

Status and Structure: Social Organisation in Early 17th century Clonmel

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Clonmel had long been established as a significant urban settlement, but its Charter of 5 July 1608 opened a new era for this historic town. The charter gave Clonmel a number of new rights and obligations and raised the title and status of its chief magistrate from that of Sovereign to Mayor. As a result, the town needed to create new systems for managing its business and documenting its activities and to that end acquired from London a new Minute Book to record the decisions of its Corporation. Unlike most early modern Irish Corporation Minute Books, Clonmel's records have survived, and provide an extraordinarily detailed picture of the town between 1608 and the arrival of Cromwell in 1649.¹ For the period before 1649, Minute Books survive for Dublin, Cork, Waterford, Galway, Youghal, the Irishtown of Kilkenny and, to a lesser extent for Belfast and Coleraine, as well as a single page from New Ross.² However, only Youghal and Clonmel's books and New Ross's fragment provide a level of detail which allows us to reconstruct the minute fabric of their inhabitants' lives. Dublin, Cork, Waterford and Galway were significantly larger urban units and, as they had cities to manage, their records were more extensive and complex; the smaller towns' Minute Books contain a wider range of information and rich layers of detail which allow us to understand their administrative, economic, social, cultural and religious organisation. Moreover, as all Irish corporate towns had similar structures and administrative systems, the knowledge we glean from Clonmel's Minute Book, together with the other surviving books and a wide range of other records, allows us to piece together the picture of early modern Irish urban life before Cromwell's arrival.

Irish towns and cities were very proud of their status and associated regalia. Clonmel's charter specified that the town had a Cap of Maintenance and it also had a mace and a sword. The mace, traditionally the symbol of a town's right to administer its own affairs, was carried before the Mayor by sergeants at mace, who also kept order at meetings and ran errands for the mayor. Between one and three sergeants were appointed annually, compared to Kilkenny's maximum of eight sergeants. The sword, symbol of a town's power to punish offenders, was carried by the sword bearer; in 1621 and 1622 this was Nicholas Power, who was also churchwarden.³ Clonmel built up a stock of material possessions which emphasised its status as a significant trading and administrative centre during the period covered by the Minute Book. One means was by the fines levied on those who wished to avoid public office, generally as Portrieve, who collected Ormond's rents and dealt with customs impositions. The penalties included a range of luxury items which would enhance the furnishings of the Tholsel or Guildhall, the town's administrative centre. These included a standish, twelve good

cushions, one carpet (which would have covered a table), £20; 1/2 ream fine paper, 1/2 cwt spanish iron, a chest worth 15s., a chest worth 10s., six green kersey cushions, one ream of paper, two muskets and twenty pounds of good powder (the latter two fines were imposed during the Confederate wars).

There are no references in the Minute Book to Clonmel's burgesses wearing official robes, or to any dress code for themselves or their wives, but it is certain that precise rules would have been laid down, as in other towns. Youghal had specified that on Deerhundred days 'every freeman being within xx miles of said towne, shall repair to the Tolse, or Court-house, in his gown or cloack to his degree befitting' and an inventory of the possessions of a Waterford merchant included 'one Burges gowne valued at 6£.¹⁴ Kilkenny even specified that 'all widdowes ~~wives to aldermen~~) that bore office in this city of moralty [mayoralty] under the degree of a ladye shall uppo any statio[n]e day that they ought to attend of the maior to weare a tippet uppo payne of vs. st for the firs tyme & xs. for the second & soe toties quoties.¹⁵ suggesting a prominent public role for the wives of members of the council.

The physical state of Clonmel's Minute Book provides information about the town's economic status and its civic pride. The book, which retains its original brown calf binding with decorations including diamonds, roses, the royal arms with fleurs de lys, and the initials 'EP', is clearly a luxury item. The paper was made by Journee who was based at Troyes in North Eastern France, a thriving centre for paper manufacture.⁶ The book originally had eighteen gatherings of sixteen leaves, which would have provided 576 pages for entries - sufficient for many decades' records - indicating Clonmel's assumption that it would retain its new status for a considerable period. However, there are no elaborate drawings like those in the Galway Council Book⁷ or decorated letters similar to those in the Waterford records, including the Great Parchment book for 1649,⁸ underlining the social and economic distinction between those cities and smaller towns like Clonmel.⁹ The only attempts at decoration are in the first word or two of the regular entries for the deerhundreds, which were often in black letter (Gothic type).

There are more than 300 written pages in the manuscript, covering forty years' municipal decisions, principally those made at the Deerhundreds, the town's quarterly assemblies which all the freemen were entitled to attend and vote on motions; there is a gap between 1612 and 1618.¹⁰ The layout is the standard one for this type of record, with a wide margin on the left and the text justified right and left; almost all of the book is in English, apart from the introductions to the proceedings of each Deerhundred. Notes of the book's contents are often found in the margin and many dates are underlined for ease of retrieval of information. Like the Waterford book, the first pages of the Clonmel Minute book are full of routine administrative material, including an incomplete list of its sovereigns, beginning with John White Fitz Nicholas in 1439 and ending with Richard White fitz Nicholas¹¹ and two series of oaths of freemen, office holders, officials, tradesmen and juries. This compilation of earlier material indicates the existence of a significant body of earlier records, including the 'Blue Book', now lost, but also Clonmel Corporation's significant administrative capacity over at least two centuries.¹² This administrative material is followed by the record of the decisions made at Clonmel's Deerhundreds beginning with the 1608 Michaelmas Deerhundred, the first held after the charter's issue, with some additional information (elections, two inquisitions post mortem in Latin, criminal cases, an agreement between a saddler and his apprentice, &c.).

Deerhundreds began on the first Monday after four significant feasts: Michaelmas, Epiphany, Easter and the feasts of St. Peter and Paul (29 June) and, depending on the amount of business to be transacted, could last for up to four weeks, as a series of meetings, generally, but not invariably, on Mondays and Fridays. Any individual day's proceedings within the Deerhundred was referred to as a "Court day".¹³ Thus on 30 October 1640, a decision could not be made, because it was the last day of the Michaelmas deerhundred which had begun on 5th. October.¹⁴ Deerhundreds dealt with the election and appointment of the town's officers - mayors, sheriffs, constables, harbingers &c. - the granting of leases and other matters relating to property, admissions to the poor house, the regulation of the markets, admissions of freemen, paving the streets, defending the town and electing M.P.s and, later, representatives in the Confederation of Kilkenny. Other assemblies could be called at any time for business that could not wait for a deerhundred - e.g. parliamentary elections. Mayors and other officials were answerable to the Deerhundred, which was able to check their behaviour. Clonmel's freemen drew up rules for the Mayor's conduct days before the Midsummer Deerhundred which was to elect the new incumbent, and Tralee's provost's response to accusations that he was refusing illegally to admit new freemen was to state that the issue could be referred to 'the next Court Day'.¹⁵ In both these cases, the magistrates were Protestant, or at least conformist, unlike the majority of the townsmen, and there was a clear religious and social divide evident in their dealings.

Clonmel's administrative year began with the Michaelmas Deerhundred, the most important of the quarterly assemblies, when the mayor, who, with the two bailiffs, had been elected at the Midsummer Deerhundred, began his term of office. The entries for the deerhundreds were always headed with a paragraph in Latin, giving the date, the regnal year and the names of the mayor and bailiffs, and a statement that the decisions were those of the free burgesses and the community, e.g.: 'Hundred magnu vill seu Burgii prd. tent ibm Die Lune, viz pri[m]o die Octobris post feu Sci Michis Archangeli Anno Dni 1627. Annoq. R. R.s Caroli 3o. ac. Coram Petro Bray ar. maior dce vill. Michell White et William Leynaghe Bailivis, eiusd. ville, liber Burgen et Communitat villa prd., Secundu antiquam Consuetudine, atempe cuius Contraria memoria homin non existit. &c.'¹⁶

For the Michaelmas deerhundred, this heading was always followed by a list of the mayor, recorder (the town's legal officer), the outgoing mayor and the other councillors. In other towns (e.g. Galway), the councillors' names were given in the order in which they had been admitted to the Council, but this does not appear to have been the case in Clonmel, although when successive Lords Cahir were members of the Council, their name was given before the outgoing mayor. In some cases, councillors' dates of death are noted beside their names in the lists. The Michaelmas Deerhundred saw the election and swearing in of all the town's officials and employees except the Mayor - the recorder, portrieve, constables, harbingers, bellman (to ring the town bell). Sheriffs (known as bailiffs) were sworn in at the Midsummer Deerhundred.

Under its new charter, Clonmel's mayor, together with nineteen of his confreres, known as free burgesses, formed the town council which managed its affairs. The commons - all the townspeople who were 'free' of the borough - had a significant role in its government through the Deerhundreds and through their exercise of offices and membership of juries and of guilds or trade companies. They enjoyed the privileges which living in town brought them, as well as the obligations of contributing to its management through their taxes and, in

time of need, to its defence. Privileges included the right to trade within the town's franchises, freedom from prosecution for offences committed outside the town and access to the town's commonages (for grazing stock and gathering fuel) and amenities; they also enjoyed reciprocal freedom of Youghal.¹⁷ There were close connections between the corporate towns, especially in Munster; the prominent Youghal alderman, Edmond Coppinger, who served as that town's recorder, mayor (1615) and M.P. (1613), chose merchants from Youghal, Clonmel (Thomas Gough, Clonmel's former recorder) and Waterford as his executors, in 1624.¹⁸ Twelve years earlier, Coppinger's arrears for his service as recorder were paid out of a debt of £35 owed by various inhabitants of Clonmel to the town of Youghal.

Mayors were responsible for the town's administration and defence; they were *ex officio* members of the Commission of the Peace (i.e. Justices of the Peace for Tipperary County) and returning officers for parliamentary elections, but the current mayor was often included in other commissions and similar groups and prominent townsmen might also be included. Thus in March 1631, when the administration appointed commissioners to deal with the supply of corn to be exported to England, Clonmel's commissioners included the mayor, Henry White, and recorder, James Sall, as well as at least three other members of the Council (Thomas White fitz John (who was also a commissioner for Tipperary), John White fz. Laurence and Richard Donnell (Daniel)).¹⁹

Clonmel's annual revenue is unknown, but it was likely to be less than Kilkenny's, at £231 12s. 11d. in 1628.²⁰ The Mayor was responsible for its collection and management. However, there could also be exceptional amounts of money to be managed: in 1642 Clonmel assessed its citizens to support its defence, at £84 5s. 9d. quarterly. As mayors were generally merchants or gentry, they were used to financial management, and auditors were appointed annually to check the accounts. Problems rose in all towns between 1611 and 1621, when the government insisted on mayors taking the Oath of Supremacy, effectively barring Catholics from the office. As a result, protestants of lower social standing were appointed chief magistrates; apart from the political difficulties this presented, they were often unused to managing at this level and a major audit of the six years to 1626 revealed problems with the Irishtown of Kilkenny's accounts.²¹ Clonmel's conformist mayor Thomas White clearly fitted this pattern, and the Deerpound drew up a list of guidelines for his financial management of the town's finances in 1620.²²

Only freemen had the right to live and pursue a trade in the borough; routes to freedom included being the son or daughter of a freeman, through marriage to a freeman's daughter or widow, after serving an apprenticeship in the town or by purchase. On admission, all new freemen had their names entered in the burgess roll and paid equal fines to the new freeman's guild and to the Mayor for the Corporation. Fees for admission varied, with 1s. 6d. the standard low rate, although it could be much higher. Wax was a standard addition to fees in the Irishtown of Kilkenny, and also featured in a number of admissions to Clonmel; during the Confederate period new freemen were required to provide gunpowder or match in addition to the usual fees. Those who were not from the town, or who were granted temporary rights generally paid higher fines than natives.

Clonmel's burgess roll has not survived, and the Minute Book includes the names of 176 men who were admitted to freedom, generally at Deerpounds. Even allowing for the absence of records between 1612 and 1618, this average of five per year is far too low to be the full list of all new freemen in Clonmel over forty-one years. It is probable either that

many freemen were admitted at other times and places, or that the records are simply incomplete. Despite the fact that the Irishtown of Kilkenny laid down that 'noe person or persons of what degree soever shalbe admitted free but in, at or upon the comon Assembly holden by the Portrive, Burgesses and commons', it is known that in other towns it was possible to be admitted by the chief magistrate in his home. In Tralee, James Rice fitz Stephen called to the Provost's (Tralee's chief magistrate) house to be admitted to freedom of that town, demonstrating that the mayor's home was as acceptable a venue as the tholsel for admission to freedom; there may have been additional status attached to being admitted also by the mayor in the Tholsel.

Lack of freedom presented serious problems - people could not live, work or trade in the town.²³ It was possible to lose freedom, with serious consequences. Philip Wale was expelled from Clonmel's merchant guild in 1627 and in 1635 seventeen men were expelled from New Ross's Merchant Guild for an unspecified offence. When Knogher Meary assaulted the Deputy Portrieve of the Irishtown of Kilkenny he was imprisoned, fined £5 and denied a 'voyce or place amongst the burgesses.'²⁴

Once admitted to freedom, merchants and craftsmen became members of guilds or trade companies, which regulated trade, supported their members and contributed to the economic, social and administrative life of the towns. The most important was the merchant guild, admission to which allowed merchants to trade within the franchises of Clonmel, but there were also companies or fraternities of tradesmen. Members of the merchant guild, which met in the loft above the common cellar,²⁵ were the elite of the town, involved in every level of the town's administration and general workings. They formed the major part of the Council and non-merchants of sufficient social standing were admitted as honorary members. The merchants oversaw the building of the poor house and its operations once opened; they also supervised the repair of the bridge and the building of the house of correction, and all the captains appointed to manage the watch and defend the town in the 1640s were merchants.²⁶ They formed committees or juries for different matters, but for collection of cess, other lower categories were involved, to spread the work and encourage compliance.

68% of the men recorded as new freemen of Clonmel were admitted to the merchant guild, some of whom were not merchants. These included the honorary admissions of Lord Cahir, the wealthy inhabitants Henry and Francis White, the soldier Sir Francis Acland and the members of the local gentry families, including Butlers and Corrs as well as the protestants John Osbourne, son of Sir Robert Osbourne, and Richard Gethings and William Smith, recently elected as M.P.s for the town.²⁷ A number of merchants from other urban areas were also admitted, including Walter Lawless²⁸ from Kilkenny and John Lea of Waterford, who had property in Clonmel.

Tradesmen were such an essential element of towns, both as individuals and collectively in their trade companies, that the Plantation of Ulster assumed that tradesmen would be 'pressed' to settle in towns there.²⁹ Trade Companies, or guilds, were an important component of urban society throughout Europe and were introduced to Ireland by the Normans; they regulated their own members, who were permitted to practice their craft within the towns, including guaranteeing standards. Guilds tended to have their own premises or at least regular meeting places, and their own charities and feast days.³⁰ Irish guilds, especially those outside Dublin, have been very little studied, partly because there is relatively little information about them, although it is clear from other records that they were a key element

in the structure and management of other Irish towns.³¹ Clonmel's Minute Book provides considerable and unique detail about its guilds and their operations and Athboy's writ of return for the 1640 parliament notes the presence of craft guilds in that town. As Athboy's population was unlikely to have reached 600, compared to Clonmel's probable 2,000, the presence of trade companies in such a relatively small, if long-established, settlement confirms their widespread existence.³²

A parallel system of religious fraternities also existed, and, while none is recorded in Clonmel, they were so significant in Dublin and other places, (a deed of 1596 notes that Robert Draper, Thomas Givier and Robert Hamon, were master & wardens of the Guild of Holy Cross, Trim³³) that they must also have been a feature of Clonmel's life.

The precise organisation of trade companies depended on the economic life of each town, and guilds' names do not indicate the number and range of tradesmen who comprised them. One of Waterford's guilds, established in 1626, comprised a very wide range of artificers - Tailor, Saddlers, Hat-makers, haberdashers, hosiers, 'broducers' and Button makers, and six years later Waterford incorporated a guild of 'Cotners, shermen, tuckers, clothiers and dyers'. Clonmel had separate guilds for cottners and shermen.³⁴

By February 1621, Clonmel had six trade companies - Tailors, Shoemakers, Shermen, Glovers, Weavers and Fishermen - each with a Master and Warden, elected annually at the Midsummer Deerhundred and sworn into office at the Michaelmas Deerhundred. The Shoemakers' guild included broguemakers and other leather-workers such as saddlers; Fishermen included boatmen and butchers, and Shermen included tuckers and dyers. Within two months, a new company for Cottners had been granted a charter and new guilds followed for Curriers (those working with horses) by 5 December 1624, ploughmen (presumably skilled agricultural workers within the franchises of Clonmel) by January 1625, and hammermen (smiths of various kinds) by 1630; there may also have been other companies. Clonmel's company of ploughmen is unique in Ireland - in general craft guilds were a very urban phenomenon. Clonmel Corporation insisted on at least 20 craftsmen in congruent trades before a company could be formed. Some idea both of the power of the Corporation and the economic standing of the companies can be gauged from the Corporation's requirement that new companies pave significant sections of Clonmel's streets before they were granted a charter of incorporation. Further proof of the trade companies' importance in Clonmel was their members' inclusion in juries and in the assessment and collection of cesse (tax) and in the defence of the town, and on the allocation of an alderman to liaise with the Council.³⁵ The guilds were also liable to be levied for money, when the Corporation was short of cash:

it is this Daie enacted, concluded & agreed upon by the Maior, Bailliffs & Councill of this Towne assembled in the Toulseil house, that evie Master & Warden of evie freecompanie of the towne for themselves & their fraternitie, shall at or before twisdaie noone nowe next comminge bringe in deliv[er] and pay xs. ster: le peece to be disposed of to the insight of the Mayor, Bailliffs & Councill, to the use & behoofe of this Corpacon.

The Master & Wardens of the free mchant guild & burgesses of the said Towne, are likewise to bringe in, and pay at or before the said tyme xiid. ster: Le burges & freeman, to be dispended, to the insight and behoofe aforesaid.³⁶

Clonmel's ability to support three or four trade companies engaged in cloth production (weavers, shermen, cottners and tailors), indicating a minimum of eighty artificers, demonstrates a significant level of economic activity in that area. The number and strength of craft guilds in the nearby towns of Cashel and Fethard is unknown, but the Irishtowne of Kilkenny had seven trade companies (shoemakers, glovers, carpenters, taylors, weavers, smiths and a combined guild for shermen and cottners) who were required to attend and support the portrieve at deerhundreds.³⁷ The number of guilds and members might be expected to be smaller in the Irishtown as it was next to the High Town of Kilkenny, which also had its own guilds, including shoemakers, smiths, masons and carpenters.³⁸ It is curious that there is no record of any Clonmel guild for masons or carpenters, although they might have been included in the Hammermen's company.

Tradesmen generally used the Irish form of their names, which suggests that Irish was spoken within the town. As men moved up the social scale, they tended to use English Christian names and the Anglicised forms of their surnames - the most obvious example being the O'Donnells, who became Daniel family; no merchants appeared to use the Gaelic form of their names, although Michael White fitz Michael was often referred to as Michael Oge White.

Other corporations³⁹ kept careful records of apprenticeships, as apprentices, on completion of the seven years training, were eligible to be admitted not merely as a freeman, but also as a qualified craftsman to the appropriate craft guild. Similar records must have been kept for Clonmel, but the only records of apprenticeship were the Council's approbation of John White fitz Michael's taking on William fitz Philip o megher of Fethard as his apprentice in 1627, and the 1642 agreement between the saddler Symon Synocke and his wife Jean and his apprentice John Woodmore. Both of these admissions are exceptional and provide significant information, not merely about apprenticeships in Clonmel.

John White fitz Michael had been admitted to the Merchant Guild in October 1612 and was heavily involved in the management of the town from that time onwards; he was appointed to the Council in 1626 and served as mayor in 1636 and 1642, the year before he died. He lived in Bridgegate Quarter; both John and his son Patrick, who lived in Loftgate Quarter, were cessed at £1 per quarter in 1642, a sum which indicates significant levels of prosperity. John needed special permission to take William as his apprentice, as o Meger was a 'foreigner' from the nearby corporate town of Fetherd and was therefore not entitled to be a freeman of Clonmel. O Meger used the Irish form of his surname (although his patronymic is given as Fitz Philip, rather than Mac, unlike his brother), which suggests that being taken on as an apprentice merchant would be a significant social advancement for him, especially as masters sponsored their apprentices admission to the relevant occupational company, in this case the powerful and prestigious Clonmel Merchant Guild. His acceptance was presumably assisted by the fact that his master was a member of the Council, but the family's connection with Clonmel was maintained, as an Edmond Mac Philip o Meger, presumably William's brother, was admitted to the Merchant Guild with a very heavy fine in 1644. He had already been included in the Cesse list of 1642, being rated at the very significant amount of £1 10s. per quarter, suggesting that he was already a freeman of Clonmel engaged in some very prosperous way of life.

The agreement between the prospective apprentice John Woodmoore states that:

That John Woodmoore became bound as a servant of his owne voluntarie accord unto

Symon Synocke Saddler, and Jean his wife the 21th of July 1642 for the tearme and space of seaven yeares from thence fourth to be compleated and ended (as by a paire of Indentures beareng the aforesaid date to that effect more at large doth appeare

The agreement, signed in July 1642, also specified that John was to act as a dutiful servant, and that Symon and Jean, apart from training him to become a skilled saddler, would, after his seven year apprenticeship, provide John with a full set of clothes (two suits of apparel, two shirts and a cloak, two bands, two paire of stockings, a hat and shoes) and sponsor his admittance to the craft guild, in this case the shoemakers, including paying his admission fee.⁴⁰ The penalty for not buying him clothes was steep at £10.⁴¹ Apart from the provisions relating to clothing and sponsorship, it is interesting to note that Symon's wife Jean was a full party to the agreement, and also that, as admission to apprenticeship was confined to freemen of Clonmel, Symon, Jean and John, whose names suggest that they were protestant, were all freemen and had remained, and intended to remain, in Clonmel, at a time when the Corporation, including the craft guilds, were making serious arrangements to defend the town and to raise money for weapons. While Symock and his wife were sufficiently prosperous to take on an apprentice, they are not included in the list of the same month of inhabitants to be cessed 'for the better safetie and good of the said Commons and for the providing of armes and munitions for future events.'⁴² This is more likely because of their religion, rather than any lack of financial standing, as no other protestants are included in the list.

Symon's acceptance of liability for John's admission fee is curious as this was not normal practice; indeed in one case, an admission fee was converted into a number of days labour on Common works', due to the new craftsman's poverty:

Ao. 1624

Willm. Casy fz Robte shoemaker and Dermott o Broder brogmaker are admitted free of the said trade as others are; and paid to Mr. Maior ls. 6d. st: le peece

In like manner John Mc Connor and John o Mulryane are admitted free of the company of plowemen and John Mc Connor paid Mr. Maior ls. 6d. st. butt John o Mulryane havinge noe money, is to give of his Laboure in any the Comon worke six Dayes.⁴³

Clonmel's social structures and organisation were typical of all Irish towns in the early modern period. They ensured that all inhabitants had a place and a role in a very structured society and while the Minute Book provides very limited information about some sections of the population - particularly children and religious communities, and to a lesser extent, women, it is a key source for the history of both Clonmel and all urban communities in Ireland before the coming of Cromwell. More particularly, it provides more information about social, economic and trade structures than any other single source of the period.

References

- ¹N.L.I. MS. 19171. edited by Brid McGrath, *Minute Book of the Corporation of Clonmel 1608-1649*. (Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 2006) (hereafter McGrath, Clonmel). For an account of Clonmel's administrative systems, see Brid McGrath, 'The Communities of Clonmel, 1609-1649.' in R. Armstrong and T. Ó hAnnracháin (eds.), *Community in early modern Ireland*. (Dublin: Four Courts, 2006). pp 103-119. All the references to pages in the Clonmel records are to the page numbers in the original manuscript.

- ²J.T. Gilbert (ed.), *Calendar of ancient records of Dublin. 18 vols. (Dublin, 1889-1922)*. R. Caulfield (ed.), *Council book of the Corporation of Cork* (Guildford, 1876); J.T. Gilbert (ed.) Archives of the municipal corporation of Galway. *H.M.C. Rep. 10, Appendix 5*, (London, 1885). pp 380-520, unfortunately, this edition omits the annual list of the aldermen and councillors, as well as the beautiful illustrations; J.T. Gilbert (ed.) Archives of the municipal corporation of Waterford. *H.M.C. Rep. 10, Appendix 5*, (London, 1885). pp 265-339; R. Caulfield (ed.), *Council book of the Corporation of Youghal*, (Guildford, 1878). J.A. Ainsworth (ed.), 'Corporation book of the Irishtown of Kilkenny, 1537-1628'. in *An. Hib.*, XXVIII, (1978). pp1-78. For a description of Kilkenny's records, see J. Bradley, *Treasures of Kilkenny: charters and civic records of Kilkenny City*. (Kilkenny, 2003). R. M. Young, *The Town book of the corporation of Belfast, 1613-1816*. (Belfast: 1892). The single page of New Ross's records, held in Carlow County Library, is reproduced in Brid McGrath, *Women in New Ross, 1635*. in T. Dunne (ed.), *New Ross, Rosponde, Ros Mhic Treoin: an anthology celebrating 800 years*. (Wexford, 2007). pp 158-161.
- ³For Kilkenny's maces and sword see Bradley, *op. cit.*, pp 118-21
- ⁴Caulfield, *Youghal*, 29 September 1610. p. 2; J.C. Walton, 'The Household effects of a Waterford merchant family in 1640.' In *Cork Hist. Soc. J.*, lxxxiii, (1978). pp 99-105.
- ⁵Brid McGrath, The Nomination of Kilkenny MPs in 1628. *Old Kilkenny Review*, No. 55. (2003). pp 119-125.
- ⁶E. Heawood, Sources of early English paper-supply. *Library*, s4-X(4), (1930). pp 427-454. see also G.H. Metz, Titus Andronicus: a watermark in the Longleat Manuscript. *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 36(4), (Winter 1985). pp 450-54 .
- ⁷James Hardiman Library, N.U.I.G., *MS. Liber A*, passim.
- ⁸Gilbert, Waterford, *op. cit.*, p. 266; Julian C. Walton, *The Royal charters of Waterford*. (Waterford, 1992). p. 11.
- ⁹The New Ross minute book folio covers March to May 1635 which included the less important Easter deerhundred; the fact that it contains no decoration is not necessarily proof that the entire book was not decorated, although this is probable. Later minute books were beautifully decorated, T. Dunne, *op. cit.*, pp 196-9.
- ¹⁰Deerhundreds (Dernhundreds) were the town's quarterly general assembly, "*Dern* means secret or private, and the *dernmoot* may have been a court which was not open to all the town's inhabitants. Such an explanation, however, conflicts with the nearest etymological equivalent, the *dernhundred* of some Irish towns which was apparently a full assembly." 'Lichfield: Town government', *A History of the County of Stafford: Volume 14: Lichfield* (1990), pp. 73-87. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.asp?compid=42345>. Date accessed: 10 April 2007.
- ¹¹The list is supplemented with additional information in McGrath, *Clonmel*, pp3-5.
- ¹²For the Blue Book, see McGrath, *Clonmel*, pp 19-20. For similar material, see Bradley, *op. cit.* Unfortunately, Kilkenny's Minute Book for this period has not survived.
- ¹³Armagh Public Library, *Bolton's Cases, MS. K1.14B f. 56r*, case of Dominick Trant. see also McGrath, *Clonmel*, p. 39; Ainsworth, *Irishtown, op. cit.*, 1609, p. 62.
- ¹⁴McGrath, *Clonmel*, p. 326.
- ¹⁵McGrath, *Clonmel*, p. 39, and Armagh Public Library, *Bolton's Cases, MS. K1.14B f. 56r*.
- ¹⁶Roughly translatable as [Acts of the] Deerhundred of the said town or borough held on the first Monday after the feast of St, Michael the Archangel, that is the first of October in the year of our Lord 1627, the third year of the reign of his Majesty King Charles, before Piers (Peter) Bray, Mayor of the said town, Michale White and Willim Leynagh, bailiffs, of the sme town, and the free burgesses and commons of the said town, following the ancient customs [persued] since time immemorable, &c." McGrath, *Clonmel*, p. 155.
- ¹⁷4 November 1609. Caulfield, *Youghal*, pp 67-9.
- ¹⁸Coppinger's will, quoted www.copinger.org.uk/3Edward4.html#_ftn2, accessed 27 January 2007.
- ¹⁹Caulfield, *Council book of Youghal*, pp 159-167.
- ²⁰R.J. Hunter, Ulster plantation towns 1609-1641. in D. Harkness and M. O'Dowd, *The Town in Ireland*. (Belfast, 1981). *Historical Studies* XIII, pp 55-80.
- ²¹Ainsworth, *op. cit.*, p. 73-4.
- ²²McGrath, *Clonmel*, pp 71-2.
- ²³Ainsworth, *op. cit.*, (1537), p. 6.; Armagh Public Library, *Bolton's Cases, MS. K1.14B f. 56r*, Case of Dominic Trant, 1624-7.
- ²⁴McGrath, *Clonmel*, .p. 140; Ainsworth, *op. cit.*, October 1625, p. 72; *N.L.I. MS. 24,976*; photocopy of the original, which is held in Carlow Public Library. I am grateful to Brian Donovan for bringing this document to my attention.

- ²⁵McGrath, *Clonmel*, p. 30.
- ²⁶McGrath, *Clonmel*, I, pp 79, 300.
- ²⁷For Osbourne, Gethings and Smith see Brid McGrath, A Biographical dictionary of the membership of the Irish House of Commons, 1640-1641. Ph. D. Thesis, University of Dublin, 1998. pp 166-7, 232-4, 271-2.
- ²⁸Lawless was the eldest son of Adam Lawless and had ben portrieve of the Irishtown of Kilkenny from October 1605. Ainsworth, p. 55.
- ²⁹R.J. Hunter, *op. cit.*,
- ³⁰T. Dunne, *op. cit.*, pp 92-3.
- ³¹A useful summary of the research is listed in C. Tait, *Death, burial and commemoration in Ireland, 1550-1650*. p. 206, note 59. Tait also notes the role of guilds in funerals, pp 144-5.
- ³²R.C. Simmington, *Civil Survey, Meath*, (Dublin, 1940). p. 210 lists 87 dwellings and a town area of 690 acres, compared to Clonmel's 297; transcript of Athboy's election return, 1640, N.L.I. Tottenham Papers, unsorted collection.
- ³³Colm Lennon, Fraternity and community in early modern Dublin. in Armstrong and Ó hAnnracháin, *op. cit.*, pp 167-178. M.C. Griffith, *Calendar of Inquisitions. formerly in the office of the Chief Remembrancer of the Eschequer*. (Dublin, 1991). no. J121/88
- ³⁴J.T. Gilbert (ed.), 'Archives of the municipal corporation of Waterford.' *H.M.C. Rep. 10, Appendix 5*, (London, 1885). pp 272-3. For the Dublin guilds, see M. Clark and R. Refausee, *Directory of historic Dublin guilds*. (Dublin, 1993).
- ³⁵McGrath, *Clonmel*, p. 183.
- ³⁶24 February 1620. McGrath, *Clonmel*, p. 80.
- ³⁷Ainsworth, *op. cit.*, 1604, p. 53. 1608, , p. 61, 1609, p. 63,
- ³⁸Ainsworth, *op. cit.*, p. 75; and Kilkenny City Archives, *MS CR/K/55*.
- ³⁹Bristol's apreniticeship records, www.bafhs.org.uk/sources/burgess.htm, accessed 26 May 2008
- ⁴⁰McGrath, *Clonmel*, p. 208.
- ⁴¹McGrath, *Clonmel*, p. 49.
- ⁴²*ibid.*, pp 331Aff.
- ⁴³McGrath, *Clonmel*, p. 116.