v
Limerick	Joiner	Elias Nicholas	Deposition of Elias Nicholas, MS 829, fols 223r-224v
Limerick	Joiner	Roger Williams	Deposition of Roger Williams, MS 829, fols 343r-343v
Offaly	Joiner	Dermott*	Deposition of Thomas Hogden, MS 814, fols 182r-182v
Tipperary	Joiner	Leonard Best	Deposition of Mary Best and Robert Best, MS 821, fols 032r-032v
Tipperary	Joiner	James Lodge	Deposition of James Lodge, MS 821, fols 074r-075v
Tipperary/Limerick	Joiner	John Carver	Deposition of Edward Chayny, MS 821, fols 040r-041v; Deposition of Elizabeth Martin, MS 829, fols 329r-330v
Tipperary	Joiner	Thomas Davis	Deposition of Edmond Pearse, MS 821, fols 172r-172v
Waterford	Joiner	Husband of Jane Burrowes	Deposition of Jane Burrowes, MS 820, fols 076r-077v
Waterford	Joiner	John Hudson	Deposition of Christmas Spurgent, MS 820, fols 098r-099v; Deposition of John Smith, MS 820, fols 187r-187v; Examination of Henry Bennett, MS 812, fols 140r-141v
Wexford	Joiner	George Charlton	Deposition of George Charlton, MS 818, fols 057r-058v

Wexford	Joiner	Stephen Langley	Deposition of Edward Harris, MS 818, fols 064r-065v
Wicklow	Joiner	William Woodes	Deposition of William Woodes, MS 811, fols 114r-115v
Antrim	Labourer	Rorie Deaghan	Examination of Rorie Deaghan, MS 838, fol. 074r
Antrim	Labourer	Murphy oge McMurghy	Examination of Muphy oge McMurphy, MS 838, fol. 038r
Antrim	Labourer	John Crafford	Examination of John Crafford, MS 838, fol. 047r
Antrim	Labourer	Neile McGowne	Examination of Neile McGowne, MS 838, fol. 049v
Antrim	Labourer	Thomas Giffen	Examination of Thomas Giffen, MS 838, fols 050r-051r
Antrim	Labourer	Neile McNikard	Examination of Neile McNikard, MS 838, fol. 053v
Antrim	Labourer	Neile More McNeile	Examination of Neile More McNeile, MS 838, fols 054r-054v
Antrim	Labourer	Donnell Spence	Examination of Donnell Spence, MS 838, fol. 054r
Antrim	Labourer	John McNeill	Examination of John McNeill, MS 838, fol. 055r
Antrim	Labourer	Donnell Magowne	Examination of Donnell Magowne, MS 838, fol. 062v
Antrim	Labourer	Murdogh Mullary	Examination of Murdogh Mullary, MS 838, fol. 065r
Antrim	Labourer	Donnell Crone McCart	Examination of Donnell Crone McCart, MS 838, fols 078r-078v
Antrim	Labourer	James Dermople	Examination James Dermople, MS 838, fol. 085r
Antrim	Labourer	Shane O Maddigan	Deposition of Hugh Cunningham, MS 836, fols 080r-081v
Antrim	Labourer	Chistopher McCarter	Deposition of Hugh Cunningham, MS 836, fols 080r-081v
Armagh	Labourer	William Wilson	Deposition of John Wisdome, MS 836, fols 014r-015v
Armagh	Labourer	Turlogh O Hagan	Deposition of Charity Chappell, MS 836, fols 044r-045v
Armagh	Labourer	Toole McCann	Deposition of William Duffeild, MS 836, fols 048r-049v

Armagh	Labourer	Neile O Donnelly	Deposition of Ellenor Fullerton, MS 836, fols 050r-051v
Armagh	Labourer	Patrick Mc Tee	Deposition of Francis Leiland, MS 836, fols 098r-099v
Armagh	Labourer	Edmund Roe	Deposition of Ellenor Fullerton, MS 836, fols 050r-051v
Armagh	Labourer	James O Donnely	Deposition of George Littlefeild, MS 836, fols 055r-056v
Armagh	Labourer	Turloghe O Neile	Deposition of Francis Leiland, MS 836, fols 098r-099v
Cavan	Labourer	Anthony Wassbee	Deposition of Anthony Wassbee and Edward Slater, MS 833, fols 078r-078v
Cavan	Labourer	Edward Slater	Deposition of Anthony Wassbee and Edward Slater, MS 833, fols 078r-078v
Cavan	Labourer	Patrick Mc Couen	Deposition of William Jamesone, MS 833, fols 160r-161v
Cavan	Labourer	Patrick Roe	Deposition of John Symson, MS 833, fols 186r-186v
Cavan	Labourer	Bryan O Rorke	Deposition of John Symson, MS 833, fols 186r-186v
Cavan	Labourer	John McAnaltee	Deposition of John Symson, MS 833, fols 186r-186v
Cavan	Labourer	Kair O Rely	Deposition of John Symson, MS 833, fols 186r-186v
Cavan	Labourer	Donnell O Rely	Deposition of John Whitson, MS 833, fols 207r-207v
Cavan	Labourer	Maghan Duffe	Deposition of Jenett Kearnes, Brian Sherin and William Beatagh, MS 833, fols 254r-254v
Cavan	Labourer	Owin Rely	Deposition of Jenett Kearnes, Brian Sherin and William Beatagh, MS 833, fols 254r-254v
Cavan	Labourer	Col Bane McClery	Deposition of Jenett Kearnes, Brian Sherin and William Beatagh, MS 833, fols 254r-254v
Cavan	Labourer	Hugh O Gowne	Deposition of William Jamesone, MS 833, fols 160r-161v
Cavan	Labourer	Walter Howith	Deposition of William Jamesone, MS 833, fols 160r-161v
Cavan	Labourer	Cahell Bauch ffey	Deposition of William Jamesone, MS 833, fols 160r-161v
Cavan	Labourer	Phillip Brady	Deposition of Christopher Meanes, MS 833, fols 176r-176v

Cavan	Labourer	ffarrell Maguinny	Deposition of Nathaniell Clark, MS 833, fols 225r-225v
Clare	Labourer	John O Morrisa	Deposition of Anna Margrett Vsher, MS 829, fols 022r-023v
Clare	Labourer	Cnogher O Bowlen	Deposition of Ann Bell, MS 829, fols 072r-072v
Clare	Labourer	Dermott O Neiland	Deposition of Ann Bell, MS 829, fols 072r-072v
Cork	Labourer	John Gingy	Deposition of Symon Lightfoote, MS 823, fols 024r-024v
Cork	Labourer	Nicholas Welsh	Deposition of Amy Taylor, MS 822, fols 062r-063v
Cork	Labourer	Bennice O Hara	Deposition of Amy Taylor, MS 822, fols 062r-063v
Cork	Labourer	Old Parker of Kinsale	Deposition of Robert Milner, MS 823, fols 098r-098v
Cork	Labourer	Teig O Connell	Deposition of John and Mary Slade, MS 822, fols 116r-116v
Cork	Labourer	John Cooke	Examination of William Barry, MS 826, fols 144r-144v
Cork	Labourer	Teig O Lyddy	Deposition of William Eams, MS 823, fols 157r-158v
Cork	Labourer	Donogh O Rely	Examination of George Smithe, MS 826, fols 160r-160v
Cork	Labourer	Phillip Boy O Rely	Examination of George Smithe, MS 826, fols 160r-160v
Cork	Labourer	Teige O Rely	Examination of George Smithe, MS 826, fols 160r-160v
Cork	Labourer	William Kerne	Deposition of Symon Lightfoote, MS 823, fols 024r-024v
Cork	Labourer	Richard Clother	Deposition of Symon Lightfoote, MS 823, fols 024r-024v
Down	Labourer	James Porter	Examination of John Iruin, MS 837, fols 105r-106v
Down	Labourer	Edmund O Mullchallen	Deposition of Peter Hill, MS 837, fols 030r-037v
Down	Labourer	Tirlogh Mc Llboy	Deposition of Peter Hill, MS 837, fols 030r-037v
Dublin	Labourer	Christopher Knowles	Deposition of Richard Price, MS 809, fols 321r-321v

Dublin	Labourer	Nicholas Murphy	Deposition of Richard Price, MS 809, fols 321r-321v
Dublin	Labourer	Garret Jones	Deposition of Katherin Magee, MS 810, fols 174r-174v
Dublin	Labourer	Patrick Brangan	Deposition of Katherin Magee, MS 810, fols 174r-174v
Dublin	Labourer	Thomas Magee	Deposition of Katherin Magee, MS 810, fols 174r-174v
Dublin	Labourer	Hugh Bradie	Deposition of Katherin Magee, MS 810, fols 174r-174v
Dublin	Labourer	Rich Langan	Deposition of Katherin Magee, MS 810, fols 174r-174v
Dublin	Labourer	Richard Cashell	Deposition of Katherin Magee, MS 810, fols 174r-174v
Dublin	Labourer	Patrick ffleminge	Deposition of Katherin Magee, MS 810, fols 174r-174v
Dublin	Labourer	James Kellie	Deposition of Katherin Magee, MS 810, fols 174r-174v
Dublin	Labourer	William Owen	Deposition of Katherin Magee, MS 810, fols 174r-174v
Dublin	Labourer	John Coleman	Deposition of Katherin Magee, MS 810, fols 174r-174v
Dublin	Labourer	James Ewstace	Deposition of Katherin Magee, MS 810, fols 174r-174v
Dublin	Labourer	Thomas Murphie	Deposition of Thomas Benet, MS 809, fols 243r-244v
Dublin	Labourer	John Ball	Deposition of thomas Benet, MS 809, fols 243r-244v
Dublin	Labourer	John Canlon	Deposition of Thomas Benet, MS 809, fols 243r-244v
Dublin	Labourer	William Cantaun	Deposition of Thomas Williams, MS 810, fols 269r-269v
Dublin	Labourer	James Lickin	Deposition of Thomas Williams, MS 810, fols 269r-269v
Dublin	Labourer	Donnell O Doyle	Deposition of John Bacon, MS 809, fols 295r-295v
Dublin	Labourer	Donnell Carroll	Deposition of John Bacon, MS 809, fols 295r-295v
Dublin	Labourer	Donnell Moore	Deposition of John Bacon, MS 809, fols 295r-295v

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Waterford	Labourer	Mahon Mc Mahon	Deposition of Marten Bosten, MS 820, fols 064r-065v
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Clare	Mason	Alexander Hill	Deposition of Alexander Hill, MS 829, fols 050r-051v
Cork	Mason	Samuel Willies	Deposition of Samuel Willies, MS 822, fols 023r-023v
Cork	Mason	John Salisbury	Examination of John Salisbury, MS 826, fols 055r-055v
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Donegal	Mason	Owen O Dogherty	Deposition of James Kenedy, MS 839, fols 131r-131v
Galway	Mason	Bryan oge McCahelboy	Examination of Bryan oge McCahelboy, MS 830, fols 284r-285v
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Tyrone	Mason	George Blundell	Deposition of John Gibbs, MS 839, fols 058r-059v
Waterford	Mason	George Farmer	Deposition of George Farmer, MS 820, fols 144r-144v
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Wexford	Mason	Redmond McShane	Deposition of William Annion, MS 818, fols 097r-097v
Wexford	Mason	Thomas Ricroft	Deposition of Thomas Ricroft, MS 818, fols 124r-124v
Wicklow	Mason	Thomas Leason	Deposition of Thomas Leason, MS 811, fols 110r-111v
Galway	Plasterer	David Lawson	Examination of David Lawson, MS 830, fols 257r-258v
Waterford	Plumber	John Sanders	Deposition of Joane fflavan, MS 820, fols 046r-047v; Deposition of Lawrence Hooper, MS 820, fols 312r-315v
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Cork	Slater	Gilbert Barthlet	Deposition of Gilbert Barthlet, MS 825, fols 298r-298v
Cork	Slater/Hellier	William Bull	Deposition of William Bull, MS 825, fols 128r-129v
Cork	Slater/Hellier	George Grills	Deposition of John Browne, MS 823, fols 023r-023v
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Waterford	Slater	Henry Traule	Deposition of Henry Traule, MS 820, fols 265r-265v
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Antrim	Smith	Richard Ebell	Examination of Anne Ebell, MS 838, fols 304r-305v
Armagh	Smith	William Wilson	Examination of Ajesm Sym, MS 836, fols 227r-227v
Armagh	Smith	William Trummbell	Examination of William Mcllduffe, MS 836, fols 206r-207v; Examination of Jane Lattimer, MS 836, fols 210r-211v
Carlow	Smith	William Lilly	Examination of Thomas Clarke, MS 812, fols 129r-130v; Examination of Luke Kinsalagh, MS 812, fols 251r-252v
Cavan	Smith	Peter Rickebee	Examination of Peter Rickebee, MS 833, fols 295r-296v
Clare	Smith	Richard Mills	Deposition of John Smith, MS 829, fols 011r-012v
Cork	Smith	John Timberlake	Deposition of Ales Timberlake, MS 825, fols 313r-313v
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Cork	Smith	Dermod O Donneene	Deposition of John Arthure ex parte Joane Laborne, Ms 822, fols 184r-184v
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Dublin	Smith	Owen*	Deposition of Honor Pooley, MS 809, fols 319r-319v
Dublin	Smith	Christopher Dennys	Deposition of Honor Pooley, MS 809, fols 319r-319v
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Fermanagh	Smith	John Shorter	Deposition of John Shorter, MS 835, fols 166r-166v
Fermanagh	Smith	John Reagh O Moll Patrick	Depsoition of John Seman, MS 835, fols 162r-163v
Fermanagh	Smith	Hamon Fletcher	Deposition of Elizabeth Fletcher, MS 835, fols 243r-242v
Galway	Smith	John Allin	Examination of Joseph Hampton, MS 830, fols 258r-259v
Kerry	Smith	Gilbert Hathington	Deposition of Gilbert Hathington, MS 828, fols 269r-269v
Kerry	Smith	Robert Haystam	Deposition of Arthur Blenerhasset, MS 828, fols 199r-200v
Kerry	Smith	James Wyat	Deposition of James Wyat, MS 828, fols 270r-270v
Kerry	Smith	Richard Lippell	Deposition of John Johnson, MS 828, fols 286r-287v
Kerry	Smith	John Reyiner	Deposition of John Johnson, MS 828, fols 286r-287v
Kildare	Smith	Edmond Go	Deposition of John Huestson, MS 813, fols 261r-262v
Kilkenny	Smith	Unnamed	Examination of Mary Carroll, MS 811, fols 203r-204v
Laois	Smith	Rory Duffe	Deposition of Goodman Walker, MS 815, fols 047r-048v; Deposition of Danielle o Fullan, MS 815, fol. 049r
Laois	Smith	George Sheppard	Deposition of Alice Cowper, MS 815, fols 057v-058r
Laois	Smith	James Hobb	Examination of James Hobb, MS 815, fols 384r-385v
Laois	Smith	ffrancis Jackson	Deposition of William Jackson, MS 815, fols 229r-229v
Laois	Smith	Robert Holliock	Deposition of Samuell Franck, MS 815, fols 323r-327v

Laois	Smith	John Ashford	Deposition of William Jackson, MS 815, fols 229r-229v
Leitrim	Smith	Dermot O Fana	Deposition of John Winder, MS 831, fols 017r-017v
Limerick	Smith	William Hatkins	Deposition of Ambrose Martin, MS 829, fols 239r-240v
Limerick	Smith	John O Ready	Deposition of Peeter Peacocke, MS 829, fols 178r-179v
Limerick	Smith	John Stone	Depositions of Walter James & Thomas Atkins, MS 829, fols 327r-328v
Londonderry	Smiths	Unnamed	Examination of Neile oge Quin, MS 838, fols 038r-039v
Mayo	Smiths	Unnamed (Irish)	Deposition of John Gouldsmith, MS 831, fols 192r-197v
Mayo	Smith	William Lychman	Examination of Jeames Dexter, MS 831, fols 224r-224v
Offaly	Smith	John O Brian	Deposition of Edward St Larence, MS 814, fols 159r-160v
Offaly	Smith	Owen O Brian	Deposition of Edward St Larence, MS 814, fols 159r-160v
Offaly	Smith	Owen O Mehan	Deposition of Thomas Hogden, MS 814, fols 182r-182v
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Roscommon	Smith	James Sheylds	Examination of James Sheylds, MS 830, fols 076r-076v
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Tipperary	Smith	Phillip ffennesy	Deposition of William Cock, MS 821, fols 118r-119v
Tipperary	Smith	Richard Pinke	Deposition Henry Peisley, MS 821, fols 044r-045v
Waterford	Smith	Tegge Mc William	Deposition of William Carewe, MS 820, fols 035r-036v
Waterford	Smith	George Monnockes	Deposition of George Monnockes, MS 820, fols 113r-113v
Waterford	Smith	Frances Powell	Deposition of John Dennett, MS 820, fols 200r-200v; Deposition of Christmas Spurgent, MS 820, fols 098r-099v

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Waterford	Smith	Daniel O fflin	Examination of John Buckner, MS 829, fols 261r-262v
Waterford	Smith	Richard Browne	Deposition of William Carewe, MS 820, fols 035r-036v
Waterford	Smith	William Branagh	Deposition of Giles Langdon, MS 820, fols 115r-115v
Waterford	Smith	Ralph Mulleneux	Deposition of Jeremy Wise, MS 820, fols 239r-240v; Deposition of Roger Boyle & Anna Boyle, MS 820, fols 246r-246v
Westmeath	Smith	Unnamed	Depoisition of John Adis, MS 817, fols 034r-034v
Westmeath	Smith	Charles Roe	Examination of Charles Roe, MS 817, fols 064r-064v
Wexford	Smith	Amos Hatch	Deposition of Amos Hatch, MS 818, fols 128r-129v
Wexford	Smith	Donogh*	Examination of Oker Butt, MS 818, fols 036r-037v
Wicklow	Smith	William Doyle	Examination of William Doyle, MS 811, fols 231r-232v
Wicklow	Smith	Thomas Huntpatch	Examination of Cahir alias Charles Birne, MS 811, fols 205r-206v; Deposition of Edward Deane, MS 811, fols 040r-040v
Kildare	Thatcher	Thomas*	Deposition of John Wade, MS 813, fols 348v-349v
Tipperary	Thatcher	Husband of Margarett Dixon	Examination of Jane Cooper, MS 821, fols 202r-203v
Cork	Tiler	Donnell Byrne	Deposition of John Stukly, MS 824, fols 100r-101v
Limerick	Tiler	David fflaiene	Deposition of Symon Colston, MS 829, fols 167r-167v
Tipperary	Tiler	Unnamed	The Examination of Ellice Meagher, MS 821, fols 259r-259v
Clare	Timberman	Thomas Leach	Deposition of Thomas Leach, MS 829, fols 043r-043v
Cork	Timberman	Christopher Speringe	Deposition of Christopher Sheringe, MS 825, fols 007r-007v
Cork	Timberman	Robert Lake	Deposition of Robert Lake, MS 824, fols 073r-073v

Cork	Timberman	Thomas Nealde	Deposition of Thomas Nealde, MS 824, fols 213r-213v
Cork	Timberman	Robert Coultis	Deposition of Thomas Nealde, MS 824, fols 213r-213v
Cork	Timberman	Hugh Neiles	Deposition of Hugh Neiles, MS 822, fols 280r-280v
Cork	Timberman	Jarms Dason	Examination of Jarms Dason, MS 826, fols 232r-232v
Cork	Timberman	James Mumford	Deposition of William Wood, MS 823, fols 055r-055v
Cork	Timberman	John Brothes	Deposition of John Woodmason, MS 825, fols 121r-121v
Cork	Timberman	John Hannyvard	Deposition of William Kinge, MS 825, fols 122r-122v
Laois	Timberman	Thomas Collins	Deposition of Thomas Collins, MS 815, fols 241r-241v
Limerick	Timberman	Richard Welsh	Deposition of Richard Welsh, MS 829, fols 218r-218v
Tipperary	Timberman	Thomas Walter	Deposition of Thomas Walker, MS 821, fols 071r-071r

* Either no Christian name or surname provided

APPENDIX 2

Individuals associated with clothing manufacture and distribution

County	Occupation	Identity	Reference
Cavan	Button-maker	Richard Jackson	Deposition of Richard Jackson, MS 833, fols 018r-018v
Kilkenny	Button-maker	Raph Corne	Deposition of Mary Corne, MS 812, fols 212r-212v
Cork	Cloth-worker	Richard Christmas	Deposition of Richard Christmas, MS 823, fols 074r-075v
Dublin	Cloth-worker	Giles Dewhurst	Deposition of Giles Dewhurst, MS 809, fols 273r-273v
Dublin	Cloth-worker	William Sagar	Deposition of Alice Sagar, MS 810, fols 323r-323v
Laois	Cloth-worker	Henry Odgen	Deposition of Henry Odgden, MS 815, fols 058r-
Limerick	Cloth-worker	John Merrett	Deposition of John Merrett, MS 829, fols 216r-216v
Waterford	Cloth-worker	James Bartlett	Deposition of James Bartlett, MS 820, fols 291r-291v
Cavan	Clothier	John Wheelewright	Deposition of John Wheelewright, MS 833, fols 272r-272v
Cavan	Clothier	John Day	Deposition of Elizabeth Day, MS 833, fols 245r-245v
Clare	Clothier	John Tweisdon	Deposition of ffrancis Bridgman, MS 829, fols 017r-18v
Cork	Clothier	Edward Escott	Information of Edward Escott, MS809, fols 095r-096v
Cork	Clothier	Richard Winchester	Deposition of Richard Winchester, MS 822, fols 016r-16v
Cork	Clothier	James Baldwins	Deposition of James Baldwins, MS 825, fols 028r-028v
Cork	Clothier	Richard Keele	Deposition of Richard Keele, MS 825, fols 047r-047v
Cork	Clothier	Anthony Shepard	Deposition of Anthony Sheepheard, MS 825, fols 062r-062v
Cork	Clothier	William Richardson	Deposition of William Richardson, MS 823, fols 080r-081v
Cork	Clothier	Nathaniell Bennett	Deposition of Nathaniell Bennett, MS 810, fols 309r-309v

Dublin	Clothier	Nicholas Buckley	Examination of Nicholas Buckley, MS 811, fols 241r-242v
Dublin	Clothier	Henry Gerldert	Deposition of Henry Geldert, MS 810, fols 340r-340v
Dublin	Clothier	William Mandefeild	Examination of William Mandefeild, MS 811, fols 243r-243v
Fermanagh	Clothier	Thomas Boone	Deposition of Elizabeth Fletcher, MS 835, fols 242r-242v
Kerry	Clothier	Daniel Spratt	Deposition of Daniell Spratt, MS 828, fols 210r-210v.
Kildare	Clothier	Ralph Hoose	Deposition of Ralph Hoose, MS 813, fols 352r-352v
Kildare	Clothier	Roger Bateman	Deposition of Roger Bateman, MS 813, fol. 378r
Kilkenny	Clothier	Alexander Barnard	Examination of Nichaolas Wilson, MS 812, fols 300r-301v
Laois	Clothier	William Jackson	Deposition of William Jackson, MS 815, fols 229r-229v
Laois	Clothier	John Tucker	Deposition of John Tucker, MS 815, fols 363r-363v
Laois	Clothier	Francis Wilson	Deposition of Francis Wilson, MS 815, fols 296r-296v
Leitrim	Clothier	Thomas Waller	Deposition of Thomas and Christopher Waller, MS 831, fols 044r-045v
Leitrim	Clothier	Christopher Waller	Deposition of Thomas and Christopher Waller, MS 831, fols 044r-045v
Limerick	Clothier	John Howell	Deposition of John Howell, MS 829, fols 153r-154v
Limerick	Clothier	Henry Ford	Deposition of ffrances Jarman and Henry ffoord, MS 829, fols 344r-344v
Limerick	Clothier	Boorman*	Deposition of Donnell Whittle, MS 829 fols 226r-226v
Longford	Clothier	George Foster	Examinations regarding the murder of George Foster, MS 817, fols 277r-278v
Offaly	Clothier	Martin Jagger	Deposition of Martin Jagger, MS 814, fols 201r-201v
Offaly	Clothier	George Walter	Deposition of Robert Shepley, Thomas Mitchell, George Walter, Laurance Mulhann, MS 814, fols 254r-255v
Roscommon	Clothier	Henry Langford	Deposition of Henry Langford, Robert Browne and James Browne, MS 830, fols 036r-037v.

Roscommon	Clothier	Henry Gerldert	Draft notes and endorsement re deposition of Ismah Derby, MS 830, fols 045r-045v
Sligo	Clothier	Edward Newham	Deposition of Amy Hawkesworth, MS 830, fols 039r-040v
Sligo	Clothier	John Rodes	Deposition of John Harrisson, MS 831, fols 072r-072v
Tipperary	Clothier	Alexander Listen	Deposition of Alexander Listen, MS 821, fols 080r-080v
Tipperary	Clothier	Robert Thorn	Deposition of Robert Thorn, MS 821, fols 155r-156v
Waterford	Clothier	Robert Clay	Deposition of Robert Clay, MS 820, fols 132r-132v
Waterford	Clothier	Thomas Keyes	Deposition of Thomas Keyes, MS 820, fols 244r-244v
Wexford	Clothier	John Todd	Deposition of John Todd, MS 818, fols 044r-044v
Wexford	Clothier	Robert Berchall	Deposition of Robeart Berchall, MS 818, fols 123r-123v
Wexford	Clothier	James Graves	Deposition of James Grave, MS 818, fols 074r-074v
Cork	Dyer	Thomas Wright	Deposition of Thomas Wright, MS 825, fols 136r-136v
Down	Dyer	William*	Examination of William Hall, MS 837, fols 183r-183v; Examination of Pattrick Babe, MS 837, fols 184r-184v; Examination of John Butterfield, MS 837, fols 185r-185v
Kildare	Dyer	Humphrey Barnes	Deposition of Humphrey Barnes, MS 813, fols 297r-297v
Cork	Embroiderer	John Hopkins	Deposition of John Hopkins, MS 823, fols 088r-088v
Cavan	Feltmaker	Georg Elwood	Deposition of George Elwood, MS 833, fols 148r-149v
Cork	Feltmaker	George Bevish	Deposition of William Howell, MS 823, fols 032r-032v
Cork	Feltmaker	Joseph Watts	Deposition of Walter Williams, MS 823, fols 034r-034v
Cork	Feltmaker	Hugh Wellington	Deposition of Hugh wellington, MS 823, fols 148r-148v
Cork	Feltmaker	John Weeckes	Deposition of John Jones, MS 823, fols 193r-193v
Cork	Feltmaker	Thomas Jude	Deposition of Thomas Jude, MS 824, fols 145r-145v

Kildare	Feltmaker	Allphagus Tomason	Deposition of Allphagus Tomason, MS 813, fol. 381r
Leitrim	Feltmaker	Peter Lewis	Deposition of Peter Lewis, MS 831, fols 031r-031v
Louth	Feltmaker	Peeter Burnell	Examination of Peeter Browne [Burnell], MS 816, fols 302r-303v
Sligo	Feltmaker	Hugh Benson	Deposition of Hugh Benson, MS 831, fols 093r-094v
Tipperary	Feltmaker	Thomas Winsmore	Deposition of Alexander Listen, MS 821, fols 080r-080v
Tipperary	Feltmaker	William Hooker	Deposition of William and Mary Hooker, MS 821, fols 091r-091v
Cork	Fuller/Tucker	Henry Hollyday	Deposition of William Horsey, MS 824, fols 062r-063v
Cork	Fuller/Tucker	Ino Mc Dermong	Deposition of John Marsh, MS 824, fols 051r-051v
Cork	Fuller/Tucker	Phillipp White	Deposition of Phillipp White, MS 825, fols 280r-280v
Tipperary	Fuller/Tucker	Francis Nash	Deposition of John Lobb, MS 821, fols 125r-125v
Waterford	Fuller/Tucker	James Bartlet	Deposition of John Rowse, MS 820, fols 060r-060v
Antrim	Glover	John Kukley	Examination of Neale O Mellan, MS 838, fols 174r-174v
Clare	Glover	George Bonefield	Deposition of John Smith, MS 829, 011r-012v
Clare	Glover	Francis Ham	Deposition of ffrancis Ham, MS 829, fols 015r-015v
Cork	Glover	Richard Lowden	Deposition of Walter Croker, MS 823, fols 006r-006v
Cork	Glover	William Howell	Deposition of William Howell, MS 823, fols 032r-032v
Cork	Glover	Randle Stone	Deposition of Phillipp Cross, MS 823, fols 038r-038v
Cork	Glover	Richard Augustine	Deposition of Juan Lee, William Coker, Richard Gasely and Thomas Johnson, MS 825, fols 048r-049v
Cork	Glover	John Beheny	Deposition of Richard Christmas, MS 823, fols 074r-075v
Cork	Glover	John Bricknill	Deposition of William Eams, MS 823, fols 157r-158v

Cork	Glover	Hugh Elliot	Deposition of Hugh Elliott, MS 822, fols 202r-202v
Dublin	Glover	Peter Fletcher	Examination of Peter Fletcher, MS 809, fols 210r-210v
Dublin	Glover	George Bunfan	Examination of Georg Bunfan, MS 809, fols 211r-211v
Kerry	Glover	John Herd	Examination of Gilbart Harvye, MS 828, fols 251r-252v
Kildare	Glover	John Palmer	Deposition of Patricke Gosson, MS 813, fols 250r-250v
Laois	Glover	Thomas Wilson	Deposition of Thomas Wilson, MS 815, fols 152r-152v
Laois	Glover	William Conny	Deposition of William Conny, MS 815, fol. 179r
Leitrim	Glover	Raphe Carr	Deposition of Raphe Carr, MS 831, fols 027r-027v
Limerick	Glover	Symon Greene	Deposition of Symon Greene, MS 829, fols 222r-222v
Limerick	Glover	Cuthbert Smith	Deposition of Bushopp Planke and Ann Reynes, MS 829, fols 190r-191v
Limerick	Glover	John Mannng	Deposition of John Manning, MS 829, fols 214r-214v
Limerick	Glover	Symon Forster	Deposition of Thomas Southwell, MS 829, fols 268r-268v
Limerick	Glover	James Steevens	Deposition of James Ellwell, MS 829, fols 291r-292v
Limerick/Cork	Glover	Thomas Crosse	Deposition of James Keene and Thomas Doyly, MS 829, fols 168r-169v
Londonderry	Glover	Thomas Hughes	Deposition of Robert Waringe, MS 839, fols 108r-111v
Meath	Glover	Richard Read	Deposition of Hughe and Katherin Kent and Margrett Owin, MS 816, fols 171r-172v
Roscommon	Glover	William Taylor	Examination of William Taylor, MS 830, fols 088r-089v
Tyrone	Glover	Christopher Fossett	Examination of Magdalen Guilly, MS 838, fols 141r-142v
Tyrone	Glover	Unnamed	Deposition of George Burne, MS 839, fols 038r-039v
Unkown	Glover	Thomas Birne	Examination of Thomas Birne, MS 811, fols 181r-181v

Waterford	Glover	Giles Bennett	Deposition of Giles Bennett, MS 820, fols 119r-199v
Waterford	Glover	William Sowton	Deposition of William Sowton, MS 820, fols 170r-170v
Waterford	Glover	Lawrence Hooper	Deposition of Lawrence Hooper, MS 820, fols 312r-315v
Dublin	Hat-maker	Richard Birne	Examination of Richard Birne, MS 811, fols 221r-222v
Dublin	Hat-maker	James Brandon	Examination of Peeter Browne [Burnell], MS 816, fols 302r-303v
Waterford	Hat-maker	Patrick Gliffin	Deposition of John Smith, MS 820, fols 187r-187v
Wicklow	Hat-maker	Donagh Toole	Deposition of Robert Tomson, MS 811, 100r-100v
Armagh	Hatter	Thomas Collier	Deposition of Edward Saltenstall and George Littlefeild, MS 836, fols 069r-079v
Carlow	Hatter	Samuell Serles	Examination of Jordan Legge, MS 812, fols 095r-096v
Clare	Hatter	John James	Deposition of Gregory Hickman, MS 829, fols 063r-065v
Cork	Hatter	Gabriell Maureley	Deposition of Gabriell Maureley, MS 826, fol. 023r
Cork	Hatter	John Woollon	Deposition of William Horsey, MS 824, fols 062r-063v
Cork	Hatter	Richard Watts	Deposition of William Horsey, MS 824, fols 062r-063v
Cork	Hatter	Robert Bathurst	Deposition of Robert Bathurst, MS 822, fols 080r-081v
Cork	Hatter	Robert Stanton	Deposition of Ales Timberlake, MS 825, fols 313r-313v
Tipperary	Hatter	Thomas Winsmore	Deposition of Henry Peisley, MS 821, fols 044r-045v
Tipperary	Hatter	James Hucker	Deposition of Mary Houlton, MS 821, fols 076r-077v
Tipperary	Hatter	John Fookes	Deposition of John Fookes, MS 821, fols 090r-090v
Tipperary	Hatter	William Hooker	Deposition of James Keene and Thomas Doyly, MS 829, fols 168r-169v
Waterford	Hatter	John Smith	Deposition of John Smith, MS 820, fols 187r-187v

Waterford	Hatter	Joseph*	Examination of Henry Bennett, MS 812, fols 140r-141v
Offaly	Lace-maker	Unnamed (English)	Deposition of James Dowdall, MS 814, fols 217r-217v
London	Linen draper	John Buxton	Examination of Ridgely Hatfield, MS 810, fols 275r-277v
Offaly	Linen draper	John Milner	Deposition of John Milner, MS 814, fols 234r-234v
Armagh	Linen weaver	Thomas Phillis	Deposition of Margrett Phillis, MS 836, fols 066r-066v
Fermanagh	Linen weaver	John Kershaw	Deposition of John Kershaw, MS 835, fols 124r-125v
Carlow	Mercer	Thomas Bassadge	Examination of Elizabeth Griffin, MS 812, fols 143r-143v
Cork	Mercer	Samuell Finton	Deposition of Therlagh Kelly, MS 823, fols 173r-175v
Cork	Mercer	Degorye Trix	Deposition of Degorye Trix, MS 823, fols 209r-209v
Cork	Mercer	John Wright	Deposition of John Wright, MS 824, fols 232r-232v
Cork	Mercer	Nicholas White	Deposition of John Wright, MS 824, fols 232r-232v
Cork	Mercer	Phillip O Bredae	Deposition of Jonas Clone, MS 824, fols 251r-252v
Kilkenny	Mercer	Richard Comerford	Deposition of Jonas Clone, MS 824, fols 251r-252v
Kilkenny	Mercer	Richard Bourke	Deposition of Jonas Clone, MS 824, fols 251r-252v
Longford	Mercer	Richard Maganly	Deposition of Jonas Clove, MS 822, fols 131r-132v
Longford	Mercer	Hugh Risly	Deposition of Jonas Clone, MS 824, fols 251r-252v
Offaly	Mercer	Denis O Deere	Deposition of Jonas Clove, MS 822, fols 131r-132v
Offaly	Mercer	Robert Hartford	Deposition of Jonas Clove, MS 822, fols 131r-132v
Roscommon	Mercer	Daniell Cormack	Deposition of Jonas Clove, MS 822, fols 131r-132v
Tipperary	Mercer	Edmond Bryan	Deposition of Jonas Clove, MS 822, fols 131r-132v

Tipperary	Mercer	Pierce Power	Deposition of Euen Tidder, MS 821, fols 177r-177v
Tipperary	Mercer	Patrick Hackett	Deposition of Euen Tidder, MS 821, fols 177r-177v
Tipperary	Mercer	Bartholomewe Hackett	Deposition of Euen Tidder, MS 821, fols 177r-177v
Unkown	Mercer	William Offagan	Deposition of Jonas Clove, MS 822, fols 131r-132v
Waterford	Mercer	Robert Saunders	Deposition of Walter Croker, MS 823, fols 006r-006v
Dublin	Merchant Tailor	Edward Carney	Deposition of Edward Carney, MS 810, fols 122r-122v
Cork	Shearman	Edward Markham	Deposition of Edward Markham, MS 823, fols 280r-280v
Antrim	Shoemaker	Francis Armstrong	Examination of Margaret Armstrong, MS 838, fol. 080v
Armagh	Shoemaker	Crispian Symondes	Deposition of Edward Saltenstall and George Littlefeild, MS 836, fols 069r-079v
Armagh	Shoemaker	Parker*	Deposition of Christian Stanhawe and Owen Frankland, MS 836, fols 075r-076v
Carlow	Shoemaker	William Pursell	Deposition of Raph Bulkley, MS 812, fols 084r-085v
Carlow	Shoemaker	Thomas Poole	Examination of Elizabeth Griffin, MS 812, fols 143r-143v
Cavan	Shoemaker	Henry Cooke	Deposition of Henry Cooke, MS 833, fols 118r-119v
Cavan	Shoemaker	William Astwood	Deposition of William Astwood, MS 832, fols 181r-182v
Cavan	Shoemaker	Christoper Ayrey	Deposition of Christopher Ayrey, MS 832, fols 184r-184v
Cavan	Shoemaker	Richard Stannyan	Deposition of Richard Stannyan, MS 833, fols 193r-193v
Cavan	Shoemaker	Ellis Wilson	Deposition of Ellis Wilson, 833, fols 089r-089v
Clare	Shoemaker	William Culliuer	Deposition of William Culliuer, MS 829, fols 059r-059v
Clare	Shoemaker	Tege O Gillapatrick	Deposition of Alexander Hill, MS 829, fols 050r-051v
Clare	Shoemaker	Robert Hart	Deposition of John Hawkins, MS 829, fols 066r-067v

Cork	Shoemaker	Thomas Grant	Deposition of Thomas Grant, MS 824, fols 066r-067v
Cork	Shoemaker	Robert Hogbin	Deposition of Robert Hogbin, MS 823, fols 071r-071v
Cork	Shoemaker	William Heynes	Deposition of William Heynes, MS 825, fols 144r-144v
Cork	Shoemaker	Henry Halbord	Deposition of Henry Halbord, MS 823, fols 149r-150v
Cork	Shoemaker	John Cocks	Deposition of George Blackburne, MS 824, fols 161r-161v
Cork	Shoemaker	Robert Shinckwin	Deposition of Robert Shinckwin, MS 822, fols 210r-210v
Cork	Shoemaker	William Fuller	Examination of Thomas Dunkin, MS 826, fols 238r-238v
Cork	Shoemaker	James Pace	Deposition of James Pace, MS 825, fols 267r-267v
Cork	Shoemaker	Gabriell Manchopp	Deposition of William Hodder, MS 822, fols 048r-048v
Cork	Shoemaker	William Thomas	Deposition of William Hodder, MS 822, fols 048r-048v
Cork	Shoemaker	Henry Holbert	Deposition of William Horsey, MS 824, fols 062r-063v
Cork	Shoemaker	Nicholas Clampitt	Deposition of William Eams, MS 823, fols 157r-158v
Cork	Shoemaker	Robert Carter	Deposition of Giles Dangger, MS 824, fols 163r-163v
Cork	Shoemaker	Robert Best	Deposition of Thomas Franklin, MS 822, fols 198r-198v
Cork	Shoemaker	Richard Addis	Deposition of Joseph Scott & Humphrye Wood, MS 823, fols 201r-201v
Cork	Shoemaker	Edmond Michell	Deposition of John Sampson, MS 822, fols 020r-020v
Cork	Shoemaker	Stevens/ O Stevens	Examination of John Harison, 826, fols 074r-075v
Cork	Shoemaker	John Hunt	Deposition of Dennis Stiles, MS 828, fols 192r-193v
Cork	Shoemaker	John Eagan	Deposition of John Eagan, MS 825, fols 216r-216v
Cork/Limerick	Shoemaker	William { }erett	Deposition of William Eams, MS 823, fols 157r-158v

Dublin	Shoemaker	Hugh Diggles	Deposition of Hugh Diggles, MS 810, fols 311r-311v
Dublin	Shoemaker	James Fullam	Deposition of John Joice, MS 811, fols 148r-150v
Kerry	Shoemaker	Michaell Vine	Deposition of Michaell Vine, MS 828, fols 207r-209v
Kerry	Shoemaker	Hugh Dashwood	Deposition of Arthur Blenerhasset, MS 828, fols 199r-200v
Kerry	Shoemaker	Edward Westcombe	Deposition of Arthur Blenerhasset, 828, fols 199r-200v
Kerry	Shoemaker	William Dashwood	Deposition of John Abraham & others, MS 828, fols 211r-213v
Kerry	Shoemaker	John Godolphin	Deposition of Edward Vauclier, MS 828, fols 284r-28rv
Kerry	Shoemaker	John Dixon	Deposition of Arthur Blenerhasset, MS 828, fols 199r-200v
Kilkenny	Shoemaker	James Benn	Deposition of James Benn, MS 812, fols 213r-214v
Kilkenny	Shoemaker	Nicholas Wilson	Examination of Nicholas Willson, MS 812, fols 300r-301v
Kilkenny	Shoemaker	Richard Lawlis	Deposition of James Benn, MS 812, fols 213r-214v
Laois	Shoemaker	Thomas Hines	Deposition of Thomas Hines, MS 815, fols 225r-225v
Laois	Shoemaker	Henery Jepsonn	Deposition of Henry Jephson, MS 815, fols 226r-226v
Laois	Shoemaker	Zelophehad Spratt	Examination of Zelophehad Spratt, MS 815, fols 412r-412v
Limerick	Shoemaker	Thomas Hill	Deposition of John Browne, MS 829, fols 250r-251v
Limerick	Shoemaker	John Frowde	Deposition of William Hodder, MS 822, fols 048r-048v
Limerick	Shoemaker	Pauly Prichard	Deposition of Bushopp Planke and Ann Reynes, MS 829, fols 190r-191v
Limerick	Shoemaker	Robert Muder	Deposition of Ambrose Martin, 829, fols 239r-240v
Limerick	Shoemaker	William Muder	Deposition of Ambrose Martin, 829, fols 239r-240v
Limerick	Shoemaker	Robert Maden	Deposition of John Cox, MS 829, fols 341r-341v

Longford	Shoemaker	John Dannett	Deposition of John Dannett, MS 817, fols 142r-142v
Louth	Shoemaker	John Clerke	Deposition of John Clerke, MS 834, fols 032r-032v
Meath	Shoemaker	John McGoonagh	Deposition of Willyam Hunt, MS 816, fols 114r-114v
Meath	Shoemaker	Unnamed (2 English)	Deposition of Richard Thurbane, MS 833, fols 271r-271v
Monaghan	Shoemaker	Marke Robinson	Examination of Bridgett Lorkan, MS 834, fols 202r-203v
Monaghan	Shoemaker	Unnamed (2)	Deposition of Katherin Bellew, MS 834, fols 097r-097v
Offaly	Shoemaker	Richard Tailor	Deposition of Richard Tailor, MS 814, fols 260r-261v
Sligo	Shoemaker	Richard Swash	Deposition of Peeter O Crean, MS 831, fols 114-115v
Sligo	Shoemaker	Arthur Martin	Deposition of James Martin, MS 831, fols 126r-127v
Tipperary	Shoemaker	John Dan	Deposition of John Dan, MS 821, fols 058r-058v
Tipperary	Shoemaker	Richard Cook	Deposition of Richard Cook, MS 821, fols 060r-061v
Tipperary	Shoemaker	William Hall	Deposition of Peter Floyd, MS 821, fols 164r-164v
Tipperary	Shoemaker	David*	Deposition of Edward Chayny, MS 821, fols 040r-041v
Tipperary	Shoemaker	John Nuttell	Deposition of Henry Peisley, MS 821, fols 044r-045v
Tipperary	Shoemaker	Valentine Palmer	Deposition of Thomas Whiteby, MS 821, fols 084r-084v
Tipperary	Shoemaker	Thomas Smith	Deposition of Richard Sheapheard, MS 821, fols 122r-122v
Tipperary	Shoemaker	Patrick Cormuck	Deposition of Euen Tidder, MS 821, fols 177r-177v
Unknown	Shoemaker	John Randoph	Examination of John Randoph, MS 839, fol. 056r
Waterford	Shoemaker	Gregory Hillgrove	Deposition of Gregory Hillgrove, MS 820, fols 122r-122v
Waterford	Shoemaker	Jeffrey Grant	Deposition of Christmas Spurgent, MS 820, fols 098r-099v

Waterford	Shoemaker	Teig Somers	Deposition of Christmas Spurgent, MS 820, fols 098r-099v
Waterford	Shoemaker	Michel Duffe	Deposition of Christmas Spurgent, MS 820, fols 098r-099v
Waterford	Shoemaker	Morrish Power	Deposition of Christmas Spurgent, MS 820, fols 098r-099v
Waterford	Shoemaker	Thomas Power	Deposition of Christmas Spurgent, MS 820, fols 098r-099v
Waterford	Shoemaker	Robert Bayly	Deposition of James Tomson, MS 820, fols 110r-110v
Waterford	Shoemaker	John Lowther	Deposition of Judith Phillipps, MS 820, fols 232r-233v
Waterford	Shoemaker	Grigory Cosbey	Examination of Mary Baulte, MS 820, fols 044r-045v
Wexford	Shoemaker	Peter Browne	Deposition of Peter Browne, MS 818, fols 054r-054v
Wexford	Shoemaker	Geffrey Cutteine	Deposition of Geffrey Cutteine, MS 818, fols 144r-144v
Wicklow	Shoemaker	Nicholas Bretner	Deposition of Nicholas Bretner, MS 811, fols 029r-029v
Dublin	Silk weaver	Jeremy Smith	Examination of Jeremy Smith, MS 819, fols 307r-307v
Antrim	Tailor	William Elsinor	Examination of William Elsinor, MS 838, fols 207r-207v
Antrim	Tailor	Hugh Wild	Examination Katherin Greame, MS 838, fols 017r-018v
Antrim	Tailor	Edward*	Examination of John Porter, MS 837, fols 162r-163v
Armagh	Tailor	Robert Smith	Deposition of Ann Smith, MS 836, fols 073r-074v
Armagh	Tailor	William Aylett	Examination of James Sym, MS 836, fols 227r-227v
Carlow	Tailor	John Slater	Deposition of John Slater, MS 812, fols 038v-039r
Cavan	Tailor	Patrick McGori	Deposition of Alexander Anderson, MS 833, fols 096r-097v
Cavan	Tailor	Christopher Meanes	Deposition of Christopher Meanes, MS 833, fols 176r-176v
Clare	Tailor	George Wootton	Deposition of Gregory Hickman, MS 829, fols 063r-065v

Cork	Tailor	John O Callinane	Deposition of Thomas Boyle, MS 825, fols 030r-031v
Cork	Tailor	John O Daly	Deposition of Gorge Stukly, MS 822, fols 106r-106v
Cork	Tailor	John Wetherall	Deposition of Richard Moore, MS 824, fols 052r-052v
Cork	Tailor	Roger Lawrence	Deposition of William Horsey, MS 824, fols 062r-063v
Cork	Tailor	Henry Smith	Deposition of William Horsey, MS 824, fols 062r-063v
Cork	Tailor	Robert Darling	Deposition of Robert Darling, MS 823, fols 096r-096v
Cork	Tailor	Edmund Mc Gera	Deposition of William Ward, MS 823, fols 117r-117v
Cork	Tailor	John Pope	Deposition of John Pope, MS 825, fols 138r-138v
Cork	Tailor	John O Cuonaghane	Deposition of John Rice, MS 824, fols 150r-150v
Cork	Tailor	Thomas Moy	Deposition of John Ware, MS 824, fols 171r-171v
Cork	Tailor	Thomas O Broothers	Deposition of John Wright, MS 824, fols 232r-232v
Cork	Tailor	Downe Adeveere	Deposition of John Wright, MS 824, fols 232r-232v
Cork	Tailor	Thomas Blackbatch	Deposition of William Eams, MS 823, fols 157r-158v
Cork	Tailor	Jeffrey O Donnehough	Examination of Richard Archbold, MS 826, fols 043r-043v
Cork	Tailor	Teige O Realigge	Examination of William Murphew, MS 826, fols 230r-230v
Cork	Tailor	Daniell Dauine	Deposition of Richard Winchester, MS 822, fols 016r-016v
Cork	Tailor	Banks*	Deposition of Valentine Gordan, MS 823, fols 169r-169v
Cork	Tailor	Nicholas Fox	Deposition of Nicholas Fox, MS 829, fols 173r-174v
Cork	Tailor	John Brice	Deposition of John Brice, MS 822, fols 275r-275v
Cork	Tailor	William Dammer	Deposition of William Dammer, MS 824, fols 148r-148v

Cork	Tailor	Teige O Leary	Deposition of John Radcliffe, MS 824, fols 042r-042v
Dublin	Tailor	Charles Kinselagh	Examination of Edmund Relly, MS 809, fols 030r-031v
Dublin	Tailor	Henry Caruil	Examination of Ardell McMahon, MS 809, fols 044r-045v
Dublin	Tailor	John Lewis	Deposition of David Welsh, MS 810, fols 102r-102v
Dublin	Tailor	Bartholomew Lemman	Information of Bartholomew Lemman, 809, fols 180r-181v
Dublin	Tailor	Thomas Johnsey	Deposition of Thomas Johnsey, MS 810, fols 255r-255v
Dublin	Tailor	Allen Stillen	Deposition of Suzanna Stillen, MS 810, fols 261r-261v
Dublin	Tailor	Thomas Wood	Deposition of Thomas Wood, MS 810, fols 273r-273v
Dublin	Tailor	Thomas Goodall	Deposition of Thomas Goodall, MS 810, fols 295r-295v
Dublin	Tailor	Thomas Cavenagh	Examination of Dermott Cavenagh, MS 809, fols 030r-031v
Dublin	Tailor	Gerry Martin	Examination of Mary Martin, MS 817, fols 335r-336v
Dublin	Tailor	Edmund Nultye	Deposition of Edmund Nultye, MS 809, fols 312r-312v
Dublin	Tailor	Nolan*	Deposition fo Thomas Greames, MS 813, fols 346r-347v
Dublin	Tailor	George Tedder	Deposition of Isabell Tedder, MS 832, fol. 168r
Dublin/Kilkenny	Tailor	Ralph Fenton	Examination of Ralph Fenton, MS 812, fols 296r-297v
Fermanagh	Tailor	John Booth	Deposition of Anne Booth, MS 835, fols 078r-079v
Fermanagh	Tailor	Patrick MaGwire	Examination of Patrick MaGwire, MS 809, fol. 083r
Fermanagh	Tailor	Daniell Morris	Deposition of Daniell Morris, MS 835, fols 245r-245v
Kerry	Tailor	Andrew Rawly	Deposition of Arthur Blenerhasset, MS 828, fols 199r-200v
Kerry	Tailor	John Huggan	Deposition of Michaell Vine, MS 828, fols 207r-209v

Kerry	Tailor	Thomas Godwin	Deposition of Edward Vauclier, MS 828, fols 284r-285v
Kerry	Tailor	Lawrence Tristam	Deposition of William Dethick, MS 828, fols 236r-237v
Kildare	Tailor	James Taran	Examination of William Graham, MS 813, fols 173r-174v
Kildare	Tailor	Dauid Enos	Examination of Teige dillecreese, MS 813, fols 185r-186v
Kildare	Tailor	Teig Lalor	Deposition of Dorothy Barber, MS 813, fol. 381r
Kildare	Tailor	Dominick*	Deposition of Henry Perise, MS 813, fols 384r-384v
Kildare	Tailor	William Harrison	Deposition of William Harrison, MS 813, fols 268r-269v
Kildare	Tailor	Shane Bane	Deposition of Shane Bane, MS 813, fols 308r-308v
Kilkenny	Tailor	William Lucas	Deposition of Richard Phillip, MS 812, fols 220r-220v
Kilkenny	Tailor (and piper)	Gerrard Kavanogh	Examination of Elizabeth Ferrall, MS 812, fols 255r-256v
Kilkenny	Tailor	Richard Phillip	Deposition of Ann Mawdesley, MS 812, fols 221r-221v
Laois	Tailor	Thomas Cowper	Deposition of Thomas Cowper, MS 815, fol. 056r
Laois	Tailor	Shane McShane	Deposition of Rowland Vaughan, MS 815, fols 273r-273v
Laois	Tailor	Walter Currey	Deposition of Walter Currey, MS 815, fols 320r-320v
Laois	Tailor	James McDermott	Deposition of Thomas Knowells, MS 815, fol. 227r
Limerick	Tailor	John Cox	Deposition of John Cox, MS 829, fols 341r-341v
Limerick	Tailor	Richard Gerrald	Deposition of Nicholas Ronan, MS 829, fols 447r-448v
Limerick	Tailor	William O Narton	Deposition of John Richman, MS 829, fols 244r-244v
Limerick	Tailor	John Gate	Deposition of Thomas Southwell, MS 829, fols 268r-268v
Limerick	Tailor	Thomas Wills	Deposition of Juan Wills, MS 829, fols 219r-219v

Limerick	Tailor	Don { } Hinly	Deposition of John Lilles, MS 829, fols 132r-133v
Limerick	Tailor	Ralph Billing	Deposition of Ralph Billing, MS 829, fols 137r-137v
Limerick	Tailor	Baldwin Dun	Deposition of Thomas Browne, MS 829, fols 150r-151v
Limerick	Tailor	Christopher Handy	Deposition of Bushopp Planke and Ann Reynes, MS 829, fols 190r-191v
Limerick	Tailor	William Hogane	Deposition of John Parker, MS 829, fols 197r-197v
Limerick	Tailor	John Hill	Deposition of Thomas Ragg, Robert Ragg and Henry Briggs, MS 829, fols 254r-255v
Limerick	Tailor	John Adams	Deposition of George Saunders, MS 829, fols 431r-432v
London/ Westmeath	Tailor	Mackamilta*	Depostion of Thomas Fleetwood, MS 817, fols 037r-040v
Londonderry	Tailor	John Knight	Deposition of John Frye, MS 810, fols 143r-144v
Londonderry	Tailor	George Tomson	Examination of George Tomson, MS 838, fols 069v-070v
Longford	Tailor	Teige Dillecreese	Deposition of Robert Colden, MS 817, fols 186r-186v
Louth	Tailor	William Bentley	Examination of William Bentley, 838, fols 096v-097v
Louth	Tailor	Roger Lorkan	Examination of Bridgett Lorkan, MS 834, fols 202r-203r
Meath	Tailor	William McBryan	Deposition of Abraham Nutowe, MS 816, fols 127r-127v
Meath	Tailor	Patricke o Mulbridy	Deposition of Willyam Hunt, MS 816, fols 114r-114v
Meath	Tailor	Unnamed	Deposition of Nathaniell Nanskone, MS 816, fols 124r-124v
Meath	Tailor	Patrick Gallegan	Deposition of Hughe and Katherin Kent and Margrett Owin, MS 816, fols 171r-172v
Monaghan	Tailor	John Jackson	Deposition of Robert Branthwaite, MS 834, fols 152r-154v
Offaly	Tailor	John O Brackin	Deposition of William Myles, MS 814, fols 128r-128v
Offaly	Tailor	Edward Garner	Deposition of Richard Tailor, MS 814, fols 260r-261v

Offaly	Tailor	Samm*	Deposition of Ralkph Walmisley, MS 814, fols 264r-169v
Offaly	Tailor	George Fawcett	Deposition of George Fawcett, MS 814, fols 173r-174v
Offaly	Tailor	William Cronikin	Deposition of Martin Jagger, MS 814, fols 201r-201v
Roscommon	Tailor	France Hawesworth	Deposition of Amy Hawkesworth, MS 830, fols 039r-040v
Tipperary	Tailor	George Tirry	Deposition of George Tirry, MS 821, fols 186r-186v
Tipperary	Tailor	John Haiket	Deposition of John Dan, MS 821, fols 058r-058v
Tipperary	Tailor	William McPhillip	Examination of Nicholas Salle, MS 821, fols 219r-220v
Tipperary	Tailor	Roch*	Examination of Donagh O'Dwyer, MS 821, fol. 261r
Tipperary	Tailor	Own Murto McCash	Examination of Margrett Addames, MS 821, fol. 223r
Tyrone	Tailor	James Welch	Examination of John Morris, MS 838, fols 296r-296v
Waterford	Tailor	Cornelius Courgan	Deposition of William Carewe, MS 820, fols 035r-036v
Waterford	Tailor	Mylerus O Conygan	Deposition of William Carewe, MS 820, fols 035r-036v
Waterford	Tailor	Mahowne O Lyne	Deposition of Henry Warmer, MS 820, fols 075r-075v
Waterford	Tailor	Giles Langdon	Deposition of Giles Langdon, MS 820, fols 115r-115v
Waterford	Tailor	John Fowler	Deposition of Giles Langdon MS 820, fols 115r-115v
Waterford	Tailor	John Dowse	Deposition of Giles Langdon, MS 820, fols 115r-115v
Waterford	Tailor	Phillip Veale	Deposition of Barnard Pape, MS 820, fols 128r-128v
Waterford	Tailor	William Masters	Deposition of Henry Masters, Hugh Masters and Ursula Masters, MS 820, fols 172r-172v
Waterford	Tailor	Hugh Masters	Deposition of Henry Masters, Hugh Masters and Ursula Masters, MS 820, fols 172r-172v
Waterford	Tailor	Henry Nance	Deposition of Walter Croker, MS 823, fols 006r-006v

Waterford	Tailor	Mulmurry Henigan	Deposition of Morgan Evens, MS 820, fols 096r-096v
Wexford	Tailor	George Jabelin	Examination of Richard Shortall, MS 818, fols 312r-313v
Waterford	Tailor	Thomas Corvan	Deposition of Thomas Carter, MS 820, fols 270r-270v
Waterford	Tailor	Gyles Laungdon	Deposition of John Bruer, MS 820, fols 066r-067v
Westmeath	Tailor	George*	Examination of William Baker, MS 817, fols 065r-067v
Wexford	Tailor	David Maning	Deposition of John Buckner, MS 818, fols 099r-100v
Wexford	Tailor	Thomas Connicke	Examination of Thomas Connicke, MS 819, fols 197r-198v
Wicklow	Tailor	John Mc Walles	Deposition of Timothy Pate, MS 811, fols 170r-173v
Wicklow	Tailor	Shane O Hurley	Examination of Shane O Hurley, MS 811, fols 244r-245v
Antrim	Weaver	William Bridges	Examination of Hugh McGee, MS 838, fols 251r-252v
Armagh	Weaver	Robert Person	Examination of Robert Person, MS 836, fols 262r-263v
Carlow	Weaver	Edmund Arley	Deposition of Edmund Arley, MS 812, fol. 062r
Cavan	Weaver	John Carter	Deposition of John Carter, MS 833, fols 112r-112v
Cavan	Weaver	William North	Deposition of William North, MS 833, fols 179r-179v
Cavan	Weaver	Thomas Carrington	Deposition of Audrey Carington, MS 833, fols 282r-282v
Cavan	Weaver	Thomas Bordman	Deposition of Jane Bordman, MS 832, fols 191r-191v
Clare	Weaver	Thomas Edwards	Deposition of Juaine Pitch, MS 829, fols 033r-034v
Cork	Weaver	Robert Stower	Deposition of Elizabeth Stower, MS 824, fols 035r-035v
Cork	Weaver	John White	Deposition of John White, MS 823, fols 118r-118v
Cork	Weaver	John Rice	Deposition of John Rice, MS 824, fols 150r-150v

Cork	Weaver	Edward Hitchins	Deposition of Edward Hitchins, MS 825, fols 158r-158v
Cork	Weaver	Samuel Bishop	Deposition of Joseph Scott & Humphrye Wood, MS 823, fols 201r-202v
Cork	Weaver	William Waklett	Deposition of William Waklett, MS 825, fols 300r-300v
Cork	Weaver	John McRedmond	Examination of John McRedmond, MS 826, fols 121r-121v
Cork	Weaver	John Cotter	Examination of Morrise Slabye, MS 826, fol. 226v
Cork	Weaver	Arthure Behena	Deposition of Peeter Scuse, MS 823, fols 018r-18v
Cork	Weaver	John O Molowna	Deposition of Humfry Hunt, MS 823, fols 049r-049v
Cork	Weaver	Bartholomew Ponoiond	Deposition of Richard Chaning, MS 823, fols 050r-050v
Cork	Weaver	Cnoghr mcShane	Deposition of Tho: Vezy, MS 823, fols 054r-054v
Cork	Weaver	John Mc Thomas	Deposition of Tho: Vezy, MS 823, fols 054r-054v
Cork	Weaver	Francis Tucker	Deposition of Edward Liffe, MS 823, fols 067r-067v
Cork	Weaver	Thomas Condon	Deposition of Richard Christmas, MS 823, fols 074r-075v
Cork	Weaver	Teige Leach	Deposition of Richard Christmas, MS 823, fols 074r-075v
Cork	Weaver	John Grace	Deposition of Ann Baker, MS 822, fols 103r-103v
Cork	Weaver	Cnoghor Oge	Deposition of John Thomas, MS 822, fols 126r-127v
Cork	Weaver	Teige O Toomas	Deposition of Owen Heyford, MS 824, fols 223r-223v
Cork	Weaver	David O Beaghane	Deposition of Thomas Stent, MS 824, fols 236r-237v
Cork	Weaver	John mc Mathewes	Deposition of Richard Shute, MS 825, fols 252r-252v
Cork	Weaver	Phillipp o Leaghe	Deposition of Tristram Hake, MS 825, fols 225r-255v
Down	Weaver	Christopher Crow	Deposition of Christopher Crow, MS 837, fols 001r-001v

Dublin	Weaver	William McEnale	Deposition of Katherin Magee, MS 810, fols 174r-174v
Dublin	Weaver	Shane O Lovan	Deposition of Symon Swayen et al., MS 809, fols 329r-329v
Dublin	Weaver	Nicholas Mogly	Examination of John Murphy, MS 811, fols 238r-239v
Fermanagh	Weaver	Thomas Negus	Deposition of Thomas Negus, MS 835, fols152r-152v
Fermanagh	Weaver	John Taylor	Deposition of Elizabeth Taylor, MS 835, fols 176r-176r
Fermanagh	Weaver	Thomas Seman	Deposition of Thomas Seman, MS 835, fols 222r-223v
Kerry	Weaver	Josyas White	Deposition of Josyas White, MS 828, fols 206r-206v
Kildare	Weaver	John Courty	Deposition of Thomas Huetsonn, MS 813, fols 260r-260v
Kildare	Weaver	Morrice Torlton	Deposition of Vernam Mosse, MS 813, fols 397r-397v
Laois	Weaver	Richard Carter	Deposition of Richard Carter, MS 815, fols 172r-172v
Laois	Weaver	Murtagh O Ffullan	Deposition of Donnough O'Laughlin, MS 815, fols 228r-228v
Laois	Weaver	John Baskerville	Deposition of Elizabeth Baskerville, MS 815, fols 314r-314v
Limerick	Weaver	Thomas Powell	Deposition of Thomas Powell, MS 829, fols 236r-236v
Limerick	Weaver	John o Kelne	Deposition of John Lilles, MS 829, fosl 132r-133v
Limerick	Weaver	James Booreman	Deposition of Bushopp Planke and Ann Reynes, MS 829, fols 190r-191v
Limerick	Weaver	Edward Planke	Deposition of Bushopp Planke and Ann Reynes, MS 829, fols 190r-191v
Limerick	Weaver	Patrick Marcos	Deposition of Richard Stevens, MS 829, fols 199r-199v
Limerick	Weaver	John Keatoo	Deposition of Sir Hardress Waller, MS 829, fols 284r-290v
Limerick	Weaver	Rob: Sandry	Deposition of John Cox, MS 829, fols 341r-341v
Longford	Weaver	John Steele	Deposition of John Steele, MS 817, fols 161r-161v

Meath	Weaver	Patrick Michell	Deposition of Hughe and Katherin Kent and Margrett Owin, MS 816, fols 171-172v
Meath	Weaver	Christopher More	Deposition of Thomas Sergeant, MS 816, fols 185r-186v
Meath	Weaver	Melaughlin o ffenegan	Examination of Phillipp Brady, MS 813, fols 220r-221v
Meath	Weaver	Moris Collgan	Deposition of Abraham Nutowe, MS 816, fols 127r-127v
Monaghan	Weaver	Henry Bradley	Deposition of Henry Bradley, MS 834, fols 173r-173v
Tipperary	Weaver	William Hart	Deposition of William Hart, MS 821, fols 093r-093v
Tipperary	Weaver	Arthur Thomas	Deposition of Arthure Thomas, MS 821, fols 123r-123v
Tipperary	Weaver	John Lobb	Deposition of John Lobb, MS 821, fols 125r-125v
Tipperary	Weaver	John Dwyre	Deposition of John Dan, MS 821, fols 058r-058v
Unknown	Weaver	Andrew Nickson	Examination of Andrew Nickson, MS 839, fols 118r-119v
Waterford	Weaver	Edmond Rutter	Deposition of Edmond Rutter, MS 820, fols 310r-310v
Waterford	Weaver	Richard Mc Brohaline	Deposition of George Benberie, MS 820, fols 038r-038v
Waterford	Weaver	William O Curly	Deposition of George farmer, MS 820, fols 144r-144v.
Wexford	Weaver	Hugh Parke	Deposition of Hugh Parke, MS 818, fols 086r-086v
Wicklow	Weaver	Rice Oliverson	Deposition of Rice Oliverson, MS 811, fols 158r-158v
Wicklow	Weaver	Daniell Rideings	Deposition of Daniell Rideings, MS 811, fols 087r-087v
Wicklow	Weaver	Teige O Trowry	Deposition of John Tomas, MS 811, fols 098r-098v
Wicklow	Weaver	Dermott Duffe	Deposition of John Joice, MS 811, fols 148r-150v
Wicklow	Weaver	Thomas Duckworth	Deposition of Thomas Duckworth, MS 811, fols 045-045v
Down	Woollen draper	George Hodgkinson	Deposition of George Hodgkinson, MS 837, fols 007r-007v

APPENDIX 3

Individuals associated with metalwork, pottery, glasswork, animal products and food preparation

**For smiths see appendix 1*

County	Occupation	Identity	Reference
Cork	Alehouse-keeper	Patrick Garfield	Examination of John Nobbs, MS 826, fols 293r-293v
Dublin	Alehouse-keeper	Laughlin Kennett	Deposition of Edward Rolland, MS 809, fols 326r-326v
Dublin	Alehouse-keeper	James ô Neale	Deposition of Ann Foreside, MS 809, fols 279r-279v
Kildare	Alehouse-keeper	Matthew Hussy	Information of Matthew Hussy, MS 813, fols 059r-060v
Meath	Alehouse-keeper	John Elliot	Examination of Any Nimarchy, MS 816, fols 292r-293v
Meath	Alehouse-keeper	Richard mcGawnye	Examination of Edward Weisley, MS 816, fols 312r-313v
Antrim	Baker	James Widderoe	Examination of James Widderoe, MS 838, fols 58v-059r
Armagh	Baker	Ambrose Castlelman	Deposition of Edward Saltenstall and George Little, MS 836, fols 069r-079v
Cavan	Baker	George Wright	Deposition of George Wright, MS 833, fols 092r-092v
Cavan	Baker	Edward Browne	Deposition of Edward Browne, MS 833, fols 283r-383v
Cavan	Baker	Nicholas Cooke	Deposition of Richard Parsons, MS 833, fols 275r-281v
Cork	Baker	George Tanner	Deposition of George Tanner, MS 824, fols 068r-068v
Cork	Baker	Henry Harford	Examination of Henry Harford, MS 826, fol. 306r
Dublin	Baker	William Savage	Information of Bartholomew Lemman, MS 809, fols 180r-181v; Examination of Edmond Casey, Ms 8009, fols 182r-183v
Dublin	Baker	Thomas Mason	Deposition of Edmund Spring et al., MS 810, fols 257r-259v; Deposition of Thomas Mason, MS 809, fols 294r-294v
Dublin	Baker	William Draiton	Deposition of Richard Mason, MS 810, fols 022v-023r
Dublin	Baker	Patrick Kenshelagh	Deposition of Richard Croft, MS 810, fols 130r-131v

Dublin	Baker	Richard Cartheridg	Deposition of James Eddis, MS 810, fols 136r-137v
Galway	Baker	John Sheeley	Deposition of John and Jane Sheeley and Margret Rowleright, MS 830, fols 168r-170v
Kildare	Baker	Francis Ragg	Deposition of Francis Ragg ex parte Mary Culvert, MS 813, fols 316r-316v
Limerick	Baker	Thomas Helper	Deposition of Richard Winter, MS 829, fols 172r-172v
Tipperary	Baker	John Casy	Deposition of Euen Tidder, MS 821, fols 177r-177v
Waterford	Baker	William Farmer	Deposition of William Farmer, MS 820, fols 109r-109v
Wexford	Baker	John Carne	Examination of John Carne, Ms 819, fols 127r-127v
Wexford	Baker	Michael Boyle	Deposition of John Keary, MS 812, fols 237r-238v
Wicklow	Baker	Thomas Lynagh	Deposition of Jane Goeburne and Rice Oliverson, MS 811, fols 142r-142v
Limerick	Brasier	John Globe	Deposition of John Globe, MS 829, fols 149r-149v
Cork	Brewer	Thomas Haynes	Deposition of Judith Tatardill, MS 823, fols 141r-141v
Dublin	Brewer	Daniell Wibrow	Deposition of Edmund Spring et al., MS 810, fols 257r-259v
Dublin	Brewer	John Rowson	Deposition of James Eddis, MS 810, fols 136r-137v; Deposition of Sarah Roades, MS 810, fols 299r-299v
Limerick	Brewer	Juan Lisse	Deposition of Juan Lisse, MS 829, fols 313r-313v
Limerick	Brewer	Thomas Mallom	Deposition of Thomas Mallom, MS 829, fols 160r-160v
Tipperary	Brewer	John Beane's brewer	Examination of Ellice Meagher, MS 821, fols 259r-259v
Waterford	Brewer	George Benberie	Deposition of George Benberie, MS 820, fols 038r-038v
Wicklow	Brewer	Evan Jones	Deposition of Evan Jones, MS 811, fols 069r-069v
Antrim	Butcher	Patricke O Qillyn	Examination of Patricke O Qillyn, MS 838, fols 271r-271v
Antrim	Butcher	William Prince	Examination of William Prince, MS 838, fols 272r-272v

Armagh	Butcher	Thomas Turke	Deposition of Thomas Turke, MS 826, fols 016r-017v
Armagh	Butcher	Francis Hill	Deposition of Edward Saltenstall and George Little, MS 836, fols 069r-079v
Carlow	Butcher	Edmund Mc Murrogh	Deposition of Raph Bulkley, MS 812, fols 084r-085v
Carlow	Butcher	Donnogh Mc Murrough	Deposition of Raph Bulkley, MS 812, fols 084r-085v
Cavan	Butcher	William Gibbs	Deposition of William Gibbs, MS 833, fols 249r-250v
Cavan	Butcher	William Clyffe	Deposition of Richard Lewys, MS 833, fols 034r-035v
Cavan	Butcher	Edmond Mc Keilane	List of rebels, MS 833, fols 162r-162v
Cavan	Butcher	Phillip O Togher	Deposition of Richard Bennett, MS 833, fols 220r-220v
Clare	Butcher	Edmond Danter	Deposition of Gregory Hickman, MS 829, fols 063r-065v
Clare	Butcher	Roger*	Deposition of Gregory Hickman, MS 829, fols 063r-065v
Clare	Butcher	Bryen O Manin	Deposition of Ann Webster, MS 829, fols 077r-078v
Clare	Butcher	Teige O Griffa	Deposition of Ann Webster, MS 829, fols 077r-078v
Clare	Butcher	Donogh O Hernane	Deposition of Ann Webster, MS 829, fols 077r-078v
Cork	Butcher	John Steevens	Deposition of John Steevens, MS 823, fols 185r-185v
Cork	Butcher	Edward Rogers	Deposition of Edward Rogers, MS 824, fols 187r-187v
Cork	Butcher	William Phillipps	Deposition of William Phillipps, MS 823, fols 194r-194v
Cork	Butcher	Thomas Franklin	Deposition of Thomas Franklin, MS 822, fols 198r-198v
Cork	Butcher	Robert Williams	Deposition of Anne Williams, MS 824, fols 201r-201v
Cork	Butcher	Thomas Carrall	Examination of Thomas Carrall, MS 826, fol. 216v
Cork	Butcher	Hugh Williams	Deposition of Hugh Williams, MS 825, fols 220r-220v

Cork	Butcher	William Redwood	Deposition of William Redwood, MS 822, fols 274r-274v
Cork	Butcher	Robert Cree	Deposition of William Allin, MS 822, fols 017r-017v
Cork	Butcher	Patricke O Tomy	Deposition of John Sampson, MS 822, fols 020r-020v
Cork	Butcher	John Phillipps	Deposition of John Shipward, MS 823, fols 022r-022v
Cork	Butcher	Samuell Burchell	Deposition of John Abbott, MS 822, fols 046r-046v
Cork	Butcher	Cnoghor O Scanlane	Deposition of William Hodder, MS 822, fols 048r-048v
Cork	Butcher	William Seymour	Deposition of William Wood, MS 823, fols 055r-055v
Cork	Butcher	Nathaniell Moyles	Deposition of William Richardson, MS 823, fols 080r-081v
Cork	Butcher	Donnell O fforan	Deposition of William Wright, Ms 825, fols 111r-111v
Cork	Butcher	Morris O Shehane	Deposition of Edmond Mc Carty, MS 823, fols 143r-143v
Cork	Butcher	Teige O Shenane	Deposition of Edmond Mc Carty, MS 823, fols 143r-143v
Cork	Butcher	William Moyse	Deposition of Giles Dangger, MS 824, fols 163r-163v
Cork	Butcher	James Mounsell	Deposition of Therlagh Kelly, MS 823, fols 173r-175v
Cork	Butcher	William Kerty	Deposition of William French, MS 825, fols 264r-264v
Cork	Butcher	Patricke Toomy	Deposition of Humphrey Warren, MS 823, fols 070r-070v
Cork	Butcher	William Coll	Deposition of Humphrey Warren, MS 823, fols 070r-070v
Cork	Butcher	Roger Plimton	Deposition of George Saier, MS 824, fols 190r-190v
Donegal	Butcher	Hugh Gaskein	Deposition of Hugh Gaskein, MS 831, fols 129r-130v
Dublin	Butcher	William Rowen	Examination of William Rowen, MS 809, fols 188r-189v
Dublin	Butcher	Robert Neale	Examination of Robert Neale, MS 811, fols 191r-192v

Dublin	Butcher	George Cooper	Deposition of Edmund Spring et al., MS 810, fols 257r-259v.
Dublin	Butcher	John Geny	Deposition of John Geny, MS 810, fols 313r-313v
Dublin	Butcher	William Yeates	Deposition of William Yeates, MS 810, fols 328r-328v
Dublin	Butcher	Richard Oliver	Deposition of James Eddis, MS 810, fols 136r-137v
Dublin	Butcher	William Rowen	Examination of John Septhton, MS 809, fols 176r-177v
Dublin	Butcher	Patrick Bee	Examination of Peter Fletcher, MS 809, fols 210r-210v
Dublin	Butcher	Nicholas Keavan	Deposition of Thomas Thatcher & Nicholas Keavan, MS 810, fol. 274r
Dublin	Butcher	Robert Allen	Deposition of Katherin Magee, MS 810, fols 174r-174v
Dublin	Butcher	Thomas Wogan	Deposition of Katherin Magee, MS 810, fols 174r-174v
Dublin	Butcher	Christopher Barry	Examination of Christopher Barry, MS 817, fols 084r-084v
Fermanagh	Butcher	John Right	Deposition of John Right, MS 835, fols 158r-158v
Fermanagh	Butcher	Nicholas*	Deposition of Elizabeth Fletcher, MS 835, fols 242r-242v
Fermanagh	Butcher	Richard Knowles	Deposition of Richard Knowles, MS 835, fols 129r-130v
Kerry	Butcher	Andrew Morgan	Deposition of John Abraham & others, MS 828, fols 211r-213v
Kerry	Butcher	Robert Ingleden	Deposition of John Abraham & others, MS 828, fols 211r-213v
Kildare	Butcher	William Becke	Deposition of William Becke, MS 813, fols 344r-344v
Kildare	Butcher	John Harris	Deposition of John Murphy, MS 813, fols 328r-328v
Kildare	Butcher	William May	Deposition of William Dynes, MS 813, fols 360r-360v
Kilkenny	Butcher	Richard Laughlin	Deposition of William Lucas, MS 826, fol. 216r
Kilkenny	Butcher	William Mc Shane	Deposition of William Lucas, MS 826, fol. 216r

Kilkenny	Butcher	Henry White	Examination of Henry White, MS 812, fols 287r-288v
Kilkenny	Butcher	James Brenan	Examination of Dermot Mc Owen Brenan, MS 812, fols 291r-292v
Laois	Butcher	Donnogh ô Dowlin	Deposition of Edward Benfeild, MS 815, fols 169r-169v
Laois	Butcher	Donagh Dowlyn	Deposition of Elizabeth Wagstaffe, MS 815, fols 275r-275v
Limerick	Butcher	William Jarrett	Deposition of William Jarrett, MS 829, fols 205r-205v
Limerick	Butcher	James O Healdhe	Deposition of Richard winter, MS 829, fols 172r-172v
Limerick	Butcher	Edmund Rawvigh	Deposition of Daniel Spicer, MS 820, fols 183r-183v
Limerick	Butcher	John McRichard	Deposition of Elizabeth Lodge, MS 829, fols 201r-201v
Limerick	Butcher	Thomas Beare	Deposition of Thomas Beare, MS 829, fols 213r-213v
Limerick	Butcher	Symon Bragson	Deposition of Peeter Peacocke, MS 829, fols 278r-279v
Longford	Butcher	John Euens	Deposition of Lidia Smith, MS 817, fols 176r-176v
Longford	Butcher	John*	Deposition of Elizabeth Crafford, MS 817, fols 162r-163v
Meath	Butcher	Gregory Balch	Deposition of Joane Balch, MS 816, fols 091r-091v
Meath	Butcher	Anthony Begnott	Deposition of William Hall, MS 816, fols 107r-107v
Meath	Butcher	Edward Withers	Deposition of Daniell Wilson, MS 816, fols 146r-147v
Meath	Butcher	Thomas Colly	Deposition of Hughe and Katherin Kent and Margrett Owen, MS 816, fols 171r-172v
Meath	Butcher	John Hone	Deposition of Ann Key, MS 816, fols 173r-174v
Offaly	Butcher	John Hatch	Deposition of George Kinge, MS 814, fols 131r-131r
Roscommon	Butcher	Robert Butts	Deposition of Amy Hawkesworth, MS 830, fols 039r-040v
Roscommon	Butcher	John Butts	Deposition of Amy Hawkesworth, MS 830, fols 039r-040v

Sligo	Butcher	James Butt	Deposition of James Butt, MS 831, fols 131r-132v
Sligo	Butcher	John Stanaway	Deposition of John Harrisson, MS 831, fols 072r-072v
Tipperary	Butcher	Bartholomew Cheyney	Deposition of Richard White, MS 821, fols 115r-116v
Waterford	Butcher	Hugh Sugar	Deposition of Hugh Sugar, MS 820, fols 159r-159v
Waterford	Butcher	Thomas Baker	Deposition of Thomas Baker, MS 820, fols 208r-208v
Waterford	Butcher	Francis Baker	Deposition of Francis Baker, MS 820, fols 247r-247v
Waterford	Butcher	James*	Examination of Isacke Quarrie, MS 820, fol. 347r
Waterford	Butcher	Thomas Bane	Examination of Mary Baulte, MS 820, fols 044r-045v
Waterford	Butcher	Davis Morrish	Deposition of John Crockford, MS 820, fols 125r-125v
Waterford	Butcher	John Wingad	Deposition of Vrsula Wingad, MS 820, fols 136r-136v
Waterford	Butcher	William Jones	Deposition of John Dennett, MS 820, fols 200r-200v
Waterford	Butcher	John Walker	Examination of Thomas O'Kissan, MS 826, fol. 216r
Waterford	Butcher	Dauid Roe	Deposition of Lawrence Hagley, MS 820, fols 276r-276v
Waterford	Butcher	Thomas Bane	Deposition of Lawrence Hagley, MS 820, fols 276r-276v
Waterford	Butcher	Phillipp McCragh	Deposition of Walter Bartram, MS 820, fols 282r-282v
Waterford	Butcher	Peeter fflabin	Deposition of Lawrence Hooper, MS 820, fols 312r-315v
Waterford	Butcher	John Naracott	Deposition of John Bruer, MS 820, fols 066r-067v
Westmeath	Butcher	Denis Clansie	Examination of Denis Clansie, MS 817, fol. 083r
Westmeath	Butcher	George Perry	Examination of George Perry, MS 817, fols 085r-086v
Westmeath	Butcher	Turlogh Flanegan	Deposition of John Wyld, MS 817, fols 081r-081v

Westmeath	Butcher	Ennis O Henie	Deposition of John Wyld, MS 817, fols 081r-081v
Westmeath	Butcher	Cahir Dun	Deposition of John Wyld, MS 817, fols 081r-081v
Wexford	Butcher	William Mc John	Deposition of George Hinckley, MS 818, fols 084r-085v
Wexford	Butcher	Simon Mc Edmond	Deposition of Robeart Berchall, MS 818, fols 123r-123v
Wicklow	Butcher	Owen Doyle	Deposition of John Joice, MS 811, fols 148r-150v
Armagh	Chandler	Nehemiah Richardson	Deposition of Nehemiah Richardson, MS 836, fols 067r-067v
Armagh	Chandler	John Warren	Examination of John Warren, MS 836, fols 139r-142v
Cork	Chandler	Richard Savell	Deposition of Richard Sauell, MS 824, fols 200r-200v
Cork	Chandler	Ambrose Rowland	Deposition of Symon Lightfoote, MS 823, fols 024r-024v
Galway	Chandler	John Fox	Examination of Andrew Darcy, MS 830, fols 162r-162v
Kerry	Chandler	John Johnson	Depsoition of John Johnson, MS 828, fols 286r-287v
Limerick	Chandler	Giles Baldwin	Deposition of James Craven, MS 829, fols 379r-380v
Limerick	Chandler	George Saunders	Deposition of George Saunders, MS 829, fols 431r-432v
Waterford	Chandler	Henry Davis	Deposition of Henry Davis, MS 820, fols 199r-199v
Waterford	Chandler	Arthure Byrt	Deposition of Arthure Byrt, MS 829, fols 303r-303v
Wexford	Chandler	John Crafford	Examination of John Crafford, MS 819, fols 235r-235v
Leitrim	Clay Potter	Edward Bisphum	Deposition of Edward Bisphum, MS 831, fols 024r-024v
Antrim	Cook	Mr Dun's cook	Examination of James Harper, MS 838, fols 085r-086v
Antrim	Cook	Murphy oge McMurphy	Examination of Murphy oge McMurphy, MS 838, fol. 038r
Cork	Cook	Robert Williams	Deposition of William Horsey, MS 824, fols 062r-063v

Cork	Cook	Lord Cork's cook	Deposition of Arthure Byrt, MS 820, fols 303r-303v
Down	Cook	James Noland	Examination of Ann Mc Cane, MS 836, fols 220r-221v
Down	Cook	Patrick Russell	Deposition of Peter hill, MS 837, fols 030r-037r
Dublin	Cook	Henry White	Examination of Henry White, MS 809, fols 178r-179v
Dublin	Cook	Lady Tirconnells' cook	Examination of Edmund Ashbould, MS 810, fols 099r-099v
Dublin	Cook	Hugh Murphy	Deposition of John Brakenbury, MS 809, fols 249r-249v
Dublin/Westmeath	Cook	William Baker	Examination of William Baker, MS 817, fols 065r-067v
Kildare	Cook	Margaret Bourke's cook	Letter from Margaret Bourke to Lady Colly, MS 813, fols 148r-148v
Kildare	Cook	Henry Magraith	Deposition of William Vowells, MS 813, fols 330r-331v
Kilkenny	Cook	Walter Derry	Deposition of John Mayre, MS 812, fols 246r-247v
Laois	Cook	Dermot McAboy	Deposition of Alice Cowper, MS 815, fols 057r-058r
Laois	Cook	Barnaby Dun's cook	Deposition of Robert Basse, MS 815, fols 165r-166v
Leitrim	Cook	Griskin Brian O Sheredine	Deposition of Susana Stephenson, MS 831, fols 043r-043v
Limerick	Cook	Rowland Hoy	Deposition of William Eams, MS 823, fols 157r-158v
Limerick	Cook	Constance Carse	Deposition of Edmund Perry, MS 829, fols 383r-384v
Mayo	Cook	Alice*	Deposition of John Gouldsmith, MS 831, fols 192r-197v
Offaly	Cook	Art Molloy Collonell's cook	Deposition of Edward St Larence, MS 814, fols 159r-160v
Sligo	Cook	Donald O Beolan	Deposition of Jane Stewart, MS 831, fols 120r-121v
Unknown	Cook	Owen Kelly	Information of Owen Kelly, Ms 809, fols 200r-201v
Waterford	Cook	Robert Bywalter	Deposition of Henry Hyett, MS 820, fols 245r-245v

Westmeath	Cook (undercook)	John Birne	Examination of William Baker, MS 817, fols 065r-067v
Wexford	Cook	Thomas Murrey	Deposition of John Buckner, MS 818, fols 099r-100v
Wicklow	Cook	John Marryner	Examination of John Marryner, MS 811, fols 189r-190v
Antrim	Cooper	David McKenlaies	Examination of David McKenlaies, MS 838, fols 057r-057v
Antrim	Cooper	James Steile	Examination of James Steile, MS 838, fols 076r-077r
Armagh	Cooper	James McConnell	Examination of James MCConnell, MS 838, fols 075v-076r
Carlow	Cooper	John Torkington	Deposition of John Torkington, MS 812, fols 082r-082v
Cavan	Cooper	John Wilkinson	Deposition of John Wilkinson, MS 833, fols 087r-087v
Cork	Cooper	Edward Hellard	Deposition of Edward Hellard, MS 825, fols 074r-074v
Cork	Cooper	John Woodmason	Deposition of John Woodmason, MS 825, fols 121r-121v
Cork	Cooper	John Wiseman	Deposition of John Wiseman, MS 824, fols 215r-215v
Cork	Cooper	Lewis Harris	Deposition of Lewis Harris, MS 824, fols 220r-220v
Cork	Cooper	John Mokes	Deposition of Augustine Hickes, Ms 824, fols 047r-047v
Cork	Cooper	Daniell Champion	Deposition of John Browne, MS 823, fols 023r-023v
Cork	Cooper	Cornelius O Keeve	Deposition of Henry Boswell, MS 824, fols 048r-049v
Cork	Cooper	Thomas Dun	Deposition of William Horsey, MS 824, fols 062r-063v
Cork	Cooper	John O Conagh	Examination of William McDermod, MS 826, fol. 065r; Examination of Teig Cunnigane, MS 826, fols 065r-065v
Cork	Cooper	Richard Healy	Deposition of Humphrey Warren, MS 823, fols 070r-070v
Cork	Cooper	Stephen Wallis	Deposition of Richard Christmas, MS 823, fols 074r-075v
Cork	Cooper	Thomas Osburne	Deposition of Richard Christmas, MS 823, fols 074r-075v

Cork	Cooper	John Hill	Deposition of William Richardson, MS 823, fols 080r-081v
Dublin	Cooper	Unnamed (tavern owner)	Examination of Nicholas Darcy, MS 809, fols 140r-141v
Dublin	Cooper	Robert Valentine	Deposition of Robert Valentine, MS 809, fols 335r-335v
Kildare	Cooper	James Peirsy	Deposition of James Peirsy, MS 813, fols 302r-302v
Leitrim	Cooper	Humphrey Loe	Deposition of Helenor Adshed, MS 831, fols 033r-033v
Limerick	Cooper	William Gword	Deposition of James Ellwell, MS 829, fols 291r-292v
Limerick	Cooper	Richard Ford	Deposition of John Cox, MS 829, fols 341r-341v
Limerick	Cooper	George Peeters	Deposition of George Peeters, MS 829, fols 203r-204v
Limerick	Cooper	Richard Coming	Deposition of Richard Coming, MS 829, fols 227r-228v
Tipperary	Cooper	Thomas Jonson	Deposition of Thomas Jonson, MS 821, fols 087r-087v
Tipperary	Cooper	John Lane	Deposition of Richard Sheapheard, MS 821, fols 122r-122v
Tipperary	Cooper	Richard Barnwell	Deposition of John Fox, MS 821, fols 147r-147v
Tipperary	Cooper	Thomas Browne	Examination of John Hackett, MS 821, fols 249r-250v
Waterford	Cooper	John Dane	Deposition of John Dane & Johane Dane, MS 820, fols 190r-190v
Waterford	Cooper	John Hudson	Examination of Henry Bennett, MS 812, fols 140r-141v
Waterford	Cooper	Richard Stryvet	Examination of Henry Bennett, MS 812, fols 140r-141v
Wexford	Cooper	Edward Robinson	Deposition of Edward Harris, MS 818, fols 064r-065v
Wexford	Cooper	Henry Blackmore	Deposition of Edward Harris, MS 818, fols 064r-065v
Wicklow	Cooper	Robert Valentine	Deposition of Robert Hall, MS 809, fols 334r-334v
Cork	Cutler	James Bowler	Examination of James Bowler, MS 827, fol. 001r

Cork	Cutler	John William	Deposition of John Williams, MS 823, fols 077r-077v
Cork	Cutler	John Weare	Deposition of William Slymon, MS 824, fols 175r-175v
Dublin	Cutler	John Doile	Deposition of Edmund Spring et al., MS 810, fols 257r-259v
Sligo	Cutler	Unnamed (old man)	Deposition of Henry Langford, Robert Browne and James Browne, MS 830, fols 036r-037v
Unknown	Cutler	Richard Carricke	Examination of Richard Carricke, MS 809, fols 228v-229r
Cork	Dairyman	William Bodle	Deposition of James Pace, MS 825, fols 267r-267v
Dublin	Dairyman	John Septhton	Examination of John Septhton, MS 809, fols 176r-177v
Cork	Glazier	William Browne	Deposition of William Horsey, MS 824, fols 062r-063v
Dublin	Glazier	Martin Scott	Deposition of Martin Scott, MS 810, fols 324r-324v
Tipperary	Glazier	Ned*	Deposition of John Dan, MS 821, fols 058r-058v
Clare	Goldsmith	Richard Blagraue	Deposition of Gregory Hickman, MS 829, fols 063r-065v
Dublin	Goldsmith	John Woodcock	Deposition of John Woodcock, MS 810, fols 193r-194v
Dublin	Goldsmith	Nathaniell Stoughton	Deposition of Nathaniell Stoughton, MS 810, fols 181r-182v
Dublin	Goldsmith	Thomas Parnell	Deposition of Thomas Parnell, MS 810, fols 242r-243v
Laois	Goldsmith	William Cooke	Deposition of William Cooke, MS 815, fols 114r-114v
Limerick	Goldsmith	William Draddy	Deposition of John Lilles, MS 829, fols 132r-133v
Wicklow	Innholder	Peter Bance	Deposition of Peter Bance, MS 811, fols 026r-026v
Cavan	Innholder	Hamnett Steele	Deposition of Alice Steele, MS 833, fols 268r-268v
Cork	Innholder	Michaell Cox	Deposition of Mary Smith ex parte Thomas Smith, MS 822, fols 180r-181v
Cork	Innholder	Richard Slabaghe	Examination of George Smithe, MS 826, fols 160r-160v

Cork	Innholder	Thomas Smith	Deposition of Mary Smith ex parte Thomas Smith, MS 822, fols 180r-181v
Dublin	Innholder	John Field	Deposition of John Field and Thadeus Currach, MS 810, fols 145r-145v
Dublin	Innholder	William Blackburne	Deposition of William Blackburne, MS 810, fols 264r-264v
Dublin	Innholder	William Clark	Deposition of William Clark, MS 810, fols 234r-234v
Kildare	Innholder	John March	Deposition of John March, MS 813, fols 254r-254v
Kildare	Innholder	Richard Skinner	Deposition of Richard Skinner, MS 813, fols 237r-237v
Kildare	Innholder	William Harrison	Deposition of William Harrison, MS 813, fols 268r-269v
Longford	Innholder	Mark Creighton	Deposition of Mark Creighton, MS 817, fols 189r-189v
Mayo	Innholder	Thomas Hewett	Deposition of Thomas Hewett, MS 831, fols 211r-214v
Offaly	Innholder	Richard Quyn	Deposition of Thomas Hogden, MS 814, fols 182r-182v
Waterford	Innholder	Lawrence Wade	Deposition of Roger Boyle and Anna Boyle, MS 820, fols 246r-246v
Wicklow	Innholder	John Heyes	Deposition of John Heyes, MS 811, fols 062r-062v; Deposition of John Hayes, MS 811, fols 057r-057v
Wicklow	Innholder	William Robinson	Deposition of William Robinson, MS 811, fols 092r-092v
Armagh	Innkeeper	James Shawe	Deposition of James Shawe, MS 836, fols 112r-112v
Armagh	Innkeeper	John Deane	Examination of John Bratten, MS 836, fols 181r-181v
Carlow	Innkeeper	Thomas Deane	Deposition of Thomas Watson, MS 812, fols 042r-043v
Cavan	Innkeeper	John Heron	Deposition of John Heron, MS 833, fols 006r-007v
Clare	Innkeeper	Donnell O Herman	Deposition of John Symson, MS 829, fols 016r-016v
Clare	Innkeeper	George Dallis	Deposition of Gregory Hickman, MS 829, fols 063r-065v
Clare	Innkeeper	Henry Woodfin	Deposition of Andrew Chaplin, MS 829, fols 095r-100v

Clare	Innkeeper	John Walker	Deposition of ffrancis Bridgman, MS 829, fols 017r-018v
Clare	Innkeeper	Thomas Mayden	Deposition of Isaak Graneere, MS 829, fols 020r-021v; Deposition of Thomas Mayden, MS 829, fols 038r-038v
Cork	Innkeeper	Burrowes*	Deposition of John Fleming, MS 824, fols 071r-072v
Cork	Innkeeper	Henry Kettly	Deposition of Henry Kettly, MS 822, fols 093r-093v
Cork	Innkeeper	Humphry Crowly	Deposition of John Stannere, Ms 823, fols 082r-082v
Cork	Innkeeper	John Jacob	Deposition of William Richardson, MS 823, fols 080r-081v
Cork	Innkeeper	John Patt	Examination of John Patt, MS 826, fols 048r-048v
Cork	Innkeeper	John Vincent	Deposition of Osmond Crode, MS 823, fols 138r-139v
Cork	Innkeeper	Nicholas Robarts	Deposition of Sammuell Blancher, MS 824, fols 080r-080v
Cork	Innkeeper	Phillip O Coughland	Deposition of John Stannere, MS 823, fols 082r-082v
Cork	Innkeeper	Richard Seller	Deposition of Richard Seller, MS 826, fol. 021v
Cork	Innkeeper	Robert Hewes	Deposition of Robert Hewes, MS 825, fols 259r-260v
Cork	Innkeeper	Robert Sanill	Deposition of Osmond Crode, MS 823, fols 138r-139v
Cork	Innkeeper	Tayler*	Deposition of Sammuell Blancher, MS 824, fols 080r-080v
Cork	Innkeeper	Thomas Smith	Deposition of George Blackburne, MS 824, fols 161r-161v
Cork	Innkeeper	Thomas Worrall	Deposition of Thomas Worrall, MS 823, fols 053r-053v
Derry	Innkeeper	George McLaughlin	Examination of George McLaughlin, MS 838, fols 061r-062r
Dublin	Innkeeper	Christopher Cruse	Deposition of Katherin Magee, Ms 81, fols 174r-174v
Dublin	Innkeeper	Connor Really	Examination of Hugh Byrne, MS 809, fol. 083v
Dublin	Innkeeper	James Pasmere	Deposition of Thomas Clitheroe, MS 810, fols 126r-126v

Dublin	Innkeeper	John Canton	Deposition of Richard Mason, MS 810, fols 022v-023r
Dublin	Innkeeper	Rowland Price	Deposition of Rowland Price, MS 809, fols 320r-320v
Dublin	Innkeeper	Thomas Daly	Deposition of William Hall, MS 816, fols 107r-107v
Dublin	Innkeeper	Thomas Dungan	Deposition of George Boothe, MS 816, fols 108r-108v
Kerry	Innkeeper	Christopher Holcom	Deposition of Stephen Love, MS 828, fols 124r-127v
Kerry	Innkeeper	John Barrett	Deposition of Teige McMahowny, MS 828, fols 249r-250v
Kerry	innkeeper	John Williams	Deposition of William Haynes, MS 828, fols 220r-221v
Kerry	Innkeeper	Valentine James	Deposition of Arthur Blenerhasset, Ms 828, fols 199r-200v
Kerry	Innkeeper	Walentine Jones	Deposition of Teige McMahowny, MS 828, fols 249r-250v
Kildare	Innkeeper	Phillip Lloyd	Deposition of John Mountfort, MS 811, fols 160r-161v
Kildare	Innkeeper	Thomas Rely	Deposition of Richard Alisander, MS 813, fols 295r-295v
Kildare	Innkeeper	William Yorke	Information of William Pilsworth, MS 813, fols 001r-002v
Laois	Innkeeper	Perse*	Deposition of Robert Basse, Ms 815, fols 165r-166v
Limerick	Innkeeper	John Pilkington	Deposition of John Pilkington, MS 829, fols 258r-258v
Limerick	Innkeeper	Richard Pope	Deposition of George Saunders, MS 829, fols 431r-432v
Limerick	Innkeeper	Thomas Whitby	Deposition of George Butler, MS 829, fols 335r-336v
Longford	Innkeeper	John Croose	Deposition of John Croose, MS 817, fols 143r-143v
Louth	Innkeeper	William Vesey	Deposition of William Vesey, MS 834, fols 009r-009v
Meath	Innkeeper	Hugh Kent	List of names belonging to extracts of petitions of John Nettervil, MS 816, fols 203r-203v
Meath	Innkeeper	J. Dalton	Examination of Patricke Barnewall, MS 816, fols 029r-030v

Meath	Innkeeper	Richard Cowney	Examination of Walter Cusacke, MS 816, fols 304r-305v
Meath	Innkeeper	Thomas Morgan	Deposition of Hughe and Katherin Kent and Margrett Owin, MS 816, fols 171r-172v
Monaghan	Innkeeper	Thomas Taaffe	Deposition of Henry Steele, MS 834, fols 143r-145v
Monaghan	Innkeeper	William Beamond	Deposition of Honorah Beamond, MS 834, fols 170r-170v
Offaly	Innkeeper	Daniell Doyle	Examination of Margery King and Margrett Sinnott, MS 814, fol. 229r
Offaly	Innkeeper	Francis Domvill	Deposition of Joseph Joice, MS 814, fols 259r-259v
Tipperary	Innkeeper	Beane*	Deposition of George Cooke, MS 821, fols 034r-034v
Tipperary	Innkeeper	Farrell Casgere	Deposition of Richard White, MS 821, fols 115r-116v
Tipperary	Innkeeper	Ferrall Mc*	Deposition of Andrew Hayes, MS 821, fols 033r-033v
Tipperary	Innkeeper	George Crofford	Deposition of Richard White, MS 821, fols 115r-116v
Tipperary	Innkeeper	Gilbert Water	Deposition of Richard White, MS 821, fols 115r-116v
Tipperary	Innkeeper	Gylbert Jhonstone	Deposition of Gylbert Jhonstone, MS 821, fols 042r-043v
Tipperary	Innkeeper	James O Conell	Deposition of James Edkins, MS 821, fols 072r-073v
Tipperary	Innkeeper	John Beane	Examination of Ellice Meagher, MS 821, fols 259r-259v
Tipperary	Innkeeper	John Dan's father	Deposition of John Dan, MS 821, fols 058r-058v
Tipperary	Innkeeper	John Hodges	Deposition of Thomas Powell, MS 820, fols 108r-108v
Tipperary	Innkeeper	John Thomby	Deposition of Edward Chayny, MS 821, fols 040r-041v
Tipperary	Innkeeper	John Thornbee	Deposition of Richard White, MS 821, fols 115r-116v
Tipperary	Innkeeper	Morgan Williams	Deposition of Steephen Clove, MS 823, fols 058r-058v
Tipperary	Innkeeper	Pierce Purcell	Deposition of Euen Tiddler, MS 821, fols 177r-177v

Tipperary	Innkeeper	Simon Boyton	Deposition of William Davis, MS 821, fols 127r-127v; Deposition of Andrew Hayes, MS 821, fols 033r-033v
Tipperary	Innkeeper	William Beane	Examinations touching murder in Cashel, MS 821, fols 233r-234v
Tyrone	Innkeeper	Andrew Yonge	Examination of Thomas Smyth, MS 839, fol. 056v
Unknown	Innkeeper	William Lane	Deposition of*, MS 829, fols 215r-125v
Waterford	Innkeeper	John ffoster	Deposition of ffrances Baker, Ms 820, fols 247r-247v
Waterford	Innkeeper	Marmaduke Shaft	Deposition of Hugh Croker, MS 820, fols 056r-046v
Waterford	Innkeeper	Ward*	Examination of Henry Bennett, MS 812, fols 140r-141v
Waterford	Innkeeper	William Farmers	Deposition of Anne Dauis, MS 820, fols 199r-199v
Wexford	Innkeeper	Peirce Butler	Deposition of John Buckner, MS 818, fols 099r-100v
Wexford	Innkeeper	Welsh*	Deposition of Henry Palmer, MS 818, fols 088r-089v
Wicklow	Innkeeper	Daniell Cullen	Examination of Daniell Cullen, MS 811, fols 213r-213v
Wicklow	Innkeeper	Edward Snape	Deposition of Thomas Holway, MS 811, fols 063r-063v
Wicklow	Innkeeper	John Johnson	Deposition of John Johnson, MS 811,f ols 151r-151v
Fermanagh	Innkeeper & Butcher	John Right	Deposition of John Right, MS 835, fols 158r-158v
Limerick	Pewterer	George Gouldsmith	Deposition of John Globe, MS 829, fols 149r-149v
Waterford	Pewterer	Issacke Quarrie	Deposition of Isacke Quarrie, MS 820, fols 114r-114v
Dublin	Potter	Lyon*	Deposition of William Hodgson, MS 810, fols 318r-319r
Kerry	Potter	George Cole	Deposition of John Johnson, MS 828, fols 286r-287v
Waterford	Potter	James Dober	Deposition of Thomas Carter, MS 820, fols 270r-270v
Antrim	Tanner	William Clark	Examination of William Clark, MS 838, fols 174r-175v

Armagh	Tanner	William Clarke	Deposition of William Clarke, MS 836, fols 002r-003v
Armagh	Tanner	Thomas Hopkinson	Deposition of Thomas Greene and Elizabeth Greene, MS 836, fols 094r-094v
Armagh	Tanner	Patrick O Kerrie	Deposition of Katherin O Kerrie, MS 836, fols 097r-097v
Armagh	Tanner	Thomas Taylor	Examination of Thomas Taylor, MS 836, fols 179r-180v
Cavan	Tanner	John Ogel	Deposition of Arthur Culme, MS 833, fols 127r-132v
Cavan	Tanner	John Lockinton	Deposition of John Lockinton, MS 833, fols 171r-171v
Cavan	Tanner	John Nix	Deposition of John Nix, MS 833, fols 178r-178v
Cavan	Tanner	Phebus Bignall	Deposition of Symon Wesnam, MS 833, fols 204r-206v
Cavan	Tanner	John Simpson	Deposition of John Simpson, MS 833, fols 264r-264v
Cavan	Tanner	Anthony Firbooard	Deposition of Richard North, MS 833, fol. 285r
Clare	Tanner	William Lodge	Deposition of Alice Beech, MS 829, fols 266r-267v
Coleraine	Tanner	John Stockman	Examination of Mary Stockman, MS 838, fol. 071v
Cork	Tanner	John Sampson	Deposition of John Sampson, MS 822, fols 020r-020v
Cork	Tanner	Edward Titins	Deposition of John Browne, MS 823, fols 023r-023v
Cork	Tanner	Richard Gasley	Deposition of Richard Gasley, MS 823, fols 025r-026v
Cork	Tanner	William Roe	Deposition of William Roe, MS 824, fols 036r-036v
Cork	Tanner	Jonas*	Deposition of Mary Elize, MS 825, fols 040r-040v
Cork	Tanner	Daniel Perkins	Deposition of Daniell Perkins, MS 825, fols 044r-044v
Cork	Tanner	Walter Bettrish	Deposition of Juan Lee, William Coker, Richard Gasely and Thomas Johnson, MS 825, fols 048r-049v
Cork	Tanner	James Best	Deposition of William Horsey, MS 824, fols 062r-063v

Cork	Tanner	Henry Rooby	Deposition of Henry Rooby, MS 825, fols 118r-118v
Cork	Tanner	William Bolton	Deposition of William Kinge, MS 825, fols 122r-122v
Cork	Tanner	William Morley	Deposition of William Morley, MS 823, fols 125r-125v
Cork	Tanner	William Sellach	Deposition of William Sellach, MS 823, fols 129r-129v
Cork	Tanner	Edward Mills	Deposition of Osmond Crode, MS 823, fols 138r-139v
Cork	Tanner	Thomas Osten	Deposition of Osmond Crode, MS 823, fols 138r-139v
Cork	Tanner	John Osten	Deposition of Osmond Crode, MS 823, fols 138r-139v
Cork	Tanner	Henry Tatardill	Deposition of Judith Tatardill, MS 823, fols 141r-141v
Cork	Tanner	Nicholas Bennett	Deposition of Rebecca Bennet ex parte Nicholas Bennett, MS 825, fols 148r-148v
Cork	Tanner	John Warren	Deposition of John Warren, MS 823, fols 155r-156v
Cork	Tanner	Thomas Stubbs	Deposition of William Eams, MS 823, fols 157r-158v
Cork	Tanner	Dermod O Shyne	Examination of Dermond Shyne, MS 826, fols 158r-158v
Cork	Tanner	Teige Mc Rory	Examination of George Smithe, MS 826, fols 160r-160v
Cork	Tanner	Robert Scott	Deposition of John Ware, MS 824, fols 171r-171v
Cork	Tanner	John Austine	Deposition of William Slymon, MS 824, fols 175r-175v
Cork	Tanner	Edward Miles	Deposition of William Slymon, MS 824, fols 175r-175v
Cork	Tanner	William Ward	Deposition of William Ward, MS 823, fols 177r-177v
Cork	Tanner	Edward Heade	Deposition of Mary Smith ex parte Thomas Smith, MS 822, fols 180r-181v
Cork	Tanner	William Smith	Deposition of William Smith, MS 823, fols 207r-208v
Cork	Tanner	Roger Beere	Deposition of Roger Beere, MS 823, fols 219r-219v

Cork	Tanner	Richard ffepps	Examination of Richard ffepps, MS 826, fols 241r-242r
Cork	Tanner	John O Phelane	Deposition of Willliam Whettyer, MS 824, fols 260r-260v
Cork	Tanner	William ffrench	Deposition of William French, MS 825, fols 264r-264v
Cork	Tanner	Thomas Llwill	Examination of Thomas Danvers, MS 826, fols 296r-299v
Cork	Tanner	Thomas Lassells	Deposition of Thomas Lassells, MS 825, fols 314r-314v
Cork	Tanner	Giles Dangger	Deposition of Giles Dangger, MS 824, fols 163r-163v
Cork	Tanner	Samuell Poole	Deposition of Samuell Poole, MS 823, fols 111r-111v
Dublin	Tanner	Thomas Skyers	Deposition of William Wharme, MS 810, fols 103r-103v
Dublin	Tanner	Donell Mc Dermott	Deposition of Thomas, Catherin and Hugh Campion, MS 809, fols 262r-262v
Fermanagh	Tanner	William Winsor	Deposition of Agnes Winsor, MS 835, fols 061r-061v
Fermanagh	Tanner	John Hayes	Deposition of John Hayes, MS 835, fols 116r-116v
Fermanagh	Tanner	Robert Hocklefeild	Deposition of Mary Hocklefeild, MS 835, fols 244r-244v
Kildare	Tanner	Morgan Phillips	Deposition of Morgan Phillips, MS 813, fols 314r-314v
Laois	Tanner	Thomas Campian	Deposition of Thomas Campian, MS 815, fols 158r-158v
Laois	Tanner	Teige McWalter	Deposition of Edward Benfeild, Ms 815, fols 169r-169v
Laois	Tanner	Thomas O Carroll	Depoisition of thomas O'Carroll, MS 815, fols 173r-173v
Laois	Tanner	Thomas Cashen	Deposition of Thomas Cashen, MS 815, fols 174r-174v
Laois	Tanner	Hugh Matthewes	Deposition of John Morgan, MS 815, fols 232r-232v
Laois	Tanner	John Hopkins	Deposition of John Hopkins, MS 815, fols 219r-219v
Leitrim	Tanner	George Bowker	Deposition of George Bowker, MS 831, fols 023r-023v

Limerick	Tanner	Humfrey Barnard	Deposition of Ambrose Martin, MS 829, fols 239r-240v
Limerick	Tanner	James Ellwell	Deposition of James Ellwell, MS 829, fols 291r-292v
Limerick	Tanner	John Tanner	Deposition of John Cox, MS 829, fols 341r-341v
Limerick	Tanner	Peter Newman	Deposition of John Crewes, MS 829, fols 453r-455r
Limerick	Tanner	William Blacke	Deposition of William Blacke, MS 829, fols 332r-333v
Limerick	Tanner	William Lyne	Deposition of George Man, MS 829, fols 345r-346v
Londonderry	Tanner	Richard Whitside	Deposition of Richard Whitside, MS 839, fols 104r-104v
Londonderry	Tanner	Robert Redfearne	Deposition of Robert Waringe, MS 839, fols 108r-111v
Longford	Tanner	George Tayler	Deposition of George Tayler, MS 817, fols 170r-170v
Meath	Tanner	Thomas Durra	Deposition of Charles Crafford, MS 816, fols 097r-098v
Meath	Tanner	John Worsely	Deposition of John Worsley, MS 816, fols 149r-149v
Meath	Tanner	James Rean	Deposition of Hughe and Katherin Kent and Margrett Owin, MS 816, fols 171r-172v
Meath	Tanner	Rochford*	Examination of Owin McGuyre, MS 816, fol. 327r
Offaly	Tanner	Richard James	Deposition of Richard James, MS 814, fols 256r-256v
Offaly	Tanner	Thomas Redman	Deposition of Magdelene Redman, MS 814, fol. 188r
Tipperary	Tanner	John Staple	Deposition of Joane Staple ex parte John Staple, MS 821, fols 037r-037v
Tipperary	Tanner	William Blacke	Deposition of Thomas Whiteby, MS 821, fols 084r-084v
Tipperary	Tanner	Blagram Swan	Deposition of Dorothy Bastard and Blagram Swan, MS 821, fols 094r-094v
Tipperary	Tanner	William Davis	Deposition of William Davis, MS 821, fols 127r-127v
Tipperary	Tanner	William Syms	Deposition of Thomas Browne, MS 829, fols 150r-151v

Tipperay	Tanner	James Hooker	Deposition of Edward Chayny, MS 821, fols 040r-041v
Waterford	Tanner	Robert Claffe	Deposition of John Smith, MS 820, fols 187r-187v
Waterford	Tanner	Thomas Ellwell	Deposition of Thomas Ellwell, MS 820, fols 311r-311v
Waterford	Tanner	William Carter	Deposition of John Rowse, MS 820, fols 060r-060v
Waterford	Tanner	Thomas Waren	Deposition of Thomas Waren, MS 820, fols 166r-0166v
Waterford	Tanner	Thomas Sowther	Deposition of Phillipp Bagg, MS 820, fols 140r-140v
Westmeath	Tanner	Thomas Humfrey	Deposition of Thomas and Ann Humfrey, MS 817, fols 052r-052v
Westmeath	Tanner	John Wyld	Deposition of John Wyld, MS 817, fols 081r-081v
Wexford	Tanner	Thomas Clarke	Deposition of William Whalley, MS 818, fols 024r-026v
Wexford	Tanner	John Waddington	Deposition of William Barcroft ex parte John Waddington, MS 818, fols 049r-049v
Wexford	Tanner	William Leighe	Deposition of William Leighe, Ms 818, fols 119r-120v
Wicklow	Tanner	Edward Deane	Deposition of Edward Deane, MS 811, fols 040r-040v
Wicklow	Tanner	Simon*	Deposition of Rice Oliverson, MS 811, fols 158r-158v
Donegal	Tinker	Unnamed	Deposition of Hugh Gaskein, MS 831, fols 129r-130v
Fermanagh	Tinker	Farrel Mc Corry Frosse	Deposition of Dorothy Talbott, Ms 835, fols 175r-175v
Tipperary	Tinker	Roger Stan	Deposition of John Dan, MS 821, fols 058r-058v
Carlow	Turner	James Boy Kernan	Examination of James Boy Kernan, MS 812, fols 104r-105v
Clare	Turner	John Rinders	Deposition of John Rinders & ffrancis Rinders, MS 829, fols 056r-057v
Clare	Turner	William*	Deposition of Beatrice Hepditch, MS 829, fols 073r-074v
Cork	Turner	John Woods	Deposition of Augustine Hicks, MS 824, fols 047r-047v

Cork	Turner	John Beuerston	Deposition of Walter Baldwin, MS 823, fols 165r-168v
Fermanagh	Turner	Owin Mackefee	Deposition of Elizabeth Fletcher, MS 835, fols 242r-242v
Laois	Turner	William Swarbreck	Deposition of Mary Swarbreck, MS 815, fols 360r-360v
Limerick	Turner	Henry Briggs	Deposition of Henry Briggs, MS 829, fols 129r-129v
Offaly	Turner	Cuttingdick*	Deposition of John Robinson, MS 814, fols 189r-190r
Tipperary	Turner	Peter Wailch	Deposition of Peeter Wailch, MS 821, fols 070r-070v
Waterford	Turner	Cownelin*	Deposition of John Rowse, MS 820, fols 060r-060v
Carlow	Victualler	Robert Knowles	Deposition of Raph Bulkley, MS 812, fols 084r-085v
Cork	Victualler	Phillip ô Coughlan	Deposition of Dermond O'Coughlane and Teig O'Coughlan, MS 824, fols 230r-230v
Kildare	Victualler	Gerrald Birne	Deposition of Willyam Dynes, MS 813, fols 360r-360v
Laois	Victualler	Donnogh McShane	Deposition of Edward Benfeild, Ms 815, fols 169r-169v
Longford	Victualler	Jeoffrey Cormacke	Examination regarding the breach of quarter and massacre at Longford, MS 817, fols 279r-282v
Longford	Victualler	William O Kenine	Deposition of Samuell Price, MS 817, fols 156r-158v
Meath	Victualler	Richard Fowles	Deposition of Joane Fowles, MS 816, fols 103r-103v
Meath	Victualler	Walter Shuker	Deposition of Elizabeth Williams, MS 816, fols 209r-209v
Meath	Victualler	Thomas Carroll	Deposition of Elizabeth Williams, MS 816, fols 209r-209v
Meath	Victualler	Henry Night	Deposition of Henry Gee, MS 810, fol. 149r
Monaghan	Victualler	Thomas Aldersey	Deposition of Robert Branthwaite, MS 834, fols 152r-154v
Tipperary	Victualler	William Brasell	Deposition of William Masters, MS 821, fols 133r-133v
Wexford	Victualler	John O Murrow	Examination of John ô Murrow, MS 819, fol. 121v

Cork	Vintner	Robert Sauill	Deposition of James Pace, MS 825, fols 267r-267v
Dublin	Vintner	Thomas Cooper	Examination of Margaret Cooper, MS 809, fols 138r-139v
Dublin	Vintner	John Burket	Deposition of James Eddis, MS 810, fols 136r-137v
Dublin	Vintner	John Mitchell	Deposition of John Mitchell, MS 809, fols 296r-296r
Dublin	Vintner	Richard Hobson	Deposition of Richard Hobson, MS 810, fols 296r-296v
Dublin	Vintner	Nathaniell Markham	Deposition of Mary Markham & Walter Slye, MS 810, fols 337r-337v
Dublin	Vintner	Walter Slye	Deposition of Mary Markham & Walter Slye, MS 810, fols 337r-337v
Dublin	Vintner	Patrick ô Daugherty	Deposition of Robert Maxwell, MS 809, fols 005r-012v
Longford	Vintner	Mathew Baker	Deposition of Elizabeth Crafford, MS 817, fols 162r-163v
Monaghan	Vintner/ Tapster	Mr Aldriche	O'Connolly's relation of the plot to seize Dublin Castle, MS 840, fols 001r-004v
Waterford	Vintner	Richard Oburne	Deposition of Richard Oburne, MS 820, fols 037r-037v
Waterford	Vintner	Pawle Keary	Deposition of Thomasin Osbaldeston, MS 820, fols 008r-008v; Deposition of Henery Cliffe, MS 820, fols 229r-229v

*Either no Christian name or surname provided

APPENDIX 4

Depositions cited for measuring clothing consumption

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Deposition of Adam Jones	MS 816, fols 167r-167v
Deposition of Robert Browne	MS 834, fols 103r-103v
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Deposition of Richard Sollace	MS 825, fols 001r-001v
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Deposition of Robert Waringe	MS 839, fols 108r-111v
Examination of John Brelsford	MS 820, fols 117r-117v
Deposition of John Mountgomery	MS 834, fols 130r-135v
Deposition of John Harford	MS 821, fols 176r-176v
Deposition of Fergus Grymes	MS 814, fols 175r-175v
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Deposition of Robert Ovington	MS 816, fols 148r-148v
Deposition of Arthur Aghmoty and Martin Johnston	MS 817, fols 177r-179v
Deposition of William Meade	MS 824, fols 216r-216v
Deposition of Thomas Ally	MS 829, fols 217r-217v
Deposition of Jeremy Wise	MS 820, fols 239r-240v
Deposition of Henri Brabazon	MS 811, fols 030r-030v
Deposition of William Walsh	MS 831, fols 065r-066v
Deposition of William Reinnolds	MS 834, fols 175r-175v
Deposition of Lancelot Car	MS 817, fols 184r-184v
Deposition of Elizens Shellie	MS 816, fols 187r-187v
Deposition of Edward Vauclier	MS 828, fols 284r-285v
Deposition of Henery Cliffe	MS 820, fols 229r-229v
Deposition of Sir Hardress Waller	MS 829, fols 284r-290v
Deposition of Henry Hocklefield	MS 833, fols 009r-010v
Deposition of Maximilian Graneere	MS 829, fols 036r-036v
Examination of Arthur Culme	MS 833, fols 209r-210v
Deposition of Thomas Wilson et al. ex parte Charles Lord Lambert Baron of Cavan	MS 815, fols 221r-224v
Deposition of Simon Crane	MS 835, fols 198r-199v
Deposition of William Strangwaies	MS 830, fols 131r-131v
Deposition of William Baxter	MS 835, fols 192r-193v
Deposition of Edward Beecher	MS 825, fols 011r-011v
Deposition of Martyne Smith	MS 829, fols 025r-025v
Deposition of John Smith	MS 820, fols 266r-266v
Deposition of Jaruis Erington	MS 820, fols 292r-292v
Deposition of George Man and Robert Willies	MS 829, fols 345r-346v
Deposition of John West	MS 833, fols 083r-083v
Clerks	
Deposition of Edward Banks	MS 821, fols 007r-009v
Deposition of Symon Lightfoote	MS 821, fols 067r-067v
Deposition of Richard Germin	MS 829, fols 175r-176v
Deposition of Isaac, Christopher and Thomas Keene	MS 817, fols 152r-153v
Deposition of Sarah Doughtie	MS 809, fols 275r-275v
Deposition of Robert Holloway	MS 820, fols 123r-123v
Deposition of Edward Clare	MS 829, fols 221r-221v
Merchants	
Deposition of John Minor	MS 825, fols 222r-222v
Deposition of Edward Denman	MS 832, fols 223r-223v
Deposition of Thomas Dight	MS 828, fols 194r-195v
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Deposition of William Carewe	MS 820, fols 035r-036v
Deposition of Thomas Turner	MS 821, fols 126r-126v
Deposition of Robert Robins	MS 815, fol. 253r
Deposition of Roger Bradley	MS 812, fols 232r-232v
Deposition of Daniell Morriss	MS 835, fols 245r-245v
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Deposition of James Martin	MS 822, fols 089r-089v
Deposition of Roger Cleayton	MS 833, fols 117r-117v
Deposition of Richard Dampyre	MS 820, fols 302r-302v
Deposition of Ralph Yates	MS 817, fols 011r-011v
Deposition of Alexander Murdoe	MS 821, fols 082r-083v
Deposition of Robert Savall	MS 825, fols 113r-113v
Deposition of Mary Mayne (John Mayne)	MS 835, fols 137r-137v
Deposition of George Evans	MS 814, fols 138r-138v
Deposition of James Burne	MS 820, fols 176r-176v
Deposition of Anthony Hodgskins	MS 837, fols 007r-007v
Deposition of Richard Rely	MS 820, fols 180r-181v
Deposition of John Watson	MS 811, fols 104r-104v
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Deposition of Tho: Vezy	MS 823, fols 054r-054v
Deposition of James Curry	MS 820, fols 178r-178v
Deposition of Richard Stevens	MS 829, fols 199r-199v
Deposition of William Tomlinson	MS 821, fols 175r-175v
Deposition of Donnell Whittle	MS 829, fols 226r-226v
Deposition of Henry Howell	MS 820, fols 171r-171v
Deposition of Richard Shephard	MS 820, fols 158r-158v
Deposition of Thomas Herrington	MS 824, fols 146r-146v
Deposition of Thomas Paddeson	MS 822, fols 038r-038v
Deposition of William Norton	MS 821, fols 085r-085v
Deposition of Robert Kerbye	MS 822, fols 099r-099v
Deposition of John Dower	MS 823, fols 130r-130v
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Deposition of John Davies	MS 812, fols 008r-008v
Deposition of Mary Cock	MS 820, fols 090r-090v
Deposition of William Adams	MS 815, fols 160r-160v
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Deposition of Henry Smith	MS 837, fols 014r-017v
Deposition of Chidley Coote	MS 814, fols 204r-216v

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Deposition of Elizabeth Vawse	MS 831, fols 019r-020v
Deposition of Helenor Adshed	MS 831, fols 033r-033v
Deposition of Elizabeth Barloe	MS 820, fols 034r-034v
Deposition of Mary Collier	MS 811, fols 038r-038v
Deposition of Briggett Drewie	MS 836, fols 046r-046v
Examination of Margrett Jones	MS 826, fols 231r-231v
Deposition of Ellen Matchett	MS 836, fols 058r-059v
Deposition of Katherin Allen	MS 834, fols 095r-096v
Deposition of Julian Blissitt	MS 825, fols 139r-139v
Deposition of Margarett Hoines	MS 833, fols 158r-159v
Deposition of Lidia Smith	MS 817, fols 176r-176v
Deposition of Vrsula Lory	MS 829, fols 180r-180v
Deposition of Mary Tildesley	MS 835, fols 181r-181v
Deposition of Elizabeth Lodge	MS 829, fols 201r-201v
Deposition of Mabelle Byrne	MS 831, fols 209r-210v
Deposition of Anne Eatone	MS 829, fols 159r-159v
Deposition of Jane Spring	MS 812, fols 233r-233v
Deposition of Deposition of Elizabeth ffleming	MS 820, fols 269r-269v
Deposition of Sarah Doughtie	MS 809, fols 275r-275v
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Deposition of William Robinson	MS 811, fols 092r-092v
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Deposition of Samuell Willies	MS 822, fols 023r-023v
Deposition of Nicholas Bretner	MS 811, fols 029r-029v
Deposition of Robert Shinckwin	MS 822, fols 210r-210v

Deposition of Zelophehad Spratt	MS 815, fols 412r-412v
Deposition of John Johnson	MS 828, fols 286r-287v
Deposition of Juan Wills (Thomas Wills)	MS 829, fols 219r-219v
Deposition of Richard Harman	MS 821, fols 025r-025v
Deposition of Phillip Mezey	MS 821, fols 086r-086v
Deposition of Edward Deane	MS 811, fols 040r-040v
Deposition of William Leighe	MS 818, fols 119r-120v
Deposition of Thomas Leach	MS 829, fols 043r-043v
Deposition of Richard Keele	MS 825, fols 047r-047v
Deposition of Robert Clay	MS 820, fols 132r-132v
Deposition of Thomas Brunt	MS 821, fols 068r-068v
Deposition of Robert Barton	MS 835, fols 073r-073v
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Deposition of George Wright	MS 833, fols 092r-092v
Deposition of Edward Hacklett	MS 821, fols 145r-145v
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Deposition of Joh Lobb	MS 821, fols 125r-125v
Deposition of Degorye Trix	MS 823, fols 209r-209v
Deposition of Beiamin Willomett	MS 815, fols 294r-294v
Deposition of Robert Bradley	MS 817, fols 136r-137v

No Listed Occupation

Deposition of Robert Longden	MS 821, fols 114r-114v
Deposition of Robertt Barton	MS 818, fols 051r-051v
Deposition of Thomas Hodson	MS 825, fols 083r-083v
Deposition of John Brook	MS 835, fols 085r-085v
Deposition of Bartholomew Newton	MS 816, fols 125r-126v
Deposition of John Spred	MS 825, fols 211r-211v
Notes of losses of William Free	MS 813, fols 007r-007v
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