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Social mobility and the middling sort: Dublin merchants, 1760-1800

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Ph.D

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July 2008

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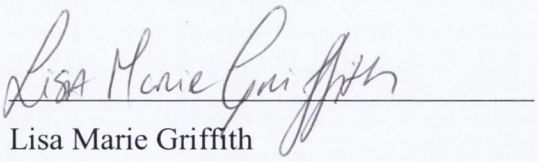
Signed: 

Lisa Marie Griffith

Summary

This thesis is an investigation of social mobility in the Dublin middling sort between 1760 and 1800 and has focused on merchants in particular. This study has attempted to examine the nature and frequency of social mobility in Ireland by focusing on the capital which had the largest commercial community in Ireland, and the second largest commercial community in the British Isles. Despite the commercial importance of Dublin and the large mercantile community in the capital little research has been done on either the social mobility of the business elite or the nature of the middling sort in the city. This thesis has set out to quantify how many of Dublin's elite merchants entered, or attempted to join, the landed class of Ireland. By focusing on the wealthiest of business men and those just below the landed class in rank it has also established the socio-economic characteristics of the upper middling sort.

The thesis has employed two major methods to analyse the mobility of merchants. Firstly, it has taken a prosopographic approach by focusing the study on thirty prominent and successful merchants active in trade within Dublin between 1760-1800. Through an examination of successful merchants it is possible to show how many merchants who were wealthy enough to be socially mobile made the move to the landed class. Nevertheless, one of the major conclusions of this study is that the port of Dublin had a less wealthy commercial community than London and Glasgow. This meant that social mobility, while desirable, took place less frequently then in other major urban centres in the British Isles. The prosopgraphic approach has also allowed definite conclusions on rates of mobility which has facilitated a greater comparison with other studies from within the British Isles. This has been of particular help while assessing land and one of the major conclusions of this study has been that five of the thirty successful wholesale, wine or cloth merchants examined here entered the landed class by acquisition of an estate of two hundred acres or more.

The second method has been to place these thirty men within the broader merchant community of Dublin. In this way it has been possible to contextualise their social and economic activities through an Irish, and specifically Dublin, comparison which has allowed for greater comment about factors unique to Irish society. This approach has shown that while elite merchants often sought offices in civic institutions and while these positions elevated men above the mass of the population, the lower and middling sort, of Dublin, it consolidated them as leaders of their social rank rather then elevating them into a higher status. Parliamentary seats were only very rarely purchased by merchants and the

wider commercial community. In Dublin it was very rare for a merchant to represent the city in parliament, although one merchant and one brewer did so during the forty years of this study. While this was a raise in status it was only a temporary one as the rank earned from becoming an MP could not be passed to the second generation. Associational activity often acted to create a niche group which would also elevate these men as leaders of the commercial community rather then akin to members of the landed class. Marriage and education altered the status of the second generation more than that of the first but it created closer ties with members of the professions than of the landed class. A high rate of successful merchants educated their sons at a university although only very few men within the first generation enjoyed a comparable education. Again a link was created between the commercial community and the professions as sons went on to become barristers, lawyers or joined the army. This shows that there was an overwhelming desire to increase status for children and that education was a major vehicle for doing so. Consumption acted only to create a façade of rank although it was a popular way to display taste, success and financial security. Land was the most secure way to increase status and pass this rank to the second generation. Nevertheless, not all accumulation of land holdings can be considered to be motivated by an increase in status and it was frequently acquired, for commerce, as a form of investment, to create and inheritance which could be sold off on the death of a member of the first generation, to retire to and only in one in six cases can it be shown to have been for the creation of an estate. Land was acquired most frequently through a lease.

This analysis has shown that civic office, education and land acquirement were the most popular avenues of social mobility in Dublin. Civic offices provided elevation only above the rest of the middling sort, education raised the status of the second generation and only marginally, while land ensured the greatest status and rank was bestowed upon the holder. The study has shown that the middling sort, both Catholic and Protestant, were increasingly involved throughout this period in consumption, education, the accumulation of some property primarily through the purchase of a lease and in politics within and outside institutions supported by government.

Table of Contents

List of tables		ii
Acknowledgements		iii
Abbreviations and note of explanation		v
Introduction		1
Section 1		17
Chapter 1	Dublin's merchant community, 1760-1800	17
Chapter 2	Protestant merchants in Dublin, 1760-1800: three case studies	31
Chapter 3	Catholic merchants in Dublin 1760-1800: two case studies	67
Chapter 4	Dissenting merchants in Dublin 1760-1800: one case study	103
Section 2		120
	Note on section 2	121
Chapter 5	Politics and public engagement: social mobility and the public sphere	123
Chapter 6	Marriage, consumption and education: social mobility and the private sphere	151
Chapter 7	Land patterns: investment and social mobility	189
Conclusion		219
Appendices		223
Appendix a	Merchant details	223
Appendix b	Miniature of John Keogh, John Comerford (1811)	278
Appendix c	Portrait of Henry Gore Sankey, William Cumming (1791)	279
Bibliography		280

List of tables

Table 1.1 Merchants included for examination and their trade description 25
Table 1.2 Daniel Geale's return on business investment 1783-95 27
Table 1.3 Daniel Geale's profits 1783-92 28
Table 6.1 First generation marriage settlements 154
Table 6.2 Second generation marriage settlements 157
Table 6.3 Geale's Clothes inventory 1783 163
Table 6.4 Second generation attendance at Trinity College Dublin or King's Inn 184
Table 7.1 Land accumulation, method and motivation: urban, suburban and rural 195
Table 7.2 Number of deeds found to be registered for each merchant relating to their own land transactions 197

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I am very grateful to Dublin City Council for allowing me into the Mansion House to photograph some of the rooms and while I have not used any of these photographs here I have used them for papers and presentations. I would also like to thank them for allowing me access to their chambers in City Hall to photograph and reproduce the portrait of Henry Gore Sankey by William Cumming (1791). Andrew Moore at the National Gallery of Ireland also provided me with a reproduction of the portrait of John Keogh.

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List of abbreviations

Calendar of Ancient Records of the city of Dublin	*CARD*
Dublin City Library and Archives	DCLA
Home Office records at the National Archives, UK	HO
National Archives of Ireland	NAI
National Gallery of Ireland	NGI
National Library of Ireland	NLI
New York Public Library	NYPL
Registry of Deeds of Ireland	Reg. Deeds
Representative Church Body	RCB
Royal Irish Academy	RIA
Trinity College Dublin	TCD

Note of Explanation

In all footnotes relating to the Registry of Deeds the order of the deeds has gone according to the records: first party or parties, second party or parties, third party or parties etc. The first name of the merchant has been omitted as it is apparent in the text which merchant ha been referred to. In footnotes relating to correspondence, particularly business communication within the Trumbull collection, I have inserted Trumbull's address and the address of the party he is corresponding with only where relevant.

Introduction

In 1811 two Dublin merchants sat for their portraits. Henry Gore Sankey, retired wine merchant and alderman, had commissioned William Cumming to paint him as Colonel of the Dublin city militia, a position he had held since 1793.[1] John Keogh, retired Catholic mercer and member of the Catholic Committee, was painted by the miniaturist John Comerford leaning over two accounting ledgers.[2] The two portraits stand in stark contrast to each other. Sankey had shunned his mercantile origins and looked to his engagement in civic institutions and associational life to represent his personal achievements in his portrait. Keogh flaunted his commercial connections. Dressed in gentlemanly attire, he holds a quill between two fingers as if he had been interrupted making entries. The prominence of the ledgers in the portrait can be interpreted as a proud acknowledgement of his mercantile origins. Sankey's portrait has not survived but he had sat for William Cumming previously at the invitation of the city corporation and the two paintings likely were similar. At the end of his term as lord mayor of Dublin in 1791 the corporation stated they sought a portrait of Sankey to hang in the Mansion House so that future lord mayors could be reminded of his deeds and 'emulate his merits'.[3] In this portrait, Sankey, dressed in his red robes and chains of the mayoralty, stands in a stately pose overseeing the city.

The two men chose very different symbols of their lives to portray in these portraits and the book keeping of one stands in marked contrast to the civic association of the other. When the careers of both men are assessed it becomes apparent that Keogh's pride in his commercial origins is linked to his success in creating a landed estate from the profits of trade. Sankey had been less fortunate and while he held some small parcels of land he was an urban gentleman on death. He drew on his rank within civic institutions to show his life's achievements. Through an examination of the Dublin middling sort this thesis will highlight avenues of social mobility and the disparity within these routes. It will show that while the civic and political institutions offered opportunity for men of commerce to enhance their status by elevating them above their fellow tradesmen, education and land were the most successful paths up the social ladder.

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[1] Walter George Strickland, *A Dictionary of Irish Artists,* (2 vols. Dublin, 1969), i, 242-247, *Dublin Journal,* 27 Mar. 1793.

[2] John Keogh, 11.9 X 9.2, watercolour on ivory (NGI 7200), (Paul Caffrey, *Treasures to hold, Irish and English miniatures 1650-1850 from the National Gallery of Ireland collection* (Dublin, 2000), p. 116), see appendix b.

[3] Which has been included with permission of Dublin City Council for comparative purposes, see appendix c, (*CARD,* xiv, 289).

I

This thesis investigates the frequency with which social mobility took place within the Dublin middling sort between 1760 and 1800. While the topic of social mobility has sparked a great debate in British historiography, relatively little has been said about the Irish situation.[4] As this thesis will show, it was not the case that there was no social mobility in Ireland, rather that Ireland presented her own peculiarities because of the religious, legislative, social and political situation of the country during these years. The climate created by these factors has led to an underappreciation of the similarity of experience which members of the middling sort, despite confessional faith, had in Ireland. Social mobility and aspirations of status were among the shared desires of the Irish middling sort. The drive for something better for children and for an elevation in income, social standing, political power and proprietorship of land were also factors common to those who will be examined in this thesis. Successful merchants were those best placed to obtain these goals and to rise socially. Consequently this thesis will investigate the activities of merchants in the public sphere (associational, civic and national political involvement), in the private sphere (marriage, consumption and education) and in acquiring land.

Social mobility was the change in status resulting from the move from one social group to another. It has been most frequently linked with merchants and commercial figures. They were best placed to make profits large enough to finance consumption to create comparable displays of wealth as members of the gentry, to acquire political power through parliament and to purchase an estate to move into the landed class. They could, however, also lose their fortunes quickly by bad investments. This thesis will take a narrow look and focuses on the ascent of individuals rather then their decent. The most identifiable manner in which they ascended was through the purchase of an estate which provided the rank of being socially above tenants and those who worked the land and would furnished an income comparable to that of some gentry. This landed class or gentry

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[4] Chirstopher Brooks, 'Apprenticeship, social mobility and the middling sort' in Christopher Brooks & Jonathan Barry (eds), *The middling sort of people: culture society and Politics in England* (1994), 52-83, T. M. Devine, *The tobacco lords: a study of the tobacco merchants of Glasgow and their trading activities, c. 1740-90* (Edinburgh, 1990), Geoffrey Holmes, 'The professions and social change in England, 1680-1730' in *Proceedings of the British Academy,* lxi, (1977),313-354, Micheal Mascuch, 'Social mobility and middling self identity: the ethos of British autobiographies, 1600-1750', *Social History,* 20 (1995), 45-61, R. G. Lang 'Social origins and social aspirations of Jacobean London merchants' in *Economic history review,* 27 (1974) 28-47, *Social History,* 20 (1995), 45-61, Lawrence Stone 'Social mobility in England 1500-1700' *Past and present,* xxxiii (April, 1966), 16-55, Lawrence Stone & Jeanne C. Fawtier Stone, *An open elite? England 1550-1800* (Oxford, 1984), R. G. Wilson, *Gentleman merchants, the community in Leeds, 1700-1800* (Manchester, 1971).

comprised of men who made their income from land, through rent rather than by engaging in the professions, or through the use of capital or their own labour to generate profit. This thesis examines how often merchants entered the upper class and became men of means independent from trade or retired to land.

The identification of social mobility is important for several reasons. Social mobility acts as a commentary on the nature of society and the economy as it quantifies middling sort involvement in the public sphere, private sphere and land. It can contribute significant conclusions about the nature and characteristics of the middling sort, the opportunities within society and the development of the Irish economy in the second half of the eighteenth century. The purchase of land by merchants shows 'the development of a self-confident'[5] group and consequently shows the social implications of a strong economy. It has been claimed that a 'distinctive feature of Ireland's social structure' was the 'apparently greater scope it offered for upward mobility.'[6] S. J. Connolly has pointed to the careers of successful and prominent self- made men to demonstarte this. Yet, 'no systematic study of social mobility has been attempted for Ireland.'[7] This thesis will establish a systematic study from which social mobility of Dublin merchants can be examined. As land and social status measure successful mobility, this thesis focuses on the socio-economic involvement of merchants in the avenues of social mobility. It will assess how involvement in the public sphere, private sphere and land market affected status and quantify the extent to which successful Dublin merchants engaged with the avenues of social mobility available within Ireland.

II

Merchants fall within the middling sort of society, below the aristocracy and gentry (who were marked out because of their land, titles and monopoly of political power), below the professions (who were highly educated and who upheld the institutions of national government, the law, the army and religion), yet above weavers, labourers and other rural poor. This is an important distinction to make as in the late eighteenth-century this loose group, primarily involved in commercial enterprises such as retail, trading or manufacturing, did not form a class. They were not a unified group, though their behaviour in this period shows that they were becoming more united. Irish historians are reluctant to

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[5] Nicholas Rogers, 'Money, land and lineage: the big bourgeoisie of Hanoverian London; in *Social History,* 4 (1979), p. 437.
[6] S. J. Connolly, *Religion, law and power, the making of Protestant Ireland* (Oxford, 2002), p. 64.
[7] Ibid.

use the term 'middle class', yet some do use the term 'class' as a convenient label to describe this middling group. James Kelly reluctantly refers to the 'middling classes' in his study on gallows speeches. He states that the readership of these speeches mainly comprised 'those sometimes described as the "middling classes" ... the social strata below the gentry.'[8]

Nevertheless, the term 'middle class' has proved useful for Kelly. In his earlier study on parliamentary reform Kelly describes the visible growth in politics of the middle class. This movement had its antecedents in the movement headed by Charles Lucas in the 1740s. Lucas encouraged the Dublin electorate to object against corporation corruption and to elect him as an M.P. for the city of Dublin. Convicted of sedition by parliament and forced to flee the country, Lucas did not return to the capital until 1760. In 1761 he was elected to represent the city of Dublin in parliament. Kelly argues that the middle class of the capital supported calls for reform made by their city representative. 'Guided by Lucas, who represented the city between 1761 and 1771, weighty Protestant middle-class interests like the guild of merchants and the corporation of Stationers embraced the reformist message.'[9] On Lucas's death in 1771, leaders such as Edward Newenham, Napper Tandy and Travers Hartley, emerged to represent this middle class interest.[10] While Kelly's identification of a popular political movement in the capital is significant and points to a culture of politics in which those below the gentry and professional classes actively engaged, he does not identify a unified group which would allow the application of the term 'middle class'. His 'middle class' encompasses only Protestants and Dissenters who engaged in politics.

While Jacqueline Hill has embraces the history of the middling sort in Dublin more than most Irish historians in her study of the politics of Dublin corporation, her almost total exclusion of Catholics means it also cannot be taken as a study on the middling sort of Dublin. Hill's study focuses on the formal institution of the corporation from which Catholics were excluded and deals only with the political tendencies of traders, artisans and commercial professions in Dublin. However, she lays out the social strata of Dublin quite neatly. 'Dublin was dominated by the landed class...below the landed and professional classes, socially speaking, came the Dublin business community headed by the wholesale merchants.'[11] The power and weight of men of commerce in the capital can

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[8] James Kelly, *Gallows speeches from eighteenth-century Ireland* (Dublin, 2001), p. 58.
[9] James Kelly, 'Parliamentary reform in Irish politics: 1760-90' in David Dickson, Dáire Keogh & Kevin Whelan (eds), *The United Irishmen: republicanism, radicalism and rebellion* (Dublin, 1993), p. 75.
[10] Kelly, 'Parliamentary reform in Irish politics', pp 76-78.
[11] J.R. Hill, *From patriots to unionists: Dublin civic politics and Irish Protestant patriotism, 1660-1840* (Oxford, 1997), pp 22-23.

be seen in their numbers and their political involvement through voting and holding civic offices they proved that they were important to the political as well as economic life of Dublin. She states, 'Failure to engage the phenomenon of a rising Protestant middle class has perpetuated the view that in eighteenth century Ireland guilds were little more than political and sectarian clubs: instruments by which a few lackeys of a landed ascendancy harassed a mainly Catholic business class.'[12]

Like Kelly, Hill's work goes far to prove that there were groups active in Dublin politics with unique interests and aims who occupied the middle strata of society. The majority of the figures whom Hill examines were Anglican and Presbyterian as her study centres on the corporation. These were men who could vote and engage in civic politics. She identifies particular times of crisis for these Protestants, such as 1792, when Catholics began to rally their parishes in an attempt to create a representative assembly and Protestants consolidated to resist reforms. Her study also draws on points when their own divisions, such as the 1790 mayoral dispute, threatened to undermine their institutions. Hill certainly recognizes the importance of strata in the city, but her study focuses on the politics of its civic institutions.

Toby Barnard favours the terms 'middle and lower ranks'. In his study of the composition of Irish Protestant society, 1649-1770, he suggests that the middle rank comprised of 'professionals, office holders and civic worthies [who] promoted social changes'.[13] Barnard omits the enterprising tradesmen who eagerly reinvested capital in estates and who have been recognized in a British context in Leeds by R.G. Wilson[14] or Glasgow by T.M. Devine.[15] Barnard recognizes that the situation is confused. 'Some in the middle class shaded into the quality. Where the boundary lay was constantly altering according to individual and collective perceptions.'[16] Barnard lays out the problem of orders, yet does not solve it. In addition, he deals exclusively with the Protestant interest over a century. As a result the model he forwards is problematic when enforcing his social structure, particularly over a short period.

When applying the term of 'class' to late eighteenth-century Belfast, W.H. Crawford found that in the case of this northern city '[t]he plural form "middle-classes" describes the contemporary situation more accurately than the singular as various groups

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[12] Ibid, p. 26.
[13] Toby Barnard, *A new anatomy of Ireland: The Irish Protestants 1649-1770* (London, 2004), p. 274.
[14] R. G. Wilson, *Gentleman merchants, the community in Leeds, 1700-1800* (Manchester, 1971), R. G. Wilson, 'Merchants and Land' in *Northern History,* 24 (1988), pp 75-100.
[15] T. M. Devine, *The Tobacco Lords: A study of the tobacco merchants of Glasgow and their trading activities c. 1740-90* (Edinburgh, 1990).
[16] Barnard, *A new anatomy of Ireland,* p. 274.

displayed little cohesion...as late as the 1770s'.[17] Crawford identifies a large number of small groups which fit in the middle gulf but which could not be grouped together due to differences of profession and background. Compared to Dublin, however, these groups were very small. In addition, the prominence of these men owed much to a vacuum of landed gentry in Belfast society. 'There were very few town-gentry but substantial numbers of leisured folk of independent means.'[18] Crawford's identification of 'leisured folk' refers to those who lived from gratuities which were a common form of pension bequeathed to widows, sons and daughters of professional and commercial men who would have fit into the middling sort of Belfast society. His identification of such a variety of groups would render the singular term 'class' unsuitable. Small groups, such as the fifty-nine members of the Belfast Chamber of Commerce, do not constitute a class on their own.[19] Yet, a large number of groups do not display enough cohesion to make the term applicable at all, even if the plural is used. Crawford implies more of a middling community or middling sort occupied this stratum in Belfast.

While Kelly and Hill term this politicised group of traders and commercial figures 'middle class' and Barnard prefers 'middle rank', a growing number of wealthy and politically powerful Catholic merchants and urban traders have been omitted from these studies. This exclusion implies the term can be used accurately to describe Protestants and Dissenters only. If increased politicisation, consumption and the ability to identify and place a middling sort culture within the eighteenth century is indicative of the activities of those who fall in the middle, then there is a strong argument for the inclusion of Catholics. Increasingly throughout the late eighteenth century, through the formation of and participation in Catholic associations which took a similar form and language to Protestant institutions, Catholics were recognised as a politicised body.[20] Their wealth and genteelness encouraged them to consume on a level comparable with their Protestant counterparts. Their social activity, consumption of newspapers, pamphlets and books shows them to have been as proportionately active within the public and private spheres of Dublin as their Protestant counterparts.

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[17] W. H. Crawford, 'The Belfast middle class in the late eighteenth century', in David Dickson, Daire Keogh & Kevin Whelan (eds) *The United Irishmen: republicanism, radicalism and rebellion* (Dublin, 1994), p. 64.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Wolfe Tone commented 20 June 1790: 'My idea of political sentiment in Ireland is that in the middling ranks... in the spirit of the people, there is a great fund of it.' Tone expanded that this political sentiment was 'stifled and suppressed' while William Drennan commented 'the mercantile part have adopted here more of the spirit, and somewhat of the language of liberty and their ideas will spread rapidly through the mass, which in general has followed the political doctrine of priests, and the old tory nobility' (Thomas Bartlett (ed.), *Life of Theobald Wolfe Tone,* (Dublin, 1998), p. 117, William Drennan to Samuel McTier, 3 Feb. 1792, Jean Agnew (ed.), *The Drennan-McTier letters, 1776-1793* (3 vols, Dublin, 1998), i, p. 388).

Identification of the Catholic middle sort has been as problematic as those which deal exclusively with the Protestant group. Maureen Wall's groundbreaking work asserts the importance of emerging Catholic men of commerce, particularly in the capital. As such it offers an invaluable insight into the make-up of Irish society in the eighteenth century. Nonetheless, Wall only places self-made-Catholic men of financial weight beside their Protestant counterparts with extreme reluctance. She states that despite the removal of some penal laws these men 'felt keenly the galling restrictions which still hampered Catholics at every turn,'[21] citing the successful Dublin based merchant John Keogh. 'He had amassed wealth and acquired estates but after this his progress up the social ladder was barred.'[22] It is possible, however, that if Keogh experienced difficulties in progressing up the social ranks it was because of his mercantile background rather than his Catholic faith. As there is no case study of Protestant social mobility this possibility is difficult to assess. A comparative view of the Protestant and Catholic situations must be taken if an accurate view of the difficulties of Catholics can be made; this study meets this gap in the existing historical literature. Exclusion from civic involvement on religious grounds must have frustrated these men, but there were alternative avenues and Catholics could create prominent profiles for themselves, despite these hurdles.

For some historians the term 'class' has been a convenient one and has been used as a term to describe this middle gulf and even to divide the middle ground because of religion. The use of 'class' has not been proven to be the most appropriate term to describe the middle strata as no study has undertaken to establish that the middle indeed were unified enough to be considered a class. This study, while examining this broader middle group, will use the term 'middling sort'. As has been outlined above, the tendency of historians to apply the term 'middle class' either to politically active commercial men in Dublin or to exclusive religious groups necessitates that a study, such as this one, of social mobility and class which encompasses a variety of religious backgrounds be undertaken to assess how religion affected status and avenues of social opportunity.

III

Studies and examinations concerning both the middling sort and social mobility made in England and Scotland offer the greatest comparison for Ireland during this period. Ireland and Britain experienced, broadly speaking, similar cultural and class changes which

[21] Maureen Wall, 'John Keogh and the Catholic Committee' in Gerard O'Brien (ed.), *Catholic Ireland in the eighteenth century: collected essays of Maureen Wall* (Dublin, 1989), p. 164.
[22] Ibid.

facilitate this comparison. Examination of land purchase patterns, political involvement, occupations within urban institutions and consumption has resulted in a rich body of work. John Brewer has defined those who occupied the group between the upper class and lower orders in society as 'the middling sort'. Over the course of the eighteenth century they were distinguished 'socially and politically from the patrician elite and the labouring poor.'[23] Brewer's description of 'the middling sort' can be applied to Dublin with ease. There was indeed social and political growth in this group from the 1760s. Kelly, Hill and Wall have identified this and it is extremely helpful to view those most likely to be socially mobile in Ireland as coming from this group. They were politically conscious and active in making money. As such, they fulfilled the criteria for social mobility.

The application of these criteria onto such a broad group can be problematic. It is difficult to establish the numbers and financial strength of this middling sort. Despite this challenge, their importance as a social and economic group must be acknowledged. 'However difficult to quantify, the growing affluence and influence of the middle class were widely recognised.'[24] Factors common to the middling sort have been identified. Paul Langford points to 'the pursuit of genteel status and the acquisition of polite manners' as unifying this group which 'in other respects appeared diverse and divided'.[25] The ambition to ascend rank linked with the middling sort has been pointed to by English historians as a uniquely English phenomenon. 'Ever since the fifteenth century it has been generally held, among foreigners and natives alike, that one feature which has distinguished English society from that of the rest of Europe has been the easy access of self-made men to power and status.'[26] The assertion that this was an exclusively English phenomenon does not ring true. It is likely that the English situation, also identified in Scotland, occurred to some extent in Ireland. Jonathan Barry points to J.H. Hexter's focus on social mobility as a 'much needed methodological' approach.[27] By studying the middling sort through their activities in social mobility Hexter identifies the cultural, social and economic position of the middling sort in Tudor England.[28] Barry states that while there are advantages in this approach there are also weaknesses. He asks 'how far did land imply withdrawal from

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[23] John Brewer, 'Commercialization and politics' in Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, & J. H. Plumb, (eds), *The birth of a consumer society: The commercialism of eighteenth-century England* (London, 1982), p. 197.
[24] Paul Langford, *A polite and commercial people: England 1727-1783* (Oxford, 1989), p. 59.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Lawrence Stone and Jeanne C. Fawtier Stone, *An open elite? England 1540-1880* (Oxford, 1984), p. 3.
[27] Barry, 'Introduction', p.7.
[28] J. H. Hexter, 'The myth of the middle-class in Tudor England' in *Reappraisal in History,* (New York, 1961), 71-116.

entrepreneurial activity, and at what level of estates should we set our standard to judge that the middling have or have not returned to the ranks of the landed elite?'[29]

Social mobility is a useful way of investigating the middling sort, but there are weaknesses in any systematic investigation. Additional activities outside the sphere of land must be considered. There is also a methodological flaw in placing any strict criteria on individual activity as markers can be too rigid, though when dealing with group activity it is often necessary to do so in order to make solid conclusions about social and economic behaviour. Flexibility must be allowed within systematic studies to acknowledge that no single factor can determine status. This study uses two hundred Irish acres as the minimum acquisition of land to mark entrance into the landed class. This amount may be seen as too small a land parcel, however, it indicates strong aspirations to enter the landed class. There is also evidence, as will be discussed later, that estates for sale were reducing in size during the period under review. The study examines land as a marker of social mobility while still emphasising other factors as important in determining status.

Several avenues have been identified for entrance to the upper class. A parliamentary seat almost guaranteed entry. 'Membership of the governing body... distinguishes the man, certainly in his own circle and open doors which otherwise remain shut against him.'[30] Parliament was not an avenue available to all. Local politics and involvement in civic institutions allowed a title and leadership on a lesser scale. 'Urban associations...reproduced the socio-economic inequalities within the bourgeoisie offering leadership to the mercantile and professional elite.'[31] They could be used to launch national careers by creating a base on a more local level. Professions (the clergy, army or law) were also avenues of mobility. Employment with the state could lead to promotions for those well placed. This strategy was particularly effective in the eighteenth century when a developing administrative system and government required larger numbers of talented men: 'the professions did expand...they did prosper' and they adapted 'to meet the requirements of the changing world about them...they acquired new offshoots, tiny to start with but destined in time to become large branches'.[32] Professions have been discussed by Barnard and the avenues which they offered were particularly evident in Dublin where Trinity

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[29] Jonathan Barry, 'Introduction', in Jonathan Barry and Christopher Brooks (eds), *The middling sort of people, culture, society and politics in England, 1550-1800* (London, 1994), p.8.
[30] Sir. Lewis Namier, *The structure of politics at the accession of George III* (New York, 1968), pp 11-12.
[31] Jonathan Barry, 'Bourgeois collectivism? urban association and the middling sort in Christopher Brooks, Jonathan Barry (eds), *The middling sort of people: culture society and politics in England* (Basingstoke, 1994), p. 100
[32] George Holmes, 'The professions and social change in England, 1680-1730' in *Proceedings of the British Academy,* lxi, (1977), p. 323.

College provided education for future posts and employment at the law courts of the city or even in parliament could be found at Dublin Castle.

Perhaps of most importance, those with social pretensions needed money to fulfil their ambitions. They needed to create a comparable display with members of the upper class. Consumption of material goods such as clothes and carriages needed to fit the fashions of the day. Due to the need for sound finances most social mobility case studies concern merchants and large commercial figures.[33] Money allowed the prospective entrant to acquire an estate. Land and estates were of huge importance because they conveyed status and wealth on a grand scale. Land was also an investment. It offered less of a return than commercial speculation, nevertheless rent guaranteed a return and it could be passed to the next generation or mortgaged if necessary. Marriage was commonly linked to land as it was supposed that men of good fortune could purchase an upper class wife by paying mortgages on estates of indebted aristocracy.

While the avenues of social mobility (urban association, professional status, trade, land, estates and marriage) have been established in England, the extent to which mobility occurred is an ongoing debate. T.M. Devine's Scottish investigation of the land purchase of Glasgow tobacco merchants has been more definitive in its conclusions:

> Most successful tobacco merchants owned estates at some stage during the course of their life. Examination of the register of Sasines and other sources reveals, for instance, that between 1760 an 1790 at least fifty-five held land. A portion of the territory was inherited from fathers or other close relatives who were well established landowners or successful merchants had themselves acquired property at an earlier date.[34]

Devine's study asserts that there were suitable conditions for this land purchase. The rise of the tobacco trade in Glasgow allowed an increased number of men to make greater fortunes which they reinvested in available land. Conditions may not have been as favourable in Dublin. Also, Devine's mark of successful social mobility is wider than that of English historian Lawrence Stone. Devine states that 'the typical' estate 'was very small, normally no more than a few hundred acres' and most estates were 'restricted by and large to the environs of Glasgow itself.'[35] Lawrence Stone discounts the purchase of these estates outside the city as merchant villas.

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[33] Devine, *The tobacco lords,* Langford, *A polite and commercial people,* Stone and Fawtier Stone, *An open elite?,* R. G. Wilson, 'Merchants and land: The Ibbestons of Leeds and Denton, 1650-1800' in *Northern History,* 24 (1988), pp 75-100, Wilson, *Gentleman merchants.*
[34] Devine, *The tobacco lords,* p. 18.
[35] Ibid. p. 19.

While there are certainly studies which encompass the middling sort in Ireland as outlined above, Irish historiography has not provided any clear label, definition or boundary of who the middle sort were. Consequently, an Irish case study must look to the methodological approach and conclusions of these British studies to frame any Irish examination. *The middling sort of people: culture, society and politics in England 1550-1800,* a collection of essays edited by Jonathan Barry and Christopher Brooks, has outlined where within society and the economy we can place the middling sort in England as well as the problems in studying and identifying this group. Unfortunately there is no comparable Irish collection, but the focus of the essays as well as the methodological discussion gives an important insight into how an Irish model can be constructed. While this thesis focuses on successful merchants from within the middling sort, it follows Barry in defining the group from which these men came, 'the middling sort' to be those who 'had to work for their income, trading with the products of their hands…or with the skills in business or the professions for which they had trained'.[36]

IV

Framed from an analysis of these secondary sources the methodology employed here is twofold. It will look at individuals and the community to form a conclusive study which will give scope to the decision-making process of the individual and the influences experienced by, and opportunities provided for, the community at large. Stone's social divides have proven to be controversial and too confined for the case study to prove any level of mobility. Stone has received much criticism for his conclusions. He argued that 'for the years after 1688 an oligarchic rather than an "open" society' prevailed.[37] Geoffrey Holmes argues that this is incorrect: Stone's mark of a successfully mobile man was too narrow.[38] Devine's study of the land purchases made by Glasgow tobacco merchants highlights Stone's error. In a study of the Ibbetson dynasty of Leeds, R. G. Wilson likewise concluded that 'the transition of merchant to landowner was much more complex than Lawrence Stone suggests'.[39] Wilson's study favours wider markers than Stone's by looking at fewer merchants to allow a greater probe of individuals' activities.

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[36] Barry, 'Introduction', p.2.
[37] Holmes, 'The professions and social change in England', p. 319.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Wilson, 'Merchants and land', p. 84

As money was a basic requirement to acquire land this study has looked at a group of wholesale, cloth and wine merchants within the capital, men who were well positioned to purchase an estate. In consideration of the importance which money, land and social circle played as variable factors on social mobility, the criteria examined in each merchant case study will be each man's background, business and investments, land, identity in a public sphere and his legacy. These areas will vary in detail due to extant primary sources and the extent to which each merchant involved himself within varying spheres. Tables have been used to illustrate comparative consumption, wealth and education by presenting extant information on marriage settlements, income, clothes and attendance at university and to show the range of activities and wealth of the merchants within the group.

Land was important as 'the most clear-cut social boundary was ownership of land'.[40] The Registry of Deeds which provided the core material for the research into land ownership shaped the investigation into land purchase. Founded by the Act of 1707 the registry holds a collection of all deeds registered: marriage settlements, wills and, most importantly, land transactions.[41] The official registration of deeds evolved from the need to prevent Catholics from illegally engaging in land purchase (in the aftermath of the 1704 act to prevent the further growth of popery) and to reinforce land holdings of Protestants within Ireland.[42] The Registry is unique within Britain and Ireland as the act which established it 'governed all parts of the country, instead of merely certain areas as was the case with the English acts'.[43] Despite the importance of these deeds in this study's construction of land patterns for the group, several points must be highlighted. Registration of deeds in Ireland was voluntary and as such it can be assumed the deeds are not a complete list of all transactions. It is possible to establish, however, that registration of deeds was undertaken on a higher level in Ireland then in England or Scotland as 'substantial legal disadvantages [were] attached to non-registration'.[44] While the deeds hold an index, they are organised by the name of the party who sold the property rather than the person who purchased the land, or the party who leased the land rather than the lessee. Results will not show who purchased or acquired the land. It must be stressed, however, that the index is 'inconsistent' and often lists the party who purchased the land.[45] When land was purchased it was for the most part

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[40] Connolly, *Religion, law and power,* p. 59.
[41] 6 Anne, c. 2 (1707).
[42] 2 Anne, c. 6 (1704).
[43] Peter Roebuck, 'The Irish Registry of Deeds: a comparative study', in *Irish Historical Studies,* xviii (March 1972), p. 68.
[44] Ibid, p. 69
[45] The indexes themselves certainly hold names of those who purchased land in addition to those who sold it but these are not frequent. Roebuck explained 'As with all records of this type, the work of the researcher is

leased and therefore while the registry may reflect a small number of estates purchased, later references can confirm land which has been purchased. Despite the difficulty in using the deeds they remain a hugely significant source.

While British studies have influenced the methodological approach of this study, differences between extant Irish and British sources have meant that various themes have been focused on and that there are differences in outcomes. The Irish sources are limited in some respects and so that it has been difficult to determine the place of origin of these merchants. It is, therefore, not possible to comment on the movement of these men from countryside to town, an important aspect of mobility. Only limited assessment of their origins and the occupation of their fathers can be made.[46] The origins of these merchants has not been speculated here without evidence of a family background in trade or the corporation or written evidence of their origins. It is often clear if fathers traded, but guild and freemen records are not consistent; a lack of evidence on background cannot be taken as a sign of rural origins or having parents in the gentry. Unfortunately, this makes it is impossible to state how frequently merchants' backgrounds affected their aspirations to enter the landed class.

There has also been a difficulty in identifying the social circle of these men because surviving correspondence and diaries of the middling sort are so rare. Newspaper accounts of social engagements listed primarily the gentry and those with titles. While the presence of merchants at social events in their capacity as corporation or civic officers has allowed some identification, it is impossible to know how deep these social connections ran. Newspapers have survived in much greater quantity for Dublin than for other parts of Ireland and even London and there are almost complete runs of individual Dublin newspapers and so they have been a hugely important source for this study. While there are only small entries regarding their activities when these entries are combined they provide a colourful picture and are very significant.

Due to loss of records in the early twentieth century few Irish wills remain. This has meant that it is more difficult to assess wealth on death of members of the middling sort. Their station in life meant that it was not often necessary to make additional records of their bequests. Five complete wills of members of the group have survived. Their wills provide little evidence of land on death and show more concern for the correct apportioning of land and money among children rather than providing an inventory of land accumulated.

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made more difficult by the laziness or incompetence of the scribe (Roebuck, 'The Irish Registry of Deeds', p. 70).

[46] Lang, 'Social origins and social aspirations', pp 46-47, Christopher Brooks, 'Apprenticeship, social mobility and the middling sort' in Christopher Brooks & Jonathan Barry (eds), *The middling sort of people: culture society and Politics in England* (1994), pp56-61.

However, the Registry of Deeds contains records of land passed to a second generation prior to family death that would not appear in wills. Therefore the information which was collected from the registry in connection to lands, leased, purchased or sold and the second generation thus is extremely significant to this study.

In order to be socially mobile merchants must have been financially successful. The merchants investigated in this thesis were chosen because they were wealthy and could engage in avenues of social mobility. They were the wealthiest members of the middling sort. These merchants were situated below the upper class because of the nature of their occupation in trade. They were below the professions because of this reliance on trade and stood distinct in rank from the Dublin professions, namely lawyers, barristers, physicians, clergymen and officers. A look at the secondary sources from the period also made it clear that while some sources such as corporation records focus on Protestant traders there is evidence available concerning Catholic and Quaker merchants in association records such as the Ouzel Galley Society, the Committee of Merchants and the Catholic Committee.[47]

This study began with an analysis of fifty wholesale and cloth merchants of Dublin identified initially through the *Dublin Directories* (to judge when they were trading within the capital), through institutions with extant records such as the Corporation (the details held in corporation records made them particularly important as a source) and the merchants guild and the merchants guild as trading within Dublin during the time period and as solvent traders. As there are no surviving adequate fiscal records or compelling sources on wealth, such as taxation records, banking accounts or other statistical data, I have chosen in an arbitrary fashion the merchants who were included in this study.

A preliminary look at the Registry of Deeds highlighted the problems in dealing with fifty figures. The very large number of entries found for each merchant made the initial project unmanageable within the time frame set for this thesis. Furthermore, there were difficulties in examining in detail each of the fifty merchants in the business, public and private spheres as the dearth of correspondence meant a multitude of other types of sources (particularly newspapers and printed sources) would have to be examined. This prompted a narrowing of the study to thirty merchants. Six successful merchants have been chosen for a close analysis to take a prosopographic approach. Since the particularly high number of sources extant for these six allowed me some of their social and business networks to be recreated in the first half of the thesis. The second half of the thesis explores the avenues for social mobility used by these six merchants and applies them to the wider group.

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[47] Ouzel Galley transactions book 15 February 1748-18 December 1823 (RIA, MS 12 F 48E), Fair minute book of the Committee of Merchants (RIA, MS 12 D 29), R. Dudley Edwards (ed.), 'The minute book of the Catholic Committee, 1773–1792', *Archivium Hibernicum*, ix (1942), 1-172

The social and economic reconstruction of these men's lives suggests patterns of mobility and avenues which were used by the middling sort to enhance their trades. Without correspondence it is extremely difficult to build a complete picture of economic activity and to establish personal motivations for particular activities. It is difficult to arrive at concrete conclusions as to what prompted these men to engage in particular activities. By exploring their lives, however, it is possible to suggest generalized motivations for activities and why some themes recur throughout the group. This group is not representative of the middling sort as a whole but these merchants' activities in the public sphere, private sphere and the economy must have been common to others within the middling sort. Through these case studies it is possible to bring to light some common issues of this very broad social and economic group within Dublin.

In encompassing the secondary sources and the corresponding primary source research this thesis has looked at the opportunities which Dublin offered members of the middling sort. By focusing on merchants it has allowed a greater picture of the merchant community within the middling sort and has allowed this study to draw out avenues which have offered success to merchants and those which have done little to enhance status. The research allows conclusions on where merchants were placed socially, to what extent they bought land, how they engaged in the pursuit of politeness and gentile manners. It also determines whether the collective attitude of the merchant community in Dublin encouraged merchants to buy land or if personal attitudes dictated investment in land.

V

The thesis begins with a look at the commercial community and climate of Dublin between 1760 and 1800 and thereafter has been divided into two sections. The first focuses on the case studies of six merchants: three Protestant, two Catholic and one Protestant Dissenter. In this way it reflects the religious divisions of Dublin merchants and their numbers. It allows a view of each individual to aid in establishing personal motivations for engaging in avenues of social mobility. While evidence varies for each merchant each case study focuses on broad aspects including background, business, land and investment, public sphere and legacy. This approach has allowed conclusions to be reached on motivating factors on purchasing land and engaging in other spheres on a micro-level. A merchant's status and rank changed throughout his life because of varying circumstances and an examination of the life cycle of these merchants shows which activities altered status the most.

The second section, drawing on the themes apparent from the individual case studies will look at these areas within the larger Dublin commercial community. Material is drawn from research undertaken on thirty wholesale, wine, merchants and mercers who were, generally speaking, the wealthiest of all Dublin traders. It analyses the opportunities afforded by institutions both formal (guilds, corporation and parliament) and informal (clubs, societies and other associational activity) as well as the private sphere which includes domestic and personal matters. Land investment and purchase are also examined. This thesis provides a new approach for considering merchants in Dublin by focusing on their social as well as economic activities, by recreating their life cycles and by viewing the community across the religious spectrum. It also establishes characteristics of the middling sort in Dublin, which has not been done for Ireland, and quantifies the social mobility of the Dublin commercial elite.

Chapter 1

Dublin's merchant community, 1760-1800

In order to understand the status from merchants rose, as well as the economic climate in which they made such moves it is necessary to assess the geographical, social, and economic contexts of Dublin and its traders in the late eighteenth century. Throughout this period, the city was the largest and most important port in Ireland. The capital grew throughout the century and a population of 60,000 in 1700 tripled by 1800. 'It was one of the largest port towns in Europe...larger than Cadiz or Hamburg, slightly larger than Lisbon and almost as large as Amsterdam...London, in fact, was the only port which was sizeably larger than Dublin.'[1] The city's importance came not only from the port and its role as an economic centre but also as the seat of government, parliament and as a centre of education and culture. The Dublin merchant community must be placed in the midst of this busy world. This chapter examines the size and importance of the merchant community of the capital from which members of this study were drawn. It details the reputations and earnings of some of the most prominent merchants and establishes the economic situation of Ireland for the period 1760-1800.

I

Dublin dominated both the import and export trade of Ireland. In the first half of the century, Dublin merchants controlled the city's banks and therefore a large proportion of financial capital within Ireland. After the failure of several prominent banks the legislature restricted merchant involvement in banks and separated the two sectors. Nevertheless, the importance of Irish merchants did not decline. The majority of the officers on the board of the Bank of Ireland on its foundation in 1783 were merchants (only three were bankers, fourteen were, or made their money as, merchants) which shows the prominent role they played in Irish economic institutional life as well as the broader economy.[2] Indeed, for the remainder of the eighteenth century they dominated the composition of the board. Irish merchants were certainly less wealthy then their London counterparts, but a significant

[1] Louis M. Cullen, *Princes and pirates: the Dublin Chamber of Commerce, 1783-1983* (Dublin, 1983), p. 13.
[2] Governor: David La Touche, junior (banker), Deputy-governor: Theophilius Thompson, (merchant), Directors: John Allen (merchant), Alexander Armstrong (merchant), William Colville (merchant), Samuel Dick (merchant), Jeremiah D'olier (banker), George Godfrey Hoffman (merchant), Travers Hartley (merchant), Alexander Jaffray (merchant), Sir Nicholas Lawless, Bart (MP), John La Touche (banker), Peter La Touche (banker), George Palmer (merchant), Amos Strettell (merchant), Jeremiah Vickers (merchant), Abraham Wilkinson (merchant) (George O'Brien (ed), *The Bank of Ireland, 1783-1946* (Dublin, 1948), p. 43).

number of average traders with enough 'resources to invest £1,000 or £2,000 in a venture' were active in the city by the opening of the bank, though 'there were few merchants with resources on a princely scale'.[3] It must be noted that only two merchants, Jeremiah Vickers and Samuel Dick, subscribed the maximum sum of £10,000 to the Bank of Ireland stock in 1783. The remaining fifteen maximum subscribers were M.P.s, noblemen, bankers or gentry.[4]

The landed classes and aristocracy of Ireland were a significant financial force, certainly more so than in London where 'the Bank of England and the East India company had created a financial milieu which had to be reckoned with and whose powers were distrusted by the more old-fashioned gentry in the countryside who had no links with them.'[5] Ireland created no great institution such as the East India Company from which merchant princes could arise. On the other hand, they saw no great national losses like the Darien Company in Scotland which attempted to replicate the success of English monopolies. The negative effects of the South Sea Bubble prevented the creation of a national bank of the 1720s, stalling an Irish financial revolution evidenced by the comparatively late creation of Bank of Ireland. Ireland was, financially speaking, a conservative country. The Navigation Laws further restricted trade and when these laws were withdrawn Irish merchants showed a reluctance to take advantage of their new economic freedom and continued their familiar trade patterns.

In 1760, at the opening of the period under review, 403 traders who advertised in the *Dublin Directories* did so under the title of 'Merchant'.[6] The broad term of 'merchant' hides the great disparity and different economic weights of these traders. Richard Twiss commented on the poverty of Dublin traders in 1775. 'The indigence of the middle class of people is visible even in Dublin.' To show their poverty he pointed to the stock of 'the petty shop-keepers' which 'consists of half a dozen of eggs, a platter of salt, a few pipes, a roll of tobacco, a yard of tape, a ball of twine, a paper of pins etc. etc.' Shops did not necessarily specialize in one particular commodity and a variety of items would have been on offer: 'many shops...serve at once for two different trades; such as silversmiths and booksellers; saddlers and milliners'.[7] While merchants undertook the sale of several

[3] Louis M. Cullen, *Anglo-Irish trade 1660-1800* (Manchester, 1968), p. 98.
[4] David La Touche esq., David La Touche esq., Peter La Touche, esq., Right Hon. Joshua Cooper, Reverend Dean Ryder, Sir John Browne, Bart., Samuel Dick (merchant), Right Hon. William Conyngham, Sir Nicholas Lawless, Bart., Valentine Browne, esq., Theobald Wolfe, Esq., Charles Walker, esq., Jeremiah Vickers, Esq., Rt. Hon. Hen. Theoph. Clements, Lieutenant General Pomeroy, Joseph Hines, James Lawlor (O'Brien (ed), *The Bank of Ireland,* pp 508-510).
[5] Cullen, *Princes and pirates,* p. 21.
[6] Wilson, *Dublin Directory,* 1760.
[7] Rachel Finnegan (ed.), *Richard Twiss: a tour in Ireland in 1775* (Dublin, 2008), p. 16

commodities, Twiss's description of 'petty shop-keepers' gives a skewed impression of Dublin and the economic weight of some traders. He shows, however, that Dublin had a variety of traders in terms of stock, quality, the size of their establishment and the capital which they would have had within the business.

Twiss probably referred to general city traders, grocers and shop-keepers in Dublin rather than the city's merchants. The title 'merchant' would not have referred to petty traders in the capital which he described. David Hancock stated that a merchant's remit had narrowed from the seventeenth-century concept of a merchant as one who trades to the eighteenth-century definition as someone who trades in foreign goods of 'remote countries' and one 'who moves in the way of commerce by importation or exportation, who makes it his living to buy and sell, and that by a continued assiduity, or frequent negotiation in the mystery of merchandizing'.[8] We can therefore omit the smaller city traders, artificers, skilled tradesmen, retailers, and shopkeepers which Twiss includes and focus on the city's larger traders. Within Hancock's definition of a merchant, there was further diversification among those who traded internationally. Wine merchants, drapers and mercers, all of whom came under the broad term 'merchant' advertised their specialization in the trade directories of the day. Wholesale merchants could be marked out by a symbol which showed they were free of the 6 and 8 per cent fee at the Custom House.

Most important to the trade and prominence of Dublin was the export merchant who exported goods, primarily to Great Britain for re-export. 'The ringmasters coordinating the whole were the merchants and wholesalers of the half dozen ports which had come to dominate long-distance trade: London, Bristol, Liverpool and Glasgow in particular.'[9] By the eighteenth century much of this export trade was facilitated by the wholesale merchant 'who acquired their trade goods on short or medium credit but sold them for export on much longer terms' of credit.[10] In comparison to merchants in the premier trading cities of Great Britain, Dublin's whole salers made only a modest income. The largest exports from Ireland were provisions and linen, whereas Ireland imported a large range of goods from London, Bristol, Liverpool and Glasgow. Ireland owned only a modest fleet of ships and usually depended upon British vessels to carry goods to and from Ireland. Wholesale merchants were probably the largest body of successful merchants in the capital.

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[8] David Hancock, *Citizens of the world: London merchants and the integration of the British Atlantic community, 1735-1785* (Cambridge, 1995), pp 9-10.
[9] Jacob M. Price 'What did merchants do? Reflections on British overseas trade, 1660-1790', in *Journal of Economic History 49*, no. 2 (1989), pp 277-278.
[10] Ibid, pp 273-4.

The Trinity Guild or merchants guild was the official representative body for merchants within the city. Not all merchants were members. Catholics were forbidden from entering the guild but required to pay quarterage fee to the guild (until 1793); this fee in theory allowed them trading privileges without the rights to participate in the guild, civic institutions or the franchise. In reality by 1760 Catholics traded regardless of their payment of quarterage fee. No direct law prohibited their involvement in commerce and 'in each generation a small number achieved great economic power'.[11] The sacramental test, in force until 1780, also restricted Dissenter involvement within guilds[12] Presbyterians, more accepting of oaths, were incorporated into the folds of civic and national life while Quakers remained largely outside. With control of only part of the merchant community, guilds could not impose strict regulation of merchants. Merchants often joined the guild late and frequently began trading life with one guild, particularly the weaver's guild, and on the expansion of their business moved to the merchant's guild.

Members of the established church made up the vast majority of the merchant community, although their numbers decreased in the second half of the century. They were off-set by the growing presence in the city of Catholics and Dissenters. By the 1780s a quarter of the wholesale merchants were Catholic.[13] 'Their number can be exaggerated, but the very fact that they were a minority gave them an advantage.'[14] Religious and trading communities provide examples of strong networks. Their connections worked in two ways. They purchased from and supplied kin in the hinterlands and countryside, remitting bills and providing credit in return for trade. They also built networks of clients and business associates. These connections could be extremely loyal. Religious communities, particularly for minorities, were brought closer through marriage which was overwhelmingly within their own religious communities. Kinship brought social networks and more business; kinship also forced minorities to recognise their mutual interests. The importance of these networks should not overshadow that whether Protestant, Catholic or Dissenter, practicalities meant that all large merchants still would have met at the Royal Exchange or at the Custom House.

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[11] David Dickson, *Old world colony: Cork and south Munster 1630-1830* (Cork, 2005), p. 108.
[12] 2 Anne, c. 7 (1704), 19 & 20 Geo. III c. 6 (1780).
[13] Louis M. Cullen, 'Catholic social classes under the penal laws' in T.P. Power and K. Whelan, (eds), *Endurance and emergence: Catholics in Ireland in the eighteenth century,* (Dublin, 1990) p. 79.
[14] Cullen, *Princes and pirates,* p. 23.

II

The main development in the economy during this period was increased reliance on Britain as a market for Irish goods and as source of imports. Cullen has estimated that in 1700, 45.7 per cent of Irish exports went to Britain, this increased to 67.8 per cent in 1760 and in the next forty years climbed again to 85.4 per cent. A similar pattern emerges with imports. In 1700 Irish imports from Great Britain were 53.9 per cent, in 1760 66.4 per cent, and in 1800 over three quarters of the imports at 78.6 per cent were British.[15] War with America and France meant greater trade with England not only because of constitutional connections but because of the practicalities of trade with the next island. Staple British commodities, such as coal, were imported under favourable circumstances which helped with both their sale and consumption in Ireland. Culturally, the two countries had much in common, not least a language and similar tastes and this encouraged trade, particularly luxuries.[16] The rise of the linen trade was also hugely important and 'the twin pillars' of the Irish economy were linen and cattle.[17]

When coal and provisions are discounted, it becomes apparent that a vast majority of English exports into Ireland were foreign wares re-exported to Ireland. Until 1780 Ireland did not import these goods on their own behalf. Colonial goods had to be imported to Britain and then re-exported to Ireland. Little changed in the aftermath of free trade, and 'the re-export trade continued in the last two decades to form a higher percentage of exports to Ireland than of English exports generally'.[18] Irish tastes, particularly those of the upper class, aligned with the luxury goods the English consumed, not English produce provided via English markets.

The trade relation in luxury goods of Ireland and England can be seen in the case of Henry Cottingham, silk-mercer of Dublin, who was accused of illegal imports. He asserted that 'ladies and gentlemen of fortune prefer goods that have the name of being wrought abroad, to those of their own country'.[19] Cottingham claimed that importing these foreign goods was not only 'the drain of so much money that can never return to this kingdom' but that it led to the 'loss or impoverishment of so many of our native hands and families as might be employed in the working of said goods at home'.[20] Cottingham therefore imported French designs which he reconstructed with Irish materials using Irish labour.

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[15] L. M. Cullen, *Anglo-Irish trade, 1660-1800* (Manchester, 1968), p. 45.
[16] Cullen, *Anglo-Irish trade*, p. 77.
[17] Connolly, *Religion, law and power*, p. 52.
[18] Cullen, *Anglo-Irish trade*, p. 76.
[19] *The London Chronicle*, 23 Aug. 1763.
[20] Ibid.

When discovered illegally importing from France he laid out his defence in a letter in *The London Chronicle.* He claimed that his looms employed variously 30 to 100 people in Dublin and produced 'six to eight thousand pounds worth of plain, figured, flowered, and damasked Irish silks' annually. He saved £100,000 by not buying foreign goods and kept Irish capital in Ireland. Realising that Ireland 'depended on England, and that England depend on France for everything that our gentry or people of taste would wear,' Cottingham went to Lyon to acquire the latest fashions for Ireland by purchasing their patterns. In this way he delivered the latest fashions to Ireland before English designers, who added time in their re-export to Ireland. Since he had to buy a minimum amount of stock from Lyon, he did import French goods. He was fined £1,000 and made to vow never to 'import either French or English, or any other foreign goods or patterns, nor ever to set up another loom in the Kingdom of Ireland' after his disgrace.[21] The case illustrates the difficulty in initiating fashionable, and other, enterprises in Ireland and shows the reliance of Ireland on England for luxuries.

The economic conditions of Ireland varied throughout the eighteenth century. Between 1730 and 1775 the country experienced 'critical years of economic growth'.[22] Ulster experienced the greatest benefits prior to 1740 before the rest of the country began to experience 'unprecedented strength' which 'affected nearly all sectors of the Irish economy'.[23] The banking failures of the 1750s must be noted as they show that the failure of singular ventures could affect the whole country. The collapse of Malone, Clements and Gore's bank in 1760 'involved the whole merchant and ascendancy community'.[24] Such failures ensured alarm when credit was threatened, or coin ran low and the economy dipped. Banking was central to trade in the country and the underdeveloped nature of Irish banking created (periodic) problems when banks failed. 'The number of Dublin [banking] houses which had been six at the beginning of the 1730s and eight in 1754 was reduced to four by the early 1760s.'[25] By the early 1770s there were 'signs of a speculative overheating in an economy that had perhaps grown too fast for its own good'.[26] The volunteer agitation and patriot struggle in Parliament culminated in the 'Free Trade' Act of 1780 which did remarkably little to change the Irish economy.

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[21] Ibid.
[22] Dickson, *New foundations,* p. 116.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Marie-Louise Legg, 'Money and reputation: the effects of the banking crisis of 1755 and 1760' in *Eighteenth century-Ireland,* 11 (1996), p. 80.
[25] Cullen, *Anglo-Irish trade,* p. 20.
[26] Dickson, *New foundations,* p. 116.

Government and merchants were optimistic about the future of the economy at the beginning of the 1780s. However, a crisis hit rural and urban workers, traders and landowners between 1780 and 1785. The decade opened well with 'good markets for provisions, grain and wool, and high prices for linens in 1780/1'.[27] In 1781/2 the country recorded its largest export of linen. 'Urban employment was plentiful, food was abundant, and a sharp increase in imports in 1780/1 indicated a strong consumer demand.'[28] Yet, free trade had some negative effects. Non-importation was abandoned and consumers demanded British necessities, as well as fashionable luxuries. By October 1781 'unemployment in the Dublin broadcloth manufacture was causing concern.'[29] A decline in demand for linen, the largest manufactured product of Ireland during this period,[30] led to unemployment, credit shortages, and defaults on bills. Several unfavourable factors combined to create the greatest Irish financial crisis of the eighteenth century. The failure of the 1782 and 1783 harvests led to rent arrears and high prices for food and fuel. Increasing unemployment matched a depression in the worsted trade.[31] 'The coincidence of the deepest and most widespread distress with the highest exchanges and most serious banking crisis marked the nadir of the economic crisis in the summer of 1784.'[32] The establishment of the Bank of Ireland in the midst of this crisis in 1783 did not visibly ease the crisis. Parts of the country had reached near famine with mass levels of rural and urban unemployment.

> By late January 1784 there had clearly been a marked deterioration in the food stocks and the lord lieutenant reported that, whereas the price of corn was "very moderate" in the south, prices increased going north, with oatmeal, the staple food in Ulster, reaching levels in excess of the post-1782 harvest failure situation.[33]

The recovery came only in 1785 with a return in the demand for linen and the effects of the subsequent demand for workers, both urban and rural, resulted in an Irish trade surplus that year.[34] Though the linen trade recovered, the crisis had affected other traders and bankers and had resulted in failures.

While the favourable trade balance returned, but the economy declined markedly from the favourable period of expansion of 1730-75. Urban artisans were hit by industrial

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[27] Raymond Refaussè, 'The economic crisis in Ireland in the early 1780s' (Ph.D thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 1982), p. 7
[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid, p. 95.
[31] Ibid, pp 20-1.
[32] Ibid, p. 21.
[33] Ibid, p. 51.
[34] Ibid, pp 73-74.

advances in Britain which 'contributed not a little to the social and political crisis of the 1790s'.[35] A further, although short-lived, credit problem of 1793 created a panic in the city in which creditors demanded payment for debts in cash. The need for cash led to the failure, over a very short time, of several firms, including the Dublin-based textile firm of Cope and Binns. *The Freeman's Journal* reported in June: 'The trade of bankruptcy goes on swimmingly under the complication of the times'.[36] The government relieved this crisis by the provision of £700,000 in loans to firms under pressure to pay their debts in cash yet could not otherwise find credit.[37] Another banking crisis of 1796/7 saw a similar panic. A decline in the trade balance in 1796 coincided with the grant of a new loan to government by the Bank of Ireland which led to a shortage of bills and a reluctance of banks, including the Bank of Ireland, to discount bills. These events led to a greater demand for cash which was exacerbated by a shortage of cash in Britain also.[38] 'Equilibrium in the exchange market was only restored in June 1797.'[39] These variants, dependent on the demand and supply of specie, balance of trade and favourable conditions for export as well as rural harvests could bankrupt even large firms within the capital.

Despite these periods of crisis the economy remained buoyant overall. 'The large favourable balance of trade, the interest on Irish money absorbed through the London money market, and apparently large-scale lending to Ireland were all factors contributing to a steady growth of wealth and investment in Ireland' in this period.'[40] The establishment of the Bank of Ireland in 1783 helped with growth by regularizing specie. The difficulties which the economy faced during the 1780s and 1790s showed that there were merchants large enough and strong enough to withstand periodic economic downturns Their survival reflects the strength of their trade and reputations within the country.

III

Those best placed for social mobility within this volatile economy were merchants. The particular commercial areas which the thirty merchants examined for this study came from varied which can be seen from the following table:

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[35] Dickson, *New foundations,* pp. 116-117.
[36] *The Freeman's Journal,* 4 Jun. 1793.
[37] Ibid, 11 May 1793.
[38] Cullen, *Anglo-Irish trade,* p. 180.
[39] Ibid, p. 181.
[40] Ibid, p. 186.

Table 1.1

Merchants included for examination and their trade description[41]

Name	Description
George Alcock	Wholesale merchant
Hans Bailie	Wine merchant
Mathew Bailie	Wine merchant
Peter Barré	Wholesale merchant
Patrick Bellew	Wholesale/provisions merchant
Patrick Boyd	Wine merchant
Edward Byrne	sugar merchant, baker, distiller, manufacturer and exporter
John Darragh	Wholesale merchant
Thomas Emerson	Silk merchant
William Forbes	Wholesale merchant
Benjamin Geale	Wholesale merchant
Patrick Hamilton	Wine merchant
James Hamilton	Wholesale merchant
Henry Hart	Linen merchant
Travers Hartley	Linen merchant
James Horan	Indigo merchant, starch manufacturer
Henry Howison	Linen merchant
Alexander Jaffray	Wholesale merchant
John Keogh	Silk merchant
Joseph Lynam	Wholesale merchant
Joseph Lynam	Wholesale merchant
Anthony McDermott	Wholesale merchant
Denis Thomas O'Brien	Wholesale merchant
Valentine O'Connor	Wholesale merchant
Joshua Pim	Wholesale merchant (worsted yarn)
George Reynolds	Wholesale merchant
Charles Rossell	Wholesale merchant

[41] See appendix a for sources where this information was gathered their birth, death, trading address, civic activity, relatives and land purchases.

Edward Sankey	Wine merchant
Henry Gore Sankey	Wine merchant
George Sutton	Silk and wholesale merchant
Nathaniel Trumbull	Tobacco, provisions and wholesale merchant

The reconstruction of six of these merchants' lives and activities will help to reconstruct some visible patterns in the broader community, however, it is very difficulty to say how representative these men are or how uniformly we can apply conclusions about the group's activities. As large traders they would have been well placed for maximum profits which could have been used to engage in avenues of mobility. Nevertheless 'profits tended, as far as can be judged, to be modest, and fluctuations between good and bad years emphasised that high returns on occasion could hardly be taken as representative of the business even of more successful merchants.'[42] Cullen has highlighted the difficulty in assessing merchant incomes by stating that 'trends in merchants return in trade are difficult to assess'.[43] This challenge is due to the difficulty in creating a full picture of accounts as well as their investment, profits. The income most readily identified came from business leases and shipping: 'Most merchants had little in the way of fixed capital or capital goods except perhaps a warehouse lease and shares in vessels....Only when sold would consigned goods appear in the merchants balance sheets sums owed the consigners and owing from buyers'.[44] As so few merchant accounts have survived, it is extremely difficult to assess their income and profits. Shipping was not usually in their own vessels and they needed outside investors to trade: 'they reduced their necessary investments in shipping by bringing in non-merchants as part-owners of their vessels, amount of a merchant's own trading or circulating capital tied up in goods on hand.'[45] This means that we must be aware of skewing the importance on leases and land investment when it comes to light for a particular merchant under review.

An approximate income can be suggested. Income averages estimated by David Dickson indicate that by 1791-2 '

> [Eleven] per cent of the Irish population had a gross per capita income in excess of £20 per annum while 59 per cent were surviving with less than £5 per annum, some much less. The really significant new element was the increase of those strata in Irish society who were neither at the minimum

[42] Cullen, *Anglo-Irish trade,* p. 209.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Price 'What did merchants do?', p. 279
[45] Ibid.

> subsistence level nor demonstrably wealthy: the thirty per cent whose per capital income in 1791-92 lay between £5 and £20.[46]

While merchant incomes could be modest, as men within the upper middling sort they would have had an income above £20 per annum which would mean that their income exceeded not merely the lower class and subsistence class but approached that of a squire or perhaps even a member of parliament. Barnard estimated that in the middle of the eighteenth century 'the kind of squire elected to the Dublin parliament probably enjoyed an income around £1,500 per annum. The peers, of whom there were no more than one hundred and thirty in the middle of the century, like aristocrats...might command an annual £3,000'.[47] In consideration of these figures, an estimated income of approximately £1,500 would be needed to rival the status of members of the Dublin upper class. While it is difficult to establish what these men earned, the account book of Daniel Geale[48] lists both business investment and profits accumulated from such investments over a period of ten to twelve years.

Table 1.2

Daniel Geale's return on business investment 1783-95[49]

Year	Return on investment
1783	£6,374.11.8½
1784	£15,335.14.9
1785	£16,357.0.2
1786	£24,479.1.5
1787	£30, 637.15.7
1788	£32,519.19.6
1789	£37,589.9.8
1791	£38,524.15.0
1792	£39.884.13.3 ½
1793, 1794, 1795 combined	£95,087.18.8

[46] Dickson, *New foundations,* p. 111.

[47] Toby Barnard, 'Public and private uses of wealth in Ireland, c.1600-1760 in J.R. Hill and C. Lennon (eds), *Luxury and austerity: historical studies* (Dublin, 1999), p. 169.

[48] Daniel Geale was son of Benjamin Geale (see appendix a) and business partner of Frederick Geale, they traded from Bachelor's Walk from the 1780s and 1790s, he was a member of the Chamber of Commerce in 1786 and 1794, Director of the Royal Exchange Insurance Company and a subscriber to the Royal Canal Company (*Dublin Directory,* 1780-1800).

[49] Account book of Daniel Geale, 1779-1803 (NLI, MS 2286, f.105).

Merchants certainly held greater business assets and made larger investments in business than the annual income of many peers. In 1783, during the early stages of his firm, Geale and his partner's investments combined were greater then the income of four M.P.s. As the business matured over a period of ten years this figure grew steadily reflecting the growing reputation and trade of the firm. The figures listed above do not, however, reflect real return. Between 1783 and 1792 Geale recorded that the profits drawn from his half of the business as follows:

Table 1.3

Daniel Geale's profits 1783-92[50]

Year	Profits per partner (2 partners)
1783	£710.6.7½
1784	£651.17.0½
1785	£651.17.0½
1786	£1,082.18.2
1787	£872.12.10½
1788	£1,129.0.7
1789	£1,129.0.7
1790	£1,502.16.9
1791	£856.15.7
1792	£1,005.2.7

These figures reflect business fluctuations. Years of greatest investment do not necessarily mean the return of greatest profits. Geale's total income earned in this period would have provided an income of approximately less than £1,000 per annum over a period of ten years.

The merchants with the greatest reputations were called on during economic crises by members of the government. During the economic crisis of 1793 a city-wide panic meant that some firms were reluctant to pay their debtors and as a result others failed. Due to merchant failures, a number of textile firms failed, unemployment increased quickly in urban areas and it was estimated in the city newspapers that the unemployment had affected as many as 5,000-6,000 in Dublin[51] and 5,000 in Belfast.[52] To avert further

[50] Ibid, f. 106.
[51] *Hibernian Journal,* 13 May 1793.
[52] *Dublin Evening Post,* 18 May 1793.

closures the privy council called a meeting[53] and consulted 'many eminent citizens' within the commercial branches of trade and manufacturing to seek their advice. It was at this meeting that the decided to allocate £700,000 in loans for the support of distressed commercial houses.[54] The Privy Council created a committee of merchants and manufacturers to distribute the sum of £700,000 in loans to those traders both 'merchant and manufacturer who had a property equivalent to his debts to carry on his business'.[55] Those appointed included John Patrick,[56] Edward Byrne,[57] John Chambers,[58] Edward Forbes,[59] Valentine O'Connor, [60] Frederick Geale,[61] John Ball,[62] Alexander Jaffray[63] and Richard Hawksley. These men represented the biggest earners within mercantile and manufacturing lines in the capital and held solid reputations. Their expert knowledge of commerce within the country positioned them to guide the investment of the government's £700,000. Only firms deemed to have a possibility of recovering were financed. A House of Commons committee gathered a similar group almost two years later to investigate the growing expense of revenue collection at the Custom House. The merchants and manufacturers interviewed for the House of Commons report included:[64] Leland Crosthwaite, Valentine O'Connor,[65] Edward Byrne, James Hartley,[66] John Lindsay, Randall McDonnell, Richard Hawksley, Ephraim Hutchinson, John Ball, John Wilkinson and,Ralph Shaw. There is a considerable overlap between these two committees which

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[53] This was by no means an initiative of the 1790s and in the 1750s when bankruptcies had been particularly high Nathaniel Clements, teller of the Exchequer had offered help to banks to avert failures (Legg, 'Money and reputation', p. 78).

[54] *Dublin Journal,* 11-14 May 1793.

[55] Ibid,11 May 1793.

[56] John Patrick was a merchant, 17 Abbey Street, churchwarden of St. Mary's and a member of the Hibernian Fire Insurance Company (*Dublin Directory,* 1780).

[57] Edward Byrne was a merchant, vintner and sugar baker trading at Mullinahack with Randall McDonnell (see appendix a).

[58] John Chambers was a merchant, 46 Pill Lane (and or), timber merchant, 10 Bolton Street (*Dublin Directory,* 1780)

[59] Edward Forbes was a governor of the Marine School by subscription (*Dublin Directory,* 1799).

[60] Valentine O'Connor, traded with his brother, Hugh, at 16 Bachelor's walk from 1771, by 1778 another relative, Malachy had joined them, from 1791 they were at 6 Dominick Street, and by 1798 Valentine O'Connor, junior, was trading in Dublin and Valentine appears to have retired (see appendix a).

[61] Frederick Geale was the son of Benjamin Geale, brother and business partner of Daniel Geale, they traded from Bachelor's Walk (*Dublin Directory,* 1794).

[62] John Ball was a linen draper, 34 Chancery Lane (*Dublin Directory,* 1780).

[63] Alexander Jaffray was made free of the city at Christmas 1761 by service with his father Robert Jaffray, he advertised from 1760 at Eustace Place with Robert Jaffray, by 1775 Alexander traded on his own, by 1786 he had joined in the partnership of Jaffray, Foyle and Hautenville at 19 Eustace Street which lasted until about 1802 (see appendix a).

[64] House of Commons, *An inquiry into the expenses of the collection of revenue* (Dublin, 1795).

[65] Valentine O'Connor's firm appears to have increased trading, with at the very least, England after 1784. Hugh O'Connor's banking increased from £1,300 in 1786 (Bank of England, C98/2819 (157): 1784-1786 f. 4138,4106) to just under £10,000 in 1787 (Bank of England, C98/160:1786-1788 f. 4136, 4112).

[66] James Hartley was the son of Travers Hartley (see appendix a), he was certainly involved in his father's mercantile firm by 1782, from the death of his father he was advertise in the *Dublin Directories* for the first time as the sole firm manager but most likely ran the business while his father sat in parliament.

shows that these men were among the greatest traders within Ireland. Government and House of Commons committees in this period certainly considered these men to be the best men to consult on the economic affairs of Ireland.

IV

Dublin was the largest and busiest centre of commerce in Ireland, even when the national economy faltered. 'The capital controlled so much of the inland and foreign trade because it was easily the largest—indeed apart from Cork virtually the sole-centre of exchange and discounting.'[67] While profits from trade could be modest because Irish merchants depended on England for the majority of their shipping and foreign imports, Dublin remained the best location for Irish merchants to make great profits. With an urban skilled and un-skilled work-force, a thriving textile industry and an expanding banking and insurance sector, it fostered many merchants' ambitions for greater rank and allowed them to make the income necessary to move from the commercial community to the landed elite. While hugely important initiatives had been put in place by 1800, particularly noteworthy are the Royal Exchange and the Commercial buildings which were completed by 1799, Dublin and her economy had become less versatile than at the beginning of the period covered in this thesis. By the end of the eighteenth century, the important textile trade had declined and the Irish market relied more on Britain for imports and exports.

[67] Cullen, *Anglo-Irish trade*, p. 15.

Chapter 2

Protestant merchants in Dublin 1760-1800: three case studies

This chapter looks at three successful, Protestant Dublin merchants. Henry Gore Sankey was a wine merchant and a member of Dublin Corporation who became prominent within Dublin because of his activities within the public sphere. James Hamilton was a wholesale merchant and a leading member in financial institutions and acted as corporation treasurer. Nathaniel Trumbull was the third generation of a Dublin craft and trades family who imported tobacco on a large scale. While all three were successful traders they used different avenues to become prominent, including civic institutions, associational life and social circle and each acquired some land holdings. Despite their prominence, none entered the upper class. Their cases show not merely which avenues were open to and used by Protestants, but also the limitations within these routes.

Protestants made up the majority of merchants in the capital and had the greatest access to avenues of social mobility. They dominated the composition of the professions, government offices and the ruling elite so they were best placed to rise socially and economically. Connolly has pointed to tenure of offices and pensions as means to transfer status to the next generation. 'Some families managed to translate a temporary foothold in the establishment into assets that could be passed on to subsequent generations.'[1] This transfer could not be achieved easily for merchants as the only assets which merchants could pass from their occupations were business legacy and capital, both of which would be easily lost by the second generation. Thus, land was an important asset as it could be passed to their children. This chapter reconstructs the lives of Hamilton, Sankey and Trumbull from available material and draws conclusions on their involvement in avenues of social mobility. By looking at their origins and background, business activity, investment and land patterns, status within the public sphere, their private sphere and, where possible, their wealth on death, it concludes with a discussion of with their success or failure to enter the gentry.

I

Edward Sankey, father of Henry Gore, was the younger son of Thomas Sankey of Slyhane, also known as Slihane, a Longford gentleman. This land (Slyhane) was probably held by a lease. Thomas had inherited his estate from his father, Edward Sankey of Newtown and

[1] Connolly, *Religion, law and power,* p. 61

Kill in King's County, who died in 1698.[2] A family tree undertaken in the mid-nineteenth century traced the family back to a thirteenth-century Sankey, a landowner in Lancaster. The family arrived in Ireland in the mid-sixteenth century and settled in King's County.[3] By the mid-eighteenth century the family probably experienced financial difficulty as Edward, the eldest son and heir, was apprenticed and sent to Dublin. The family still maintained an interest in land in Longford despite any financial troubles which they may have had. In 1750 John Sankey of Slyhane, described in this lease as a gentleman, with 'Edward Sankey, Apothecary' leased with John Sankey of Slyhane in Co. Longford (described in this lease as a gentleman) land in the borough of Rateline of 'the townlands of Cardaragh at New Park containing 179 acres aprox'. The lease extended an earlier lease from 1738 where 'Albny Parker esq of Dublin' had signed the land to John.[4] In 1738 year Edward married Mary, daughter of George Medlicott and May (nee Blount, daughter of William Blount, esquire; May was cited in this family tree as aunt of the Duchess of Wharton).[5] Together Edward and Mary had at least one daughter, Bridget, and at least three sons. The eldest, unnamed in this family tree but possibly Richard, died after 1768.[6] The remaining two sons were Henry Gore and John.

Edward Sankey was made free of the merchant's guild at Christmas 1738 by service.[7] He certainly had a link with the apothecary trade.[8] A lease which he sold in 1762 listed premises in Dame Street and cited his occupation as an apothecary.[9] By the 1750s he traded as a wine merchant in Grafton Street.[10] Sankey's move from Dame Street probably reflected the change in direction of his business to that of wine merchant, which he advertised as from 1769.[11] Wine merchants tended to have their shops close to their clientele and were gathered around Abbey Street or Grafton Street so if Edward moved because of his new trade, which would have required more storage space than an apothecary shop, this was reflected in his new address as well.[12] Edward did maintain an interest in aspects of the apothecary trade. In the early 1760s he sold imported German Spa

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[2] Pedigree of the Sankey family (NLI, Genealogical office, MS 175, f. 116).
[3] Ibid. f. 110-113.
[4] Albny Packet, John Sankey and Edward Sankey, 2 Apr. 1750 (Reg. Deeds, 140.309.94909).
[5] Pedigree of the Sankey family (NLI, Genealogical office, MS 175, f. 116), Registrar of St. Andrew's, p. 26.
[6] Richard Sankey, merchant, traded from Fleet Street in 1768 but disappeared from the directory which suggests that he may have died or emigrated (Pedigree of the Sankey family (NLI, Genealogical office MS 175, p. 116), Gertrude Thrift (ed.) *Roll of Freemen; City of Dublin 1468-1485, 1575-1774,* iv (NLI, MS 79), *Wilson's Dublin Directory,* 1768).
[7] Gertrude Thrift (ed.), *Roll of Freemen; City of Dublin 1468-1485, 1575-1774,* iv (NLI, MS 79).
[8] Albny Packet, John Sankey and Edward Sankey, 2 Apr. 1750 (Reg. Deeds, 140.309.94909).
[9] Edward Sankey, Samuel Powell, 26 Mar. 1762 (Reg. Deeds, 214.518.142098).
[10] *Dublin Directory,* 1753-1778.
[11] Ibid, 1769.
[12] Cullen, *Princes and pirates*, p. 18.

water and Plymouth Spa, used for their healing properties, at his wine shop on Grafton Street.[13] Edward drew an additional income of £200 per annum as Superintendent of the City Coal Yard which he ran from 1764 until his death, a valuable income.[14]

By 1779 Edward Sankey had retired from trade. His senior-level position in Dublin corporation as a member of the alderman board would have encouraged him to continue advertising his address and so he appeared in the *Dublin Directories* as residing at 14 St. Stephen's Green.[15] It is difficult to know if Sankey took residence of any land which he controlled. While his will does not survive it is possible to assess most of his landed interest on his death in 1784. His daughter Bridget acted as an executor to Edward's will. In 1789 she sold a lease of his property on St. Stephen's Green to lord Ranelagh.[16] Her father had left her a deed of lease for a premise on Grafton Street, five acres 'on the avenue lately built by lord FitzWilliam on west of the great road leading through Butler's town', as well as fifty-nine acres of his Co. Longford land (this suggests that he divided the 179 acres among his three children as an inheritance).[17] Bridget's marriage settlement of 1795 cites her assets; these included the above lands from her father and an inheritance from James Nugent, merchant, of £600 as well as further interest in urban leases.[18] It is possible to tell from earlier deeds and the bequests which Edward made to his daughter that he held over 200 acres in urban and rural land on his death. Henry Gore purchased the lands which Bridget held, including the fifty-nine acres of her father's land in Longford which shows that Edward had divided his interest in land between his children and that her land holdings from him represented only a portion of his total land. The purchase of these leases by Henry Gore shows that he was eager to maintain this land for his own branch of the family. The profits from this sale went to Bridget for her marriage settlement although £100 went to Elizabeth Sankey, sister of Edward.[19]

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[13] *Dublin Journal,* Aug. 1762, Nov. 1763.
[14] Coal yard reports from the House of Commons (NAI, 1a.46.46 p. 12).
[15] Edward Sankey advertised as alderman at Grafton Street 1779-81 and from 1782-84 at St. Stephen's Green (see appendix a).
[16] Will dated 14 Oct. 1782, proved 2 May 1787 (Pedigree of the Sankey family (NLI, Genealogical office MS 175, f. 116), Bridget Sankey, Edward Sankey, Lord Ranelagh, 3 Feb. 1789, Reg. Deeds, 404.25.266731).
[17] Bridget Sankey, Rev. John Williamson and Thomas Oakley Williamson, 15 Jun. 1795 (Reg. Deeds, 476.346.314873).
[18] John Nugent, Bridget Sankey and Elizabeth Sankey, 28 Jun. 1796 (Reg. Deeds, 476.374.324065), Bridget Sankey, Rev. John Williamson and Thomas Oakley Williamson, 15 Jun. 1795 (Reg. Deeds, 476.346.314873).
[19] Bridget Sankey, Rev. John Williamson and Thomas Oakley Williamson, 15 Jun. 1795 (Reg. Deeds, 476.346.314873).

Business

Henry Gore became a freeman of the city of Dublin by birth in 1768.[20] He joined his father at Grafton Street once he was made free of the merchant's guild (although more than likely he trained with him).[21] He traded at his father's premises, 77 Grafton Street, until his father retired in 1779. As Edward was heavily involved in Dublin Corporation, serving as lord mayor 1766-67, it is possible that Henry Gore worked in the business from this date as his father would have been absent from the firm. From 1783 he was made free of the 6 and 10 per cent at the Custom House, a privilege restricted to wholesale merchants. [22] He had acquired a premise at 9 Clare Street by 1783, a move probably influenced by the relocation of the Custom House to the east particularly as Henry Gore Sankey sat as a commissioner for the Wide Streets Commission.[23] Wine merchants were, for the most part, absent from the Committee of Merchants and Chamber of Commerce who objected to the Custom House move and this address change shows that Sankey was not reluctant to embrace the change.[24] This new site gave easier access to the north side, the Custom House as well as additional access to the Merrion Square and Baggott Street developments built up in the following two decades. By 1812 Sankey had acquired a house on one of these new developments and lived at 6 Rutland square.[25] The account books of the Bank of Ireland give glimpses of a proportion of his wealth and by 1801 Henry Gore held £7,215 in bank stock.[26] This figure represents only a portion of his wealth at this time.

Henry Gore also took over his father's position of Superintendent of the City Coal Yard on his father's death which gave him additional income of £200 per annum.[27] The office required him to stockpile coal when the market was flooded in anticipation of periods of scarcity.[28] Coal was a commodity with a constant demand in the capital and the 'absence of any regulation of the trade encouraged the periodic glutting of the Dublin market'.[29] During the coldest months crisis could ensue in the city as poorer citizens could not afford the inflated prices of coal caused by seasonal scarcity. While the coal yards were supposed to ensure that there was enough coal in the city this was not always possible and commissions of 1761, 1791 and 1796 suggested that the lord mayor should be vested with

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[20] Gertrude Thrift (ed.) *Roll of freemen; city of Dublin 1468-1485, 1575-1774,* iv (NLI, MS 79).
[21] *Wilson's Dublin Directory,* 1776.
[22] Ibid. 1783.
[23] Henry Gore Sankey (representative of Thomas Pilkington), Wide Streets Commission, 27 Jul. 1786 (Reg. Deeds, 376.479.252102).
[24] The foundation stone for the new Custom House was laid Aug. 1781.
[25] *Wilson's Dublin Directory,* 1812.
[26] Bank of Ireland Stock Book 1783-1800 (DCLA, MS 9, f. 104).
[27] He replaced Timothy Allen (*The Freeman's Journal,* 4 Sept. 1764).
[28] House of Commons, *Report from the Committee to whom it was referred to inquire into the causes of the excessive price of coals etc* (Dublin, 1761).
[29] Cullen, *Anglo-Irish trade,* p. 122.

greater power to deal with the scarcity and abuses within the coal trade such as hoarding, overpricing[30] and a prevalent practice known as the 'Old Man'.[31] In 1793 Henry Gore Sankey (acting in the capacity of ex-lord mayor and superintendent of the city coal yards) was called to a House of Commons commission to investigate the abuses in the coal trade. Under oath he testified that he had made fines in the city amounting to £99 during his mayoralty. He further testified that the actions of two coal factors in particular, Toole and Sutherland, were responsible for driving up prices in parts of the city, which indicates he had an extensive knowledge of the market.[32] Six days later W. Reilly, a city coal factor, recalled that on one occasion Sankey had indeed summoned and fined three factors £16.[33] The testimonies indicate that individual lord mayors did attempt to regulate the coal trade but that it was difficult to ensure these reforms were observed consistently.

Investment and land

Prior to becoming free of the merchant's guild in Christmas 1768 Edward Sankey assigned the rent on a property in County Dublin to his son.[34] Henry Gore sold the interest in this lease for a dwelling on Dame Street in 1781[35] while re-leasing another property on Dame Street in 1784.[36] His business was located on Grafton Street and his expansion into Clare Street meant that he may have seen little use for these Dame Street premises. Nevertheless, the position of Dame Street in the centre of the city would have ensured some profit by the sale of these leases. By a lease of 1798 he confirmed his interest of part of his father's lease of land in Co. Longford. Albny Parker, the original owner had died and the new lease was re-granted by Albny Parker Sankey.[37] This deed shows a family interest in the land in this area which Henry Gore Sankey was consolidating by leasing from his relation (perhaps a cousin). By this time he had also acquired a lease of a small portion of land at

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[30] Reports of the commissions which sat to deal with coal prices in the city are in no way complete or detailed but do shed some light on the abuses and activity of lord mayors in this area (House of Commons *Report from the Committee to whom it was referred to inquire into the causes of the excessive price of coals etc.* (Dublin, 1761), NAI, Coal records, 1a-46-46 Public Coal Yard Commissions 1769-1796).

[31] A piece in *The Freeman's Journal* defined the practice of Old Man in 1771:'What is meant by the OLD MAN, is a sum of money, from one often to five shillings per ton, which is returned by the captains out of the price they receive from the public for their coals; the higher the coals are, the greater the OLD MAN; at a time when the coals are sold to the public for a guinea per ton, the humane factors have often have whole cargoes from the captains at the markets for 19s. 6d. or 20s. per ton. The remainder they are content with for their trouble; indeed those factors are sometimes obliged to allow the loaders 6d. or 9d. per ton, out of that for their services.' (*The Freeman's Journal,* 1 Jan. 1771)

[32] Committee on the state of the coal trade, 1793 (NAI, Coal records, 1a-46-46, f. 6).

[33] Ibid, f. 38.

[34] Edward Sankey and Thomas Sankey, Pet Etchkins 23 Aug. 1768 (Reg. Deeds, 267.345.172072).

[35] Henry Gore Sankey, James Hogarty, 28 May 1781 (Reg. Deeds, 339.145.227944).

[36] Henry Gore Sankey, John Fallon, 14 Apr. 1784 (Reg. Deeds, 357.289.240546).

[37] Albny Parker deceased and Albny Parker Sankey (heir of Albny Parker), Letitia Kelly (nee Sankey widow) and Henry Gore Sankey, 23 Aug. 1798 (Reg. Deeds, 518.340.342145).

Castle Farm in Monkstown which consisted of a dwelling house.[38] He did not take residence of this house and leased it in September 1811 for £8.10s 6½d. per annum.[39]

Henry Gore acquired a lease on Rutland Square by 1812 that likely became his principal retirement home.[40] Adjacent to a large square and gardens and in close proximity to Sackville Mall, Rutland Square (opened in 1791) was an address fashionable enough to reflect their commercial success. A family tree made in the nineteenth century cited Henry Gore as resident of 'Fort Frederick in the County of Cavan' on his death.[41] No deed has been found to confirm this residence. The estate could not have passed into the family until at least 1833 as this land was in the possession of Nathaniel Sneyd until his death 29 July 1833. Nathaniel Sneyd, son of Edward Sneyd and also a merchant, was probably a cousin of Sankey's wife (nee Sneyd) which would explain why, on the death of the childless Nathaniel, the estate passed to the Sankey family.[42] It is difficult to assess if Sankey retired to Longford. Nothing in the newspapers or *Dublin Directories* would suggest so. It would seem that he maintained his urban residence at Rutland Square. While we can be certain that the future family estate was Fort Frederick in Co. Cavan, Henry Gore Sankey could not have resided there.

Public sphere

Henry Gore Sankey's career mirrored his father's and shows the continuity of families in the corporation. Edward was sheriff 1759-1760, appointed alderman in 1761 and lord mayor in 1766-67. By 1773 Henry Gore was serving for the merchant's guild on the common council of the corporation.[43] In 1777 he was appointed high sheriff and was particularly active. (He suppressed a 'notorious' gambling establishment on Essex Street called Morris's Café in November 1777.[44] When the house was re-opened a few weeks later Sankey made a further attempt to have it shut down. He entered the house, identified some of the clientele, and had the market cryer, Daniel Crinnigan, imprisoned in Newgate for gambling.[45]) Edward Sankey's death in March 1784 created a vacancy on the board of aldermen. Edward's death notice stated that he was a 'most distinguished' alderman. He had a 'refined elegance of manners' which 'were happily blended in this Gentleman's

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[38] Henry Gore Sankey, John Hickey, 6 Sept. 1811 (Reg. Deeds, 636.487.439.188).
[39] Henry Gore Sankey, John Hickey, 6 Sept. 1811 (Reg. Deeds, 636.487.439.188), Henry Gore Sankey, Thomas Earl of Longford, Thomas Pim, 6 Sept. 1811 (Reg. Deeds, 645.11.440104).
[40] *Dublin Directory,* 1812.
[41] Pedigree of the Sankey family (NLI, Genealogical office MS 175, p. 119).
[42] Joseph Hone, 'Bibliographical Notes' in George O'Brien (ed), *The Bank of Ireland, 1783-1946* (Dublin, 1948), p. 505.
[43] He is certainly on the council by 1773 but it is difficult to discern when (*Dublin Directory,* 1773).
[44] *Dublin Journal,* 4 Nov. 1777.
[45] *Dublin Journal,* 20 Dec. 1777.

character'.[46] The advertisement went on to acknowledge that in his son there was a ready replacement for Edward. While his death would be 'an irreparable loss to his friends...the congenial disposition of his son Henry Gore Sankey Esq., [would] ensure the continuance of those many amiable qualities'.[47] Henry Gore took the opportunity to forward his ambitions with the corporation and to be elected in his father's seat. The election of Henry Gore to the aldermanic position, and the office of Superintendent of the City Coal Yard shows the continuity of families to, in particular, higher corporation offices.[48] Henry Gore was also involved on a parish level and served as a church warden of St. Anne's parish 1785-6.[49]

In 1790 Henry Gore Sankey ran for one of two parliamentary seats of Dublin city. His popularity as a city sheriff and the ease with which he acquired a seat on the alderman board confirm that the upper ranks of the corporation held him in great esteem. He had been nominated by the alderman board with outgoing lord mayor, John Exshaw, as 'a fit and proper person to represent this city in the ensuing parliament.'[50] Sankey and Exshaw united for the course of the election campaign advertising together in February, March and April.[51] In addition Dublin Castle and the conservative newspapers the *Dublin Journal* and *The Freeman's Journal* supported their campaign. While support for corporation men in parliament had declined greatly after the Lucas affair of 1749, the election of Alderman William Alexander to parliament in 1783 must have raised the hopes of the alderman board to have a further candidate elected. However, the support of the alderman board for the administration contrasted with city liberals' determination to repeal the much hated Police Act. The election was 'well-orchestrated and sustained...against the [Police] Act, which secured the support of those concerned for civil liberty'.[52] As conservative corporation men, both Exshaw and Sankey supported the police force. Their opponents were Henry Grattan and Lord Henry Fitzgerald, two popular city patriots whom they could not defeat.

The high point in Sankey's public career came while he was lord mayor in 1791-92. He appears to have been a popular lord mayor with the freemen. His term began with ceremony and display and throughout the year he worked hard to enhance his profile, particularly with city Protestants. Sankey used the discussion concerning Catholic relief and the consolidated Protestant Ascendancy in the corporation and city guilds to build on

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[46] *Dublin Journal,* 18 Mar. 1784.
[47] Ibid.
[48] *CARD,* xiii, 356.
[49] *Dublin Directory,* 1785-6.
[50] *Dublin Journal,* 13 Feb. 1790.
[51] *The Dublin Journal, The Freeman's Journal, Saunder's Newsletter,* Feb, Mar, Apr. 1790.
[52] R. B. McDowell, *Grattan: a life* (Dublin, 2001), p. 106.

his popularity. At the open of his term he held a large dinner at the Mansion House and provided a turtle that reportedly weighed 179 pounds for his guests. The lord lieutenant attended and sat at the right hand of the mayor,[53] Sankey was joined by some of the most important individuals in the country.[54] While this event was a corporation ceremony (although not an annual occasion), the appearance of so many high-ranking officials and nobility at the table of a merchant was significant. It showed that through his work in the corporation Sankey had opportunities to socialise with the upper class, although he did so at their discretion. [55]

Sankey was the first lord mayor to ride in the new State Coach, a highly publicised occasion. A coach for the lord mayor had been commissioned since 1763 (six years after London commissioned and built a state coach for its lord mayor).[56] As the commission was never carried out, the lord mayor was allowed up to £60 per annum for 'supporting the state coach', which was to cover the cost of hiring horses and a coach for civic occasions.[57] In 1766 the corporation paid 100 guineas to repair a Berlin coach which had been 'made a present to the city of Dublin by the most noble Marquis of Kildare'[58] and which was used in place of an official state coach. In July 1789, however, a second proposal was put to the corporation and accepted that, at the cost of £600, a state coach be commissioned for the use of the lord mayor.[59] The eventual cost far outstripped the proposed price and the *Dublin Journal* reported the cost in 1789 as £1,200.[60] In fact the coach eventually cost the city £2,690 13s 5d.[61] *Magee's Weekly Packet* suggested that the the rivalry created with the lord chancellor's coach determined the expense of the State Coach and elaborated on point when the coach was unveiled: 'To convey a just idea of its elegance by words would be impossible—the City Berlin and the chancellor's coach from their situation in the train came immediately into competition; the former certainly lost nothing by this circumstance; the latter, if nothing else gained an uninterrupted hiss'.[62] The Lord Chancellor, the Earl of

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[53] *Dublin Journal,* 6 Sept. 1791.
[54] The right honourable Major Hobart, Lord Donaghmore, Baron Hamilton, Mr. Justice Boyd, the honourable Mr. Packenham, the honourable Mr. Jocelyn, the honourable Mr. Cockayne, Mr. Secretary Hamilton, Major Freemantle, General Ward and his Aide-de-Camps, Dean Wetham, Mr. Borough, Mr. Meck, Capts Finch and Mitche, Aide de Camps in waiting to his Excellency, the surgeon general, Mr. Quinn several of the board of aldermen, members of the common council and a number of respectable citizens (ibid).
[55] Municipal records do not record social activities but corporation traditions can be identified from some records such as the annual oyster day (*CARD,* viii, xxi).
[56] In 1763 the *Dublin Journal* had reported that £400 had been voted for the coach (*Dublin Journal,* 23 Jul. 1763).
[57] *CARD,* xii, 219.
[58] Ibid, xi, 340-1.
[59] Ibid, xiv, 114-5.
[60] *Dublin Journal,* 1 Aug. 1789.
[61] Douglas Bennett, *Encyclopaedia of Dublin* (Dublin, 1994), p. 124.
[62] *Magee's Weekly Packet,* 12 Nov. 1791.

Clare, had paid £7,000 for his London-built coach in the same year. The State Coach gave an opportunity for the corporation to support local craftsmen and display the superiority of Irish workmanship as well as an appropriate occasion for the city to rally behind Irish trade, and its unveiling by Henry Gore Sankey no doubt added to his personal prestige.

The occasion for the coach's first use was the annual celebration of the birth and landing of William of Orange and traditionally a cavalcade of civic and national figures went in state to the castle. In October 1791 the *Dublin Journal* reported with much pleasure that the carriage built 'to enable the chief magistrate to appear with splendour proportionate to his rank and authority' was almost ready for its appearance at the annual celebrations.[63] The *Dublin Journal* rallied behind the cause of the coach and expressed no objection to the price it had cost the city. The lord mayor's rank, it was suggested, necessitated a lavish state coach. Readers of the *Dublin Journal* were reminded a week later that the coach would be on display and reported the event.[64] The *Hibernian Magazine* boasted of the brilliance and 'genius' of the Irish design. 'The superior excellence of Irish workmanship, when contrasted with the most boasted productions of Irish art and genius imported into this country was never more conspicuous than the comparison impartially made between the Lord Chancellor's and the Lord Mayor's superb carriages, though the later did not cost half the sum.'[65] The state coach appears to have rallied the city behind one cause, to create a showcase to illustrate the skill of its craftsmen and the value of its products with the office of lord mayor occasioning the prospect for such a display. Irish craftsmanship appears to have won the day, at lest in the minds of Dubliners, with the lord mayor's coach being upheld as far superior to the lord chancellor's English-built coach.

January 1792 provided further opportunities for Sankey to cast himself as a civic leader. The year opened with a public address to Westmorland printed in the press demanding 'further repeal of the laws affecting the Roman Catholics of Ireland' signed by Catholics associated with the Committee.[66] It symbolised the beginning of a year of tension. A Catholic relief act was passed and achieved more than any other repeal to date. On 20 January 1792 the corporation drew up an address of loyalty to George III stating that as they were 'sensibly impressed with the value of our excellent constitution' they hoped the king would 'preserve the Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland'.[67] This statement was

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[63] *Dublin Journal,* 22 Oct. 1791.
[64] 'The new city state coach made its first appearance on this occasion amid the platitude not only of the populous who patriotically exulted at the exhibition of so capital, so spirited and so honourable a display of the excellence of Irish manufacture' (Ibid, 5 Nov. 1791).
[65] *Hibernian Magazine,* 12 Nov. 1791.
[66] *Dublin Journal,* 1 Jan. 1792.
[67] *CARD,* xiv, 241.

supported by an address drawn up in the same assembly to the city M.P.s, Lord Henry Fitzgerald and Henry Grattan, which expressed the corporation's fear of Catholic enfranchisement. 'At times like the present when we see the newspapers filled with resolutions of different associations expressing discontent and urging...alterations in the happy constitution under which we have lived and prospered.'[68] As the M.P.s had claimed during the election to uphold the wishes of their constituents, the corporation wanted them to object against any further relief for Catholics which they believed would 'subvert the Protestant Ascendancy'.[69] The addresses became popular within and outside the corporation and Sankey, as the lord mayor and signatory, received much of the thanks.

The heightened political atmosphere within the city and the subsequent printed addresses from guilds and the corporation show that as chief magistrate Sankey was sought out to become the civic defender of Protestant Ascendancy. In September the corporation drew up a letter addressed 'To the Protestants of Ireland' in response to the pamphlet *An address from the general committee of Roman Catholics, to their Protestant fellow subjects, and to the public in general.*[70] The letter asserted that Dublin Corporation believed in a Protestant Ascendancy which consisted of 'a Protestant king of Ireland—a Protestant parliament—a Protestant hierarchy—Protestant elections and government...by a connection with the Protestant realm of Britain'.[71] Almost a week after Sankey's successor took office the *Dublin Journal* reported that among Sankey's qualities, such as his hospitality and concern for the poor, were that he was 'warmly attached to the constant in church and state' and that his 'manly spirit stood forth in...support' of this cause.[72] The passage portrayed Sankey as a loyal defender of the Protestant faith. Furthermore, the address of loyalty had been a popular move within the corporation: 'The committee that drew up the address included besides two police commissioners and John Giffard on the castle side, one of the most popular opposition aldermen (Henry Howison), and the Presbyterian alderman, William Alexander, it was therefore broadly representative of all shades of opinions in the corporation'.[73] The address further offered civic support to those within parliament who sought to defend the Protestant faith on similar lines. While parliament had eroded the powers of the corporation between 1760 and 1790 (such as the

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[68] Ibid, 243.
[69] Ibid.
[70] General Committee of Roman Catholics of Ireland, *An address from the general committee of Roman Catholics, to their Protestant fellow subjects, and to the public in general* (Dublin, 1792)
[71] *CARD,* xiv, 287.
[72] *Dublin Journal,* 6 Oct. 1792.
[73] Hill, *From patriots to unionists,* p. 221.

establishment of the police force from 1786) in matters of religious policy they were 'prepared to back the guilds and corporations'.[74]

The addresses which Sankey received at the close of his term as lord mayor illustrates how popular he had become over the course of the year. The guild of felt-makers, guild of smiths and brewers guild printed a thanks, with a response from the out going lord mayor three times in the *Dublin Journal*.[75] The guild of felt-makers, which presented the longest of the addresses, thanked Sankey in a general manner for the 'attention which...[he] paid to every department of office' but in particular they drew attention to his attempts 'to suppress the immoderate use of spirituous liquors amongst the lower order of people'.[76] Through licensing, regulation and inspection of the city public houses, Sankey may have attempted to enforce serving hours and to eradicate the illegal alcohol trade in the city. He may not have been successful but the address creates an image of a moral, reforming chief citizen.

In addition to an address of thanks, the corporation gave Sankey a gold box and asked him to sit for a portrait to 'be placed in a conspicuous part of the Mansion House, as an example to future lord mayors to emulate his merits'.[77] The corporation voted to pay £100 for the portrait however by April 1793 the budget had increased to £500. After visiting an exhibition of paintings displayed at a museum in Mary Street, they chose the young portrait painter William Cumming of Crow Street. Justin Pope was commissioned to make the frame at a cost of ten guineas.[78] In Sankey's response to their address he stated that he hoped the corporation would 'continue happy and united, a glorious example of loyalty and patriotism to a great and prosperous nation'.[79] The mention in Sankey's address of 'loyalty' suggests that the corporation address of loyalty to the Protestant Ascendancy which had been made during his term had a dramatic affect on his profile with the Protestant freemen. His portrait as lord mayor depicts him standing in the Royal Exchange overseeing the city and its interests. The portrait was hung within the Mansion House and suggests they sought to create a memorial to a mayor who defended the Protestant faith and the Protestant Ascendancy.[80]

By the close of his term Sankey was undoubtedly a popular civic figure among freemen supporters of Protestant Ascendancy. In 1797 the alderman board put him forward

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[74] J. R. Hill, 'The shaping of Dublin government in the long eighteenth century', in P. Clark and R. Gillespie (eds.), *Two capitals: London and Dublin, 1500-1840, proceedings of the British Academy,* 7 (2001), p. 165.
[75] *Dublin Journal,* 20- 25 Oct. 1792.
[76] Ibid, 25 Oct. 1792.
[77] *CARD,* xiv, 289.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Ibid, 312-3.
[80] *Dublin Journal,* 27 Apr. 1793.

for parliament again. This 1797 attempt was doomed from the beginning. The election was the first which allowed Catholics to benefit from repeal of the penal laws which disqualified all Catholics from voting. A staunchly Protestant figure was never likely to be a popular candidate with the new electorate. Francis Higgins, proprietor of *The Freeman's Journal* and government informer, pointed to the problems of Sankey's candidacy in a letter of 8 July 1797: 'government knows from the experienced expenditure of a large sum that aldermen cannot carry their election'.[81] Aldermen were too conservative and hugely unpopular. Strongly against the nomination of Sankey, Higgins wrote that Sankey 'has interest at the board of aldermen when coupled with [Alderman] Alexander, in the common council scarcely any'.[82] Higgins recognised the difficulty for corporation men who did not have the backing of the commons (the popular city voice) succeeding to seats in parliament. He elaborated that 'among the corporations he is looked upon as a person of great hauteur'. The many positions within the city that Sankey held went against him. As Superintendent of the City Coal Yard he was unpopular with 'the lower orders' who 'make great complaint' of him. He was equally unpopular for his other offices, as a lottery commissioner and member of the paving board and this, Higgins believed, meant that the electors would not vote for him.[83] By 25 July it was reported that Sankey had declined any offer of nomination for the election. *The Freeman's Journal,* by now a Castle paper, supported his claim to election: 'It is but fair to say this gentleman had a strong claim on his fellow citizens; he served the various offices of trust and importance with so much impartiality and vigilant conduct'.[84] They were prepared to defend even the suggestion that Sankey should have been nominated because of his conservative credentials.

Private sphere

In May 1776 Sankey married Barbara Sneyd. While the *Dublin Journal* states that Barbara was daughter of Rev William Sneyd[85] there was almost certainly a connection with Nathaniel Sneyd, merchant of the firm of Sneyd, French & Barton, 42 Upper Sackville Street (the largest wine merchant in Ireland).[86] Henry Gore and Barbara had five children together. Edward, born approximately a year after the marriage, entered Trinity College

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[81] Francis Higgins to 'Dear Sir' [Edward Cooke], 11 July 1797 (Thomas Bartlett (ed), *Revolutionary Dublin, 1795-1801, The letters of Francis Higgins to Dublin Castle* (Dublin, 2004), p. 173).
[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid.
[84] *The Freeman's Journal,* 25 Jul. 1797.
[85] *Dublin Journal,* 23 May 1776.
[86] Hone, 'Bibliographical Notes', p. 505.

Dublin on 7 June 1794.[87] He later became an army captain. In August 1807 he married Frances the daughter of Sir John Cramer Coghill, Baronet, and Maria, daughter of the Most Rev Rt Hon Josiah Hort, Lord Archbishop of Tuam (the family had settled in York).[88] Their second son, Henry Sneyd, died unmarried in 1819.[89] The eldest daughter, Eleanor, married a barrister named Richard Scott but died without issue.[90] The two remaining daughters were May and Barbara. Neither were listed in the family tree as having married.[91] The extant grant of will of Barbara Sankey, who outlived her husband by eighteen years mentions only Barbara (a spinster) who was bequeathed her full personal legacy of £6,900.[92]

While Sankey's will is not extant it is possible to tell something of his wealth on death. When his widow died she passed £6,900 to their daughter, an amount that represented all or part of her fortune and was a substantial sum. This income would have financed a lifestyle of an urban lady and while it is unclear how Sankey divided his interest in leases his widow may have had a country residence. It was most likely that through her relations the family inherited an estate of Fort Frederick in Co. Cavan. Sankey also would have granted sums to his children. While Sankey attempted to hold onto his father's land holdings, purchasing from his sister the land which her father had passed to her, he held only a fraction of the Longford land when he renewed a lease in 1798. He held the lease of a small holding in Monkstown and some urban leases.

Sankey's failed parliamentary endeavour did not cause him to break from his urban connections. As discussed in the introduction, in 1811 Sankey sat once more for a portrait by William Cumming, this as Colonel of the Militia, a position he held from 1793. Though he retired in 1794, his retirement was filled with corporation duties up until his death and he remained extremely proud of his position in the Dublin militia. The education of his children, and his maintenance of his corporation titles, his address on Rutland Square and the portrait all show that Sankey, with children raised to the level of professions, had become an urban gentleman.

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[87] George Dames Burtchaell, Thomas Ulick Sadlier (ed.) *Alumni Dublinenses*; *A Register of the students, graduates professors and provosts of Trinity College in the University of Dublin 1593-1860,* (2 vols, Dublin, 1935), ii, 733

[88] Pedigree of the Sankey family (Genealogical office NLI, MS 175, f. 18)

[89] Ibid.

[90] Ibid.

[91] Ibid.

[92] Will of Barbara Sankey nee Snyed (NAI, 1839 f. 64b).

II

The Trumbull family was entrenched in the Dublin commercial community by the late eighteenth century and show how a commercial family could rise to independent means three generations without entering the landed class. Unlike Sankey, Nathaniel Trumbull did not use civic institutions to raise his status. After a successful career in trade Trumbull retired to a parcel of land in the suburbs of Dublin. His children were educated, he socialised with the professional class and members of the landed class and enjoyed the leisurely pursuits of a country squire. His land holdings were only marginal and his main income came from investments and some urban property. He was socially mobile during his life and did transfer these gains but did not enter the upper class.

In 1710 Nathaniel 'Trimble,' the grandfather of the primary subject of this case study, was made free of the city as a weaver by service.[93] His son, Nathaniel Trumbull, weaver (hereafter Trumbull senior) was freed of the city at Michealmas 1743.[94] In 1764 Nathaniel Trumbull senior had entered the merchants guild,[95] not an uncommon jump for weavers who expanded their business enough to encompass both cloth production and the trade of their finished product. (Trumbull senior's brother, Joseph, made free in 1750 from the weaver's guild, appears to have maintained his original occupation as a weaver.) In 1764-65, a period of military riots in the city, Trumbull served as a sheriff of the city, taking the oath that he was worth over £2,000.[96] Regardless of his freedom of the merchant's guild, Trumbull continued to sit on the common council as a representative of the weaver's guild.[97] From 1772 Trumbull senior appears to have retired with no advertisement in the *Dublin Directories* until his appointment as city sword bearer in 1781, a job which provided him with £100 per annum.[98] In addition, from 1776 the corporation paid Trumbull twenty guineas for his annual calculation of the weekly assize of bread.[99] Trumbull also acted as the city water bailiff (from at least 1774),[100] for which he received an annual grant of oysters, £25 per annum and his expenses. [101] These positions show how valuable additional income from the corporation could be. Trumbull seems to have lived from this income during his retirement. In 1757 Nathaniel Trumbull senior married

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[93] Gertrude Thrift (ed.) *Roll of Freemen; City of Dublin 1468-1485, 1575-1774,* iv (NLI, MS 79).
[94] Ibid.
[95] List of members of the Trinity guild, 1700-1841 (NLI, MS 3019).
[96] *CARD,* xii, 196
[97] *Dublin Directory,* 1769.
[98] *CARD,* xiii, 201.
[99] Ibid, xii, 410.
[100] Ibid, 444.
[101] Ibid, xiv, 506.

Dorothy Booker and they resided at Parliament Street.[102] They had at least three children: 'Master John Booker Trumbull' died in 1766, age unknown,[103] Nathaniel Trumbull junior and Elizabeth, both birth unknown. Nathaniel Trumbull senior died in late August 1797.[104]

Business

As the freemen records of the city are incomplete for this period it is impossible to ascertain when Nathaniel Trumbull junior was made free, however, the appearance of 'Trumbull, Nathaniel and Co. Merchants' in the *Dublin Directories* in 1787 may indicate the beginning of his trading. (Deeds made later in the period suggest that he traded as Nathaniel Trumbull and Co.[105]) It is not, however, until 1792 that Nathaniel Trumbull, junior, appears in the *Dublin Directories* as trading from Abbey Street. The earliest surviving letters of Trumbull's business are from the year 1788,[106] but his extant correspondence does not become consistent until 1793. Nevertheless, an account book from 1791 suggests that Trumbull junior was a regular customer with the Bank of Ireland.[107]

The inconsistency of Trumbull's own description of his business means that it is difficult to date the origins of the business with absolute accuracy. From 1793 he was certainly importing tobacco, port, wine, sugar and rum,[108] a change in direction from his father's line of business in cloth. His main commodity was tobacco and he purchased it from a large number of sources. On at least one occasion, in 1796, he dealt with an agent in New York.[109] By 1797 he dealt directly with wholesalers in Virginia.[110] His correspondence also shows that he kept track of international prices throughout the year in order to take advantage of the best market prices. His tobacco was not always imported directly from America. They also purchased from Glasgow which was, during this period, the centre of the European tobacco trade.[111] His correspondence with his business

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[102] Marriage license of Nathaniel Trumbull (NAI, Betham f. 196b).*The Freeman's Journal,* 11 Feb. 1766.
[103] *The Freeman's Journal,* 11 Feb. 1766.
[104] *The Freeman's Journal,* 2 Sept. 1797.
[105] Trumbull and Martin Geoghegan (trading as Nathaniel Trumbull and Co.) Robert Meyler 29 Apr. 1807 (Reg. Deeds, 595.326.406544); Trumbull, Martin Hynes Geoghegan (Reg. Deeds, 610.22.416224).
[106] John Cunningham to Nathaniel Trumbull, 1 April 1788 (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, box 6).
[107] Account books, 39, Mar. 1791- Nov. 1792 (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039).
[108] There are sixty letters between Trumbull and John Boswell of Athlone concerning Trumbull's sale of tobacco and port to Boswell which date between 22 May 1793-12 Dec. 1806, however the bulk of letters were in 1796 (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box 10).
[109] James Bradish, New York to Nathaniel Trumbull, Dublin 11 June 1796 (NYPL, MS 3039, Box 10).
[110] John Davis, Portsmouth, Virginia to Trumbull, Dublin, 15 May 1797, John Henrys, Richmond to Trumbull, Dublin, 1 Jul. 1807, John Henrys, Richmond to Trumbull, Dublin, 16 Aug. 1807, W. A. Wallace, New York to Trumbull, Dublin, 18 Jul. 1810, William Brown and Co, Richmond to Trumbull, Dublin, 20 Nov. 1811, (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box 10).
[111] Cross, Rutherford & Co., Glasgow, to Trumbull, Dublin, 15 Nov. 1793, Cross, Rutherford & Co., Glasgow, to Trumbull, Dublin, 30 Nov. 1793, John Ballantine, Air, to Trumbull, Dublin, 14 Nov. 1797, John

associates, Nathaniel Anderson and Martin Hynes Geoghegan, show that the company were personally responsible for the purchase of large proportions of their stock from business journeys to Great Britain. Trips were made by Nathaniel Trumbull or one of his partners to London, where prices were communicated, to Liverpool, Edinburgh and then to Glasgow where more communications were made.[112] Decisions over purchase were made in Scotland to allow, if necessary, further trips back to London.[113]

Trumbull's correspondence with William Irvine, who acted as a purchasing agent for tobacco in Richmond, Virginia, shows that Trumbull purchased tobacco in Virginia only when market prices in Glasgow and London were exceptionally high.[114] He imported sugar and rum only once a year as a supplement to his tobacco trade.[115] His trade in tobacco from America must have encouraged him to diversify. He imported flaxseed from Rotterdam[116] and by 1804 he purchased additional flaxseed through an agent in New

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Ballantine, Air, to Trumbull, Dublin, 4 Jun. 1795, John McCall, Glasgow, to Trumbull, Dublin, 12 Jun. 1807, John McCall, Glasgow, to Trumbull, Dublin, 6 Oct. 1807, Boyde Dunlop, Glasgow to Trumbull, Dublin, 8 Nov. 1807, Hume and Holmes, Glasgow to Trumbull, Dublin, 10 Jul. 1809, Hume and Holmes, Glasgow to Trumbull, Dublin, 18 Dec. 1809, Hume and Holmes, Paisley to Trumbull, Dublin Jan. 1810, Hume and Holmes, Glasgow to Trumbull, Dublin, [undated], Hume and Holmes, Glasgow to Trumbull, Dublin, 18 Jun. 1810, Hume and Holmes, Glasgow to Trumbull, Dublin, 19 Mar. 1810, Ben Barton, Glasgow to Trumbull, Dublin, 22 Oct. 1811, Ben Barton, Glasgow to Trumbull, Dublin, 16 Mar. 1813, B.A. Brown, Glasgow to Trumbull, Dublin, 4 Oct. 1800, Corbett, Buchanon & Co., Glasgow, to Trumbull, Dublin, 25 Oct. 1811, Corbett, Buchanon & Co., Glasgow, to Trumbull, Dublin, 5 Nov. 1811, Corbett, Buchanon & Co., Glasgow, to Trumbull, Dublin, 5 Feb. 1812, William Irvine & Co., Glasgow, to Trumbull, Dublin 21 May 1812, (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box 10).

[112] The two certainly worked together from 1797, Geoghegan began as Trumbull's clerk however, the registration of two deeds, the first in 1807, states the two were, by 1807, partners, under the partnership of Nathaniel Trumbull and Co. they held a lease together from April 1807 of premises in Wexford town, which they leased to Robert Meyler, a formal deed was registered between the two parties in April 1809 and they both held stock in trade of £15,000 and to continue the company they would both invest a further £5,000 stock in trade (Nathaniel Trumbull and Martin Geoghegan trading as Nathaniel Trumbull and Co., Robert Meyler, 29 Apr. 1807 (Reg. Deeds, 595.326.406544), Nathaniel Trumbull, Martin Hynes Geoghegan, 17 Apr. 1809 (Reg. Deeds, 610.22.416224).

[113] M. H. Geoghegan to Nathaniel Trumbul, folder I, from London, Glasgow and Liverpool, 7 Aug. 1797- 2 Feb. 1808, 80 letters, Martin Hynes Geoghegan to Trumbull, folder II, 7 Aug. 1797- 2 Feb. 1808, 79 letters, in London (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box 5).

[114] William Irvine & Co., Glasgow, to Trumbull, Dublin, 24 Apr. 1812, William Irvine & Co., Glasgow, to Trumbull, Dublin, 21 May 1812 (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box 10).

[115] James Bradish, New York to Trumbull, Dublin Jun. 1796, (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box 10).

[115] Shaw, Campbell & Kirkpatrick, Kingston to Mess Nathaniel Trumbull jun. & Co., Dublin, 14 Apr. 1793, Shaw, Campbell & Kirkpatrick, Kingston to Mess Nathaniel Trumbull jun. & Co., Dublin, 9 Aug. 1793, John Campbell, Kingston, Jamaica to Nathaniel Trumbull, Dublin, 7 Sept. 1793, 8 Shaw, Campbell & Kirkpatrick, Kingston to Mess Nathaniel Trumbull jun. & Co., Dublin, Sept. 1793, John Kirkpatrick, Kingston, to Mess Nathaniel Trumbull jun. & Co., Dublin, 10 Aug. 1794, John Blackley, Kingston, Jamaica, to Nathaniel Trumbull, jun., Dublin, 19 Jul. 1794, John Blackley, Kingston, Jamaica, to Nathaniel Trumbull, jun., Dublin, 16 Aug. 1794, John Campbell, Kingston, Jamaica to Nathaniel Trumbull, Dublin, 6 Nov. 1793, John Blackley, Kingston, Jamaica, to Nathaniel Trumbull, jun., Dublin, 8 Sept. 1795, George I Furnace, Demerara to Nathaniel Trumbull, Dublin via Liverpool, 19 Jan. 1808, William Mulock, Barbados to Nathaniel Trumbull, Dublin, 23 Jun. 1813 (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box 10).

[116] Hendrita & Sons, Rotterdam to Nathaniel Trumbull, Dublin, 11 Jul. 1799, Augustus Henry, Hamburg to Nathaniel Trumbull, Dublin, 6 May 1800, Herman & P. Van Yzendoorn, Rotterdam to Nathaniel Trumbull, Dublin, 5 Sept. 1803, Hendrita & Sons, Rotterdam to Nathaniel Trumbull, Dublin, 16 Nov. 1803, Herman & P. Van Yzendoorn, Rotterdam to Nathaniel Trumbull, Dublin, 2 Sept. 1805, Hendrita & Sons, Rotterdam to

York.[117] He imported wine from Porto 1793-1800 through the merchant Andrew Fallon of Ferreira, Curta.[1] It is unclear whether this wine business ceased from 1800 as there is no later extant correspondence which mentions the wholesale purchase of wine. While Trumbull traded in rum, sugar, wine and flaxseed his main commodity was undoubtedly tobacco. He diversified his business interests only once he had established himself in the tobacco trade.

Trumbull's reputation was important to him and this is drawn out in his correspondence. Trumbull made recommendations and accepted recommendations in return.[118] A letter of 1807 affirms that recommendations were how his international business connections were made: 'It was not until the 27 instant I have the pleasure of receiving your esteemed favour...accompanied by an introduction from our mutual friend Mr. John Montgomery Jun. of your city'.[119] When one firm shut or changed partners recommendations were made for replacement business. When Trumbull formed his business connections, a fundamental part of trading, he was eager to build up reliable suppliers. This can be seen in his trading in Jamaica with the firm of Shaw, Campbell and Kirkpatrick: 'We are thankful for your assurances that any business you do this way shall be through our houses, but at the same hour to advise you that our own partnership will terminate this present year'.[120] Changes in partnerships occurred on a regular basis. While this Jamaican partnership broke up, Kirkpatrick was eager to recommend associates: 'I lately found a connexion with Mr. William Porter of this place, and I carry on business under the firm of Kirkpatrick & Porter I take this opportunity of making you' an offer of

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Nathaniel Trumbull, Dublin, 7 Sept. 1805, Hendrita & Sons, Rotterdam to Nathaniel Trumbull, Dublin, 2 Dec. 1805, Hendrita & Sons, Rotterdam to Nathaniel Trumbull, Dublin, 6 Sept. 1806, Herman & P. Van Yzendoorn, Rotterdam to Nathaniel Trumbull, Dublin, 1 Oct. 1806, Hendrita & Sons, Rotterdam to Nathaniel Trumbull, Dublin, 1 Nov. 1807, Hendrita & Sons, Rotterdam to Nathaniel Trumbull, Dublin, 15 Sept. 1807, Hendrita & Sons, Rotterdam to Nathaniel Trumbull, Dublin, 27 Aug. 1808, Hendrita & Sons, Rotterdam to Nathaniel Trumbull, Dublin, 21 Sept. 1809, Richard Quinn Rotterdam to Nathaniel Trumbull, Dublin, 22 Feb. 1814 (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box 10).

[117] Lon & Wallace, New York to Nathaniel Trumbull, Dublin, 17 Jan. 1804, Lon & Wallace, New York to Nathaniel Trumbull, Dublin, 29 Jun. 1804, Lon & Wallace, New York to Nathaniel Trumbull, Dublin, 27 Nov. 1804, Lon & Wallace, New York to Nathaniel Trumbull, hon, esq, Dublin, 9 Feb. 1805, Lon & Wallace, New York to Nathaniel Trumbull, Dublin, 5 Dec. 1805, Lon & Wallace, New York to Nathaniel Trumbull, Dublin, 3 Jan. 1806, Lon & Wallace, New York to Nathaniel Trumbull, Dublin, 7 Jun. 1806, Lon & Wallace, New York to Nathaniel Trumbull, Dublin, 11 Aug. 1807, Valentine Blake, New York to Nathaniel Trumbull, Dublin, 14 Dec. 1811 (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box 10).

[118] Trumbull purchased flax for at least three years from the New York company Lon & Wallace after meeting through a mutual business associate in London where recommendations had been made (Lon & Wallace, New York to Trumbull, Dublin, 17 Jan. 1804 (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box 10).

[119] John Henrys, Richmond to Trumbull, Dublin, 1 Jul. 1807 (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box 10)

[120] Shaw, Campbell & Kirkpatrick, Kingston to Mess Trumbull jun. & Co., Dublin, 8 Sept. 1793 (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box 10)

trade.[121] As partnerships were often brief, reputation of one firm passed to another on a reference.

Shipping was organised for purchases made in London, Glasgow or even America through England.[122] Between 1795 and 1802 Trumbull shipped his tobacco with William Holder of Bristol.[123] From 1796 to 1807 he dealt with shippers Oddy, Whishaw & Hanley[124] and from 1800 to 1819 Trumbull shipped with London-based shipper William Conyns.[125] Just as shipping was organised primarily through London, so too was banking. Between 1796 and 1811 Trumbull dealt with James Brown of Liverpool as a banker. This arrangement primarily existed for remittance of bills while the partners made stops at Liverpool.[126] While some marginal business was undertaken with William and Thomas Bell & Co. of London,[127] Trumbull's primary bank in Britain was Richard Butler & Co. of London. He banked with this establishment for over twenty years.[128]

Land and investment

Nathaniel Trumbull senior held land and passed some land interests to his son. In 1783, Nathaniel Trumbull senior sold a house on Townshend Street to his son for £100. A year later Trumbull junior leased this house to James Kildare, timber merchant, for £10 per annum at a lease of ninety years.[129] If Trumbull senior had charged his son twenty-two years' rental for the cost of the house (a way of calculating on average the value of property for this period)[130] the house was under-priced.[131] Trumbull senior held land in both Dublin city and county and by the mid 1780s he appears to have broken up this interest. By 1766 he had sold interest in a lease he held for two acres of a bleaching field in Oxmantown.[132] In 1769 he sold a lease of a dwelling house in Ormond Quay[133] and by 1786 he sold a forty-one year lease of a passage site on Francis Street, which he had

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[121] John Kirkpatrick, Kingston, to Mess Trumbull jun. & Co., Dublin, 10 Aug. 1794 (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box 10).
[122] Beteen 1792 and 1816 there are 58 letters between Kymer and McTaggart of London, a Glasgow firm, London based and Trumbull (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, box 9& 10).
[123] There are 71 letters between Holder and Trumbull concerning shipping (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, box 9 & 10).
[124] NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, 5 letters, box 9 &10.
[125] NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, 7 letters, box 9 & 10.
[126] NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, box 9&10.
[127] NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, box 9&10, 5 letters.
[128] It is possible that they traded for longer but that letters are not extant (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, box 9&10, 160 letters)
[129] Trumbull, James Kildare, 10 May 1784 (Reg. Deeds, 381.62.251247).
[130] Edith Mary Johnston-Liik, *MPs in Dublin: companion to History of the Irish parliament 1692-1800* (Belfast, 2006), p. 53.
[131] Nathaniel Trumbull sen., Nathaniel Trumbull jun., 29 Jul. 1783 (Reg. Deeds, 354.203.237524).
[132] Nathaniel Trumbull sen., Thomas Grayson, 1 Nov. 1766 (Reg. Deeds, 245.421.162471).
[133] Nathaniel Trumbull sen., Alexander Kirkpatrick, 13 May 1762 (Reg. Deeds, 276.158.176911).

formerly used for business, for £200.[134] Trumbull had traded from Francis Street[135] until a business was opened under the family name at Abbey Street. This building certainly passed to (if it was not acquired by) Nathaniel Trumbull junior who traded from here for the entirety of his business career.[136] By 1793, Trumbull senior disposed a lease he held of 100 acres in Co. Meath at the yearly rent of £120.[137] His disposal of lease interest in the 1790s suggests that he was raising capital to support his retirement.

By the 1790s Trumbull junior had built up an interest in land to which he added continually. By 1793 he leased land in Mullhuddart, Co. Dublin. It is unclear when he acquired the lease of this land but the annual rent was £73.13s and he would have made a profit from the sub-lease of this land. He also purchased mortgages on rural estates. In 1801 he purchased a mortgage of £307 of a dwelling house in Leinster Street, Athy.[138] This mortgage was repaid in July 1815.[139] In 1802 he purchased a mortgage for lands in Killiney, Co. Westmeath as well as two equity bonds, one from March 1791 worth £1,000 and April 1791 worth £4,000 for a total of £7,460.[140] He also received £1,000 from George Orr in September 1802 which was probably partial purchase of a mortgage made in 1799.[141] In March 1816 he purchased a mortgage which entitled him to held of the lands of Portmarnock from Robert Orr for £386.7.6 which was repaid in August 1818.[142] On the break-up of his partnership with his nephew, Nathaniel Anderson, their business interest had to be divided.[143] Land in Athy was divided in 1816 with Trumbull receiving £3,000.[144] His land outside Dublin was certainly valuable.

Trumbull also invested in urban leases and by the first decade of the nineteenth century, he held interest in premises in Capel Street,[145] Frances Street,[146] Parliament Street[147] and Abbey Street[148] for which he took in c.£394.6.3 in rent annually. He had

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[134] Nathaniel Trumbull sen., Ann Brevett, 15 May 1786 (Reg. Deeds, 381.51.251199).
[135] *Dublin Directory,* 1761-1775.
[136] By 1811 he had acquired 89 Abbey Street in addition to 149.
[137] Nathaniel Trumbull sen., Patrick Larkin, 5 Jun. 1793 (Reg. Deeds, 466.521.298879).
[138] This was estimated at £3,000 when the property was divided up at the cessation of the partnership between Trumbull and Nathaniel Anderson.
[139] Trumbull on behalf of Nathaniel Trumbull and Co., Owen McEverett 6 Jul. 1805 (Reg. Deeds, 575.223.38558).
[140] Trumbull, Sir. John Hudley Doyle, 1 Sept. 1802 (Reg. Deeds, 549.456.364610).
[141] Trumbull, George Rochfort, George Orr, 1 Sept. 1802 (Reg. Deeds, 543.463.363662).
[142] Jacob William, Robert Orr, Trumbull 17 Aug. 1818 (Reg. Deeds, 731.117.498653, Robert Orr, Nathaniel Trumbull, 12 May 1822 (Reg. Deeds, 771.559.523087).
[143] This business partnership was short-lived, 1813-1815, and on its break-up Trumbull retired to Beechwood.
[144] Owen McEvatt, Trumbull and Nathaniel Anderson, 15 Oct. 1816 (Reg. Deeds, 717.550.490685).
[145] No rent cited but under a later lease this house was rented for £56.17.7 (Trumbull, Hugh Holmes, 18 Apr. 1803 (Reg. Deeds, 651.381.450239), Nathaniel Trumbull, Edward Darly 15 Sept. 1820 Reg. Deeds, 755.277.513213).
[146] Trumbull, Robert Usher, 27 Jan. 1806 (Reg. Deeds, 581.135.389798).
[147] Trumbull, Edward Croflow 11 Aug. 1804 (Reg. Deeds, 564.220.377856).

expanded his city premises and purchased a lease for a house adjoining his Abbey Street premises for £150 per annum as well as a dwelling house on Abbey Street.[149] His interest in urban land was consolidated and he acquired leases on Church Street in 1810,[150] Thomas Street in 1813.[151] By 1811 he also held a mortgage of a property in Exchequer Street from a Mary Lunt, merchant.[152] Trumbull would have sub-let much of this property rather then using it for commercial purposes and it would have provided a significant rental income.

It is clear that Trumbull had retired from business by 1815 and had acquired his Beechwood estate, near Malahide in Co. Dublin.[153] After a period of twenty years trading Trumbull could retire to the country. In November 1815 Sackville Hamilton went to Abbey Street in search of Trumbull. Nathaniel Anderson (Trumbull's nephew and one-time partner) had now taken over the premises and he was 'informed at Mr. Anderson's that you reside entirely at your villa near Malahide'.[154] As the deed for this Beechwood property has not been found it is not possible to discern what land surrounded his country house but he held enough acreage to run a farm on his property (which his correspondence and accounts confirm). Accounts within his correspondence date between 1804 and 1822 and suggest that Trumbull owned the property prior to his full-time retirement as a country squire in 1815.[155] Trumbull apparently purchased urban and rural leases when opportunities arose as there is no discernable pattern in his property acquisitions. They were used as an investment by him and his business partners also. His purchase of urban leases for business is not surprising, but it is notable that the most prominent area of his activities was his rural involvement. His desire to retire to land probably motivated his rural investment and his move in 1815 shows that he had acquired his county villa or farm for this purpose.

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[148] Trumbull, Robert Usher, 27 Jan. 1806 (Reg. Deeds, 581.135.389798), Trumbull, Peter Latouche 10 Jul. 1806 (Reg. Deeds, 582.371.394084).

[149] Trumbull, Robert Usher, 16 Jan. 1801 (Reg. Deeds, 534.420.350800), William Somerville, Trumbull, 2 Apr. 1801 (Reg. Deeds, 536.285.354730).

[150] Trumbull, Charles Rooney, 27 Dec. 1810 (Reg. Deeds, 634.78.432912).

[151] Trumbull, James Killen, 8 Jul. 1813 (Reg. Deeds, 661.492.456744).

[152] Mary Lunt does not appear to have completely repaid this mortgage as by a deed of 25 September 1821 Trumbull sold this lease, with only two years remaining, to Mathew Rofter for an unspecified sum (Mary Lunt, Exchequer Street to Trumbull, Abbey Street, 1811, (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, box 6, 1811, Trumbull, Mathew Rofter, Samuel Powley, 25 Sept. 1821, Reg. Deeds 765.474.510409)

[153] He ceases advertising as a trader from this date in the *Dublin Directories.*

[154] Sackville Hamilton Merrion Square to Trumbull, Beechwood, 2 Nov. 1815 (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, box 5).

[155] Nathaniel Anderson, to Trumbull, London, The Farm, Beechwood, Malahide, Co. Dublin, 38 items 1804-1822, Mostly letters concerning deliveries of Hay or sales of cattle, some farm accounts, list of transplanted, forest trees available, for some Tooles & Co. Westmoreland Street, 20 May 1807 (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box 8 and Box 1)

Land was not Trumbull's only investment and he had money in a variety of institutions. In 1810 Trumbull received an anonymous letter from a distressed stockholder in the Royal Canal Company. The Royal Canal Company had hoped to recreate the success of the Grand Canal Company and similar financial institutions like the Royal Exchange and insurance companies within the city but with little success. In 1810 the company was in trouble and the stockholder addressed Trumbull because Trumbull held £5,000 in stock.[156] The value of the stock had fallen and the letter writer urged Trumbull to 'become a director or get some clever man into the direction, otherwise the stock will become nothing'.[157] The author believed Trumbull to have enough financial knowledge of these institutions to be become a director and to have enough of a positive influence on the company to revive the falling stock. Trumbull was probably a known stockholder in several other companies. It would be surprising had he invested such a large sum in one company and not diversified his interests. It is possible to suggest therefore that he had a greater bulk of his money in financial institutions than in land.

Private sphere

Personal and business acquaintances offered opportunities to invest in mortgages. Robert Robinson, a country squire and personal associate of Trumbull, appears to have used his friend as a ready source for disposing goods and acquiring interest in a mortgage or loans, particularly when he had fallen on hard times. In 1806 he wrote to Trumbull to ask for money as he intended to mortgage his property. 'It is my intention to mortgage it, for eight or six hundred pounds for three months and if convenient would permit me to have...[it by] winter.'[158] The extent of Robinson's poor financial situation was shown in the same year when he attempted to sell Trumbull some personal items.[159] Merchants, whether in the social circle of the gentry or not, were an important source of raising cash through purchasing on credit, bill remittance or loans; they helped gentry raise cash by purchasing mortgages. Once a merchant socialised with the gentry it would not have been unexpected for some to trespass on this friendship by bad business, something which merchants were wary of in their day-to-day activities. Robinson appears to have been one such figure within Trumbull's orbit.

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[156] 'An unfortunate stockholder' to Trumbull, 149 Abbey Street, May 1810 (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, box 2).
[157] Ibid.
[158] Robert Robinson Bellynevin, Borrishane to Trumbull, Dublin, 25 Aug. 1806 (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box 1).
[159] Robert Robinson Bellynevin, Borrishane to Trumbull, Dublin, [1806] (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box 1).

Trumbull clearly embraced the life of a country gentleman. There are three extant gaming licences made out to him at his Beechwood property.[160] His personal correspondence suggests that Trumbull always held an interest in horses as a leisurely pursuit. His squire lifestyle and pursuit of genteel sport and pastimes had begun prior to his retirement but this may have increased his desire to retire even more, particularly as he would have come into contact with members of the gentry who lived this way. He had invested in mortgages, bonds and purchased leases but his retirement shows that much of this land had not been acquired for investment. His letters bear out his squire lifestyle, his enjoyment of sport, visits to the country, holidays and improvements to land. They also provide evidence that with the exception of communications with his relations in business (on family matters) Trumbull had left all involvement in trade.

By the 1790s Trumbull had built up a close connection with Frederick Falkiner, M.P. 1791-1818, and his family.[161] In correspondence with this genteel family, Trumbull's love of hunting, horses and racing is brought to the fore. In 1791 Richard Falkiner of Mount Falcon in Nenagh wrote concerning the purchase of horses by Trumbull: 'I am sorry to find by your letter that you seem to think I would wish to get an extraordinary price from you for my horses....I did mean to pay you a compliment and truly do believe you would find it hard to match them anywhere for the same price'.[162] While this horse may have been for business purposes, further correspondence show that Trumbull was certainly interested in good horses, races and hunting. In 1792 the Falkiners regretted that Trumbull could not join them for Christmas: 'I hope you will come here before the shooting season is over....I have heard...an account of the scarcity of foxes but I have had three or four very fine chases'.[163] In 1795 Frederick Falkiner wrote to him of an un-remitted bill which he requested Trumbull to credit: 'I am on the eve of purchasing a pair of horses, price £68.5 so that I can coax you down to the races of Birr you will see me not ill appointed in any of those things which a man of your taste would wish your friend to possess'.[164] The close relationship of Trumbull and Sir Frederick Falkiner is seen in visits and invitations to spend time with the Falkiner family at their seat of Mount Falcon.

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[160] 19 Aug. 1815 for the parish of Portmarnock, 3 Aug. 1816 and 5 Sept. 1822- 25 Mar. 1823 (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box 26).

[161] MP for Athy 1791-7, Co. Dublin 1797-1800, 1801-7 and Co. Carlow 1812-18 (Edith Mary Liik Johnson, *History of the Irish Parliament 1692-1800; Commons Constituencies and Statutes,* (6 vols, Belfast, 2002), vi, 130)

[162] Richard Falkiner to Trumbull, 28 Jun. 1791 (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box 1).

[163] Richard Falkiner, Mount Falcon, Nenagh to Trumbull, Dublin, 22 Dec. 1792 (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box 1,).

[164] Frederick Falkiner to Trumbull, 17 Aug. 1795 (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box 1).

Trumbull was on good terms with the whole family and acted as part of the family network in Dublin. An undated letter, which probably dates to 1795 from Mary Falkiner illustrates this relationship: 'I am extremely unhappy at my sister's situation and intreat you will let us know by return of post how she is, God grant you may be able to give a good account. All this family join in wishing her speedy recovery and you and your father's health and happiness with sincere affection.[165] Trumbull's correspondence concerning the health of a Falkiner female shows that the family had a close bond with him. Also, that Trumbull had entered, prior to his full retirement, the close circle of genteel families who would have encouraged his desire to retire to the country. In 1796 Richard Falkiner wrote to Trumbull and told him that he would not be able to take care of a horse for Trumbull as he had problems with his own groom. He extended an invite to Trumbull for the Christmas season: 'I hope you will spend the xmas here I think you will have great shooting and hunting please god you will be so kind to come'.[166] Within their intimate social sphere Trumbull also undertook business for the family evident by a request in the same letter for remittance of forty-five pounds.

As with Robinson, this mixture of socialising and business with the gentry could cause problems, particularly when favours were sought. Trumbull was also well acquainted with Marcus Somerville and his brother William. He corresponded with Marcus concerning horses, the exchange of breeding dogs and hunting.[167] Trumbull acted as an agent to Somerville remitting notes and Trumbull lent Somerville money over the course of their friendship.[168] The two men had planned to meet in Bath in 1801 but time caused Somerville to move on as Trumbull was delayed.[169] This visit to Bath was not Trumbull's first; he appears to have stopped at Bath 1799 while undertaking a business trip to London. 'Your friend Mr. Walsh has informed me of your being in London and your intention of visiting Bath [I am] glad to have it confirmed by the writ of your favour yesterday'[170] Trumbull also corresponded to William Somerville (brother of Marcus) concerning winter trip southern France, although it is not clear if he undertook this holiday.[171]

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[165] Mary Falkiner to Trumbull, 1 Sept. [c. 1795] (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box 1).
[166] Richard Falkiner to Trumbull, 8 Oct. 1796 (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box 1).
[167] Marcus Somerville to Trumbull, Jul. 1815, Marcus Somerville to Trumbull [Undated], (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box 2).
[168] Marcus Somerville to Trumbull [Undated], Somerville to Trumbull [Undated], Somerville to Trumbull, 6 May 1799, Somerville to Trumbull, 11 Aug. 1799, Somerville to Trumbull, 15 Jan. 1800, Somerville to Trumbull, 9 Mar. 1800, Somerville to Trumbull, 6 Nov. 1801, Somerville to Trumbull, 27 Sept. 1803, Somerville to Trumbull, Oct. 1803, Somerville, to Trumbull, 4 Jan. 1804, Somerville to Trumbull, 27 Feb. 1804, Somerville to Trumbull, 25 Sept. 1804, Somerville to Trumbull, 25 Nov. 1805, Somerville to Trumbull, [Undated], Somerville to Trumbull, 28 Jul. 1813, (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box 2).
[169] Somerville, to Trumbull, 17 May 1801 (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box 2)
[170] Henry Thompson, to Trumbull, 13 Feb. 1799 (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box 2)
[171] William Somerville, to Trumbull, 26 Nov. 1802 (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box 2).

Money, however, came between the men with Trumbull lending to him on an ever-increasing scale. Somerville also owned property on Abbey Street which he sold to Trumbull.[172] They readily mixed personal and business interests, and it would appear that this led to the relationship's decline. Somerville tried to sell Trumbull a property on Henry Street which Trumbull declined for several reasons including the outstanding debts which Somerville had with him. 'I could not receive one guinea on that property owing to the several [loans] appearing now outstanding against yours and that I should on the event of making this further purchase to be up so much more at my property without the possibility of disposing a bit.'[173] Trumbull, who had been remitting bills for both brothers, realised the difficulties in purchasing property from Somerville who was clearly in much debt. Somerville owed Trumbull money and his purchase of the property would not restore this money to him as Somerville sought additional money without repayment of loans as part of the purchase. In addition, Trumbull held as much land as he could dispose of with ease in 1814 and did not want the risk of a bad investment.[174] It is unclear how Somerville, the country gentleman, felt at being declined by this merchant by birth and profession, however, by the time their friendship ended Trumbull had retired and moved to the country. His correspondence with these two families reveals a unique aspect to this merchant's life in comparison with the others in this study. Trumbull had close connections with genteel families and until his retirement he both socialised with them and undertook their business on his behalf or through his firm.

Trumbull's correspondence details his domestic consumption allowing a glimpse of how he spent his profits. These letters trace his leisurely pursuits, travels abroad for his health concerns, decoration of his house, and the education of his children. Trumbull engaged in an affair in the late 1790s with Mary Jackson (also known as Bridget) and it appears that they co-habited at some point.[175] The relationship ended by 1803. The couple had two daughters, Mary and Sarah. Trumbull agreed to provide Mary Jackson with £100 per annum to bring up the children and to provide each girl with a dowry of £1,000 annually.[176] He was responsible for the education of both girls and their maintenance later in life (they corresponded to him as their uncle).[177] This relationship was not hidden from his family. His nephew and business partner, Nathaniel Anderson, wrote to him in 1807

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[172] Somerville to Trumbull, 28 Jul. 1813, Somerville to Trumbull, 11 Aug. 1813, Somerville to Trumbull, 12 Aug. 1813, Somerville to Trumbull, 23 September 1813 (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box 2).
[173] Somerville to Trumbull [Undated c. 1814], (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box 2).
[174] Ibid.
[175] Mary Jackson to Trumbull, 28 Apr. 1799 (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box 1).
[176] Trumbull, Bridget Fayne [otherwise Mary Jackson], 5 Apr. 1803 (Reg. Deeds, 573.52.383818).
[177] Sarah Jackson to Trumbull [post marked 1815], (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box 1).

(on the eve of Trumbull's marriage) in London: 'Miss Jackson is very well and on Monday next is to begin to go to school...Miss Sally [Sarah] else in good health and in good spirits'.[178] While Trumbull had not married their mother, his daughters were certainly present in his private life.

In 1807 he married Sarah Woodcock, eldest daughter of Robert Woodcock of Wexford. Trumbull held property and had business associates in Wexford so it is possible that he had business connections which led to the marriage. Sarah and Nathaniel had at least four children together: Dora, born December 1808; Nathaniel, born October 1810; Robert, born April 1812; and Sarah, born November 1815.[179] It is unlikely that Nathaniel survived. Robert entered Trinity College Dublin, October 1829 aged seventeen and graduated in 1834.[180] Letters to Dora from her mother are extant but are not dated; nothing else survives in reference to Sarah Trumbull.[181]

Trumbull educated all of his children, not merely his sons or legitimate children. The expense of educating his children is apparent in the bills from Miss Tourelles of Monasterevan for Sarah Jackson. In 1812 the cost for six months board and additional sundries totalled £23.19.5½.[182] While it is more difficult to ascertain where Dora and Robert were educated (before Robert entered Trinity) they undoubtedly received an education akin to those of their half sisters. Advertisements which Trumbull kept for boarding schools attest to the expense of possible establishments. In 1808 Miss Austen's boarding school in Clontarf was eight guineas entrance, forty guineas per annum tuition with additional cost for dancing, piano forte, harp, writing, arithmetic and geography. Extra expenses included tea, tuning the piano forte, sea bathing and stationery.[183] Trumbull's expenditures on schooling for girls exceeded £50 per annum and their education was a luxury. The education of his sons would have been more costly but it was necessary to equip them with skills to undertake an apprenticeship or profession. Trumbull kept an 1822 advertisement for a boarding and day school at 11 Dominick Street which charged sixty guineas per annum for a boy's day schooling. Additional subjects could be

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[178] Nathaniel Anderson, to Trumbull, 20 May 1807 (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box 1)
[179] Sarah Trumbull in a letter to her children's nurse remarked 'Miss Dorah will be thirteen years of age next December, master Nathaniel eleven in October, Master Robert nine in April, Miss Sarah six in November' (22 Aug. 1821, Sarah Trumbull, to Nurse O'Flaherty (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box 2).
[180] *Alumni Dublinenses*, ii p. 825.
[181] Sarah Trumbull to Dora Trumbull [undated], (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box 2).
[182] Miss Tourelles, Monasterevan to Trumbull, 149 Abbey Street, Dublin (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box 2, 28 Aug. 1812).
[183] Terms of Miss Austin's boarding School, Clontarf, 1808 (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box 26).

taught at extra cost.[184] Both sons would have been educated to an equivalent standard for boys. Trumbull's second son Robert Nathaniel entered Trinity College, Dublin in October 1829 which was an even greater cost.[185] Nevertheless, this commitment to education showed that his family were part of the upper-middling sort and that, while his daughters were accomplished, his sons were educated to the level of the professions.

By 1821 Trumbull had sent his wife Sarah to an insane asylum for 'paroxysms' which she suffered. While it is clear that their relationship had broken down it would also seem that she was subject to outbursts of violence which did not last long but that made it her difficult to live with. It is hard to tell if her outbursts were a result of a failing marriage or a mental illness. Her doctor, Joseph Gough, wrote to Trumbull in 1822 that she had been well since his last visit. The 'apparent irritation she shewed all the time went off shortly after you left...she at times is subject to such humours but seldom of long continues them'.[186] In 1823 she was in the same situation, prone to short outbursts: 'Sarah has been for the most part since I wrote last pretty much in her usual state, on the day I wrote she took a paroxysm which did not continue long'.[187] Gough wrote in 1824 that while she was of perfect health her intellect 'as far as I can judge' was 'declining'.[188] Trumbull appears to have attempted to make his wife's stay at Bloomfield comfortable. In 1822 she requested pillows: 'I am in very great pain, if you write and have the goodness to send me sheets and pillows I would be very much obliged'.[189] He also sent her fruit but these seemed to be little comfort and in her letters she continually begging to be taken home.[190] There are no extant bills for Sarah's care outside the home.

Sarah's letters from the asylum disclose details of her place within the household and her relationship with Trumbull. She had felt uncomfortable leaving her household as there was no appropriate person to undertake her tasks. As head of a household she managed staff, children, meals and cleaning. She did not like the idea that someone new would undertake these tasks and wanted to know why she could not 'manage it myself quiet and neatly as I always did[,] there was not any cause why I should not[,] I never wasted or threw away your money nor was I ever imprudent'. She found difficulty with some within Trumbull's private circle and felt that some within this circle criticised her: 'it is not easy to please some people and many would wish to find fault where there is

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[184] Dr. Smyth's boarding school, A.M.T.C.D, [Advertisement damaged] 1822 (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box 26)
[185] *Alumni Dublinenses,* i, p. 825.
[186] Sarah Trumbull, to Trumbull, 23 Feb. 1822 (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box 2).
[187] Joseph Gough to Trumbull, 23 Nov. 1822 (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box 2)
[188] Gough to Trumbull, 13 Nov. 1822 (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box 2)
[189] Sarah Trumbull, to Trumbull, 19 Jun. 1822 (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box 2).
[190] Sarah Trumbull to Robert Woodcock, 24 Sept. 1823 (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box 2).

none.'[191] This possibly referred to Trumbull's sister, Elizabeth Anderson, who experienced difficulties with her marriage and had fallen on her brother for support. As such, she spent much time within Trumbull household. She had, in fact, managed it prior to Trumbull's marriage. Elizabeth's previous status within the house and rivalry for Trumbull's attention may have caused problems between her and Sarah.

Elizabeth certainly managed the household before the marriage. In 1799 Elizabeth wrote to him updating him on the progress of work in his house in Dublin city. A workman, Mr Drennan, had finished work in the bedroom but it would not be ready to be papered for a while. She sought Trumbull's choice on a chimney piece: 'We are obliged to put in a new chimney piece of black and white Kilkenny marble...if you'd like any other not a lighter colour let me know and I'll make them change it.'[192] In 1807 Trumbull's sister again oversaw the decoration of his city house while he was in London. His nephew wrote in detail of the tasks:

> The chimney piece in your room is past up but the two bedded room not touched nor wont until your return....In respect to the drawing room my Mother said the windows measures the height and breadth of which you shall leave at foot and likewise Mr. Dixon's calculations of what calico they will take but she suppose you will get much better information in London than here as there you will have the fashions; as to the furniture that depends on your own taste how many sophas [sic] you choose-—the pair [of windows] will hold one large one and if you put no more the room will admit sixteen chairs eight of which she suppose will be fancy or cane bottomed.[193]

The second letter confirms Trumbull's involvement with decisions concerning cloth, colour and furniture left to him, nevertheless, his sister appears heavily involved in the overall project. His marriage in the same year is most likely the reason for the redecoration of the house and the need for fashionable cloth for his new wife. While no accounts exist for the renovation of this house, it is clear that he purchased these commodities new and at great expense. The addition of a new chimney piece and complete redecoration of the drawing room must have been costly. It is unclear if Trumbull lived from his trading residence. He certainly received the majority of his correspondence to 149 Abbey Street, his trading address. The later redecoration most likely referred to his Beechwood house, which he acquired prior to his full retirement and was where his wife lived from their marriage allowing Trumbull his Dublin addresses for business (although he perhaps resided there in part). The intervention of his sister in his absence suggests that she

[191] Sarah Trumbull to Trumbull, 23 Feb. 1822 (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box 2).
[192] Elizabeth Anderson to Trumbull, 21 Feb. 1799 (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box 1)
[193] Nathaniel Anderson to Trumbull, 6 Jun. 1807 (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box 1).

undertook duties which fell to the most senior woman in the home. Sara's letters suggest, however, that at a later date a rival for her control of the domestic sphere had emerged to challenge her.

It is possible to only guess at Trumbull's wealth on death. While retired from trade and living away from the city, he still held an income from his property and received money from mortgages. He was wealthy enough to educate his sons and daughters and to maintain his wife at a separate address. He had moved from a trade and lived economically on par with the professionals living from investments (like mortgages). Unlike his father Trumbull did not seek to create a high-profile public persona. He did not involve himself in civic institutions, though he socialised with high-ranking Dubliners including the Gardiners and Falkiners.[194] His social networks underpinned Trumbull's position and status within Dublin despite his lack of direct involvement in civic life. He was a member of the governing group, a friend of members of parliament, and he shared a status with the professions. His retirement to his suburban villa elevated him further and brought him within this group's orbit, ensuring his children were elevated more closely to this status. (His rejection of Sommerville's offer to buy his Dublin house underpins this position. By 1814 he did not need the bad debts of the fallen gentry, socially or economically.) Trumbull did not need a civic title to elevate his status. Indeed, if Trumbull held a corporation title he would have taken a place as a civic figure and ranked lower then his associates and friends who were national figures. By the time of his retirement he likely lived off the profits of his business, investments and revenue from his farm. His son was a member of the professions and Trumbull had retired to suburban home, which although not an estate, provided a sizable inheritance for his son. Trumbull had been successful without a civic career in making himself prominent in Dublin society, indicating that civic work was not required for social mobility in Dublin at this time.

III

James Hamilton in contrast shows us how activity within civic and public economic institutions and the corporation could raise merchants above ordinary traders. As treasurer to the corporation Hamilton directed their financial policy. Indeed, Hamilton personally invested in both corporation loans and corporation property so he shows us how these institutions could be used for private gain. In Hamilton's case his work led to create profits and a suburban villa.

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[194] Thomas Falkiner to Nathaniel Trumbull [undated] (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box 1).

Hamilton's place of birth and parents are unknown. However, it is possible to discern that he had three brothers, Dr Archibald Hamilton,[195] Galbraith Hamilton and William Hamilton.[196] He also had two sisters Margery and a sister who married a Mr Tredencik.[197] As the family (brothers and sisters) were all resident in Dublin by the 1790s it is likely that they were raised in Dublin. Archibald Hamilton's profession suggests that Hamilton's family had achieved professional status. The education of Archibald as well as the expense of apprenticeship for both James and Galbraith (both became merchants) would confirm that the family was of the upper middling sort, nearing the professions in status.[198] Galbraith Hamilton was made free of the merchants guild in 1759. His brother, James, followed him and was made free at Midsummer in 1760.[199] From 1761 the brothers advertised their partnership at 15 Ormond Quay although they likely had been in business since 1760.[200] James remained trading with his brother until 1783 when he first advertised just his civic titles. Galbraith continued to trade until his death. While little is known about his business career it is possible to conclude that if Hamilton retired from business in 1783, no longer advertising, he had made sufficient capital to do so and as such his business enterprises had been successful.

Public sphere and investment

There is more extant information concerning Hamilton's activities within the merchant community and the broader civic life of Dublin; his involvement began with election to the corporation on behalf of the merchant's guild in 1762 as a member of the common council.[201] In 1769 he became a junior warden of the Trinity Guild. In 1770 he was senior warden. The next year he was a junior master of the guild and in 1772 he was the senior master of the guild.[202] In 1771-72 Hamilton served as high sheriff.[203] He was elected to the alderman board 27 April 1773. In the same year he was elected a city coroner with Sir Anthony King.[204] Hamilton was elected lord mayor in 1778. During the election three aldermen, Patrick Boyd, George Wrightson and Joseph Lynam, had all been offered the

[195] *Waterford Chronicle,* 26 July 1772, the death of 'Dr. Hamilton, brother to Alderman Hamilton' (Morris,. H.F., 'Ramsey's Waterford Chronicle, 1772, Births, Marriages and Deaths' in *Irish Genealogist,* iv (1974-1979), p. 487).
[196] Will of James Hamilton (NAI, T13312).
[197] Ibid.
[198] Possibly sons of James Hamilton, merchant, freed of the guild, and free of the city by birth Easter 1732 (List of members of the Trinity guild, NLI, MS 3019, Gertrude Thrift (ed.) *Roll of Freemen; City of Dublin 1468-1485, 1575-1774,* ii, (NLI, MS 77).
[199] List of members of the Trinity guild (NLI, MS 3019)
[200] *Dublin Directory,* 1761.
[201] Ibid, xi, 480.
[202] *Dublin Directory,* 1773-4.
[203] *CARD,* xiii, 511.
[204] Ibid, 552.

office and had turned it down.[205] The office was expensive to maintain and refusals were not unusual. While £500 were granted in remuneration of expenses at the close of a mayor's term, aldermen usually spent far more than this amount. The office rotated, so Hamilton probably stood next in line to serve his term.

Hamilton's term began with a celebration of the ancient rights of the lord mayor and guilds and Hamilton, as chief magistrate and head of civic government, rode around the city boundaries on horseback followed by a cavalcade of guilds and members of the corporation. In a symbolic gesture at the end of this procession the lord mayor would throw a stick to mark out the jurisdiction of the city and the lord mayor for the future years. The parade was known as the 'perambulation of the city boundaries'.[206] A month later, to mark the anniversary of the failure of the Gunpowder Plot, Hamilton hosted 'a grand entertainment at the Mansion House to several of the nobility, persons of distinction and eminent citizens'.[207]

While the term began in a convivial manner, the parliamentary sitting broke this peace. House of Commons debates attracted the attention of the populace and it was not unusual for citizens to present petitions to the lord lieutenant at the castle or to protest outside the parliament house. A high number of protests occurred in 1779. In November, during a parliamentary sitting which debated a supply bill, a protesting crowd gathered at College Green. They shouted 'Free Trade, a Short Money bill, and the Rights of Ireland' in objection to the supply bill.[208] *The Freeman's Journal*, while probably exaggerating the figures, claimed that as many as 6,000 'working manufacturers' amassed. The military calmed the situation and after a time the crowd dispersed. The only casualty appears to have been the windows of the Attorney General which were broken as the mob dispersed.[209]

The use of the military to disperse a mob was usually unpopular as it was perceived a threat to the civil liberties of the citizens. When Lord Mayor George Reynolds had used the military against a crowd assembled at the Castle in November 1770 his actions saw an outpour of abuse and protest against him from the serving city M.P. Charles Lucas.[210] Indeed, nine years later Reynold's actions had not been forgotten. *The Freeman's Journal*

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[205] Ibid, 1, 13, 24, 52.
[206] *Dublin Journal,* 28 Sept. 1779
[207] Ibid, 4 Nov. 1779.
[208] *The Freeman's Journal,* 17 Nov. 1779.
[209] Ibid.
[210] *The Freeman's Journal,* 22 Nov. 1770.

warned against calling out the army, suggesting the Volunteers would be a better force to quash a riot. The city had 'no occasion for another *Reynolds* to bring down the military'.[211]

Hamilton escaped with remarkably little condemnation for his action. *The Freeman's Journal* noted 'The Lord Mayor, and Sheriffs, also distinguished themselves on this occasion previous to any evil consequences from this concourse of people'.[212] Hamilton seems to have managed the situation well and was quick to respond to any possibility that a group might form to express their opinions violently. He summoned a public meeting at the Tholsel for the following day to 'take into consideration, the disturbances that happened yesterday, and to adopt such measures as may be most likely to put a stop to illegal proceedings.'[213] The riots were condemned at this meeting.[214] Hamilton offered a reward for the apprehension of those involved in the riots and continued the publication of his proclamation against rioting.[215] He maintained peace in the city and two months later received the thanks of the corporation for his response to the situation.[216] At the close of his term he was presented with a gold box worth twenty guineas in appreciation for his good work.[217]

On the death of Benjamin Geale in 1783 Hamilton was elected to the position of city treasurer. It coincided with the year of his retirement and Hamilton maintained this position until his death in 1798.[218] The job was difficult and must have been time consuming. The city treasurer completed annual accounts for the scrutiny of a select committee, all of whom were businessmen and therefore versed in accounts. Hamilton also was responsible for the collection of city rents, calculating city tolls and corporation expenditure.[219] The corporation saw financial problems prior to Hamilton's appointment. Under the system inherited from Geale, civic bonds were sold to raise capital for the ever-increasing city debt. The bonds were just a short-term solution as they relieved only pressing debts. In 1771 the corporation borrowed £2,000 from the Royal Exchange trustees at a rate of 4 per cent so that work on the Grand Canal could proceed.[220] They thanked Alderman Geale as this loan made 'it unnecessary for the corporation to raise any money

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[211] Ibid, 19 Nov. 1779
[212] Ibid.
[213] Ibid, 17 Nov. 1779.
[214] Ibid, 19 Nov. 1779
[215] *Dublin Journal,* 22 Nov.-2 Dec. 1779.
[216] *CARD*, xiii, 97
[217] Ibid, 142.
[218] Ibid, 521, xv, 496.
[219] Hamilton's advertisements in late 1783 early 1784 show that he personally undertook much of this work: 'Corporation rents due, must be paid to James Hamilton, 14 November 1783 at no. 15, Upper Ormond Quay' (*Dublin Journal,* 1 Jan. 1784).
[220] *CARD,* xii, 138-39.

for the present upon city bonds'.[221] While they had received a lower rate of interest then standard bonds (6 per cent) the incident illustrates the hap-hazard borrowing which the treasurer was undertaking. The loan could only be a short-term one and the problem of repayment on bonds and payment of their debts persisted. In 1777 the corporation, through Geale, had raised £57,991 13*s*. 4*d*. through bonds.[222] On taking up the office Hamilton made improvements to this difficult financial situation. Hamilton took the first opportunity to reduce the city burden by reducing the rate of interest in 1783 to bring it in-line with the newly established Bank of Ireland's interest rate of 5 per cent.[223] While the other city banks were falling in-line with Bank of Ireland's rate, for a civic institution to undertake this adjustment, less than a year after the establishment of the Bank of Ireland, and was significant. It would have been hugely unpopular with creditors. (His involvement in the Bank of Ireland probably influenced this move. He subscribed £2,000 when the Bank of Ireland was established[224] and held £2,200 in his account there in 1789.[225])

Hamilton built up substantial personal investments in the corporation over his fifteen years as treasurer. He purchased city bonds which amounted with interest, to £11,152 2*s*. 11½*d*. on his death.[226] He built this sum through investments of £500 or £1,000, and with 5 per cent interest it would have provided a significant annual return. Hamilton appears to have been in an ideal situation to invest in civic loans as treasurer. Nothing suggests that his predecessor had done so. Nevertheless, despite harming his own interests and reducing the money he would have earned in interest, Hamilton had been responsible for reducing the interest rate from 6 to 5 per cent.

Hamilton's civic career was not restricted to his involvement in the corporation. In 1765 he was a church warden to the wealthy parish of St. Michan's.[227] He was a member of the Dublin Insurance Company Against Fire along with John Keogh, merchant, Robert Alexander, banker, and Alderman John Darragh, merchant.[228] Hamilton became a member of the capital's scientific and agricultural improving society, the Dublin Society, in 1780 and remained a member until 1793.[229] He was elected as a director of the Bank of Ireland in 1785. Responsible for the welfare of the Bank, the position was prestigious and shows

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[221] Ibid.
[222] Ibid.493-94.
[223] Ibid. xiii, 372.
[224] George O'Brien (ed), *The Bank of Ireland, 1783-1946* (Dublin, 1948), p. 510.
[225] Bank of Ireland Stock Book 1783-1800 (DCLA, MS 9, f. 41).
[226] Ibid. xv, 59.
[227] *Dublin Directory,* 1765.
[228] *Dublin, Journal,* 23 Jan. 1783.
[229] Mary Kelleher, *List of Members of the Dublin society, 1731-1800* (Dublin, 1982), p. 16

that he was considered a leading mercantile figure.[230] In 1786 he became a trustee of the Royal Exchange.[231] Election to these positions of commercial weight probably came from his work within Dublin Corporation, however, it is difficult to assign whether positions in corporation or financial institutions offered more prominence and credibility of character. Nevertheless, his election as city treasurer in 1783 must have increased the likelihood of being elected to committees for the Royal Exchange and to the board of directors of the Bank of Ireland. His commitments outside the corporation, unless religious like his term as church warden of St. Michan's, were all commercial or improving like the Dublin Society.

Land

It has not been possible to undertake a full examination of the land activities of James Hamilton, merchant and corporation man. 'James Hamilton' occurs with much frequency in relevant records, suggesting the name was very popular. The nature of some of the records in the Registry of Deeds has dictated that the merchant and corporation man is indistinguishable from other professionals and members of the gentry, who were resident in Dublin. However, it has been possible to carry out a general analysis and to identify some of the land he held on death. By 1783 Hamilton, the subject of this study, had retired with sufficient capital to live independently of trade. In 1780 Hamilton purchased a lease of fourteen and one-half acres from the Corporation's estate of Ballycullen and Grange at a corporation auction.[232] Hamilton must have had an interest in acquiring land outside the city. His will states that he had retired to a seat, Larkfield, in Co. Dublin. As this property was fit for the residence this must have been his home residence on death and perhaps his country seat.[233] Descriptions of some of his bequests suggest that land adjoining the house was used to plant vegetables or as a garden. Hamilton listed 'carriages, horses and farming utensils' in his will which suggest that land was possibly farmed in some manner. [234] The acreage leased from the corporation would correspond with this speculation.

Private sphere

Hamilton's will shows the assets he had built up on death. Hamilton's son, also James, had died in 1790 while attending Trinity College.[235] His wife as well had died by the time he

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[230] *Saunder's Newsletter,* 5 Apr. 1785.
[231] *The treble almanack for the year MDCCLXXXVI, containing I. Watson's Irish almanack, II. Exshaw's English court registry, III* (Dublin, 1786), p. 106.
[232] *CARD,* xiii, 153-4.
[233] Will of James Hamilton (NAI, T13312).
[234] Ibid.
[235] *Dublin Journal,* 10 Apr. 1790.

wrote his will in 13 April 1798, so Hamilton's goods and property were divided among his remaining relatives. His sister, Margery Pomier, would receive all rights to his home 'in the county of Dublin in as full and ample a manner as the same are now used and enjoyed by me for and during the form of her natural life'. [236] Margery was to receive the deeds of not just the house and land but 'all and every household furniture jewels plate linen carriages horses and farming utensils in my dwelling houses'.[237] He also bequeathed her £300 per annum. If Margery decided not to take residence of his land she would receive £500 per annum. In consideration of the additional expense of rent which she would be forced to undertake in lieu of this residence Hamilton gave his sister the option of an additional £200, a large sum for annual rent. His niece, Matilda McConchy,, was granted £200 per annum on the death of her husband. James Hamilton, son of William Hamilton, was granted fifty pounds per annum, and on his death, his widow would receive twenty pounds per annum.[238] In addition to Hamilton's investment in Dublin Corporation, the sums he passed to other surviving relatives affirm he had substantial investments that allowed him to live independently of business.

When Galbraith Hamilton had died in 1791 James Hamilton had been named one of his executors.[239] His will was used to dispose of some of Galbraith's legacies and he had stipulated that 'after paying the within legacies...George MacConchy, James, John and Mary Ann Hamilton shall be equally entitled...to the residue and remainder of my whole property real and personal of which I shall die possessed'.[240] Additional grants give some detail of the size of the business of James and Galbraith. His niece Mary Ann Hamilton, daughter of Galbraith Hamilton, was granted £6,000 'in full lieu of and bar all and every sum or sums of money she may claim or be entitled unto upon the foot of the partnership...[of] James and Galbraith Hamilton'.[241] James may have had residue investments within the firm. As Mary Ann was unmarried in 1798 this figure was most likely the residue of Galbraith's estate and her legacy from her father's business which James had been keeping for her. Regardless, as only a proportion of the investment capital in the firm, it is a large sum and hints again at the success of the business partnership. George McConchy was also given eight hundred pounds from this partnership.[242]

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[236] Will of James Hamilton (NAI, T13312).
[237] Ibid.
[238] This is most likely James Hamilton, junior, merchant who traded from 18 Upper Ormond Quay from 1792 the former premises of James Hamilton (*Dublin Director,* 1792).
[239] Will of Galbraith Hamilton (NAI, T13311).
[240] Ibid.
[241] Will of James Hamilton (NAI, T13312).
[242] Ibid.

The sons of Galbraith, James and John, were the main benefactors of Hamilton's will. The remainder of his estates, after inheritance had been dealt with, was to go to these nephews. They would have received the rights to his premises in Larkfield and any other leases or money which remained after the provision of gratuities Hamilton stipulated. Yet, the will did not list all of Hamilton's assets. He did not cite civic bonds that he held; one of his nephews requested payment of these bonds in 1798. A committee was set up to calculate the total owed from Hamilton's investment and £11,152 2*s*. 11½*d*. was decided upon.[243] Land listed was probably not his total property. He certainly had more investments that were not listed in his will. His Bank of Ireland stock of £2,200 was not mentioned either.[244] It is not surprising that the remaining estate was not listed.

As the will likely omitted some land holdings, it is very difficult to tell if Hamilton invested more in land than other avenues. This makes it difficult to establish if he prioritized the accumulation of land. While we can tell that he held a villa of some sort it is possible that the rest of his capital was simply investments and so he did not seek to carve out an estate as Sankey had. Hamilton's case shows that without complete financial and land records or correspondence it is difficult to establish if merchants held aspirations for social mobility or how far into the upper class they moved.

On Hamilton's death in 1798 the *Dublin Journal* noted his dedication to civic office. He had been twenty-nine years an alderman and fifteen years the city treasurer: 'the public have to regret [the loss of] a loyal and upright magistrate, the Corporation an excellent officer, and his private friends a kind and truly amiable gentleman'. They added that his death had 'deprived the city of Dublin of a man whose sincerity and honour were an ornament to its municipal dignities'.[245] His death notice also celebrated his civic career and the many years of loyal service which he gave to the city. Indeed, the passage gives him the titles of both 'Esquire' and 'Gentleman.' [246] Titles such as these were more commonplace towards the end of the century and probably simply indicate the respect for Hamilton.

It is difficult to establish what gains Hamilton made and had consolidated for his family as he died without issue. On his death he had educated his son, retired and taken up a residence in Co. Dublin. His income probably included both rental income from a corporation lease and investments. He used his corporation titles to enhance his status. A parallel can be drawn from his case to the recognised situation in England where 'urban

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[243] *CARD,* xv, 59.
[244] Bank of Ireland Stock Book 1783-1800 (DCLA, MS 9, f. 41)
[245] *Dublin Journal,* 23 Jan. 1798.
[246] *Dublin Journal,* 23 Jan. 1798.

association' and involvement in institutions, primarily the corporation, were used to reproduce 'the socio-economic inequalities within the bourgeoisie offering leadership to the mercantile and professional elite'.[247] He was not part of the gentry but was a recognised high-ranking civic officer. Hamilton may not have been equal to members of the gentry class as a member of the corporation but he was certainly elevated above the city's ordinary freemen and tradesmen as a result of civic participation. He was also independent of trade on his death. While not gentry his suburban villa allowed him to live a retired life and to be placed in the upper ranks of the middling sort.

IV

From an examination of the lives of these three merchants it is possible to conclude that they were active in areas which have been identified from the outset of this study as avenues of social mobility. All were successful business men who educated their children. Hamilton and Sankey were involved within civic institutions; Trumbull socialised with the lower gentry and squires. While all held property and land on death, none acquired enough interest in land, 200 Irish acres minimum, to be considered part of the gentry. Trumbull and Hamilton retired to villas. Sankey invested in land but seems to have stayed in the city and consolidated his position as part of the urban gentry. The aspiration to retire with capital and some interest in land seems to have been their greatest concern.

Civic institutions offered only fleeting occasions to be seen on a comparable platform with the governing elite of the country. The significant evident social mobility into the professions and this was done by these merchants' children. There was 'gentrification' shown by Nathaniel Trumbull, though. His correspondence provides a glimpse at the lifestyle of a Dublin merchant and his tastes for leisurely pursuits, fashionable vacations and consumption. The identification of this process of 'gentrification' is important. The close study of these three merchants shows that in their urban addresses and small rural retirement properties they held an equal economic status, although not a social one, to the professions and through activities such as education they became increasingly embedded in this higher social group. Land could provide security and retirement from trade. Assets like land passed from one generation to the next and passing land was an important method of transferring wealth and gains made in one generation to the next.

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[247] Barry, 'Bourgeois Collectivism?', p. 100.

Chapter 3

Catholic merchants in Dublin 1760-1800, two case studies

This chapter shows how two of the most successful Catholic Dublin merchants, Edward Byrne and John Keogh, made their money and spent their profits from trade. It looks at business partnerships and patterns of investment where extant sources allow. Byrne was considered the most successful Catholic merchant within Ireland and Keogh was one of country's largest traders in silk and cloth. Both became active in the Catholic Committee, a body which agitated for greater relief from the penal laws against Catholics and so this chapter focuses in part on the politics of this agitation movement and their success within this body. It show that these men used their commercial success to enhance their own status by purchasing estates and to give greater weight to this movement. These men's activities therefore show the gravity which commercial trade could give to a political and social movement. Keogh and Byrne show that, while Catholics suffered throughout this period as a result of the penal laws, they could be socially mobile.

Catholics in trade in Dublin became increasingly prominent, powerful and numerous throughout this period. They comprised a quarter of the wholesale merchants in the capital even as their figures and commercial importance grew.[1] This chapter focuses on the background, business, investment, land acquisition, involvement in the public sphere, activities in the private sphere, and wealth on death of two important Catholic merchants. Wealthy and prominent, Byrne and Keogh made their fortunes in an area least affected by the penal laws which allowed them to build up capital and offered opportunities to take advantage of the relaxation in legislation against Catholic landownership. The body of legislation put in place against Catholics in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century blocked numerous avenues of social mobility for Catholics. From 1691 Catholics could not sit in parliament or hold public positions.[2] The franchise was completely withheld until 1793. Entrance to parliament was prohibited for Catholics until 1829. From 1695 Catholics could not keep arms or a horse valued over five pounds (designed to prevent a show of wealth and gentlemanly status).[3] Catholics could not educate their children abroad, effectively a block on both fashionable education and higher education, and this prohibition affected the professional station of Catholics.[4] In 1699 a further act which prevented Catholics from becoming solicitors proved an additional obstruction to

[1] Cullen, *Princes and pirates,* p. 23.
[2] 3 Will. & Mary, c. 2 [Eng.] (1691) It was not until 1728 that Catholics were explicitly prohibited from voting I Geo. II, c. 9, s.7 (1727).
[3] 7 Will. & Mary, c. 5 (1695).
[4] 7 Will. & Mary, c. 4 (1695).

Catholics at a professional level.[5] In 1704 the act which presented the greatest block on Catholic social mobility was added to the statute books when 'An act to prevent the further growth of popery' was passed.[6] It prohibited Catholic purchases of land, the most recognised route to enhancing status, and leases for periods longer than thirty-one years. The act also interfered with rights of inheritance prohibiting primogeniture in Catholic families. In 1707 parliament passed legislation to create the Registry of Deeds which facilitated the register (and subsequent monitor) of all property sales.[7] These measures collectively formed a comprehensive block on Catholic social mobility prohibiting their acquirement of estates, reducing opportunities for education, involvement in the professions or public and government offices.

Catholics were the second-largest group of traders in the capital fter members of the established church. Hill has shown that despite Catholics' numbers they did not present a serious threat to Protestants. Indeed it was not until the nineteenth century that Catholics in wholesale trade began to reflect their place within the population. The importance of their involvement should not be underestimated because of this.[8] Catholics 'were affected by few of the penal laws in their economic pursuits'.[9] They drew their importance from their involvement in the economic life of the country. Due to professional and social penalisation, their interest in commerce provided them with a powerful base from which to claim a right to involvement in government. Catholic merchants were becoming the dominant voice in movements calling for relief from the penal laws. The increase in size, wealth and confidence of this 'Catholic middle class', as Wall refers to them, led to the prominence of certain Catholic traders, including Byrne and Keogh.[10] The tendency to overstate the poor station of Catholics has resulted in failure to point to the mercantile and trade background of many of these new-moneyed Catholics as the reason for their failure to succeed socially.

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[5] 10 Will. & Mary, c. 13 (1699).
[6] 2 Anne, c. 6 (1704).
[7] 6 Anne, c. 2 (1707).
[8] Hill, *From patriots to unionists,* p.
[9] Karen J. Harvey, *The Bellews of Mount Bellew; a Catholic gentry family in eighteenth-century Ireland* (Dublin, 1998), p. 13.
[10] Maureen Wall, 'The rise of a Catholic middle class in eighteenth-century Ireland, in Gerard O'Brien (ed.), *Catholic Ireland in the eighteenth century: collected essays of Maureen Wall* (Dublin, 1989), pp 73-84.

Edward Byrne shows the close connection between trade and land. Despite the obstacles placed in the way of ambitious Catholics, he carved out both a political career and a landed estate for himself and his eldest son. Though he owned a country estate in Co. Down, he was still involved in commerce on death. Edward Byrne was born in 1739 or 1740, a younger son of John Byrne, farmer of Saggart (son of Garret Byrne, farmer of Saggart).[11] John Byrne's land was most likely held by lease. John Byrne had at least two sons, Mark and Edward, and one daughter (name unknown but her son, John Ball, was cited in Edward's will). On John Byrne's death his land passed to the eldest son, Mark who continued farming.[12] It is unclear how this land passed in its completion from John to Mark. Edward Byrne married in 1763 to Mary Devine of Cooke Street, Dublin.[13] Together they had six sons and two daughters: John (the eldest), Thomas, Edward, Patrick, Gerard, Mark, Mary and Celia.[14] Although it is uncertain when Byrne's first wife died he remarried in July 1792. His second wife (twenty years his junior) was Maryanne Roe, daughter of Catherine (née Mathew) and Philip Roe. William Drennan wrote to his sister in 1801 of this marriage: 'I believe he [Byrne] married his second wife with a prospect of a fortune, by enabling her to carry on a lawsuit with the late lord Clonmel, a relation of hers. How it is terminated I can't say, but he is very wealthy'.[15] Byrne was certainly wealthy by 1797 and probably received a marriage settlement in addition to £3,000 the amount for which it was remarked she was suing Lord Clonmel as she was due to inherit it from her grandfather.[16]

Business and investment

Byrne was placed for his apprenticeship with the Dublin merchant Toole.[17] He entered the mercantile firm John Byrne & Co. that belonged to a 'kinsman'.[18] In the 1760s he developed his interests as a sugar baker and merchant. In April 1761 he purchased a lease of a 'dwelling house, Sugar house, warehouse [and] coal yard on the north-side of Chequer Lane' from John Roche, merchant, for eighty-one years for £80 per annum. The lease specified that although it would remain in the name of John Roche, four other Dublin city

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[11] I would like to acknowledge the generosity of the *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, in particular James Quinn and James Maguire, for providing me with a preview of the forthcoming entry for Edward Byrne and John Keogh written by C.J. Woods (C.J. Woods, 'Edward Byrne', *DIB*)
[12] Will of Edward Byrne (NAI, T1829).
[13] *Dublin Journal,* 8 Feb. 1763.
[14] Will of Edward Byrne (NAI, T1829).
[15] Drennan to Martha McTier, 17 Apr. 1801 (Agnew (ed.), *The Drennan- McTier letters,* ii, 698).
[16] The *DIB* states 1797 while Jean Agnew, citing *Walkner's Hibernian Magazine,* states 1792 (Ibid.)
[17] C.J. Woods, 'Edward Byrne', *DIB.*
[18] C.J. Woods, 'Edward Byrne', *DIB.*

merchants, James Roche, Francis French, Edward Byrne and Owen Dermott were responsible for the lease and would pay the rent.[19] In this manner the Catholic merchants, McDermott and Byrne, held some security on the lease which was outside the bounds of their legal ownership. While a lease of this nature has not been found relative to other traders in this study, this lease is significant as it shows how some traders navigated the penal laws. This arrangement could have been a partnership or joint proprietorship of a warehouse between these merchants.

Byrne was involved in distilling by the early 1770s and advertised as a sugar baker and distiller in Mullinahack.[20] In 1770, Byrne made two leases describing himself as 'Vintner'. A lease of a house in Francis Street with all house contents was sold for £240.[21] Byrne leased a plot of land in Cullenswood (near Milltown) to John Fleming, merchant.[22] It is unusual that Byrne described himself in two different manners, but this evidence suggests that in the 1760s he was more involved with distilling. In 1786 he moved to Allen's Court and continued trading as a merchant and sugar baker but he advertised as trading at the premise at Mullinahack.[23] Under a deed of 20 August 1781 (three years after a relief act allowed Catholics to lease up to 999 years) Byrne leased 'the Nunnery' in Mullinahack from Lady Newhaven for £35 payable half yearly for ninety-nine years.[24]

Byrne's business grew steadily, and he diversified and invested in other avenues while maintaining his interests as a vintner and sugar baker. In the late 1780s Byrne entered into partnership with Randall McDonnell, and they traded from Allen's Court. This firm did not represent his exclusive interest in commerce and he continued to trade from North Great George Street.[25] Business partnerships could be brief and did not always represent the full extent of a merchant's trade or investment interest. Sometimes longer working relationships could be established that spanned many business partnerships and investments. McDonnell was a long-term business partner and associate of Byrne. In the 1790s he invested in the manufacture of cloth with John Duffy, Patrick Thomas Duffy and Hugh Hamill.[26] Byrne and McDonnell also took other partners. By 1795 they had taken Richard Byrne into business. The three merchants acquired a lease of 'the land [which] joined the Sugar house of Edward Byrne' for 480 years for £18 4*s.* payable quarterly. The

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[19] John Roche, James Forbes, Francis French, Byrne and Owen Dermott, 3 Apr. 1761 (Reg. Deeds, 280.689.185690).
[20] *Dublin Directory,* 1771.
[21] Byrne, Mathew Byrne, 19 Feb. 1770 (Reg. Deeds, 277.545.179735).
[22] Byrne, John Fleming, 10 Nov. 1770 (Reg. Deeds, 279.498.183964).
[23] *Dublin Directory,* 1771-1786.
[24] Frances, Lady Baroness of Newhaven, Edward Byrne, 20 Aug. 1781 (Reg. Deeds, 346.30.230105).
[25] *Dublin Directory,* 1788.
[26] John Duffy, Patrick Thomas Duffy, Byrne, Hugh Hamill, 1 Dec. 1795 (Reg. Deeds, 503.71.321276).

premises, possibly used as a warehouse, were clearly for the expansion of business interests. They made a further lease in 1800 of a dwelling house 'on the east side of Leeson Street going onto Stable lane'.[27] The repeal of the laws allowed greater terms for urban leases which benefited business because they could sell the lease after premises lost their use. The security which this offered is not immediately apparent as most partnerships were short, but it offered an avenue of investment and security for traders and provided a return on the end of a partnership. When Richard Byrne died in 1801, Byrne and McDonnell 'surviving partners of the house of Edward Byrne, Randall McDonnell and Richard Byrne' testified to their business activities and leasing of land in Crumlin.[28] By 1801 they expanded the land they held for their business and further acquired with Andrew Walsh 'the dwelling house, passage situate in Mullinahack formerly called Croker's lane at the end of New Row' which bounded land they held.[29] By the time of Byrne's death, just two years later in 1803, he was in partnership with McDonnell, Andrew Walsh and his sons Patrick and Mathew Byrne.[30]

The investments which Byrne made in cloth manufacture tell us something of the variety and nature of his investment interests. By 1791 he held a sideline interest in the manufacture of shin cotton as well as the purchase and sale of cottons, calicos, muslins and linens.[31] It was undertaken with three partners John Duffy, Patrick Thomas Duffy, and Hugh Hamill. The partnership initially divided equally and required the group to invest £40,000 over a term of ten years through Usher's Quay. The products bought or manufactured were for a 'foreign market'.[32] Indeed, the investment appears to have been timed to take advantage of a growth in the export in foreign goods. 'The war years between 1793 and 1815 were a period of boom. Between 1792 and 1815 the volume of exports rose by 40 per cent.'.[33] The investment required of Byrne was therefore £1,000 per annum for ten years which suggests this venture was a low risk. Five years after the initial partnership had been established, Cornelius Duffy, probably a relation of Patrick Thomas Duffy, joined the partnership. His entrance suggests that the venture was generating profit. The terms were very favourable to the four existing partners. Cornelius invested an initial £2,000 and then a further £3,000 in stock to match the cumulative investment of each

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[27] Byrne, Randall McDonnell and Richard Byrne, Peter Jackson, 10 Apr. 1800 (Reg. Deeds, 525.283.344675).
[28] Thomas Richard, Byrne, Randall McDonnell 'surviving partners of the house of Edward Byrne, Randall McDonnell and Richard Byrne', 15 Sept. 1801 (Reg. Deeds, 542.23.355731).
[29] James Kennedy, Byrne, Randall McDonnell and Andrew Walsh, 5 Aug. 1801 (Reg. Deeds, 537.557.354499).
[30] Edward Byrne, will (NAI T1829).
[31] John Duffy, Patrick Thomas Duffy, Byrne, Hugh Hamil, 1 Dec. 1795 (Reg. Deeds, 503.71.321276).
[32] John Duffy, Patrick Thomas Duffy, Byrne, Hugh Hamil, 1 Dec. 1795 (Reg. Deeds, 503.71.321276).
[33] Louis M. Cullen, *An Economic history of Ireland since 1660* (2nd ed. London, 1987), p. 100.

partner who had begun the enterprise. John Duffy, Hamill and Byrne would no longer be responsible for any loss incurred in the business during the remainder of the term, but they would continue to benefit from any profits which were split equally among five investors.[34] The willingness of the Duffy brothers to take all possible remaining losses from the venture suggests its desirability. By the 1790s Byrne had become a very large trader and therefore his investment of £10,000 over ten years would have been minor in light of his other interests. This venture shows he maintained a large number of small interests in investments and diversified his business from that of a sugar baker to a cloth manufacturer and exporter. The low risk involved shows his caution. Similarly prudent, Byrne made an investment in Bank of Ireland stock at £1,000 in 1793 that was relatively small considering his reputation within Ireland as a merchant of vast wealth. Byrne carefully spread his investments.

By 1801 Byrne was recognised as one of the largest traders in Ireland. William Drennan described him as 'the first Catholic merchant, if not the first merchant in Ireland'.[35] His reputation as one of the premier merchants in Ireland was built on his ability to find a sound investment, to place his money carefully and to reap profits from cautious investments. Drennan noted that he was 'a man of great shrewdness and indefatigable assiduity in his occupation'.[36] Byrne must have had a reputation for firmness in his business transactions. As Drennan was personally acquainted with a large number of Catholic merchants within Dublin (including Keogh, Denis Thomas O'Brien and Randall McDonnell), it is likely that he formed this opinion of Byrne from not just his own observations but Byrne's general reputation as a trader. Drennan added 'the Catholics still keep one at the head of the professions of the country degraded as they are; at least the first physician, the first apothecary and the first merchant in Dublin are Catholics'.[37] The link which he made between religion and ambition as a consequence of the bars which Catholics met in other walks of life is significant. There were always some Catholics astute enough to use those avenues which were still open to them. As such, commerce was an important outlet for ambitious Catholics.

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[34] Widow of Thomas Richard, Byrne and Randall McDonnell 'surviving partners of the house of Edward Byrne, Randall McDonnell and Richard Byrne' 15 Sept. 1801 (Reg. Deeds, 503.71.321276).
[35] Drennan, to Martha McTier, 17 Apr. 1801 (Agnew (ed.), *The Drennan- McTier letters,* ii, 698).
[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid.

Land

Byrne built up interest in Dublin city properties from the 1760s. His land investment also extended to the personal sphere and he invested in leases in Co. Dublin, where his family had held interest in land since 1650.[38] In 1783 Byrne leased 160 acres, no rent cited, to Christopher and Thomas Seagrave (eldest son of Christopher) for three lives.[39] By 1794 Edward Byrne gained an interest in land in Co. Dublin on behalf of his brother, Mark. Peter Warren 'under the direction of Edward Sheil and Edward Byrne' leased 962 acres of Buolick, Co. Tipperary to Mark Byrne of Saggart for £661 12*s.* 5*d.* for the residue of a lease of 1,000 years. They also provided for Mark a further 280 acres of the same land for £140 per annum.[40] In 1797 Byrne leased to Richard Byrne and David Fitzgerald '1,740 acres plantation measure in Slevardagh in Co. Tipperary' for an unspecified period and amount.[41] It is unclear if this was a mortgage or a lease but the land was owned by Mary Ann Rose, spinster of Dublin.[42] By 1797 Edward was forced to assist his brother and by deed of sale Edward and Richard Byrne purchased 134 acres of Mark's land in Saggart, Co. Dublin.[43] When Mark died (c. 1803) Edward leased the land to his nephew, Edward Byrne junior, for £200 per annum.[44]

Byrne continued to build up some interest in urban leases. He purchased leases from Alexander Jaffray of Ely Place in 1794 which included 'ground on the south side of Baggot Street together with two new houses built on that street and stable and coach houses' for the term of 146 years. Byrne mortgaged this for £340 8*s.* 7*d.* to Mary Chaignerau. On his repayment of the mortgage in 1800 he signed the land to John Byrne, his eldest son.[45] The need to mortgage this property in 1794 probably linked to the high volume of land which he had acquired on behalf of Mark Byrne in Tipperary in 1794.[46] In 1801 Byrne purchased a Co. Down estate from Major James Adair for £40,000.[47] If Byrne paid twenty-two years rental for the property (a likely figure) then the rental on this estate

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[38] C.J. Woods, 'Edward Byrne', *DIB*.

[39] Byrne, Christopher Seagrave, Thomas Seagrave, 1 Sept. 1783 (Reg. Deeds, 343.506.237846).

[40] Byrne, Peter Warren, Edward Sheil, Mark Byrne, 13 Dec. 1794 (Reg. Deeds, 478.562.311860), Byrne, Peter Warren, Edward Sheil, Mark Byrne, 13 Dec. 1794 (Reg. Deeds, 478.562.311.861, Reg. Deeds, 488.473.311862).

[41] Byrne and John Byrne, Thomas Coleman jun. executor of Henry Byrne, Rev. James Kindlestan of Dorset street and Elizabeth Byrne, Coleman Byrne and Mark Byrne, 29 Jun. 1797 (Reg. Deeds, 509.203.330464).

[42] Ibid.

[43] Mark Byrne, John Byrne, Thomas Byrne, Byrne and Patrick Byrne, 13 Dec. 1799 (Reg. Deeds, 522.343.342565).

[44] Edward Byrne jun. son of Mark Byrne (deceased), Byrne, 13 Jun. 1803 (Reg. Deeds, 557.158.36955).

[45] Mary Chaignerau, Byrne and John Byrne, Alexander Jaffray, 4 Dec. 1800 (Reg. Deeds, 532.413.349544).

[46] Byrne, Peter Warren, Edward Sheil, Mark Byrne, 13 Dec. 1794 (Reg. Deeds, 478.562.311860), Byrne, Peter Warren, Edward Sheil, Mark Byrne, 13 Dec. 1794 Byrne, Peter Warren, Edward Sheil, Mark Byrne, 13 Dec. 1794 (Reg. Deeds, 478.562.311.861, Reg. Deeds, 488.473.311862).

[47] Drennan to Martha McTier, 30 Mar. 1801, (Agnew (ed.), *The Drennan- McTier letters,* ii, 690).

was probably c. £1,800 per annum at time of sale. Prior to this purchase Byrne's land interests were concerned with building up his family's interest in land in Co. Dublin and Co. Tipperary. In 1797 he acquired a large estate for his son John in Co. Louth through his son's marriage settlement which cost Byrne £25,000.[48] His priority was to create estates for his children before himself and to reinvest in family land to ensure that it survived in the family and was expanded when possible. Nevertheless, his own interest in land shows he had ambition and by his death he had joined the landed class with well over 200 acres in rural and urban property. He continued to invest and speculate in commercial ventures and thus shows the close connection between trade and land.

Public sphere

Despite being a trader with a growing commercial interest, Byrne as a Catholic suffered restrictions on involvement in politics and the land market to various degrees throughout his life. As an ambitious trader he must have resented these social and economic restrictions placed on avenues of social mobility. He vented his frustration at these restrictions though his involvement in the Catholic Committee. Byrne was a member from 1773[49] but appears to have been an active participant from December 1779 when he was requested to collect donations in St. Michan's parish and Limerick (through the agents Phil and Stephen Roche).[50] While he involved himself in this organisation from an early date, it was not until the 1790s that Byrne and the other merchants in the organisation had an opportunity to take a leadership role in the committee.

Elections in 1791 placed Dublin's commercial figures in a prominent position in the Catholic Committee.[51] The publications of Tone's *An argument on behalf of Catholics* and the advocacy for repeal of more penal laws followed the election of the committee in 1791. The then committee began to meet with greater regularity with seventeen meetings held in 1791 alone.[52] In November 1791 Edward Byrne, Denis Thomas O'Brien,[53] John

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[48] Byrne and John Jyrne, Thomas Coleman jun. executor of Henry Byrne, Rev. James Kindlestan of Dorset street and Elizabeth Byrne, Coleman Byrne and Mark Byrne, 29 Jun. 1797 (Reg. Deeds, 509.203.330464).

[49] R. Dudley Edwards (ed.), 'The minute book of the Catholic Committee, 1773–1792', *Archivium Hibernicum*, ix (1942), 4.

[50] Edwards (ed.), 'The minute book of the Catholic Committee', p. 44.

[51] 1 Mar. 1791 (Edwards (ed.), 'The minute book of the Catholic Committee', pp. 126-7).

[52] Thomas Bartlett, *The fall and rise of the Irish nation; the Catholic question 1690-1830* (Dublin, 1992), pp. 126-7.

[53] Denis Thomas O'Brien, partner of John Comerford, was trading under 'Comerford and O'Brien by 1760 at Usher's Quay, at 19 Merchant's Quay from 1793, by 1796 the business had become a family one and was O'Brien, (Denis, Thomas and & Richard) merchants 23 Merchant's Quay', by 1804 O'Brien was advertising at Rutland square and his son had taken over his business (see appendix a).

Roche[54] and Randal McDonnell were invited to speak with the government on behalf of the committee at a meeting in Dublin Castle with Chief Secretary Robert Hobart. Due to a recent publication by Theobald McKenna and formation of an alternate Catholic association which had called for a complete repeal of all penal laws, considerable pressure was placed on the delegation. Hobart requested this delegation to reject completely, on behalf of the Catholic Committee, the aims asserted by McKenna.[55] Byrne told Hobart that the society had nothing to do with the publication and that it had been produced by a 'few miserable men, of hot heads [and] was not the act nor done with the knowledge of the committee'.[56] Nevertheless, they did not completely reject some of the claims as McKenna's work 'contain[ed] only a statement of melancholy facts, and we defy our adversaries to prove that it contains one word inconsistent with the strictest principles of religion and of loyalty'.[57] Byrne's defence of the aims of Catholics show him as capable but ambitious. He was eager for the erosion of the penal laws and for Catholics to be placed on an equal footing with Protestants. The delegation upheld their call for further reform and pushed forward talk in government about further conciliatory gestures to Catholics. During this meeting Hobart conceded one point to Byrne which previously had not been allowed. In an effort to get the delegation to denounce McKenna's demands Hobart stated:

> You are the representatives of the body of the Roman Catholics, authorised to speak their wishes and sentiments. If you disapprove of the proceedings of a society [McKenna's group]... not authorised by the RCs it will be becoming of you to assert your own dignity, what can be your objection to disavowing their proceedings.[58]

While recognition of the Catholic Committee as representatives of the Roman Catholics was a conciliatory point, it placed Byrne as a leader and spokesman of this body. Hobart, while desperately seeking a denunciation of McKenna's pamphlet, was prepared to accept Byrne and his committee as the voice for Roman Catholics. While Hobart viewed these men as the lesser of two evils when compared to McKenna, he preferred to negotiate with these men. That the committee was not appointed democratically would be a later point of

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[54] John Roche was a trader at Bachelors quay throughout the 70s, 80s and 90s and had premises in Milltown by 1780 (Dublin Directory, 1770-1790).
[55] Notes of Hobart of meeting with Catholic Committee Hobart of 26 November 1791 (NAI, Reb. Papers 620/19/37).
[56] Ibid.
[57] General committee of Roman-Catholics, printed report of their proceedings regarding emancipation, 14 Jan. 1792 (NAI, Reb. Papers, 620/19/45).
[58] Notes of Hobart of meeting with Catholic Committee Hobart of 26 Nov. 1791 (NAI, Reb. Papers 620/19/37).

attack by their opponents, so this acknowledgment in 1791 is surprising and shows that Hobart took the negotiations very seriously.

The conservative stance taken by the aristocratic leader of the Catholic Committee, Lord Kenmare, prompted a leadership coup in December 1791 that placed commercial figures like Byrne at the head of the organisation on a more definite footing. This new mercantile leadership proceeded more forcefully and succeeded in achieving far greater repeal of the penal laws than the conservatives had. They drew their strength and support from their financial success. While the new leaders wanted to ensure the support of the Catholic gentry, which they reincorporated into the committee once they had taken charge, they gained respectability from their own trades.

The records of speeches of proceedings of the Catholic Committee in October 1792 show the respect paid these merchants by the Catholics of Dublin. Martin Geoghegan announced the disgust of the committee that men of such standing and importance to the economy of Ireland, like Byrne, could be left out of power.

> I would ask were such eminent and respectable characters, as the gentlemen who presides in your committee…who has raised the national consequence as a commercial state and holds so sterling a pledge in the country, competent to be elected governors or directors of the national bank, or trustees of the Royal Exchange, would it endanger the church and state?[59]

Geoghegan expressed the outrage felt by these men of financial weight and education at their exclusion from voting and parliament. 'Was a Catholic physician permitted to teach the art of healing in our university, would it endanger the church and state?' In an impassioned speech he spoke of the folly of Catholic exclusion. 'Protestant gentlemen cannot be serious, who express alarm at our seeking to be incorporated with them for our mutual advantage, and the good of our common country.'[60] To highlight the unreasonableness of the laws Geoghegan held up bankers, merchants and doctors, rather than the Catholic landed class to prove the necessity of the repeal of the penal laws. Edward Byrne was appointed the chairman of the committee in 1792 which shows the Catholic Committee placed their respect and trust in successful businessmen.

Byrne became chairman of this new committee and signed all declarations and minutes of meetings. This role ensured that he would be ridiculed by opponents of Catholic repeal. Tone saw this as a mark of his importance in the repeal movement:

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[59] *Proceedings at the Catholic meeting of Dublin, duly convened on Wednesday, October 31, 1792, at the Exhibition-Room, Exchequer-Street* (Dublin, 1792), p. 33.
[60] Ibid.

> The committee in general, and its more active and ostensible members in particular, were vilified and abused...particularly Edward Byrne and John Keogh who had the honour to be selected from their brethren and exposed as butts for the small wit of the prostitutes of the government.[61]

Tone's comments that Byrne and Keogh were exceptional within the movement highlights their importance in the repeal movement. Byrne was chosen to negotiate with Dublin Castle and was a key figure in the defence of Catholics. He was brought into contact with political figures of weight and consequence like Edmund Burke with whom he corresponded.[62] He was considered to be a man of respectable standing.

The new committee drew up a list of their expectations for a forthcoming parliamentary reform bill. At a meeting in January 1792 which Byrne chaired, the committee drew up a resolution of their desired relief.[63] Their hopes included entrance to the legal profession, the right to serve as magistrates, the right to be summoned for grand and petty juries, and the right for 'a Roman Catholic Freeholder to vote, only when he rents and occupies, or possesses in fee or for life, a farm of £20 per annum'. A letter signed by Edward Byrne summed up their optimism; as chairman of the committee that asked for Catholics 'to be considered members of a free constitution'.[64] Two weeks earlier the *Dublin Journal* had printed an address of the Roman Catholics of Ireland to the lord lieutenant earl of Westmorland seeking 'application be made to the legislature, during the next session of parliament, for a further repeal of the laws affecting the Roman Catholics of Ireland'.[65] The resolution was a radical move for the committee. They then turned to making the organisation more representative.

The committee drew up a circular dated 26 May 1792 and signed by Byrne which called for Catholics to elect two representatives in their parishes. In the aftermath of the French revolution, talk of representative assemblies outside the control and jurisdiction of the government caused alarm. Much has been made of this letter and neither the lord lieutenant nor the lord chancellor believed the circular was written by the committee, whom they saw as under the direction of either Tone or Richard Burke. Three weeks before the appearance of this circular Westmorland wrote to Dundas that 'Mr. [Richard] Burke's tools the committee are very much dejected at their expression of thanks' which

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[61] Bartlett (ed.), *Tone,* p. 52.
[62] Byrne, Dublin to Edmund Burke, Beaconsfield, 14 Jan. 1792 (Alfred Cobban & Robert A. Smith, *The Correspondence of Edmund Burke July 1789- December 1791* (8 vols, Cambridge, 1967), vi, p. 397-398).
[63] Circular letter from the sub-committee of Roman Catholics signed by Edward Byrne, 12 Jan. 1792 (NAI, Reb. Papers, 620/19/46).
[64] Ibid.
[65] *Dublin Journal,* 1 Jan. 1792.

they had received for their proclamations of loyalty.[66] John Fitzgibbon, the lord chancellor, also believed that the letter had not been written by Byrne. In May 1793 he wrote that Tone was 'the original projector of the Catholic Convention, drew up the circular letter issued in the course of the last summer in the name of Mr. Edward Byrne'.[67] The letter 'found its way into every corner of Ireland'.[68] While the appeal for representatives may not have been novel the 'nationwide organisation...carried out by Keogh, Braughall and Tone' did much to advertise the cause.[69] The success of this Catholic publicity campaign quickly focused its attention on the man who signed the letter, Edward Byrne.

The circular and Byrne were denounced Protestants throughout the country on the occasion of the summer assize. It was the first opportunity for mass meetings to formulate their resolutions. They deemed any Catholic assemblies which put forward representatives to the committee illegal. Advertisements in *The Freeman's Journal* in August 1792 showed the reaction of Protestants across the country to the circular. Limerick Protestants stated: 'We feel it our duty to caution them [Catholics] against any such illegal and unconstitutional association as has been recommended to them by the said Edward Byrne and the said sub-committee'.[70] The Armagh Grand Jury was 'earnest to resist and suppress every unconstitutional practice' and denounced it.[71] Donegal did not mention him by name but stated 'we regard our Roman Catholic brethren with tenderness; but we declare, that we will maintain at all times, and at the hazard of everything dear to us, the Protestant interest of Ireland'.[72] Omagh signed a similar resolution while Londonderry was more forthright in its denunciation of the Catholics and Byrne. Dublin Corporation in September denounced the letter which

> has lately appeared signed "Edward Byrne" in which the Roman Catholics are instructed to proceed upon the plan of French democracy, to elect a representation of their won, to which said Byrne insinuates that "the Protestants *must* bend, as he has assurance from the highest authority.[73]

The association of Catholic attempts to create a more representative body with the French revolution shows that the circular was received by Protestants with great alarm.

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[66] Ann C. Kavanaugh, *John Fitzgibbon, Earl of Clare: Protestant reaction and English Authority in late eighteenth-century Ireland* (Dublin 1997), p. 252.
[67] John Fitzgibbon, Dublin to William Pitt, 14 May 1793 (D. A. Fleming, A. P. W. Malcolmson, (eds), *A Volley of execrations: The letters and papers of John Fitzgibbon, earl of Clare, 1772-1802,* (Dublin, 2005), p. 165).
[68] Jim Smyth, *The men of no property: Irish radical and popular politics in the late eighteenth century,* (Basingstoke, 1998), p. 64.
[69] Smyth, *The men of no property* p. 65.
[70] *The Freeman's Journal,* 7 Aug. 1792.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid.
[73] *Dublin Journal,* 13-25 Sept. 1792, emphasis as in original.

The corporation, comprised of men of trade, denounced Byrne and believed the circular to be a threat to them and their institutions. They worried this movement could be bad for business. Catholics were a numerically smaller group of traders, and tension in the public sphere could easily have spilt over into the economic sphere. In November 1792 the government organ *The Freeman's Journal* bore out this theme by associating the radical ideals of the French with the Catholic Committee. A letter addressed to the 'Catholics of landed property' suggested that the bulk of the Catholic Committee had been misled: 'I cannot believe that it was the design…to have shaken public credit, or to have alienated the government of the country, or to have roused the indignation of your Protestant fellow-subjects'.[74] While the author believed that it was not the committee's intention to incite so many of these consequences, '*some* of them' in the general committee had 'imbibed the principles of the Jacobins'.[75] As principal signatory of the circular, Byrne was singled out for blame.

Tone commented twice in the aftermath of the circular affair of Byrne's reluctance to embroil himself further as a lead signatory of the committee because of the personal nature of some of the backlash. In July 1792 he recorded 'circular letter for the returns ready for signing. The Vintner [Edward Byrne] comes in after a long debate and refuses to sign. Cowardly—Rascally! The fellow is worth £200,000'.[76] Tone implied that Byrne's reason for his reluctance was that his business may suffer if negative attention surrounding the affair continued. Tone's position was simply that Byrne had already made £200,000 therefore he should not fear a downturn in business. By September Byrne felt no better. Tone recorded that he 'dreads anything which may bring his name into question. Understand this apprehension arises from…the way of trade'.[77] The Catholic Committee responded to all threats by stating that all their actions were legal. They appointed two lawyers, Simon Butler and Beresford Burton, to inspect the legality of the circular. They concluded 'the committee have taken no step whatsoever which the laws and constitution do not fully warrant'.[78] They would stand by the circular despite the consequences which Byrne feared.

Byrne's trade was not visibly disrupted. His status as one of the first merchants in Ireland was reaffirmed in May 1793 when he was called upon by the Privy Council to distribute a loan (total sum allotted to this was £700,000) to traders in the city threatened

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[74] *The Freeman's Journal,* 3 Nov. 1792.
[75] Ibid.
[76] 27 Jul. 1792 (Bartlett (ed), *Life,* p. 141).
[77] 21 Sept. 1792 (ibid, p. 154).
[78] A meeting of the subcommittee of the Catholics, 13 Sept. 1792 (Bartlett (ed), *Life,* p. 360).

by the economic depression.[79] Valentine O'Connor, another member of the committee, was also appointed.[80] In 1798 John Fitzgibbon, the earl of Clare, spoke in the House of Lords of having worked personally with Edward Byrne during periods when the government sought trade experts. He said that 'he knew him personally to be a man of worth'. He added that 'he was much indebted' to Byrne for providing him with 'clear and sound information'. He stated that Byrne was 'a sincere friend to the prosperity of Ireland'. However, Fitzgibbon made it clear that while Byrne was a successful trader who had benefited the cause of the government in the past, he was not to be trusted in politics now. Fitzgibbon stated that 'when he acted as a political man, as a minister for others' he was 'a bad politician'.[81] Byrne was too large a trader to be ignored or condemned by government as he had made a substantial contribution to the economy. Government circles that did not want to harm trade treated his politics as separate from his economic dealings.

Under the 1793 relief bill Catholics were granted entrance to civic institutions. This long desired relief did not go far enough for the committee. Under the Convention Act of 16 August 1793, all extra parliamentary assemblies claiming to be representative had been prohibited.[82] The Catholic Committee was forced to disband.[83] The leaders split as some accepted the new relief and the illegality of pursuing their cause of further relief through a committee while others sought more radical ways of pursuing equality. Byrne and his political associate John Keogh, having become two of the most prominent leaders of the Catholic Committee, argued over how they would proceed and split.

Byrne attempted to take advantage of the new relief and enter civic institutions. When the merchants guild met to swear in new members in July 1793, the freemen showed their distaste for the relief which had been granted and the men who had agitated for it. Edward Byrne and Valentine O'Connor sought entrance to the guild in part to test to how well the repeal of civic restrictions on Catholics would function. Byrne was rejected by four votes. As Byrne was the figurehead of the Catholic Committee and the name attached

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[79] John Patrick esq (merchant 17 Abbey Street, Churchwarden of St. Mary's, Hiberniain Fire Insurance Company), Edward Byrne esq (merchant, manufacturer, Mullinahack, Allen's Court, North Great George's Street, Hibernian Fire Insurance Company, Catholic Committee, Chamber of Commerce), John Chambers esq (merchant, 46 Pill Lane, Timber Merchant 10 Bolton Street), Edward Forbes esq (merchant? Governor of the Marine School by subscription) Val. O Connor esq (merchant, manufacturer, Bachelor's Walk, Catholic Committee, Ouzel Galley, Catholic Committee), Frederick Geale esq (merchant), John Ball esq (Linen Draper, 34 Chancery Lane), Alexander Jaffray esq (merchant, Eustace Street, 8 Ely Place, Ouzel Galley, Philanthropist), Richard Hawksley esq.

[80] Valentine O'Connor, traded with his brother, Hugh, at 16 Bachelor's walk from 1771, by 1778 another relative, Malachy had joined them, from 1791 they were at 6 Dominick Street, and by 1798 Valentine, Junior, was trading in Dublin and Valentine appears to have retired (see appendix a).

[81] John Fitzgibbon, *The speech of the Right Honourable John, Lord Baron Fitzgibbon delivered in the House of Peers, on the second reading of the Bill for the* (London, 1798), p. 50.

[82] 33 Geo. III, c. 29 (1793).

[83] Bartlett, *The fall and rise,* p. 186.

to the controversy the previous summer, it is perhaps unsurprising that the corporation rejected him. When O'Connor's petition came to the table (supported by Travers Hartley) a long debate ensued. Edward Newenham proclaimed that Catholics could not and should not be allowed into the guild.[84] He stated his belief that Catholics would vote for Catholics and their own group and so they would dominate the guild. O'Connor's petition was rejected by nine votes. The assembly ended with the decision to look at the other thirty-one petitions during the next quarter assembly.[85] Catholics fared better when the corporation met on 18 October to admit new members to the freedom of the city. 'Of more than twenty petitions for freedom of persons professing popish religion, but *one* (that of Mr. V. O'Connor) was sent down from the board of Aldermen, which was upon ballot *rejected* in the commons by 66 against 29.'[86] This message was clear. Those Catholics who had prominently agitated for relief would not be allowed to gain entrance to the freedom.

In the aftermath of the disbanding of the Catholic Committee and his failure to enter civic politics Byrne appeared much less frequently in the public sphere. He seems to have represented the more conservative faction within the Catholic Committee (he did not become involved with the United Irishmen) and was largely out of political involvement by 1795 although he remained highly regarded for what had been achieved. In January 1795 Drennan wrote to his sister: 'Their [the Catholics] address went up today with near one hundred carriages. I hear it was very well drawn up—Byrne's horses were taken from his carriage on returning and he was drawn home by the mob'.[87] This mark of esteem shows the respect earned in his fight for greater relief. When the rebellion broke out in 1798 Byrne signed the loyal address to the king.[88]

Private sphere

Though Byrne purchased an estate, he did not retire from business and continued trading. He shows clearly the difficulties in retiring completely from trade profits to accept a life as a retired gentleman. Byrne was a wealthy man, so his decision not to retire shows the tension between trader and gentleman. Although he ensured his eldest son had an estate, he encouraged the rest of his sons in trade. In 1797 John was betrothed to a Catholic heiress and probable relation, Elizabeth Byrne, daughter of 'Mountbyrne otherwise Allardstown in

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[84] *The Dublin Journal, Saunder's Newsletter,* 17 Jul. 1793.
[85] Ibid.
[86] *The Dublin Journal,* 19 Oct. 1793.
[87] Drennan to Martha McTier, Jan. 1795 (Agnew (ed.), *The Drennan- McTier letters*, ii, p. 120).
[88] *An address from the Roman Catholic nobility, clergy & gentry of Ireland, presented to His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant May 30 1798* (London, 1798), p. 7.

Co. Louth'.[89] Underage, Elizabeth's father Henry Byrne had died and her marriage settlement was undertaken by his executor, Thomas Coleman, and Edward Byrne on behalf of his son. This marriage was clearly arranged for the establishment of an estate in Edward Byrne's branch of the family as the marriage settlement shows that £25,000 would be invested in the marriage in return for the estate. Edward Byrne may not have acquired the lands of his father, but he certainly ensured that his sons married back into Catholic property. Elizabeth was entitled 'to the lands of Allardstown, Cruisetown, Labanstown and Parsontown in the town-lands of Cortell the east and west division of Allardstown in Co. Louth'.[90] Edward Byrne bestowed upon his son an inheritance of £25,000. This amount was conditional and £15,000 was to be vested to Thomas Coleman, an executor of the will of Henry Byrne, to purchase the estate from Elizabeth. This large sum ensured the estate was bought for Edward's successor. Elizabeth would receive from this £500 per annum and the rest of her fortune would be at her disposal, but in the trust of Coleman until her marriage. The remaining £10,000 would be vested for the children of the marriage. John Byrne held the land from the date of the deed, 28 June 1797, but the marriage would not take place until Elizabeth turned twenty-one (possibly a stipulation of her father's will). The land would pass in tail-male order but only to the sons of John Byrne.[91] Elizabeth's lands had been sold for £15,000 and the promise of a marriage and a further £10,000 for her children. Edward had ensured a good marriage with an estate and had bestowed a large legacy on his eldest son. John followed his father's political career and represented Co. Tyrone in the Catholic Convention of 1792.[92] He may have become a radical. Drennan cited John as a member of the United Irishmen c.1794 but it is unclear how involved he became.[93] Thomas Collins mentioned that he was present at a meeting of the United Irishmen 3 December 1798 showing that, while he did not rise, he had strong sympathies with the movement after the failure and suppression of the rebellion.[94]

Byrne's will referred primarily to the future of his sons Patrick and Mathew. Patrick had been educated as a barrister in 1797 but he went onto trade.[95] Edward had been in business with both sons and left them his total capital of £69,523 from the firm of Byrne, McDonnell & Co., 'with all my right like interest and or in virtue of my property in

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[89] Byrne and John Byrne, Thomas Coleman jun. executor of Henry Byrne, Rev. James Kindlestan of Dorset street and Elizabeth Byrne, Coleman Byrne and Mark Byrne, 29 Jun. 1797 (Reg. Deeds, 509.203.330464).
[90] Ibid.
[91] Ibid.
[92] C.J. Woods, *DIB*.
[93] Drennan to Samuel McTier, 27 Jan. [?] (Agnew (ed.), *The Drennan- McTier letters,* ii, 9).
[94] 3 Dec. 1798 (R. B., McDowell (ed.), *Proceedings of the Dublin Society of United Irishmen,* (Dublin, 1998), p. 98).
[95] Edward Keane, P. Beryl Phaik & Thomas U. Sadlier (eds), *King's Inns Admission papers* (Dublin, 1982), p. 69.

said sum under the articles of partnership embarked with between me and Randall McDonnell, Andrew Walsh, Patrick Byrne, Mathew Byrne'.[96] Clearly, Mathew and Patrick had already been involved in the firm and Byrne had trained them. Byrne wanted his sons to remain in trade after his death either in his partnership or another.

Edward Byrne junior (distinct from his cousin Edward Byrne of Saggart, heir of Mark Byrne) represented Queen's County in 1792 and is purported to have 'ruined himself by commercial speculations in Liverpool'.[97] The remaining son, Thomas, was probably given land by his father. He is listed in a deed of 1799 in connection with Edward Byrne's interest in land in Saggart, and it is likely that Thomas also had an interest in this land.[98] Byrne divided all remaining wealth after specific bequests among each of his sons. In addition he gave £10,000 to be divided among the sons of his deceased brother Mark (stipulating that only those alive should benefit) and £2,000 to his nephew John Ball.[99] Byrne had two daughters. Mary Lynch was possibly wife of John Lynch, merchant, who was associated in business with Byrne in 1767.[100] She died in 1797, and none of her heirs are cited in Byrne's will which suggests that she died childless.[101] Celia McCarthy, wife of John McCarthy, was bequeathed £10,000.[102] They resided in Bordeaux. Byrne, like most Catholic merchants, maintained links with Catholic merchants on the continent.[103]

Byrne's wealth on death in 1803 was £69,000, but this figure did not include his land.[104] He held an estate in Co. Down as well as 134 acres in Co. Dublin. He had leased land in Co. Tipperary and held 200 acres in Co. Dublin of which he had granted control to his brother's family. He had established his eldest son, John, to a landed estate and provided £10,000 for his grandchildren by John. At least two of his sons had been given commercial training and on their father's death were granted large sums to invest in trade. His surviving daughter was granted £10,000. If the estates and commercial interest of the Byrne family are assessed, the family was very much entrenched in both the enterprise of land accumulation and trade. Byrne was clearly reluctant, despite his wealth, to invest all

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[96] Will of Edward Byrne (NAI, T1829).
[97] C.J. Woods, 'Edward Byrne' *DIB*.
[98] Mark Byrne, John Byrne, Thomas Byrne, Patrick Byrne and Byrne, 13 Dec. 1799 (Reg. Deeds, 522.343.342565).
[99] Will of Edward Byrne (NIA, T1829).
[100] *Freeman's Journal,* 31 Jan. 1767.
[101] C.J. Woods, 'Edward Byrne' *DIB*.
[102] Will of Edward Byrne (NIA, T1829).
[103] Edward Byrne was probably trading with the firm of John McCarthy in the 1790s, Francis Higgins wrote to Dublin Castle, 22 Jan. 1796, '[i]f you cause a strict eye to be kept on Byrne and McDonnell, merchants you will find them and V. [Valentine] O'Connor obtaining large cargoes of claret etc. from Bordeaux in American bottoms and sending our provisions (via the West Indies) in return to the enemy. Indeed few of your merchants here but are engaged in the same illicit trade for several Bordeaux merchants and factors are at present in Dublin' (Bartlett (ed.), *Revolutionary Dublin,* pp. 97-98).
[104] Will of Edward Byrne (NIA, T1829).

of his money in land and while he provided an estate for his eldest son it was granted with a further £10,000 to ensure his success. Considering the vast sums he gave to two of his sons (over £34,000 for Patrick and Mathew each), it would have been possible for Byrne to acquire estates for them. It took Byrne over twenty years from the repeal of penal laws affecting Catholic purchase of land to purchase an estate for himself, despite having invested £25,000 in an estate for his eldest son in 1797. He chose trade for himself, land for his eldest son and trade for at least two of his remaining sons. Byrne, who appears to have had the finance to invest in land prior to 1801, was reluctant to pour all of his financial resources into an estate. He purchased a retirement estate just two years before his death and after each of his sons were established. He shows a clear link not only between trade and the professions but also between trade and land. The connection between business and estates is seen more clearly with him than with the Protestant case studies of this thesis. This difference can be explained simply: Byrne was one of the greatest merchants in Ireland in this period. The size of his profits allowed him to invest so greatly in land for his family and himself.

While 1795 was the last year that Byrne was involved in politics in any prominent way, the manner in which he was treated politically shows the respect that he had gained. For example, he was given the freedom of Cork. Tone wrote to Arthur O'Connor: 'I met by chance an Irish newspaper of some months standing in which was inserted an account of a debate in the common council at Cork on the subject of accounting the freedom of that city to Mr. Edward Byrne wherein you took that part'.[105] Byrne undoubtedly held national respect. His absence from politics from 1795 may in part be due to the fallout which took place between him and John Keogh. The two had established a close working relationship and the dispute, a well as his pessimism regarding the future of greater Catholic relief, must have influenced Byrne's retirement. Nevertheless, he had achieved much and was considered an important figure within government circles and among national politicians.

II

John Keogh shows the landed status which Catholics could achieve in the late eighteenth century as a result of a successful mercantile career. Even prior to the repeal of the penal laws which affected land he had built up significant investment. His accumulation of land highlights two important issues. First, the significance of the lease as a form of investment and, second, that Catholics used the thirty-one year lease to their greatest advantage and

[105] Theobald Wolfe Tone, Philadelphia, to Arthur Connor, 20 Oct. 1795 (Bartlett (ed.), *Life,* p. 235).

could make some large investments in this way. Keogh's political career, like Byrne's, also shows that while Catholics could not vote or participate in parliament, through their creation and participation in extra-parliamentary associations like the Catholic Committee they had a voice in politics and could become important political figures.

Keogh was born in 1740, son of Cornelius and Abigail Keogh.[106] While the *DIB* states that Keogh was 'born probably in Dublin', the only references to a Cornelius Keogh relate to a Cornelius McKeogh, merchant of Drogheda in 1765.[107] It is possible that 'Mc' was dropped from the name. Tone recorded that Keogh had family in Drogheda (an aunt called Mrs. Austin) with whom they stayed during a trip north in 1792.[108] If Keogh's father was a merchant of Drogheda, then it is conceivable that the father would have had knowledge of Dublin and placed his son at a mercantile firm in the capital. This scenario also would account for how his father paid the cost of Keogh's apprenticeship. In 1774 Keogh married Mary Drew, daughter of George Drew, merchant.[109] Keogh received a marriage portion of £1,500. Under the terms of their marriage settlement Mary would receive £1,500 if Keogh died with no issue, however, if a child was born she would receive £750.[110] John and Mary had at least four sons: Michael (eldest), Cornelius, John and George Drew.

Business and investment

Keogh's father apprenticed him to one of the 'principal houses in Dublin' as a silk-mercer.[111] Wall has suggested that he served his apprenticeship at the firm of O'Connor in the Isle of Man.[112] This conclusion, however, is linked to later rumours which circulated that Keogh's father was a labourer who had made his money as a smuggler on the Isle of Man.[113] Keogh outlined the details of his training and first business in an extant pamphlet; if he had been apprenticed to the Isle of Man it is surprising that he does not mention it in this pamphlet.[114] On completion of his apprenticeship in 1767 he went into business with Mary Francis Lincoln. Her husband had recently died and she needed assistance to run her

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[106] Cornelius Keogh b.1708? d.1774, Abigail Keogh b.1711 d.1779 (C.J. Woods, *DIB*).
[107] Ireland, *The statutes at large, passed in the Parliaments held in Ireland, containing All the Statutes that have passed from the third year of Edward the second to the twenty-sixth year of George the third* (Dublin, 1786), p. 410, Ireland, *Acts and statutes, made in a Parliament begun at Dublin, the twenty-second day of October 1761* (15 vols, Dublin, 1766), ix, 421.
[108] 7 Aug. 1792. Bartlett (ed.), *Life,* p. 142.
[109] b. 1756/7 d. 1823, (C.J. Woods, *DIB,* George Drew and Mary Drew and Keogh, 4 Aug. 1774 Reg. Deeds, 305.526.203454).
[110] George Drew and Mary Drew and John Keogh, 4 Aug. 1774 (Reg. Deeds, 305.526.203454).
[111] John Keogh, *Mary Frances Lincoln, widow, appellant, John Keogh, respondent* (London, 1773), p. 1.
[112] Maureen Wall, 'The rise of a Catholic middle class in eighteenth century Ireland', in Gerard O'Brien (ed.), *Collected Essays of Maureen Wall* (Dublin, 1989), p. 81.
[113] Ibid.
[114] Keogh, *Mary Frances Lincoln,* p. 1.

firm. Lincoln offered to pay him 100 guineas per annum with food and board and promised to take him into partnership as soon as she could 'reconcile' this move to her 'friends'.[115] This postponement may have marked a trial period for Keogh in the business to see how he would work out or possibly to show the executors of Lincoln's husband's will that Keogh was capable. Keogh accepted the offer and to clear debts in the company name he loaned £600 to Lincoln.[116]

Lincoln was happy with the arrangement, and ten months later she took him into partnership. The terms were that the partnership came into being 2 October 1767. They agreed it would last for three years. They would trade under the name of 'Lincoln, son, and Keogh' ('son' was included to ensure that her son could take over the business on her death and when he came of age). Keogh insisted that they take a premises on Dame Street which was more advantageously positioned for the business. Keogh paid £700 into the business stock.[117] All stock which was entered into the business accounts on 2 October 1769 was vested in the business. Keogh was to receive one-fourth of all profits and Lincoln would receive the rest. All losses would, however, be Lincoln's. Goods would be purchased and sold as if the partnership was equal which meant that both would have an equal say in the direction of the firm and its goods. Usual clauses were thereafter inserted concerning such things as keeping of account books and liberty for both of the partners to take and inspect them. Should any dispute arise the partners would be 'bound to each other in the penalty of £1,500'.[118]

The firm appears to have done well under Keogh's direction. Their main competitor appears to have been Nathaniel Trumbull (senior, father of Nathaniel Trumbull discussed in a previous chapter.) Keogh and Lincoln embarked every season to London to purchase silk for the upcoming changes of fashion. In September 1770 their advertisement stated that they 'beg leave to inform the nobility, their friends and the public that they are returned from London, and have brought from thence a variety of waistcoats for Gentlemen. They are also well assorted with silk of Irish manufacture'.[119] In comparison, Nathaniel Trumbull, mercer at the King's Head, Parliament Street, dated his advertisement for winter silks 17 October.[120] Speed was extremely important for mercers. The sooner that new stock arrived, the more up-to-date it was. It was important to pre-empt other traders in

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[115] Keogh, *Mary Frances Lincoln,* p. 1.
[116] Ibid, p. 6.
[117] Ibid. p. 1.
[118] Ibid.
[119] The advertisement was dated 26 September which was probably close to the date for their return (*Dublin Journal,* 13 Oct. 1770).
[120] Ibid.

the same line. The dates of the advertisements therefore suggest that in 1770 Keogh and Lincoln beat Trumbull by bringing stock to market almost three weeks sooner.

Nearing the end of the partnership's agreed three years, Keogh decided that he was ready to establish his own firm. After he informed Lincoln of his plan their relationship declined rapidly. Lincoln had never, Keogh claimed, given him cause to believe she was unhappy with either the arrangement or his work. Lincoln was dissatisfied that Keogh wished to end the partnership and she, according to Keogh's published account, 'ceased to treat him with common civility' and spitefully began to ruin his reputation.[121] In February 1771 she told customers that he kept the books improperly. In June and July 1771 he asked her to give the books to some friends who were 'skilled in accounts' to verify that they were kept correctly. She then took the books to be inspected by Willoughby Lightburne, merchant and common council man, and Christopher Deey, merchant and alderman, who reported they were satisfied with the accounts. Keogh and Lincoln went to London between July and August and bought £2,000 worth of wholesale silk for the winter market. She sent the books to be inspected by her husband's ex-employee, a Mr Lynch, who reported back to Lightburne and Deey. Lynch examined the books and appeared satisfied.

Lincoln knew that Keogh continued his plans to quit the partnership, and she continued her campaign against him. She stopped communicating to him about the business and told the servants and clerks not to 'obey' him. She also 'insulted him many times in the presence of several of the nobility and gentry'.[122] (The insertion of this detail in Keogh's testimony is significant as it reiterates the importance of standing in the eyes of customers particularly that of the Dublin upper class, the biggest spenders in the capital. Lincoln's derision could affect his future enterprise.) Lincoln took the accounts from Keogh and refused him access to the business's finances. On one occasion while Keogh was in the shop conversing with clients Lincoln dragged Keogh 'from behind one of the counters...and forced him out of doors'.[123] She later stated that this action was forced upon her as Keogh would not leave. He immediately summoned a magistrate, but he was later advised that as she possessed all stock, documents and money it was unwise to go to 'the extremities of the law' with a 'disappointed woman'. He agreed to leave it in the hands of her brother, 'then an eminent merchant' in the city. Her brother decided on arbitration to settle the dispute. Christopher Deey and Willoughby Lightburne were again chosen as arbitrators on her behalf with city merchants Travers Hartley and Alexander Jaffray for Keogh. Deey and Lightburne were corporation men and as such would have been

[121] Keogh, *Mary Frances Lincoln,* p. 1.
[122] Ibid, p. 2.
[123] Ibid.

accustomed to such cases. Hartley and Jaffray were members of the Ouzel Galley Arbitration Society, a society formed to settle commercial disputes in the city.[124] They had been called to deal with similar cases including bankruptcy cases (although it is unclear if they always went as representatives of the Ouzel Galley society) and had both acted as executors to wills.[125] Each of the four men held a reputation within the city for being adept at dealing with these kinds of circumstances.

A submission was entered 29 January 1772 at the Court of Exchequer by Christopher Deey against Keogh. The arbitrators dissolved the business and had to decide how the business stock should be split after they examined the business papers. The outcome was to be decided by 1 May 1772. Meetings were held and Lincoln produced the books. She had, however, inserted 'false abstracts' which stated that Keogh was responsible for a deficit of £1,000. Keogh satisfied the arbitrators that they were false entries. The arbitrators sent for Lincoln's brother and her clerks who agreed Keogh had kept the books in a satisfactory manner. Her brother sided with Keogh, citing her 'sex…as an apology for her improper conduct'.[126]

Lincoln attempted to keep all stock within her possession and to ensure that no payment would be made to Keogh. The firm had experienced difficulties prior to Keogh joining (recall the £600 he had lent her to clear debts) and fear that the business would return to this state on his departure may have prompted her to ruin his reputation. Doing so would allow any blame for the future decline of the firm to fall on the departed Keogh. As a result she might maintain her reputation and that of her son who was to take over the firm when he came of age. This strategy is apparent from her legal pursuit of Keogh. He claimed that he received only £441 5*s*. 5½*d*. during the course of the partnership. This figure appears to have been true as Lincoln accused Keogh of taking this money without her permission and did not refer to any other sums that she gave Keogh during the three years.[127]

In April 1772 Lincoln attempted to stop a decision against her by claiming she had new charges and evidence but needed time to compile them. Keogh offered her fourteen days but she refused to take this time. Keogh and Lincoln agreed to meet at Deey's house

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[124] Travers Hartley and Alexander Jaffray were both members of the Ouzel Galley. Hartley was admitted 4 Nov. 1762 and Jaffray was admitted 13 Feb. 1772 Ouzel Galley transactions book, (RIA, MS 12 F 48E).

[125] For example, in 1781 Hartley was acting as an executor for Isaac Wild, bankrupt while Alexander Jaffray acted as an executor in the high-profile bankruptcy case of William Cope and John Binns (Travers Hartley, executor of Isaac Wild, 7 Mar. 1781 (Reg. Deeds, 335.572.227102), Alexander Jaffray, John Saunders assignees of the estates and effects of William Cope, Alderman John Binns, William Hauntenville, 25 Aug. 1801 (Reg. Deeds, 540.557.356883).

[126] Keogh, *Mary Frances Lincoln,* 2-3.

[127] Ibid, p. 7.

30 April to publish their conclusions and dissolve the partnership. Any further goods coming into the country would be on the account of the partnership and loss or profit would be divided according to the partnership. The final decision was pushed back to 1 June 1772.[128] Lincoln continued in her attempts to delay and complicate the proceedings. She even complained that the arbitrators were not qualified to read the accounts. When she doctored the accounts in her possession, the arbitrators appear to have taken Keogh's word that her entries were false.[129]

Lincoln claimed that despite stock being held within the firm (the partnership had been frozen but £2,000 of stock had been acquired), the debts of the business were £8,000 which left only £800 or £900 in the business which she claimed as hers..[130] The case continued from 9 June to 22 July when more affidavits were sworn. The final outcome saw the arbitrators side with Keogh's claim. They ruled that 'if any person has a reason to complain of the award' it was Keogh, as Lincoln was 'carrying on trade for her own benefit with the respondent's capital in her hands'. Keogh suffered while he waited for her to relinquish his award as he could 'not go into any trade or business for the want of his capital'.[131] Stock which had been held in the firm at the end of the partnership was auctioned and the outcome was that Keogh and Lincoln 'entered into a recognizance in a sum of £10,000 each and have been sworn at the appellants request of their solvency'.[132] Despite the problems of dissolving the firm, Keogh had increased his investment of £1,500 to £10,000. He used this money as start-up capital for his own firm.

As an independent trader Keogh became one of the largest silk-mercers in Dublin and possibly Ireland. He remained in business for another twenty years after the dissolution of his partnership with Lincoln before he retired. On 12 September 1771 he sold a lease for a premises, including a yard, on College Green.[133] This sale would have been the final act to end the partnership with Lincoln. Two days later he purchased for £400 a lease for premises on the north side of College Green which marked the start of his own firm.[134] He did not move far from his original trading address. In December 1782 he was given an award by the Dublin Society for 'being the greatest buyer of Irish Silks in this kingdom'. He had exceeded other wholesalers 'by some thousand pounds, proved by the oath of several manufacturers'.[135] The acknowledgement of his encouragement of the Irish

[128] Ibid, p. 3.
[129] Ibid, p. 1, p. 21.
[130] Ibid, pp 11-12.
[131] Ibid, pp 21-22.
[132] Ibid, p 22.
[133] Keogh, Charles Ward, 12 Sept. 1771 (Reg. Deeds, 281.514.187819).
[134] Keogh, Thomas Kelly, 14 Sept. 1771 (Reg. Deeds, 287.444.187820).
[135] *Dublin Journal,* 23 Jan. 1783.

manufacture of silks in a time of particular economic hardship for traders in general, and in particular the silk industry, would have shown Keogh and his business in a very positive way. In 1782-83 the silk manufactures were in 'the depth of depression'.[136] Keogh was an important part of the trade and economy in Dublin. His retirement in 1790 was probably due to illness. The minutes of the Catholic Committee record that Keogh had been asked to undertake some business for them because of his presence in London due to illness. If his health concerns had been serious enough for him to go to England, passing through London, in order to reach a better climate on the continent (a common recommendation), then illness, as well as his capital, may have been factors in his decision to retire from business in 1790. [137]

Land

Keogh acquired interest in urban land in addition to his Dame Street premises, but it is unclear if this land was for business. In July 1779 he sold to William Caldbeck for £707 a lease of a parcel of land on the east side of Capel Street.[138] In 1784 he sub-let to James Hybrants a house on the corner of Moss Street for £30 per annum for 3 lives and £8 for each renewal.[139] In 1785 he sold for £83 14*s*. his interest in a lease of a property in Abbey Street to the Wide Street Commissioners.[140] He purchased by auction in 1787 a lease of an ale house called the Coach and Horse on Mary Street for £120.[141] By the time of his retirement Keogh held a small interest in urban land.

Keogh invested more heavily in rural leases than urban ones and from the size of the leases he purchased it is clear that he sought to build up an estate. In July 1775 Keogh purchased for £800 a lease from James Gallagher, esquire, of Carrsparrow in Co. Leitrim of '3,312 acres, arable land, meadows and pastures being in the barony of Tyrerill in the county of Sligo' for two lives.[142] Keogh provided a further sum of £200 for Gallagher's grant of equity of redemption on these lands. This land was released in December 1779. Keogh received £1,028 5*s*. from James Woods the younger for the lease which lasted two lives.[143] Keogh leased further (and more profitable) land which he held by a lease to

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[136] Raymond Refaussè, 'The economic crisis in Ireland in the early 1780s' (Ph.D thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 1982), p. 128.
[137] Edwards (ed.), 'The minute book of the Catholic Committee' p. 137.
[138] Keogh, William Caldbeck, 17 Jul. 1779 (Reg. Deeds, 322.478.220566).
[139] Keogh, James Hybrants, 22 Nov. 1784 (Reg. Deeds, 359.356.243787).
[140] Keogh, Wide Street Commissioner, 27 Jan. 1785 (Reg. Deeds, 363.493.245557).
[141] High Sheriffs of Dublin, Keogh, 22 May 1787 (Reg. Deeds, 390.366.256857).
[142] James Gallagher, Keogh, William Cooper, 12 Aug. 1775 (Reg. Deeds, 307.571.205589).
[143] Keogh, James Woods, 22 Dec. 1779 (Reg. Deeds, 334.59.222027).

Woods. He received £914 *5s.* 2*d.* for the lands of Finisely containing seventy-two acres together with an additional fifteen acres and a bog for a further three lives.[144]

Under a 1771 lease of Keogh acquired 'the park known as Mount Jerome' with additional, unspecified, lands from John Clarke. This tract was to be the seat of his Co. Dublin villa.[145] Nevertheless, Keogh did not retire from business and continued in the mercer line until the 1790 or 1791. A deed made in his name in August 1791 was signed by John Keogh of Mount Jerome.[146] This signature corresponds with an advertisement of December 1790 to January 1791 that 'C. Keogh, Langdale and Power, Silk Mercers (Successors to Mr. John Keogh) have this day completed their extensive collection of new winter silks'.[147] The C. Keogh was probably a relative, but not a son as John Keogh had only married in 1774. This advertisement marked the exit of Keogh from business and from 1790 he resided full time at Mount Jerome. In 1784 following the repeal of laws which limited Catholic leases to thirty-one years Keogh purchased outright the lease of Mount Jerome for the remainder of forty-one years, renewable as he sought.[148]

In July 1791 he purchased the lands of Mount George, Torymartin and the town-lands of Aghanan and Cromekel in Co. Roscommon. He paid £1,400 for the lands of Torymartin and £800 for Aghanan and Cronelick. Keogh almost immediately sold to George Rutland the town land of Ledgeway, part of the lands of Torymartin which had been part of this sale (they contained over eighty-six acres of arable land and twelve acres of bog). In addition he sold George Rutland the lease of town lands of Aghanan with 110 acres of profitable land and kept the remainder of the estate.[149] He was prepared to sell less desirable parts of his estate in order to purchase more advantageous or desirable land. His investments suggest that after the early 1780s Keogh's land transactions were motivated by a need to create an estate for his family.

Maureen Wall may not have felt that this country seat allowed Keogh to rise 'up the social ladder'[150] but Keogh's description in the years following his removal to Mount Jerome would suggest that he certainly felt he had amassed enough of an estate and country seat to have risen higher than the status of a tradesman. Keogh retired completely from trade in 1790. His income from this date must have come from his interests in land.

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[144] Keogh, James Woods, 15 Dec. 1779 (Reg. Deeds, 334.60.222028).
[145] Elizabeth Clarke (widow of John Clarke), Keogh, 30 Apr. 1784 (Reg. Deeds, 356.459.241423).
[146] Keogh, James Somerville, 16 Aug. 1791 (Reg. Deeds, 440.242.284186).
[147] *The Freeman's Journal,* 31 Dec. 1789, 2 Jan. 1790.
[148] Elizabeth Clarke (widow of John Clarke), Keogh, 30 Apr. 1784 (Reg. Deeds, 356.459.241423).
[149] Earl of Canbrassill, Henry Brien of Oak park Co. Carlow and John Lord Fitzgibbon assignees of bankruptcy of Richard St. George Rutland, John Tydd and Mary Craddock, Keogh, 26 Jul. 1791 (Reg. Deed. 444.306.288751), Keogh, Travers Cox, Mason Gerard, 19 Aug. 1807 (Reg. Deeds, 698.130.478865).
[150] Maureen Wall, 'John Keogh and the Catholic committee' in Gerard O'Brien (ed), *Catholic Ireland in the eighteenth century; collected essays of Maureen Wall* (Dublin, 1989), p. 164.

By 1815, as well as the above mentioned land, he leased the land called Tubbenany which contained 170 acres, Drumduff with 2 acres, King's Fort with 95 acres, 22 roods in Rathmooney with houses and stables all in Co. Leitrim, which he held by lease (to be passed on his death to his eldest son) to Travers Cox for an unspecified sum.[151] He also purchased a mortgage in March 1812 worth £4,000 for over 27 acres in Meath (annual rent £94 10*s.* which Byrne would have collected for three years as well as his full £4,000 plus interest). While Keogh did not manage most of these estates personally, instead sub-leasing them, by the time of his death he had acquired estates in Leitrim, Sligo, Roscommon and Co. Dublin. Drennan cited his income as £4,000 per annum on his death.[152] If Keogh lived entirely from the income of this land then he truly had reached the level of gentleman and was within the landed class controlling over 200 acres.

In 1782 Keogh purchased a lease for 999 years for his son and heir, Michael. Peter Purcell leased Dublin land to Keogh consisting of 35 acres of land in Kilmainham, 5 acres in Grove Field near Banksland with 15 acres in Banksfield (Crumlin), 81 acres situated in Clonskeagh. Purcell's lease also included the little common on the south of the road leading from Templeogue, five brick houses and 'all mines, minerals quarries, royalties arising from them, building improvement, apprentices, to have for 999 years.'[153] The lease was purchased for £5,731 0*s.* 6*d.* and £5 per annum and indicates that Keogh had been searching for a suitable investment in the aftermath of relaxation of penal legislation and that Purcell was in some financial difficulties.[154] The term of the lease was extremely favourable to Keogh and shows the pattern of gentry with financial problems granting leases for short-term profit. These leases created huge problems for their heirs.[155] Keogh's lease purchase in 1782 can be considered his attempt at creating an estate for his children as he sub-let the property May 1795 to his eldest son Michael Keogh at £5 per annum.[156] He therefore did not see any return on the investment other than to place his son as a chief tenant. Keogh had created a villa just outside the city of Dublin and this raised his status from an urban merchant.

Public sphere

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[151] Keogh, Travers Cox, Mason Gerard, 19 Aug. 1807 (Reg. Deeds, 698.130.478865).
[152] Drennan, to Martha and Ann Drennan [28 Sept. 1817 postmark], (Agnew (ed.), *Drennan-McTier letters*, iii, 704).
[153] Peter Purcell, Keogh, Edward Butler, Michael Butler, 5 Aug. 1780, (Reg. Deeds, 355.507.242075).
[154] Peter Purcell, Keogh, Edmund Butler, 26 Jul. 1782 (Reg. Deed. 332.321.22468).
[155] David Dickson, 'Middlemen', in Thomas Bartlett and David Hayton (ed.), *Penal Era and Golden Age: Essays in Irish history, 1660-1800* (Belfast, 1979), p. 174.
[156] Peter Purcell, Keogh, Edward Butler, Michael Butler, 5 Aug. 1780 (Reg. Deeds, 355.507.242075).

John Keogh was involved in the Catholic Committee by December 1779 when he was enlisted to collect money in the parish of St. Andrew's Dublin for committee expenses.[157] In January 1781 he was returned to the committee, with Edward Byrne, to represent Enniscorthy.[158] He was not present at another meeting of the committee until 6 July 1782, and his absence from the majority of these meetings and assemblies characterised Keogh's political career.[159] While he usually attended meetings of importance, Keogh was rarely present at meetings which took care of the routine running of the committee. In July 1782 Keogh was requested, with Lord Gormanstown, Robert Caddell, Anthony Dermott[160] and Valentine O'Connor to present a petition to Luke Gardiner M.P., Henry Grattan and John Dillon concerning Catholics in the army and naval service.[161] This request began his career of presenting petitions to figures of national importance and prominence.

Part of the problem with approaching Keogh is the popularity of the name John Keogh in Ireland which has led to Keogh's career being confused with that of other men of the same name alive in this period. Keogh's involvement in national politics has been dated as early as 1784. Jim Smyth numbered Keogh among ten delegates elected at a meeting by 'the gentlemen, clergy, freeholders and citizens of the city of Dublin' in 1784 to 'take into consideration the means of procuring a more equal representation in parliament'.[162] Smyth points to Keogh's appointment to the committee as an example of 'Dublin's shifting denominational balance'.[163] Smyth was incorrect, however, in this identification, mistaking John Keogh, esquire, with John Keogh, silk-mercer. The former wrote *Thoughts on equal representation; with hints for improving the manufactures and employment of the poor of Ireland* which was published in 1784.[164] As the committee elected in January 1784 was requested to investigate representation Keogh, esquire, was chosen due to his pamphlet (or it was written as a result). Stephen Small also incorrectly points to the involvement of John Keogh, merchant, in Dublin politics in 1784 and cites him as the author of *Thoughts on equal representation.* The pamphlet mentions nothing of broadening the electorate to include Catholics and asserted that the author was 'on the

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[157] Edwards (ed.), 'The minute book of the Catholic Committee', p. 44.
[158] Ibid, p. 57.
[159] Ibid, p. 76.
[160] Anthony McDermott (his name is used variably as Dermott and McDermott but the later will be used in this case study), traded at Usher's Quay by 1752, in 1768 he was joined by his son and the firm became Anthony Dermot, junior and senior at Arran Quay, by 1775 they held premises at 15 and 30 Arran Quay. or Dermott (variously) traded at Arran Island Usher's Quay under 'Anthony McDermott and Son' until his death in 1783 (see appendix a).
[161] Edwards (ed.), 'The minute book of the Catholic Committee', pp 76-7.
[162] *The Freeman's Journal,* 17 January 1784, Smyth, *Men of no property*, p. 136.
[163] Smyth, *Men of no property,* p. 136.
[164] John Keogh, *Thoughts on equal representation: with hints for improving the manufactures and employment of the poor of Ireland* (Dublin, 1784).

grand jury for the County of Wicklow' in a period when Catholics did not hold this right so it is undoubtedly not John Keogh, Catholic merchant.[165] John Keogh, esquire, was an Anglican Dublin attorney and a man who thereafter acquired vast lands in Kildare, Wicklow and Carlow.[166]

Keogh, the subject of this chapter, became a prominent member in the Catholic Committee after his retirement in the early 1790s. His promotion was assisted by a shift in leadership.[167] In November 1791 Keogh personally delivered a petition of the committee in London to the English Ministry on the recommendations of Richard Burke, their agent. A sub-committee of the Catholics thanked him in early December 1791:

> Your sub-committee would be wanting in their duty and would do violence to their own feelings if they omitted to express their sense of the uncommon exertions of Mr. Keogh in the different stages of this very arduous business. Attentive to promote every occasion which could in any wise promote the advancement of our cause, he seems forgetful only of his safety.[168]

Keogh had in fact been ill and was passing through London 'on his way to the continent'.[169] While he was used for convenience on the first occasion, he was requested to go to London on behalf of the committee on two further occasions. Five members of the committee were chosen to go to London to present a petition to the king on 7 December 1792. Edward Byrne, John Keogh, J.E. Devereux, Christopher Bellew and Sir Thomas French undertook the task.[170]

Keogh was also responsible for replacing Richard Burke as secretary of the Catholic Committee with Theobald Wolfe Tone, whom he introduced to the group.[171] It was clear by 1792 that Keogh simply did not trust Burke. Keogh wrote to Baron Hussey in 1792 of the failure of Burke to carry out his tasks. Burke was not keeping them informed: 'he was wrote to by those who had some rite to his confidence at least in their *own affairs*—urged—told how much disappointed every one was at his silence on our own affairs—wrote to by the *body* officially—all in vain'.[172] Burke responded to the committee, but his letters increasingly became concerned with 'the French Revolution, tho' we told

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[165] Keogh, *Thoughts on equal representation,* p. 6.
[166] Will of John Keogh esquire (NAI, T. 6484).
[167] 1 Mar. 1791, Edwards (ed.), 'The minute book of the Catholic Committee', pp 124-125
[168] Edwards (ed.), 'The minute book of the Catholic Committee', p. 137.
[169] Ibid.
[170] Bartlett (ed.), *Life,* p. 193.
[171] Ibid, p. 54.
[172] Keogh, Mount Jerome, to Thomas Hussey, 2 Oct. 1792, (PRO, HO 100/38/275-7), emphasis as in original.

him we had nothing to do with that subject'.[173] It was not simply this, however, which frustrated the Catholics. Keogh continued: 'he nearly involved us with the North of Ireland' and the cause of the dissenters which the Catholics were not yet prepared to take on board. In addition, 'he would not suffer our opinion to have weight, even in our own affairs, whenever it was different from his'.[174] In finishing this list of complaints Keogh added that Burke 'neglected to avail himself of my efforts to keep him right, yet respect to his father, governed us—we parted him'.[175] The Catholics, Keogh felt, had only used Richard Burke as long as they had because of his father, Edmund Burke.

As part of the committee's efforts to make the organisation more representative in 1792, Keogh, Thomas Braughall and Tone embarked on a tour of the country as representatives. They travelled to Tipperary, Carlow, Kilkenny, Drogheda, Down, Ballinasloe, Mayo, Limerick and Belfast.[176] On this trip Keogh showed his talent for oratory and was successful in 'wooing' the higher clergy Troy and Kenmare.[177] His oratory would galvanise more support to the Catholic cause and his popularity. In his speeches and correspondence he constantly referred to the 'monopolists'. He believed that only some Protestants opposed Catholic emancipation and the government was appeasing that faction despite support from other Protestants for repeal.[178] Keogh argued that by their refusal to grant emancipation on the grounds of Catholics' past behaviour, the government were forcing 'three millions of peaceable subjects, as good as any in Europe, by this ill treatment, to be three millions of discontented subjects'.[179] His speeches were powerful and earned him the respect of other reformers. Drennan commented on the above speech that Keogh spoke 'for more than an hour, better absolutely better than any man could do in parliament—one excepted—A Dr. Ryan.'[180] Thomas Russell stated in 1794 'they believe in Gog [Keogh]'.[181] Keogh was recognised by contemporaries as a man who could rally his audience when he spoke.

The failure to achieve full repeal of the penal laws in 1793, the Fitzwilliam crisis and the break-up of the committee pushed Keogh to a more radical stance. In 1794 he complained to Evan Nepean that '[f]rom the moment of the interference of our Glorious Sovereign' in the cause of the Catholics they 'have been loaded with abuse, neither have

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[173] Ibid.
[174] Ibid.
[175] Ibid.
[176] 7 Aug 1792. Bartlett (ed.), *Life,* p. 142, Smyth, *Men of no property,* pp. 64-65.
[177] Smyth, *Men of no property,* p. 65.
[178] Keogh, Mount Jerome, to Baron Hussey, 2 Oct 1792 (PRO, HO 100/38/275-7)
[179] *Catholic Meeting of Dublin, Proceedings at the Catholic meeting of Dublin, duly convened on Wednesday, October 31, 1792, at the Exhibition-Room, Exchequer-Street* (Dublin, 1792), p. 46.
[180] Drennan to Sam McTier, 1 Nov. 1792 (Agnew (ed.), *Drennan-McTier letters,* ii, 422).
[181] 22 Jan. 1794, C.J. Woods, (ed.) *Journals and memoirs of Thomas Russell, 1791-5* (Dublin, 1991), p. 143.

the ministers of our king escaped censure in the face of daring to countenance our relief'.[182] Keogh argued that Catholics deserved entrance to the army and asked Nepean 'is it the malice of the monopoly of three or four men' which withhold Catholic entrance to the army? '[W]hose importance depends on the breadth of the ministers, to be indulged at so great a price to the Empire, to the King & to the people'?[183] The exclusion of Catholics to appease a minority of Irish Anglicans appears as a constant theme in his extant writing and speeches. Keogh was clearly disappointed that the armed professions were shut to Catholics. As an ambitious man Keogh would have been reluctant merely to accept the position which Catholics faced on the rejection of Grattan's relief bill of 1795.

In 1795 Keogh was in touch with and had a connection with the United Irishmen. Elliott has stated that while Keogh was 'involved with the United Irish society in its early years...[he] was more shrewd, cautious and altogether more mature politically than the young who took it forward thereafter'.[184] By 1796 he was disillusioned with the United Irishmen and in October Higgins reported to the Castle that at a meeting Keogh had 'stated the bugbear of an invasion was ridiculous'.[185] His main fear was 'the people rising to demand justice'. As early as December 1792 Keogh had shown his distaste for radical movements like the French revolution when he declared '[w]e want no republic [the] difference between that and a limited monarchy [is] not worth a contest'.[186] The frustration of successive failures pushed him and associates within the movement pulled him towards the movement. It was a brief flirtation. By 1796 he had disregarded the society and its aims. When a meeting adjourned to discuss a rising 'Keogh, McCormick and Braughal objected so violently to a rising they did not even attend'.[187] Tone commented 'Keogh I know is not fit for a coup'.[188]

Keogh's interest in the United Irishmen was brief and the decline in his relationship with his son Cornelius, who rose in 1798 suggests that Keogh had distanced himself strongly from the movement and disagreed with its actions. His signature of loyalty in 1798 suggests that he regretted his earlier activities within the United Irishmen and shows that he was politically astute enough, especially once the rebellion broke out, to side with the government.[189]

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[182] Keogh to Edward Nepean, 15 April 1794 (PRO, HO 100/46/154-7).
[183] Ibid.
[184] Marianne Elliott, *Wolfe Tone: profit of Irish independence* (London, 1989).pp 121-122.
[185] 4 Dec. 1792 (Bartlett (ed.), *Life of Tone,* p. 189).
[186] Ibid.
[187] Elliott, *Wolfe Tone,* p. 350.
[188] Ibid. p. 351.
[189] *An address from the Roman Catholic nobility, clergy & gentry of Ireland, presented to His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant May 30 1798,* (London, 1798), p. 7

Private sphere

Keogh, like Byrne, Hamilton, Sankey and Trumbull, educated his children. At least three sons were educated in England (although it is unclear where). Political connections prompted a brief personal relationship between the Burke and Keogh families and in September 1792 Edmund Burke took Keogh's sons to Beaconsfield on their school holidays. Edmund Burke wrote to Richard of their visit:

> Dr. Laurence left us yesterday. He is charmed, as we all are, with the young Keoghs. I assure you, I have not seen in my recollection, three finer boys. They are manly, steady, rational, of extraordinary good parts, and of a politeness of behaviour which I have not seen at their age, but without all affectation and formality—and we have observed many signs in them of good nature and sensibility.[190]

This holiday was a genteel fashion of spending several weeks in the home of a close associate. Burke thought enough of Keogh to take his sons into his home and clearly thought much of his sons. Burke's description of meeting and spending an extended period of time with these boys shows that they had been raised and educated in a genteel manner. On completion of their schooling they returned to Ireland. Cornelius, John Keogh junior, and George Keogh were educated at Trinity College Dublin.[191] Michael, who was invested with the greatest part of Keogh's estates including Mount Jerome, did not attend Trinity.[192]

Cornelius Keogh was expelled from Trinity in early 1798 and taken later in the year as a rebel during the fighting which broke out in the capital.[193] At some point he went to France and joined a French regiment.[194] As he is mentioned in none of his father's deeds of land (unlike his brothers) it is possible that John Keogh refused to grant his son an inheritance in the aftermath of the rebellion. A family lease made after the death of John Keogh in August 1818 cites Mary, widow of Keogh, Michael Keogh, John Keogh, junior and George Drew Keogh but not Cornelius reaffirming RR Madden's belief that he was still alive in 1844 but no longer a close part of the family.[195]

Keogh's sons John and George Drew both entered business. In 1807 John Keogh junior invested £7,500 in a brewery in the Black Pitts in Dublin city. His father doubled this investment with his own investment of £15,000 but remained an 'anonymous' partner

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[190] Edmund Burke to Richard Burke [4 Sept.1792], (P.J. Marshall, and John A. Woods, (eds), *The correspondence of Edmund Burke, January 1792-August 1794* (8 vols. Cambridge, 1968), vii, 196-197).
[191] C.J. Woods, 'John Keogh' *DIB*, Kavanaugh, *John Fitzgibbon, Earl of Clare,* p. 340.
[192] John Keogh jun., Michael Keogh, Mary Keogh widow of John Keogh sen., Hugh Trevor and George Drew Keogh, Thomas Dillon, 4 Aug. 1818 (Reg. Deeds, 730.496.498432).
[193] In appendix, Bartlett, *Revolutionary Dublin,* p. 373.
[194] Marianne Elliott, *Robert Emmet: the making of a legend* (Dublin, 2003), p. 38.
[195] John Keogh jun., Michael Keogh, Mary Keogh widow of John Keogh sen., Hugh Trevor and George Drew Keogh, Thomas Dillon, 4 Aug. 1818 (Reg. Deeds, 730.496.498432).

with a Hugh Trevor. The total stock in company was £30,000, so Keogh senior provided half the finance for the business. George Drew was also to have a part of this business.[196] The business was disbanded in 1818.[197] Again it is possible to see the connection of trade with land.

George Drew made a marriage which ensured a landed estate. In 1812 he married Catherine Quinn, daughter of Elizabeth Quinn, widow, and Thomas Quinn, deceased.[198] When Thomas Quinn died he owed money to John Keogh senior who seized his lands in Co. Roscommon which Carglass, the town lands of Killkimage, part of Ballycullen, Moyglass and also Drunnercoole. John Keogh junior received these lands but provided Elizabeth an annuity of £300 per annum. On his death, Catherine received £300 per annum and his land was divided between his children.

On his death Keogh's income was reportedly £4,000 per annum from his estates.[199] He had established two sons to estates, one son had joined the army and one was in brewing. Cornelius and John were ranked socially as professionals or higher tradesmen, not unusual for younger sons of the gentry. They also had land which Keogh bequeathed in his last will. He had provided them with the beginnings of landed estates and profitable occupations which would allow them to create larger estates. Keogh had created a profitable estate and provided a landed estate for two of his children.

Keogh was a notable figure in Irish politics from the 1790s. His position allowed him connections with some of the most prominent political figures of the period. He met and socialised with Grattan, Thomas Conolly and the duke of Leinster,[200] he corresponded and negotiated with Secretary Hobart, he met the king and his ministers, he corresponded with Edmund Burke who undertook the care of his children during a vacation from school (and praised them) and was recognised as one of the principal leaders of the Catholic cause into the nineteenth century when he was ousted by younger men. His reputation as an orator enhanced his status. He was also author of a political tract called 'Common Sense' which paid homage to Thomas Paine.[201] Despite his decline in status from 1810 Keogh

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[196] Keogh, Travers Cox, Mason Gerard, 19 Aug. 1807 (Reg. Deeds, 698.130.478865).
[197] John Keogh jun., Michael Keogh, Mary Keogh widow of John Keogh sen., Hugh Trevor and George Drew Keogh, Thomas Dillon, 4 Aug. 1818 (Reg. Deeds, 730.496.498432).
[198] Thomas Quinn was probably a middle man of some sort.
[199] Drennan, to Martha and Ann Drennan [28 Sept. 1817 postmark], (Agnew (ed.), *Drennan-McTier letters*, iii, 704).
[200] Bartlett (ed.), *Life,* pp 139, 152.
[201] There are no extant copies (14 May 1793, Fitzgibbon, Dublin to [John] Beresford, D.A. Fleming, A.P.W. Malcolmson, (eds), *A Volley of execrations: The letters and papers of John Fitzgibbon, earl of Clare, 1772-1802,* (Dublin, 2005) pp. 169-170).

remained a figure of importance for all that he had helped to achieve.[202] Keogh died in 1817 in his manor home with £4,000 per annum, a good legacy and a family established in business or land. Keogh's ability to retire to land in 1790 showed that he had divorced himself from trade. Only one of his sons pursued a lengthy career in trade which shows that, while there was a relationship between the family and commerce, they left it more willingly than Byrne's family.

III

From an assessment of Byrne and Keogh it can be seen that Catholic merchants active in Dublin between 1760 and 1800 had avenues of social enhancement open to them. This mobility was due in large part to the repeal of the penal laws, but prior to the repeal of these laws some Catholics were shrewd enough to know how to take advantage of available avenues. Byrne navigated around the penal laws in 1761 when he acquired an acknowledged interest in a lease of eighty-one years, but this circumvention occurred only once.[203] While it shows it was possible to acquire some properties in this manner, it does not seem to be an established practice. Keogh and Byrne had invested in land prior to this repeal. The majority of these early leases were for thirty-one years which meant the investment only would last for their lives, but they made the most of these leases. When laws affecting the purchase of land were repealed both men acquired estates for their sons. Gardiner's Relief Act, passed 14 August 1778, allowed Catholics to take leases for 999 years and inherit in the same way as Protestants.[204] From 1782 Catholics could buy land.[205] Keogh purchased a lease of land in July 1782 for 999 years which he invested in his son.[206] While Keogh had invested by 1772 in Mount Jerome, which would ultimately become his own estate, he did not confirm this under a new lease until 1784 which gave him greater rights and a long-term interest.[207] The first investment which he made after this relief was for his son. Byrne did likewise. He invested in his son's future, acquiring a marriage which cost £25,000 but acquired an estate for his son. It was not until his children had been provided for that he purchased his estate in Co. Down. These men did not rush to acquire

[202] Francis Plowden *The history of Ireland from its union with Great Britain in January 1801, to October 1810* (3 vols, Dublin, 1810), iii, 32- 44.
[203] John Roche, James Forbes, Francis French, Byrne and Owen Dermott, 3 Apr. 1761 (Reg. Deeds, 280.689.185690).
[204] 17 & 18 Geo. III, c. 49 (1778).
[205] 21 & 22 Geo. III, c. 24 (1780).
[206] Peter Purcell, Keogh, Edmund Butler, 26 Jul. 1782 (Reg. Deed. 332.321.22468).
[207] Elizabeth Clarke, widow of John Clarke, Keogh 30 Apr. 1784 (Reg. Deeds, 356.459.241423).

estates immediately and waited for appropriate investment and time. It is important to note that they waited to find suitable property.

In the aftermath of the rebellion Martha McTier wrote to Drennan of how Catholic leaders would reinstate themselves and their importance: 'The Irish Catholics will lie by and purchasing cheap lands reinstate themselves in their own country. Berne [Byrne] has purchased Adair's[208] estate for £40,000'.[209] In the aftermath of the 1798 rebellion and with the failure of emancipation, first with Gardiner's bill and then in 1801 on the act of union, land was considered by outsiders as an even more important way of levelling the social playing field. Following the repeal of laws against Catholic land ownership in 1783 Keogh and Byrne accumulated land for themselves and their sons. It was a method of creating equality with Protestants in civic institutions and parliament.

In 1795 Drennan in a letter to Samuel McTier commented of Edward Byrne 'He was many years ago a little shop retailer…he is at best a selfish cunning, rich merchant'.[210] Byrne's trade was a target for scorn. Drennan continued, 'his putting himself as the head of the Catholics is as much for making his name popular to his *customers* as to his country'.[211] As a professional, Drennan looked down on how Byrne had made his profits. Drennan was clearly unimpressed that this 'little shop keeper' had risen to such a height and became a national figure. Patrick Duigenan in a 1793 parliamentary speech that attacked the Catholic cause called Byrne 'a quondam retailer in this city and their chief deputy to his majesty'.[212] Duigenan clearly believed it to be a mark of how low Catholics were if they chose a trader to be their 'chief deputy'. These comments stand in contrast to the actions of the general body of Catholics who, when convened, upheld Keogh and Byrne and pointed to their success in trade as a mark of their importance and ability to lead the cause. It suggests there was a tension between the professions and members of trade. Duigenan and Drennan's comments meant to belittle Byrne and his involvement in politics and his occupation were easy points of attack. He was certainly more than the retailer that Duigenan suggested he was. Even the notoriously ardent anti-Catholic earl of Clare had to admit the importance of Byrne in trade. There was a connection with the professions and the mercantile profession which is shown by the education of merchants' children to law, to medicine and to similar occupations, but there also was a clear social tension shown in Duigenan and Drennan's words.

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[208] Sergeant James Adair (1743?-1798).
[209] Drennan to Martha McTier, 30 Mar. 1801 (Agnew (ed.), *The Drennan- McTier letters*, ii, 690).
[210] Drennan to Martha McTier, Jan. 1795, (ibid, 120).
[211] Ibid, Emphasis is in original.
[212] Patrick Duigenan, *A speech spoken in the House of Commons of Ireland on Monday February 4 1793* (Dublin, 1793), p. 47.

There was also a connection with the gentry of the country that surpassed Byrne and Keogh simply holding land. The two men provide clear examples of the gentrification process. These men did more than acquiring estates to enter the upper class. Socialising and dining with the Catholic gentry such as Kenmare and Fingal or forming alliances with political figures of the day like Grattan and the Beresfords meant these men stood alongside members of the professional and upper class. They matched them in dress and manners. They could marry their children to fortunes and land. Tone's description of Keogh in 1792 at the English court, while pointing to Keogh's vanity (a popular complaint of Tone), shows that Keogh displayed the markings of a gentleman. The Irish Catholic delegation which arrived at court appeared 'splendid and they were met with what is called in the language of the courts a most gracious reception'.[213] This comment suggests not only that were the men dressed appropriately but also that they acted in a style suitable to their company. 'Keogh, in particular, was prodigiously fine; he wore silk stockings and a round sharp-buckled tie-wig, with two rows of hard curls that were extremely well powdered. He was highly delighted with his position, looked very grand and very vain; he seemed to soar above all those he had left in Ireland.'[214] Tone was the son of a coach man and his comments concerning Keogh frequently point to his inability to understand the wealth and status which Keogh had accumulated. When socialising with men like Grattan or negotiating with Hobart they were not singled out as vulgar men. Their manners, dress and abilities were respected by genteel figures which showed that they had incorporated themselves into this world. They had entered the landed class economically by holding the required amount of land, politically through their influence, although outside parliament, and socially as they acted in a genteel manner. Yet, the origins of merchants, as Drennan's quote concerning Byrne made clear, would not be forgotten.[215] They would be reminded that they had not been born to the landed class, but they certainly achieved the status and some of their children comfortably enjoyed the status too.

It must be noted that even when the penal laws were in place Catholics invested in land. Certainly it was on a less permanent basis than Protestant merchants, as Catholics could acquire only thirty-one year leases, but it was significant and hints at a high level of merchants of all levels involved in the land market. It is clear that all merchants of wealth had a relationship with land. Like Protestants, Catholic land investment was governed by three factors. It was necessary to acquire a lease of premises to trade so they had immediate contact with land from when they began trading. If they could purchase leases

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[213] Tone quoted in Frank McDermott, *Theobald Wolfe Tone* (Kerry, 1969), p. 97.
[214] Ibid.
[215] Drennan to Martha McTier, Jan. 1795 (Agnew (ed.), *The Drennan- McTier letters,* ii, 120).

of enough land they could retire and live from the profits. For this it was necessary to continually build on investments which had been made. John Keogh's rural land investment prior to the repeal of the penal laws shows that he was undertaking this. He may have had a lease for thirty-one years but there was a good chance that this was for his lifetime. The final governing factor was mindset. Edward Byrne purchased an estate in Co. Down but did not retire from business. As one of the largest traders in Ireland, the profits from this estate would not have matched those of his business so he maintained both and did not leave commerce entirely. Only his eldest was granted an estate, although the others were give profitable businesses which they could turn into estates. For the Catholics examined here, acquiring a personal estate was of secondary importance and investment for their children seems to have been a more pressing concern. This important characteristic shows that their investment patterns varied. Catholics, when wealthy, showed overwhelming inclination towards private investment in land. It must be considered again that there are no complete financial records for these men so it is impossible to suggest that they invested more money in land than they retained in stocks, loans and debentures. Thus it is difficult to show that accumulation of land was their priority. Byrne and Keogh certainly show that those in trade accumulated rural land. The connection between land and trade is shown clearly by Byrne who acquired an estate yet was reluctant to leave trade and Keogh who acknowledged his trade background but retired from it for land. As both men established sons to trade, they did not seek to make a total break from commerce and did not adhere to the typical image of men making their fortunes in the city to retire to the country leaving trade behind them.

Chapter 4

Dissenter merchants in Dublin 1760-1800: a case study

The life and career of the Dissenting merchant Travers Hartley demonstrates how a merchant could create a popular image and use this image to gain a parliamentary seat and national status. The Bank of England records for Hartley's agents, Robert Allan and John Marlar, show the extensive scale of Hartley's business and confirm his importance as a trader. While his political success and parliamentary career distinguish him from the rest of the merchant community, he shows the difficulties in achieving prominence on a national scale within parliament. Hartley failed to make his family's entry to the upper class permanent, despite his parliamentary seat, and he shows that political prominence could not be transferred to the second generation.

Hartley was Presbyterian, a group in Dublin that numbered greater than other Dissenting religions. Approximately 17 per cent of Dublin freemen were Presbyterian by 1750.[1] Presbyterians were second in civic and national prominence only to the established church. Hill has pointed to them as 'Dublin's largest Protestant Dissenting group.' As 'they had no scruples about taking oaths', Presbyterians were distinct among Dissenting communities such as the Quakers.[2] As Presbyterians were aware of their minority status it is not surprising that their involvement in civic affairs has been characterised for the period 1660-1800 as 'predominantly harmonious'.[3] They clearly sought to ingratiate themselves with those avenues which were open to them. Presbyterians were extremely important within the social, economic and civic life of Dublin.

While Dissenters suffered less under the penal laws than Catholics, avenues of social mobility were also blocked to them. The sacramental act of 1704 imposed a religious test for all Dissenters.[4] A toleration act just fifteen years later exempted Dissenters from attending services of the Established Church and Dissenting ministers were made exempt of penalties put in place under the 1666 act of uniformity.[5] Greater liberty of religion also followed. In 1780 the Sacramental Test was repealed.[6] By 1782 the government recognised the legitimacy of marriages performed by Presbyterian ministers.[7]

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[1] J. R. Hill, 'Dublin Corporation, Protestant dissent and politics, 1660-1800', in Kevin Herlihy, (ed.), *Politics of Irish Dissent* (Dublin, 1997), p. 35.
[2] Ibid, 39.
[3] Ibid.
[4] 2 Anne, c. 6 (1704).
[5] 6 Geo. I, c. 5 (1719).
[6] 19 & 20 Geo. III, c. 6 (1780).
[7] 21 & 22 Geo. III, c. 24 (1782).

An early act of 1738 granted immunity to persons contracting Presbyterian marriage.[8] Nevertheless, these reforms came late and were matched by even greater relief measures for Catholics. In many ways they were token bills to ensure that Protestant Dissenters were kept ahead of Roman Catholics and that Protestant Dissenters had little cause for complaint. Nevertheless, they offered greater equality for religious and social practices and institutions of these groups. Travers Hartley, a Presbyterian, is examined in this chapter as a case study for religious Dissenters.

I

Hartley's activities show how Dissenters engaged with civic institutions, national politics and land. His position as a prominent member of the Dublin Presbyterian New Light congregation and as a leading figure in the commercial community did not hinder his election to parliament in 1783. Yet, Hartley's case study highlights the problems which Protestants outside the established faith, and members of the middling sort, encountered when carving out careers as national figures.

Travers Hartley was born in 1723 the eldest son of James Hartley, a Dublin Presbyterian involved in the apothecary trade, and his wife Alice, daughter of Elias Travers.[9] There was at least one other child from this marriage, Isabella, who was described as a 'spinster' in 1771.[10] In 1746 a 'Mr. Hartley', probably James, invested £200 in a government loan.[11] In 1739 he purchased for £211 12*s.* 11*d.* a mortgage of twenty-six acres of land in Crumlin.[12] From these sparse extant references to his father's investment it is possible to discern that the family had a middling income which allowed James to invest his profits in government loans, a mortgage and probably other ways. The size of these investments, £200 in 1746 and over £200 in 1739, equalled the annual income of some city traders. James used some of his wealth to educate Travers, who was taught by Thomas Drennan possibly at Francis Hutcheson's Dissenting academy.[13] If Travers was not educated at Hutcheson's academy, he was certainly influenced by him and subscribed to a 1755 Edinburgh edition of Francis Hutcheson's *A system of moral philosophy.*[14] James Hartley was financially comfortable enough on his death in 1796 to provide his son's

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[8] 11 Geo. II, c.10 (1738).
[9] Edith Mary Johnston-Liik, *History of the Irish Parliament 1692-1800: Commons Constituencies and Statutes* (6 vols, Belfast, 2002), iv, 374.
[10] Hartley, Anne Ramage, 11 April 1771 (Reg. Deeds, 287.382.187636)
[11] Nathaniel Clements papers relating to parliamentary loan (TCD, MS 7264, f. 41).
[12] Hartley, Anne Ramage, 11 April 1771 (Reg. Deeds, 287.382.187636).
[13] Drennan, to Martha McTier, Belfast, 23 May 1796 (Agnew (ed.), *The Drennan-McTier letters,* iii, 221).
[14] Francis Hutcheson, *A system of moral philosophy, in three books* (Glasgow, 1755).

merchant apprenticeship fee, start-up capital for Travers's anticipated business and investments that provided an income for his daughter.

Travers Hartley married Anne Spencer, daughter of Abraham and Sarah Spencer, in 1747. Abraham, a Dublin brewer, provided a marriage portion of £500 for his daughter. Under the settlement it was agreed that if Anne outlived Travers he would provide £500 and one-third of his estate for her maintenance. If Anne outlived Travers and provided an heir, then he was to provide an additional £500 for the children of their marriage.[15] Travers and Anne had no children together and by 1752 Anne had died. In this year Hartley married Ann Gibton, daughter of Rebecca Gibton, widow,[16] and granddaughter of John Faulkner.[17] Ann brought £800 to the marriage, a sizeable increase from his previous wife's marriage portion. It was agreed that if she outlived Hartley, then she would receive £800 and half of his estate. However, if they had children from their marriage, then she would receive £800 but the whole estate would go to these children. Ann brought a further income from an inheritance (although this was not mentioned in the marriage settlement) in 1783.[18] Hartley and Ann had at least eight children who survived to adulthood. In 1783 they were listed in a deed: James, eldest, William, second son, Tom, third and daughters Rebecca,[19] Isabella, Elizabeth, Temperance and Ann.

Business and investment

Hartley was made a freeman of the city of Dublin in Michaelmas 1745 by service to an un-named merchant.[20] By Christmas of the same year he had been made free of the merchants guild.[21] He advertised in the *Dublin Directories* by 1752 as a linen draper; by 1761 he used the broader description of merchant. As a linen draper, Hartley's premises at 89 Bride Street must have been an ideal location near the bleaching fields and textile workers of the liberties and yet in close proximity to the Custom House. The business was large enough in the early 1760s for Hartley to engage an apprentice, Richard Sankey, who was made free

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[15] Hartley, Anne Spenser daughter of Sarah Spenser and Abraham Spenser (deceased), 11 Feb. 1747 (Reg. Deeds, 128.507.87777).

[16] Mis-spelt in *History of the Irish parliament* as Sibton, the spelling used here has been taken from several deeds in the Registry of Deeds, in addition, a Mrs. Rebecca Gibton subscribed to Peter Brett, *Brett's miscellany: being, a collection of divine, moral, historical, and entertaining sayings and observations* (Dublin, 1748).

[17] Hartley and Ann Hartley (nee Gibton), John Faulkner, Godfrey Green Vaughan, 16 Jul. 1783 (Reg. Deeds, 353.157.237366).

[18] Ibid.

[19] By 1783 Rebecca had married Richard Litton a merchant at 21 Lower Ormond Quay and a member of the Ouzel Galley (*The city and country calendar; or Irish court registry, for the year of our Lord 1794* (Dublin, 1794), p. 261, *The treble almanack for the year MDCCXCVIII* (Dublin, 1798), p. 70).

[20] Gertrude Thrift (ed.) *Roll of Freemen; City of Dublin 1468-1485, 1575-1774* ii (NLI, MS 77).

[21] Guild of Merchant Freemen, Commencing 1700 (NLI, MS 3019).

of the city at Christmas 1766.[22] By 1782 Hartley had taken one of his sons into business and advertised as 'Hartley, Travers and son'. This son was probably James, the eldest, who advertised as the sole proprietor of 89 Bride Street from 1797 (he advertised separately only after his father's death). William Hartley, probably Travers's second son, advertised as a haberdasher in his own firm by 1780 at 4 Nicholas Street. Thomas advertised as a woollen draper at 25 Francis Street. In 1798 William Hartley, haberdasher and silk merchant, still advertised his premise at 4 Nicholas Street though Thomas no longer appeared.[23] All these trades were similar. It is likely that Hartley had his two younger sons apprenticed to business associates rather than employing all three within his own firm.

When the Bank of Ireland was created in 1782 Hartley invested £2,000, the minimum capital for qualification for a position as director of the bank. The status of bank director was particularly prestigious as the bank created a link between a national institution upheld by government and leading commercial figures directing the form and future of this institution. The directors were decided by vote and this vote was granted to anyone who held a minimum of £500 in bank stock.[24] Committees met from December 1782 to organise the subscriptions. David Latouche, future governor of the bank, chaired these meetings. The commissioners agreed to meet the first Tuesday in February and every Tuesday and Friday until 1 March to receive three-fourths of the 'subscriptions in money or debentures'.[25] The total capital sought was £600,000.[26]

In January 1783 questions arose concerning the religious background of those who would take positions as directors. An advertisement that month from the subscribers stated that the chair would 'embrace the first opportunity of applying earnestly to parliament for a removal of all qualifications on a religious account to hold offices or employments in the said bank'.[27] It was decided that Roman Catholics would be barred from these positions but no penalties would be placed on Protestant Dissenters. Catholics subscribed one-tenth of the total capital of the bank. Indeed, Catholic investors were drawn primarily from the merchant class, not the aristocracy.[28] They rivalled the investment of religious Dissenters. Anthony McDermott, Catholic merchant,[29] was responsible for the second largest

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[22] Gertrude Thrift (ed.) *Roll of Freemen; City of Dublin 1468-1485, 1575-1774* ii (NLI, MS 77).
[23] *The treble almanack for the year MDCCXCVIII* (Dublin, 1798), p. 56.
[24] *Dublin Journal,* 2 Jan. 1783.
[25] Ibid.
[26] House of Commons, *Acts and statutes, made in a session of Parliament at Dublin, begun the ninth day of October, in the twenty-first year of the reign of George III* (Dublin, 1782), pp 500-501.
[27] *Dublin Journal,* 18 Jan. 1783.
[28] Cullen, *Anglo-Irish trade,* p. 23.
[29] Anthony McDermott (his name is used variably as Dermott and McDermott but the later will be used in this case study), traded at Usher's Quay by 1752, in 1768 he was joined by his son and the firm became

subscription of a non-peer for the bank. He invested £8,000, but he was not allowed to become a director.[30]

While the volume of business that any merchant undertook throughout his career is very difficult to establish, it is somewhat easier to do so for Hartley than others. Hartley's agents, Robert Allan and John Marlar, were based in London and handled all his transactions in England. They used the Bank of England, and their records of all lodgements and withdrawals are extant. Allan and Marlar held Irish connections and specialised in the linen trade to North America.[31] Linen was a vital commodity for Ireland in terms of home consumption and exports. London was a fundamental link for the export trade. 'In transatlantic commerce, Irish merchants in London represented the interests of linen and provisions producers and exporters in Ireland, expatriate businessmen in the West Indies and North America, and Irish houses in France, Spain and Portugal doing business in the Americas.'[32] In 1762 Hartley received £1,100 from goods sold through London, £4,800 in 1763,[33] £4,200 in 1764,[34] £5,000 in 1765[35] and nothing in 1766.[36] Resuming business in 1767 he received £1,856,[37] £2,857 15*s*. 0*d*. in 1768[38] and £3,602 10*s*. 0*d*. in 1769.[39] The year of the greatest withdrawals through Allan and Marlar's accounts was 1770 when £17,500 was withdrawn on behalf of Hartley's business. The fluctuations may suggest that Hartley traded with other London firms and his transactions may have been conducted through alternative banks. His 1770 transactions are noteworthy as they marked the largest volume of trade between Hartley and Allan and Marlar. There were no transactions for 1771-2, but in 1773 Hartley received £3,015 4*s*. 5*d*.[40]

Several points arise from these records. These accounts show only his London business and so may not represent his total business interests, including any domestic trade, for this period. The size of some withdrawals, particularly 1770 are large, and Cullen takes this is an indication of the size of his business. Possibly just a large part of Hartley's trade, these accounts show that Hartley's business was extensive. While the early 1770s

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Anthony Dermot, junior and senior at Arran Quay, by 1775 they held premises at 15 and 30 Arran Quay, he traded until his death in 1783 (see appendix a).

[30] Cullen, *Princes and pirates*, p. 36.

[31] Thomas M. Truxes, 'London's Irish merchant community and North Atlantic commerce in the mid-eighteenth century' in David Dickson, Jane Ohlmeyer, & Jan Parmentier (eds), *Irish and Scottish mercantile networks in Europe and overseas in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (Gent, 2007), p. 276.

[32] Truxes, 'London's Irish merchant', p. 278.

[33] Account ledger of Robert Allen and John Marlar (Bank of England, C98/2732 (122): 1762-1764 41-51).

[34] Ibid (Bank of England, C98/2732 (122): 1762-1764 41-51, C98/ 2739 (125): 1764-1766 43-51).

[35] Ibid (Bank of England, C98/ 2739 (125): 1764-1766 43-51).

[36] Ibid (Bank of England, C98/ 2739 (125): 1764-1766 43-51, C98/ 2746 (128): 1766-1768 37-47 134 950).

[37] Ibid (Bank of England, C98/ 2746 (128): 1766-1768 37-47 134 950).

[38] Ibid (Bank of England, C98/ 2746 (128): 1766-1768 37-47 134 950, C98/2753 (131): 1768-1770 36-47).

[39] Ibid (Bank of England, C98/ 2746 (128): 1766-1768 37-47 134 950, C98/2753 (131): 1768-1770 36-47).

[40] Ibid (Bank of England, C98/2767 (137): 1772-1774 39-44).

were a boom time for the linen industry with 'around 20 million yards leaving the country', it has been estimated that 'possibly as much again was purchased on the home market'.[41] Over a period of twelve years Hartley withdrew a total of £42,365 25*s.* 0*d.* from the Bank of England, and this amount might well represent half or less of Hartley's sales. Peak years for Hartley were between 1768 and 1770, when he made over half of his total withdrawals (£24,602 10*s.* 0*d.*). This figure does show Hartley's profits, but it indicates that he was a very large linen trader with an extensive network of producers from whom he bought for export and possibly the home market.

Land

Hartley probably invested the least in land considering he was such an extensive trader. Hartley's land activity can be categorized as personal, business and investment. In 1783 Hartley and his wife inherited lands in Terenure on Ship Street.[42] Under a 1717 lease which lasted forever Ann's grandfather had acquired three houses and thirty-nine acres for an unspecified sum. Complications arose in acquiring the lease from Godfrey Green Vaughan who was in possession of the property at the time of the inheritance. The courts awarded the land to the Hartleys and fined Vaughan.[43] This tract appears to be the only personal land which Hartley held. The Terenure land was profitable and must have provided a valuable income for the family. In 1792 Hartley leased the land, described as including a 'house, outhouse and gardens in Terenure with 39 acres', for £420 *12s. 6d.* per annum renewable forever.[44] A permanent annual income of this amount would have provided enough income for family expenses. It is possible that this lease was reclaimed in 1783 as a result of the 1782 act which delegitimized any marriage performed by a Presbyterian minister. This law implied that offspring of Presbyterian marriages were illegitimate in the eyes of the law. If inheritance passed through an Anglican family interrupted by a Presbyterian marriage, then the inheritance could be challenged in a court of law on the grounds that children from a Presbyterian union were illegitimate. Hartley and his wife were forced to go to court to relinquish the deed for the Terenure land, though it is difficult to tell from the deed if this was because of the act. The timing could be a coincidence. As no historian has worked on Dissenters and land this sequence shows that at the very least the rights of Dissenters were ambiguous.

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[41] Dickson, *New foundations,* pp. 138-9.
[42] Hartley and Ann Hartley (nee Gibton), John Faulkner, Godfrey Green Vaughan, 16 Jul. 1783 (Reg. Deeds, 353.157.237366).
[43] Ibid.
[44] Hartley, James Stevenson, 8 Sept. 1792 (Reg. Deeds, 455.441.293575).

Apart from Ann's inheritance, Hartley restricted investment in land to urban acquisitions. It is difficult to discern if he used additional premises as warehouses but considering the size and nature of his business he likely did acquire some additional property for storage. In 1749 he purchased for £168 7*s*. 6*d*. a lease for his trading premises.[45] In 1762 he acquired a lease of a house on Bridge Street for twenty years at £46 per annum.[46] By 1772 Hartley and Ebenezer Geale acquired land in Dolphin's Barn on the city outskirts which they re-leased to Robert Norton for three lives and an unspecified sum.[47] This lease was probably made under the terms of mortgage which had been purchased from James Cartland. Hartley owned £102 of this mortgage which was repaid in 1775.[48] Hartley made a loss on one mortgage which he had purchased from Cartland. When this mortgaged property was sold in 1778, Hartley received only £220 of the £600 he had invested.[49] In 1761 Hartley acquired a lease for premises on New Row owned by Hon. William Hayn for £18 0*s*. 6*d*. for 51 years which he sub-let in 1783.[50] In 1788 Hartley sold a lease on Castle Street which he had acquired in 1770.[51] The majority of this land was urban and the city was where his interests lay.

Hartley's purchases of mortgages, however, were not restricted to urban land. His father's investment and return from mortgages may have encouraged him to invest profits in this manner. James Hartley had invested in a mortgage to generate income for his dependent daughter Isabella. In 1771 Isabella received the deed of mortgage worth £212 15 *s*. 1½*d*. for twenty-six acres of land in Crumlin.[52] In 1792 Travers received £239 6*s*. 4*d*. from a mortgage which he had purchased with his father on thirteen acres of land in Edmonstown.[53] In 1793 Hartley received £1,000 from a mortgage which his father had purchased from Dr. James Arbuckle on 227 acres in Dunore and 176 acres in Kilmaloge.[54] Hartley's overall investment in mortgages shows he did not invest large sums of money in this manner. A loss of £380 in 1778 may have influenced his caution in purchasing mortgages.[55] Thereafter Hartley developed interests in leases, but like many city traders he

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[45] Elizabeth Gill, Hartley, Thomas Hall, 7 Aug. 1749 (Reg. Deeds, 135.402.91986).
[46] John Cummin, Hartley, 15 Jul. 1762 (Reg. Deeds, 219.211.143342).
[47] Ebenezer Geale and Hartley, Robert Norton, 5 Oct. 1772 (Reg. Deeds, 292.518.192982).
[48] Cartland was made bankrupt and his goods were auctioned at the Royal Exchange, 13 Jul. 1775 (Reg. Deeds, 309.337.205919).
[49] James Cartland, Hartley, 13 Jul. 1775 (Reg. Deeds, 309.337.205920.
[50] Hon. William Hayne (Lord Baron Newhaven), Hartley, 28 Jan. 1783, (Reg. Deeds, 351.69.234857).
[51] Richard Bamber, (formerly Richard Brown of Down), Hartley, 1 Mar. 1788 (Reg. Deeds, 396.284.261310).
[52] Anne Ramage, James Hartley, Hartley, 11 Apr. 1771 (Reg. Deeds, 287.382.187636).
[53] Robert Keeling, James Hartley, Hartley, 14 Apr. 1792 (Reg. Deeds, 453.119.289334).
[54] James Arbuckle, James Hartley, Hartley, 5 Jun. 1793 (Reg. Deeds, 463.544.298858).
[55] Hartley, James Cartland, 11 Oct. 1778 (Reg. Deeds, 309.337.205920).

did so only on a small scale.[56] While Hartley did not acquire an estate or gentry status, his activities in other areas successfully raised his profile.

Public sphere

Hartley was a member of the same New Light Presbyterian congregation as Drennan. It is unfortunate that this connection does not shed greater light on Hartley other than brief glimpses. Periodic mentions in the Drennan family correspondence show that Hartley was considered highly within his religious congregation and in the wider Presbyterian community. Martha McTier wrote that Hartley was 'a man upright in his whole conduct, just in his dealings [and] steady in his principles' which were 'invariably directed to the public good'. Hartley had a 'love of liberty, both religious and political'.[57] He had always been known for these qualities. She added that he was 'in private life a patron of everything wise, good and generous'.[58] Martha stated that Hartley was both known and respected in the Belfast Dissenting community. This recognition almost certainly came through his connections in the linen trade as many Belfast merchants sold their linen in Dublin until they began seeking finance for the White Linen hall well into the 1790s.

As an active member of the Presbyterian community in Dublin, Hartley served as an executor for many of his co-religionists. Hartley and Thomas Hall became executors for John Bayly, and on his death in 1754 they made leases and helped organise finances on behalf of Bayly's family. Acting as executor could be time-consuming and a large commitment. Hartley still made leases as Bayly's executor in 1782.[59] Entrenched in his religious community, Hartley would have been encouraged and supported by his network of co-religionists to increase his standing in the commercial world and in the civic life of Dublin. Hartley would have represented their community and so his progression in politics was seen by Presbyterians in a very positive light.

Hartley was elected to the common council in November 1765[60] but had resigned by 8 April 1766.[61] No reason was cited for his resignation of his common council seat. His short-lived corporation career gave him some experience of how the institution ran but probably little real experience. As a successful merchant he remained very active in civic

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[56] Dickson, *New foundations,* pp 133-4.
[57] Martha McTier to Drennan [1783], (Agnew (ed.), *The Drennan-McTier letters* ,i, 82).
[58] Ibid.
[59] Leases made by Hartley on behalf of Bayly include 18 May 1754 (Reg. Deeds, 169.92.112899), 9 Aug. 1756 (Reg. Deeds, 184.35.121864), 13 Nov. 1758 (Reg. Deeds, 194.395.130030), 19 Nov. 1759 (Reg. Deeds, 201.462.133908), 10 Jan. 1763 (Reg. Deeds, 220.327.144981), 21 Apr. 1773 (Reg. Deeds, 297.386.195519), 22 Dec. 1775 (Reg. Deeds, 308.479.206689), 18 Aug. 1777 (Reg. Deeds, 312.609.213115), 26 Jan. 1782 (Reg. Deeds, 346.89.230587, Reg. Deeds, 346.90.230587).
[60] *The Freeman's Journal,* 16 Nov. 1765.
[61] Ibid, 8 Apr. 1766.

matters, and he appears as a dominant presence in a variety of spheres. In 1771 Hartley formed with eighty other prominent merchants a much-needed fire insurance company[62] which would become the Hibernian Fire Insurance Company.[63] He was made a member of the committee of merchants and [a] trustee of the Royal Exchange in 1775, was a governor of the Hibernian Marine Society from 1775 to 1795 and governor of both the foundling hospital and workhouse between 1779 and 1792.[64] Even without serving the corporation long or in an important capacity, Hartley was able to achieve a high profile in the city.

Involvement at a senior level in three prestigious mercantile societies confirms Hartley's desire for prominence in the commercial community. Hartley played an important part in Dublin's commercial arbitration and convivial society, the Ouzel Galley Society. He was admitted in November 1762[65] and in November 1765 was requested, with four other members, to petition the House of Commons for a new exchange.[66] Hartley's membership on the Committee of Merchants, his involvement in the formation of the Chamber of Commerce and his election as first president of that body as well as his prominence in the Ouzel Galley (made first lieutenant in August 1783) show Hartley as a popular and radical figure in the Dublin commercial community.[67] The Presbyterian community held 'a passionate commitment to civil and religious liberty',[68] which can be seen throughout Hartley's involvement in these organisations. With the exception of his association with Protestant-dominated philanthropic organisations, all the clubs and societies Hartley associated with were drew members from across the religious spectrum, which suggests he was a tolerant figure. The Bank of Ireland in 1783 did not, however, allow Catholics to become directors, so, while a liberal spirit may have been evident in clubs and societies, associational activity was limited and Catholic membership could still be denied within institutions. If religious toleration did not determine his involvement in these particular societies then perhaps his radical political beliefs did. This possibility is certainly borne out in these three clubs. 'The radicals of the day were as tightly-knit as the conservatives, as we can perceive from the patterns of membership of the gallery as well as the committee and chamber. The three bodies reinforced each other from the 1760s into the

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[62] Ibid, 23 May 1771.

[63] He would sit on the committee 1773-4, 1776, 1783-4 (Edith Mary Liik Johnson, *History of the Irish Parliament 1692-1800; Commons Constituencies and Statutes* (6 vols, Belfast, 2002), iv, 374).

[64] Johnston-Liik, *History of the Irish Parliament 1692-1800,* iv, 374.

[65] 4 Nov. 1762 (Ouzel Galley rough proceedings of Council, RIA, MSS 12 F 48A).

[66] 4 Nov. 1765 (Ibid.)

[67] Hone, 'Bibliographical Notes', pp 491-2.

[68] Ian McBride, 'William Drennan and the Dissenting tradition' in David Dickson, D. Keogh, & Kevin Whelan, (eds), *The United Irishmen Republicanism, Radicalism and Rebellion* (Dublin, 1993), p. 53.

1790s.'[69] Hartley's prominence within each group reaffirms his popularity and respect within trade and the associated societies as well as within the Dissenting community. By the beginning of the 1780s he was a popular civic figure and decided to run for parliament.

Hartley was well positioned in the election for several reasons. Parliamentary seats had opened up for Presbyterians earlier in the century. Seats had become easier to attain for non-corporation men. Aldermen rarely succeeded in electing members of their body to parliament in the second half of the century and between 1760 and 1800 only one alderman, Nathaniel Warren, was elected to parliament for Dublin city. Merchants, however, were not returned for the city either, which makes Hartley's successes in entering parliament noteworthy. The by-election in 1782 was called due to the death of Dr William Clement. Henry Flood and William Brownlow supported Hartley.[70] In fact, his principal opponent was the corporation candidate Nathaniel Warren (not yet elected to parliament). Although a member of the alderman board, Warren had enough connections with the popular Dublin Volunteers to enjoy support within Dublin. By January Warren had gained the support of *The Freeman's Journal* which claimed that 'not withstanding the useful electioneering *frauds,* and the *puny* lies invented by party and faction many of the corporate bodies are determined to support Alderman Warren as being the most eligible and proper person to represent this city.'[71]

A city accident in February interrupted the election. A debate was arranged by the corporation of St Anne, which was the printers, painter-stainers and cutlers guild, 'at their hall, adjoining the music hall [in] Fishamble Street', and it was attended by a large number of potential voters. 'The floor gave way and they all went through except a few who were in the windows. A great number of people had their legs and arms broke and several received great contusions by the fall which was not less than 14 feet.'[72] While no one died, *Saunder's Newsletter* reported that many suffered severe injuries and *The Freeman's Journal* reported that over fifty people had received fractures.[73] *Saunder's Newsletter* also reported that 'Mr. Hartley and Alderman Warren, the candidates, received some bruises and Sir Edward Newenham had his collar bone broke'.[74] Despite the injuries, the election went ahead with both of the forerunners, Warren and Hartley, advertising their sympathy for the injuries of the other.[75]

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[69] Cullen, *Princes and pirates,* p. 31.
[70] Johnston-Liik, *History of the Irish Parliament 1692-1800,* iv, p. 374, James Kelly, *Henry Flood: Patriots and Politics in eighteenth-century Ireland* (Dublin, 1998), p. 304.
[71] *The Freeman's Journal,* 30 Jan. 1782.
[72] *Saunder's Newsletter,* 7 Feb. 1782.
[73] *The Freeman's Journal,* 12 Feb. 1782.
[74] *Saunder's Newsletter,* 7 Feb. 1782.
[75] *Dublin Journal,* 7-16 Feb. 1782.

Warren's backing by the *The Freeman's Journal* continued throughout the campaign and in early February the editor stated that 'it is beyond the possibility of doubt that the alderman will be the returned member, so many and respectable corporations have already declared in his favour.'[76] The paper attempted to raise suspicion of Hartley through his religion. They sought to goad electors by suggesting that only city Presbyterians supported him: 'Mr. Hartley's chief interest is publicly mentioned to arise from a respectable body of Presbyterians, who form a strong coalition in his favour'.[77] The paper's claims could not have been the case given Hartley's prominent membership in so many mercantile clubs and societies and his involvement in prominent commercial institutions and initiatives. He must have had the support of some of the merchant community within the city. However, the paper's commentary does show that Presbyterians were believed to vote for Presbyterians and to protect their own interests and community. This attitude also appears in a letter signed by 'an independent elector' claiming that if Hartley was returned to parliament he would forward only Presbyterian causes and therefore the city should rally against him 'it should be the business of every other denomination of Protestants as well as Roman Catholics, to counteract so unjustifiable a design'.[78] The letter further claimed that Hartley was a member of a party and therefore a faction, which would make him less independent and more corruptible. The letter also attacked Hartley's anti-alderman credentials: 'They [Hartley and his supporters] have been respectfully heard to declare that no aldermen in Dublin during their existence should be returned to parliament'.[79] The 'independent elector' then claimed that members of the board of aldermen would serve well as members of parliament: 'a man so greatly esteemed by the more respectable part of the city as to be placed by their suffrages in such an high station of the corporation as that of Alderman would on that very account have the justest pretensions to be returned to their member in the senate.'[80] Despite the attempt to create anxiety over religion, Hartley defeated Warren and took the seat.[81] He was re-elected the following year during a general election (when Warren was also elected to parliament) and was city M.P. until 1790 when he declined to run again.

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[76] *The Freeman's Journal,* 5 Feb. 1782.
[77] Ibid, 2 Feb. 1782.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Hartley's victory in the election was followed by accusations from Warren to the sheriffs, James Dick and John Campbell, that they had run the polling inconsistently and in favour of Hartley, Warren threatened a parliamentary investigation and a month after the polling the sheriffs felt obliged to answer the accusations in the press, they stated: 'Notwithstanding the confidence with which an appeal to that solemn tribunal was promised in the first of said advertisements, we have the mortification to find a petition has not been presented' (Ibid).

Hartley's parliamentary career is perfectly exemplified through his position in two major debates, those over the commercial propositions in 1785 and the police act in 1788. Hartley, unlike Warren, voted against the commercial propositions. The Chamber of Commerce, of whom Hartley was a leading member, openly disagreed with the propositions.[82] Hartley complained about the introduction of the bill, expressing his opinion that it had been brought before the house too quickly for the full implications to be taken into consideration. Hartley had an interest in all trade matters which came into the house. On hearing that commercial matters would be discussed he had approached Foster and enquired about their nature: 'I asked him barely to explain the outlines of that system. I did not want him to enter into the detail of it, but just to give the house some sketch of the system which it was intended to adopt.'[83] Foster, however, told Hartley he could not at that time discuss the bill but when it was 'brought forward it would not be hurried through the house but that full time would be given for the consideration of it.'[84] Regardless of these promises, Hartley found the whole thing had been done hastily and told the house 'it is impossible for a gentleman to get the instructions of his constituents' that he felt the nature of the bill necessitated.[85] He argued that Cork and other commercial towns had little time to digest the contents of the bill and make their opinions known. Hartley moved for a delay in debating the bill but his motion was overwhelmingly denied by thirty-seven to 156 votes.[86] Here Hartley clearly took a similar position to Flood with whom he allied himself closely (although Flood did not vote due to illness). Indeed the two men spoke together on 11 February to object to the bill.[87] Hartley had been an associate of Flood in parliament since Flood and William Brownlow had proposed him for election.[88] While Kelly's study of Flood makes it apparent that Flood had no party, he certainly had a loose group of political allies which included Hartley.[89] These M.P.s were generally labelled patriots for their stance against government measures.

Hartley took his lead from his constituents. He made this clear in his objections to the Dublin police force. In February 1788 Beresford introduced a bill which attempted to

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[82] House of Commons, *The Parliamentary register: or, history of the proceedings and debates of the House of Commons of Ireland which met 20th of January and ended the 7th of September, 1785*, (15 vols, Dublin, 1785), iv, 170.
[83] Ibid, 160.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Ibid. 179-180.
[87] Ibid. 169.
[88] Johnston-Liik, *History of the Irish Parliament 1692-1800,* iv, 374.
[89] In addition to Hartley, Kelly includes David Walshe, Alexander Montgomery, Samuel Bradstreet, William English, Eland Mosson, Richard Martin, Lawrence Parsons, Edward Newenham, James Browne (Kelly, *Henry Flood,* p. 326).

reform the Dublin police force in place since 1786.[90] Hartley introduced a motion complaining about the force and presented a petition of Dublin citizens against the high cost of the police tax.[91] The tax, which they complained was three times higher then the former night watch tax, was 1*s. 6d.* per house in Dublin metropolitan area, per annum, 'with no house to be valued at a higher rate than sixty pounds per annum.'[92] Hartley argued that if a bill was to be introduced to reform the police force in Dublin then surely some of the signatories of this petition be brought before the house to give evidence. The attorney general, John Fitzgibbon, mocked Hartley's suggestion by stating that surely the chairman of the petitioners 'could not be perfectly disinterested' in the bill 'being a rope maker'. He then added that Hartley's comments were unnecessary: 'It was admitted by all that the Police Act wanted amendment: A bill was not brought in to explain and amend that act. Did the petitioners mean to petition against the bill for amending the act of which they so much complained of?'[93] Regardless of this attempt to quiet the city M.P. by making him look foolish, Hartley persisted in presenting each and every petition.[94] He retorted to Fitzgibbon that the force could not be reformed if the problems in the police were not highlighted: 'Mr. Hartley said he could see no mode by which the petitioners could possibly obtain redress, if they were not allowed to explain their grievances by counsel'.[95] This continual eagerness to present his constituents' wishes, despite being received with indignation by some government M.P.s, won Hartley respect in Dublin and confirmed his reputation as a patriot. The police were much hated and used by the opposition, Grattan in particular, to show the inadequacies of the government. Fitzgibbon's declaration that the whole house 'wanted amendment' of the police bill showed that it was an embarrassment for the government and one vulnerable to exploitation by opposition M.P.s like Hartley.

The expense of the police force was a major problem. When the bill came to be debated again, nine days later, Hartley complained that the budget presented did not include almost £3,000 of police commissioner salaries.[96] His comments must have been unpopular within the house as Alderman Nathaniel Warren, M.P., held a salary of £500 as

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[90] House of Commons, *The Parliamentary register,* viii, 190.
[91] Ibid, 248.
[92] Jim Herlihy, *The Dublin metropolitan police: A short History and Genealogical Guide* (Dublin, 2001), p. 6.
[93] House of Commons, *The Parliamentary register,* viii, 248.
[94] In 1783 when Hartley presented a petition from the Chamber of Commerce, of which he was a leading member Fitzgibbon, objected. He complained that the name 'The Chamber of Commerce' was an improper title as it implied the body represented the entire commercial community, and therefore should perhaps be called 'the council of commerce'. After a short debate they decided to record that a 'petition of certain merchants, stiling themselves the council of the chamber of commerce... was this day presented by Mr. Travers Hartley' (House of Commons, *The Parliamentary register,* ii, 55).
[95] House of Commons, *The Parliamentary register,* viii, 248.
[96] Ibid. 338.

a police commissioner. The offices of commissioners themselves were controlled by the alderman board with each junior commissioner (two offices) earning £300 per annum. Hartley proposed a resolution to reduce the tax: 'that it appears to this committee that the establishment of the police in its protection of the inhabitants of this city is insufficient, but its charge on the public has been enormous.'[97] His opposition to the police force highlights his patriot credentials. Grattan attempted in 1792 and 1795 (after Hartley) to reform the force.[98]

In a sense Hartley's stances in parliament formed part of a new political tradition which had taken hold in the city seat since the middle of the century. Parliament representatives for the city since James Dunn 1758-61, including Charles Lucas, Sir Samuel Bradstreet and Redmond Morres, had been keen to assert their liberal credentials, their anti-alderman sentiment and to show that they represented their constituents. The freemen also elected patriots and members of the opposition. When Hartley refused to stand in the election of 1790 due to old age, Grattan and Henry Fitzgerald took the opportunity not only to run for Dublin city but also to ally with Hartley during the election campaign in order to show that they were his natural successors. Drennan wrote to Samuel McTier that the two candidates escorted Hartley to a hustings each 'holding an arm of the aged and much respected Hartley'.[99] Grattan and Fitzgerald used Hartley's popularity to show the freemen that they upheld Hartley's political beliefs, patriotism and loyalty to constituents. Central to being a popular Dublin city M.P. were these three factors of liberal politics, representation of constituent wishes and an anti-alderman sentiment (although this last characteristic could also be variously considered anti-government or anti-conservative).

Private sphere

Hartley presents an interesting figure within the group of merchants studied in this thesis because he achieved a parliamentary seat but he did not invest heavily in land. His status as an M.P. raised him above freemen and the civic hierarchy. By 1783 he was a member of parliament and the acquisition of a landed estate might not have affected his status. He had been elected to parliament in 1782 as a merchant and while he maintained his seat he continued to advertise as a merchant. Hartley's successful trade credentials would have helped his popularity with the freemen of the city. Had he purchased an estate once he

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[97] Ibid.

[98] Brian Henry, *Dublin hanged; crime, law enforcement and punishment in late eighteenth-century Dublin* (Dublin, 1994), p. 151.

[99] Drennan to Samuel McTier, 3 May 1790 (Agnew (ed.), *The Drennan-McTier letters,* i, 349).

entered parliament it would suggest that he sought only status and rank. His decision not to buy could have been motivated by personal beliefs which opposed the need among the middling sort to buy land. He used his position in his religious community, mercantile world and his influence in societies to gain a parliamentary seat. He used these civic and associational roles enhanced his reputation rather than acquisition of land.

Three strands of Hartley's life came together to ensure his popularity regardless of any barriers which he may have encountered because of his religion: his success in business, his networking through clubs and societies, and his patriotic politics. These factors played a huge part in Hartley's success in defeating the alderman candidate, Nathaniel Warren, in 1782 and taking a seat in parliament for the open constituency of Dublin city. When Nathaniel Warren entered parliament in 1783 his presence was marked against Hartley's obvious popularity with the citizens. In 1789 a pamphlet addressed to Hartley pointed out Warren's failings to help his constituency by highlighting why Hartley was popular. 'Friend to humanity' called on Hartley because of his 'situation as a magistrate', his 'knowledge of internal regulations of the city of Dublin' and importantly because Hartley was 'the only representative of this city, to whom the inhabitants look up to patronize any wholesome laws'.[100] In this address the author commended Hartley in the hope that this praise would inspire Hartley to take up his cause. He sought Hartley because he held a reputation as a popular M.P. who represented trade and his constituents.

There are numerous possible reasons why Hartley did not acquire land, most of which would have been governed by personal decisions. Such factors include putting a parliamentary career above acquiring an estate, promoting of his children's wealfare or reluctance due to laws against Dissenters. On his death Hartley's minimum rental income would have been £420 per annum from his Terenure property and he would have enjoyed 5 per cent interest on his Bank of Ireland stock as well as interest from mortgages. He was an extensive trader and must have reaped large profits. Cullen has pointed to the withdrawals he made from Allen and Marlar to show why he was such an important commercial interest in the city. 'Hartley's enormous reputation in Dublin is impossible to understand until a glance through the drawing ledgers brings out its awesome scale.'[101] He was a wealthy man, yet he did not acquire any land for retirement. With pressing needs such as the education of his sons, one son sharing his business profits and two further sons to apprentice and establish in trade, he would have had large expenses. The need to provide

[100] Friend to Humanity, *Observations on the frauds, committed by the bakers of the city of Dublin* (Dublin, 1789), pp 2-3.

[101] Louis M. Cullen, 'The two George Fitzgeralds of London, 1718-1759' in David Dickson, Jane Ohlmeyer, & Jan Parmentier (eds), *Irish and Scottish mercantile networks in Europe and overseas in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (Gent, 2007), p. 260.

marriage settlements and income for five daughters also would have been a large undertaking. His family expenditures may account for the failure to acquire even a rural retirement home. Hartley's own maintenance while in parliament also would have been costly. Hartley may have been elected by an open electorate, but keeping a campaign office and other election expenses as well as the cost of living while sitting in parliament and possible costs of being away from business must have been significant. The repeal of laws affecting the legal recognition of Presbyterian marriages in 1782 may have made Hartley reluctant to invest in property before this date. It is also possible that Hartley simply did not prioritise land and that he kept his profits from trade in mortgages, loans and investments.

The extent of Hartley's achievements both social and political can be seen in the commemoration of his death in April 1796. His funeral prompted a large procession which left from the Royal Exchange and proceeded to St. John's church. It included the lord mayor, two aldermen, the high sheriffs and '380 citizens in scarves and hat bands who attended to pay this last tribute of esteem to their deceased friend, at their own expense'.[102] Hartley's involvement in philanthropic societies was represented by children from St. Bridget's School, St. John's, St. Werburgh's and the Marine School in the procession. As a mark of esteem 'the Marine School...sung...part of the 90th psalm'. A newspaper account added, 'Mr. Hartley was a Governor and a real friend to the Marine School'.[103] Reflecting Hartley's patriotic sensibilities, Henry Grattan and John Philpot Curran headed the procession. Nonetheless, Drennan complained that the procession was marked by the absence of 'noble' men. He complained that none of the Latouches attended.[104] As Hartley had worked with them in the opening years of the Bank of Ireland and in parliament their slight was indeed noteworthy. The absence of 'noble' men indicates that Hartley had not engaged enough with the upper class to become part of their social circle. They did not attend his funeral and instead members of the professional class affirmed his status.

While Hartley enjoyed prominence in Dublin and high status in the commercial community and his popularity as Dublin city M.P. cannot be doubted, his family was not raised by a landed estate and his legacy did little to enhance the overall status of his family. During his life, politics and a place in the public sphere raised his own status. As an urban gentleman, Hartley was much respected and he certainly exceeded the status of his birth. His success lasted only for a generation and his gains were not transferred to his son.

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[102] *The Freeman's Journal,* 2 Apr. 1796.
[103] *The Freeman's Journal,* 2 Apr. 1796.
[104] Drennan, Dublin to Martha McTier [March/April 1796], (Agnew (ed.), *The Drennan-McTier letters,* ii, 221).

While his son James joined societies and clubs which Travers had led, James was never as successful as his father. Though clearly respected (James was interviewed by a committee elected by the House of Commons to investigate the revenue collection), the sons remained urban traders.[105] Unlike land, however, Hartley's rise in status could not transfer to the second generation so his sons, trained to trade like their father, remained in the middling sort.

[105] House of Commons, *An inquiry into the expenses of the collection of revenue* (Dublin, 1795).

SECTION TWO

This thesis has been divided into two sections so that trends could be established by examining the cases of individuals and then investigate in the broader community. A different structure might have allowed trends recognised in secondary source literature and case studies to determine the major areas for investigation. The proceeding analysis of these individuals allows some broad conclusions about their areas of activity. The main avenues of activity for social mobility among the merchants reviewed above were through the civic sphere, clubs, societies and philanthropy and within formal political institutions and political associations. Marriage does not appear to have been significant for raising status for these merchants. Marriage for the second generation was noteworthy only for the son of Edward Byrne who married an heiress with a large estate. However, education of the second generation featured prominently.

While it is impossible to re-create their complete investments, we have seen that in the case of Hamilton and Hartley investments such as mortgages and stocks were an important source of income for their retirement. As there is a more complete picture of the land market it is possible to suggest that land was almost certainly important avenue of investment, although without correspondence and a comparable picture of financial investment it is impossible to prove that it was a priority. Byrne and Keogh, both Catholic, accumulated the greatest land holdings, a fact which shows that Catholics could create estates within the late eighteenth century and retire to land. Hamilton and Trumbull created country villas where they retired, which suggests that some form of land holding was a priority for retirement. Sankey and Hamilton successfully created high profiles within Dublin but as they did not accumulate estates their status did not transfer to the countryside; they instead depended on institutions and associations within the city to confirm their rank. They were urban gentlemen. Hartley similarly relied upon a parliamentary seat to confirm his importance. His politics gained him the respect of urban traders and he became a noted expert on economic affairs within parliament. While important within civic and national circles, his increase in status did not transfer to the second generation. He experienced upward mobility during his lifetime and while he was a retired trader on his death, his children did not rise above the status of trade.

The activities these men embarked upon during their lifetime reveal close connections between trade and the professions, and trade and land. These connections suggest a hierarchy of mobility. If children were educated at university, then they became members of the professions and some likely permanent rise in social standing had been achieved. Establishing a child with land as well as providing education shows greater mobility and even more lasting success. Land was easily transferred to the second

generation, as shown by Byrne and Keogh. Merchants did not always acquire land themselves and postpone transferring it until death; some lands were acquired for the second generation prior to the retirement of a merchant. From a review of the case studies, the preoccupations and priorities of these merchants appear to have been transferring asset to land, accumulation of financial investments, involvement in the public sphere though politics and the corporation, as well as activities in the private sphere, marriage, family and education.

The second section will focus on three prominent areas which have emerged from these case studies on a broader canvas. Activities within the public sphere, the private sphere and the land market are the three areas to be examined in the following chapters. As merchant investment in loans, stocks, mortgages and debentures can only be recreated in part, a complete picture of investment is not achieved. Nevertheless, it is possible to investigate land patterns and discuss the nature of land accumulation. The following chapters take a broader look at the involvement in these three areas of thirty prominent merchants and the larger merchant community in order to investigate the routes of mobility that merchants used.

Chapter 5

Politics and Public Engagement: Social Mobility in the Public Sphere

This thesis has established trends through examining individuals' lives and then investigates these trends in the broader community rather than allowing recognised trends in secondary source literature and existing case studies for other cities determine the focus of major areas for this investigation. Merchants participated in the public sphere in Dublin on four levels, in parishes, in guilds and the corporation, in parliament and through associational activity. The participation within these spheres of Sankey, Hamilton, Keogh, Byrne and Hartley has shown the importance of the public sphere as an avenue of social mobility. This chapter explores the activity of the greater merchant community within the public sphere by assessing how often they participated within these four avenues and to what extent they successfully joined the upper class as a result of their participation. It shows that while merchants were active and enthusiastic members of civic institutions their participation did little to enhance their overall reputation other than to increase their status among fellow traders. Parliament remained a route relatively closed to Dublin merchants whose election bids were often unsuccessful. Associations offered a more open avenue for merchants to network and socialise, however, even this route maintained a strict social hierarchy which promoted merchant membership and forwarded exclusive mercantile clubs while excluding city traders.

Merchants made their presence felt within civic institutions, in national politics and in clubs and societies. These arenas granted them entrance to the electoral and political process, shaped their opinions and gave them a platform to forward these opinions and their ambitions. These bodies also created networks through participation and socialising. This participation allowed them to enhance their status in a number of ways. As members of the middling sort they became involved in running different aspects of the city, from the parish watch to overseeing the collection of city revenue and other decisions. They distinguished themselves from the majority of freemen by advancing through the civic hierarchy. They ran for parliament to become figures of national importance. They formed associations and became involved in philanthropic activities. These were not paid engagements and whether undertaken socially in clubs or institutionally as church wardens, these roles were time consuming. They have been linked with social mobility as avenues through which merchants could exercise authority, influence civic and national policy, gain contracts to increase their profits, get titles and socialise with the upper class and governing elite. This chapter assesses the involvement of Dublin merchants in the public

realm. It look at the merchants guild, parish churchwardens, the corporation, parliament, clubs and societies—all important platforms for the promotion of the middling sort in society—to assess merchants' presence and to what extent involvement in the public arena enhanced status.

I

The most important title to be obtained was that of freeman as it conferred the most basic of rights. It granted the right to vote and enter trade associations, guilds and corporations. Through guild membership, merchants could make business connections and develop networks. The merchants guild was a significant body of men even by the middle of the century; it has been estimated as having 500 members.[1] At mid-century, 3,000 freemen were represented by guilds.[2] The merchants guild, one of only twenty-four guilds, represented one-sixth of the freemen of the capital which made it the largest guild with the greatest commercial interest. Though Catholics could not become freemen until 1793, they could a fee to become quarter brothers, which allowed them to trade (however, guilds were not powerful enough to exclude non-quarter brothers from trading). Under the test act, religious dissenters were forced to take an oath. While Quakers became members of the merchants guild, they thus could not enter the corporation. Presbyterians took the oath and entered civic and national institutions. Presbyterians could not rival Anglicans as they made up only a minority of those involved in civic institutions.

Under a charter granted in 1451 the merchants guild was given the right to elect two wardens and two masters (a junior and a senior master). These representatives were sworn in annually on the Monday following Michaelmas day, 29 September.[3] Members elected to the position of junior warden would usually be elected senior warden, then junior guild master and senior master in the following years. A strict and identifiable hierarchy can therefore be identified within the guild system. Those chosen to undertake the position of warden would be charged with the responsibility of assisting the masters, most likely taking and counting votes regarding resolutions and elections to the common council. Masters would have chaired the sessions in addition to swearing in new members of the guild and ensuring that good commercial practice was adhered to by members.

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[1] Barnard, *A new anatomy of Ireland,* p. 265.
[2] A total of 5,968 votes were cast in 1761 for two candidates so just under 3,000 freemen voted (*An alphabetical list of the freemen and freeholders that polled at the election of members of parliament to represent the city of Dublin* (Dublin, 1760).
[3] Edward Evans, The Ancient Guilds of Ireland (NLI, MS 738, f. 5).

As the largest guild, and that which dealt with the greatest monied interest in trade in the city, the merchants guild represented a powerful economic interest. When traders, craft, apothecary or otherwise, became large traders they often turned to imports or exports and consequently became merchants and manufacturers. This shift prompted them to enter the merchants guild. The decision of John Darragh,[4] free of the city as a dyer, to join the merchants guild in 1760 reflects this pattern.[5] Thomas Emerson was freed as a weaver in 1753 and entered the merchants guild thirteen years later.[6] While these men could have continued their expanded business in a craft guild, they probably changed to enjoy the considerable influence and power which the guild held throughout the city. Both men participated in Dublin Corporation and gained seats through their original professions. Emerson sat for the weavers guild first in 1762; Darragh joined in the same year for the sheer-men and dyers guild. Representation for these guilds was only a fraction of the merchant common council portion, two seats for the sheer-men and dyers, three for the weavers and two for apothecaries, compared to thirty-three seats for the merchants guild.

The importance of the merchants guild was reaffirmed every three years through the ceremony of riding the franchises 'when the mayor, accompanied by four hundred citizens on horseback rode around the boundaries of the city'.[7] The merchants guild rode after the lord mayor, first in the procession of guilds. The procession displayed guilds' ancient lineages, strength of numbers and the overall guild hierarchy. The ceremony also awarded freedom or the thanks of the guilds to individuals within the city whom they collectively felt had made reforms which protected the rights of the citizens or encouraged trade. The day thus allowed guilds to show their favour or political support for individuals. Freemen of the city could vote in their guild elections to elect their city M.P. as well as to nominate their masters and members to the common council.

Freemen could also convene aggregate meetings. These spontaneous meetings were organised by a sheriff or a civic leader and advertised in the press. They were convened to express popular political sentiments. While Hill has described aggregate meetings which

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[4] John Darragh traded from Capel Street by 1752, from lower Ormond Quay by 1760, he advertised from Ormond Quay as a china merchant in 1764 until his death in 1785, he sat for the common council in 1762 for the sheer-men and dyers' guild, was high sheriff 1772-3, became alderman in 1773 and was lord mayor 1781-2 (see appendix a).

[5] Gertrude Thrift (ed.) *Roll of Freemen; City of Dublin 1468-1485, 1575-1774,* ii, (NLI, MS 77).

[6] Thomas Emerson traded from Castle Street as a weaver then silk merchant, was listed as sitting on the common council as a representative of the weavers guild, showing the overlap between city guilds as well as the power held by members of the merchants' guild to sit in seats outside their domain, he was high sheriff 1766-1767, appointed Alderman 27 February 1770 and Mayor 1775-6, he was made free of the 6 and 10 per cent in 1783 and by 1780 he adverted just his corporation status and his private residence at 23 Anglesea Street, his last entry is in 1786 and he died in 1796 (see appendix a).

[7] Mary Clark & Raymond Refaussé (ed.) *Directory of Historic Dublin Guilds* (Dublin, 1993), pp 12-3.

were held in the capital in October 1775 as 'a new departure',[8] as early as October 1770 Charles Lucas expressed his desire in *The Freeman's Journal* that an 'aggregate body' of the Freemen convene.[9] In November 1761 a meeting was held at the Tholsel for all who objected to a proposed city bridge.[10] Similarly, in June 1764 a meeting was held with an open invitation for anyone interested in erecting a city exchange.[11] Thus, these meetings predated the 1770s (the 1775 announcement of 'Aggregate meetings of the Freemen and Freeholders' likely intended its language to resonate with that of the dead patriot Lucas). The meetings certainly gathered momentum in the 1770s and a meeting in July 1779 claimed that the freemen had a constitutional and legal right to convene in an aggregate meeting.[12] Themes of these meetings could vary but they tended to focus on politics.

Parish level

Religious establishments also offered civic posts and many merchants took the office of churchwarden. This position allowed them to become involved in their parishes and to build up networks in their locality. It also allowed them to be associated strongly with their religion and a particular parish. The average time that these merchants undertook the office was eighteen months, and no merchant spent longer than two years in the office. The relatively high proportion who held this position asserts the importance of becoming established on a parish level, particularly when the parishes are assessed. Two served for St. Michan's, three for St. Mary's, one for St. Anne's, two for St. Thomas and one for St. Werburgh's. The wealth, reputation and status of these Dublin churches would have boosted individuals' reputations. Administering to and being a part of premier Dublin parishes, where the upper class worshipped, must have been desirable. St. Werburgh's church stood close to Dublin Castle and had (not during this period but in the past) been the church of the lord lieutenant when resident in Ireland. It is difficult to establish how prestigious it was to served Dublin's premier Dublin parishes. The parishes had certainly declined by this period and it would have been common for merchants to worship with these upper class congregations.[13]

The purchases of pews evident in records of pew possession in the parishes of St. Werburgh's and St. Thomas's prove the prestigious status of the congregations of these

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[8] Hill, *From patriots to unionists,* p. 143.
[9] *The Freeman's Journal,* 23 Oct. 1773.
[10] *Dublin Journal,* 10 Nov. 1761.
[11] Ibid, 23 Jun. 1764.
[12] *The Freeman's Journal,* 1 Jul. 1779.
[13] Toby Barnard, *A new anatomy of Ireland,* p. 18.

churches. Patrick Boyd's[14] time as churchwarden of St. Thomas's, in 1766, entitled him to pew number one.[15] Each churchwarden had seats assigned to them and were often exempt from the regular pew fees. In 1760 Thomas Emerson purchased his pew at St. Werburgh's for fourteen pounds but took a position of churchwarden of the parish in 1764.[16] Not all who were part of these congregations appear to have been moved to become churchwardens. John Darragh purchased his pew in the parish of St. Thomas, which suggests that while some sought to enhance their profile within the parish by performing churchwarden functions for a year or two, others were content to worship in these churches. Parish pews were expensive and would have indicated wealth of the holder. While Nathaniel Clements paid twenty pounds for his St. Thomas's pew, Patrick Boyd paid £13 *5s.* for his seat.[17] There was certainly a disparity of price ranges, perhaps ensuring that parishioners were ranked within these churches. Despite such factors, the collective gathering of members of the group with members of parliament or the nobility was significant. [18] Furthermore, the decision of at least nine members of the group to undertake parish appointments such as churchwarden illustrates their desire to enhance their profile and their regard for becoming leaders within the established church.

City level

Dublin Corporation offered the highest level of civic involvement for merchants. Corporation involvement allowed participants to create a niche group of dignitaries. The various levels of commitment within the corporation could be time-consuming and were unpaid but the exclusive and hierarchical nature of the corporation rewarded time lost by bestowing privilege and status on these men. Members were elected through their guild to the common council. From the common council they could be elected to the position of high sheriff for a year and then to the alderman board. The merchants guild held over a third of the seats in the common council although they were only one-sixth of the city freemen. The corporation essentially ran the city and were responsible for maintaining order within the city including the parish watch, jails, executions, adherence to regulations concerning sales, tax collection, rubbish disposal and paving and lighting streets.

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[14] Patrick Boyd advertised from 1762 on Lower Ormond Quay, in 1786 was in partnership with a 'Woodward' in Abbey Street, was member of the common council for the merchants' guild in 1762, high sheriff 1768-69, was junior master of the merchants' guild in 1769, senior master in 1770, was appointed alderman 1772 and died in 1787 (see appendix a).
[15] Pew registry of St. Thomas (RCB, p. 80.28.2.1).
[16] Pew registry of St. Werburgh (RCB, p. 326.28.3).
[17] Pew registry of St. Thomas (RCB, p. 80.28.2.1)
[18] Edward Newenham, John Beresford, John Darragh and Patrick Boyd all held pews in St. Thomas's Church (Ibid).

Appointments outside the corporation were made for tasks such as the collection of rubbish and jail management, but the corporation members undertook market inspections personally, supervised executions and presided over civic courts.

Three related developments occurred within Dublin Corporation. First, the status of the corporation declined during this period. Hill has noted that the 'the oligarchic grip on corporate life in Dublin had been undermined' in the aftermath of the Lucas affair of the 1740s.[19] Despite a decline in status and power, the castle was, at points, still dependent on the support of individuals within the corporation and castle patronage was on offer for some within the corporation. For example, as Kelly identified, Dublin Castle distributed pensions in the aftermath of the commercial bill defeat. Benjamin Houghton received £200 per annum, while Alderman Thomas Emerson (through his wife, Catherine) received £150, with a later increase to £200.[20] The castle also promoted certain aldermen, like Henry Gore Sankey, in elections for parliament. From the 1790s, the castle and the majority in parliament enjoyed strong support from the corporation on the issue of Protestant ascendancy. While popularity of the corporation declined within the city, popular political figures like James Napper Tandy and Henry Howison could claim a background in civic politics from their time spent sitting in the corporation.[21]

Involvement in the corporation at the lowest level consisted of a seat on the common council.[22] The council consisted of members of each of the twenty-four guilds who sat in the lower chamber of the corporation. Representatives on the common council were separated at meetings from the aldermen and held their meetings at the same time in different rooms. Forty-eight men sat as sheriff-peers (two additional sheriffs were elected on an annual basis) and ninety-six sat as direct representatives of the guilds. With the lower chamber amounting to a total of 144 members and the upper chamber consisting of twenty-four aldermen, and one lord mayor, a total of 169 men sat on the corporation and represented 3,000 freemen.

The next rung on the corporation ladder, from the common council, were the high sheriffs. As in England, the sheriffs of Dublin were responsible for 'the empanelling of

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[19] Hill, *From patriots to unionists,* p. 113.

[20] James Kelly, *Prelude to union Anglo-Irish Politics in the 1780s* (Cork, 1992), p. 219.

[21] Henry Howison, son of Charles Howison, merchant, was made free of the city and merchants' guild at Christmas 1766 by birth, was warden of guild in 1776, junior master in 1778, senior master in 1779, he was in trade as a linen draper by 1769 with Thomas (brother?) at Jervis Street, traded on his own from 1793 at Dominick Street and Bachelor's walk, he sat for the trinity guild on the common council from 1770, was a high sheriff 1778-9, an alderman 1783, lord mayor 1790-1 and died in 1817 (see appendix a).

[22] Twenty members of the group under review were members of the corporation: George Alcock, Mathew Bailie, Hans Bailie, Peter Barré, Patrick Boyd, John Darragh, Thomas Emerson, William Forbes, Benjamin Geale, James Hamilton, Patrick Hamilton, Henry Hart, Travers Hartley, James Horan, Henry Howison, Joseph Lynam, George Reynolds, Charles Rossell, Edward Sankey, Henry Gore Sankey, George Sutton (see appendix a).

juries to try cases in quarter sessions and sessions of Oyer and Terminer and gaol delivery...also managing prisoners...[and] arranging executions...the sheriffs also had to process and execute...warrants for arrest of debtors'.[23] Elections for the office of high sheriff took place on an annual basis and on completing a term as sheriff the corporation member then sat as a master of the city works and would become a sheriff-peer. The position of sheriff appears to have been high profile with reports in the press of their activities.[24] It would have been extremely time consuming and in addition to the city wide tasks they were obliged to sit on several committees. These included the committee that audited the city account for the previous year, the annual committee to make repairs and refurbish the mayoralty house and the ballast office committee as well as committees that drew up addresses, prepared bills, or performed other miscellaneous tasks which arose throughout the year. Recognition was readily given for the work undertaken by sheriffs. This acknowledgement came most frequently in a formal address of thanks from the whole corporation, like that received by James Hamilton and James Horan in 1772. The address drew attention to their 'unwearied zeal for the public service' but also mentioned the 'dignity' of these men displayed while in office.[25] These addresses highlighted the standard which was expected of sheriffs within the corporation.

Sheriffs must have expected their personal and business affairs to have been affected during their term. The 1760 'Act for better regulating the corporation of the city of Dublin' laid down the rules for nominating of sheriffs and introduced a £2,000 means test for those wishing to advance their position to this level within the corporation.[26] The means test served to ensure that those seeking the position of sheriff could afford to undertake the office and that city revenues would not be used in paying for the excessive cost of the office to their business. It also ensured that men holding the office were of a certain financial standing, security and status. It is not surprising that gentlemen of a certain standing were sought to fill the positions because sheriffs of the corporation could be given particularly high profile and important tasks. For instance, the earl of Halifax arrived in Ireland October 1761 and he was greeted 'by several nobility and gentry'[27] and

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[23] Joanne Innes, 'Managing the metropolis, London's social problems and their control, c. 1660-1830', in P. Clark & R. Gillespie (ed.) *Two capitals: London and Dublin 1500-1840 proceedings of the British Academy* (London, 2001), p. 84.

[24] In 1763 the *Freeman's Journal* published a treatise on the tasks of a high sheriff which took up over one quarter of the total print space of the newspaper and stated 'the constitution of the city must ever be preserved' by the sheriffs (*The Freeman's Journal,* 27 Sept. 1763).

[25] *CARD,* xii, 288.

[26] 33 Geo. II, c. 16 (1760), *CARD,* x, 406.

[27] *Dublin Journal,* 10 Oct. 1761.

escorted from Ringsend to Lazer's Hill by the high sheriffs Mathew Bailie[28] and Thomas Blackhall,[29] later to be waited on by the lord mayor and corporation.[30] It is possible that this meeting, or meetings after this, prompted the earl of Halifax to bestow knighthoods on both sheriffs. While Thomas Blackhall accepted the title, Mathew Bailie (for unknown reasons) declined the offer.[31]

Despite these high profile tasks which gave sheriffs access to the upper class, sheriffs had some particularly undesirable jobs. Presiding over executions was certainly one of these. The sheriffs was the chief figure of authority at these events and were to preside over the hanging and pay the executioner.[32] This task required the sheriff to take charge of the prisoner while awaiting execution and to manage the crowd assembled to see the execution. In 1771 High Sheriff David Ribton came under criticism for showing undue force to a crowd gathered in College Green for an execution.[33] Executions could act as visible displays of law and order in the city and attracted a lot of attention. They were undesirable jobs as high sheriffs had to deal directly with criminals, manage crowds of the lower orders and preside over the executions.

The next higher position open to members of the corporation was the office of alderman, or city magistrate. Aldermen held their positions for life and, while members could resign, the only circumstances which led to the loss of their positions on the board were gross misconduct, conversion to Catholicism (neither appear to have been an issue during this period). The alderman board was much resented in the first half of the eighteenth century for the power which it held. This dislike led to Charles Lucas's campaign to reform the corporation in the 1740s which culminated in the 1749 election. While Lucas was forced to flee the country during the election, his campaign led in 1760 to the corporation reform act.[34] This act curtailed the powers of the alderman board by eradicating the alderman veto over guild representatives thus allowing guilds to elect whomever they liked. The sheriffs were chosen by the alderman board but from a list drawn up by the commons. When a vacancy arose on the alderman board they would choose four sheriff-peers and the common council would decide which of the four to add to the alderman board. The common council could veto any alderman chosen for lord

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[28] Mathew Bailie was son of Hans Bailie, merchant, advertised from 1760 from Lower Abbey Street as a wine merchant, 1764, Jervis Quay, sat on the common council for the merchants' guild in 1756, was high sheriff 1761-62, alderman 1763, lost at sea and pronounced dead in 1775.

[29] Thomas Blackhall was a merchant trading from Cabra lane, wide street commissioner, high sheriff 1761-62 (*Dublin Directory,* 1760-1765).

[30] *Dublin Journal,* 10 Oct. 1761.

[31] *Dublin Journal,* 26 Jan. 1762.

[32] Henry, *Dublin Hanged,* p. 20.

[33] *The Freeman's Journal,* 15 Apr. 1771.

[34] 33 Geo. II, c.16 (1760).

mayor.[35] The electoral process for offices in the corporation was under this act, taken out of the hands of the aldermen and placed in the commons. While it took some time for these reforms to take affect the composition of the commons, the changes represented a significant victory for the commons against the alderman board.

The office of lord mayor was the highest ranking office, although only an annual position. It was held by members of the alderman board (no alderman could hold it twice unless there was an unusual circumstance like the death of a mayor with only a short remaining term).[36] While elections were held for the position, it was usual that the longest serving alderman who had not already held the post would be chosen. When compared to the London office in the late eighteenth century, Dublin's office pales. The city did not produce any lord mayors who left any lasting impressions on the history of the period. London could claim wealthy and eminent figures during this period such as William Beckford, twice lord mayor of the city (1761 and 1770), M.P. for the city for sixteen years and owner of the greatest Jamaican sugar plantation. Beckford was also lieutenant-governor of Jamaica.[37] Beckford held the office of lord mayor while he sat in parliament for London but no Dublin lord mayors sat in parliament and only one alderman was elected to parliament.

The lord mayor was charged with presiding over the corporation as a whole and appointing members to committees, calling and dismissing as well as chairing corporation assemblies and post assemblies, swearing in free men, regulating weights and measures in the markets, regulating prices, permitting plays and theatre productions within the city and administering of the punishment of groups or individuals who disrupted the peace of city. The most important component of the office of lord mayor was that of figurehead of the corporation. Ultimately, the lord mayor was to be considered the chief magistrate of the city and head of civic institutions including the corporation and the guilds.

A key task was inspection and regulation of the market place. It shows that the lord mayor was an important figure involved in trade and commerce in the city with the power to punish fraudulent traders. A large proportion of the entries in the press related to the policing of the markets by the lord mayor.[38] In 'an epitome of the institution and duties of' the office of lord mayor' published in *The Freeman's Journal* the importance of the

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[35] Ibid.

[36] William Forbes was elected lord mayor for the second time in 1772 on the death of Francis Booker because of the short period of time left in the office (see appendix a).

[37] Lucy Sutherland, 'The city of London and opposition to government, 1768-74' in Stevenson, John (ed.), *London in the age of reform* (Suffolk, 1977), pp 30-1.

[38] One of the two oaths, which the serving alderman swore on taking office relates to his duties as clerk of the market (*The Freeman's Journal,* 24 Sept. 1763).

mayor's presence in the marketplace was asserted. The lord mayor was to ensure that weights and measures were standardized and correct and was also responsible for price regulation.[39] Disputes arising in the markets were to be resolved by the lord mayor or under his direction. He was also to punish those who created trouble in the market house and had the right to enter any market, shop or warehouse to ensure that goods were of an adequate standard. If he was displeased with produce, then he was responsible for penalizing the trader and he was expected 'to seize, burn or publicly destroy' the goods.[40] While the lord mayor could employ a jury on his behalf to try market offenders, he usually attended the inspections himself. Much praise was received by those mayors who were perceived to be protecting the rights of the consumer in this manner.[41] The lord mayor could decide, if the goods were salvageable, the charity to which he wished to distribute them, reflecting a philanthropic image on the office. During his time as lord mayor, Thomas Emerson appears to have favoured providing the poor of the city marshalsea with confiscated goods.[42] Examples of these distributions made by lord mayors are numerous and the seizing and distribution of fraudulent provision was also undertaken by sheriffs.[43] Oftentimes these were undertaken by the lord mayor acting with the assistance of the high sheriffs.[44]

Socialising was a facet of the office of lord mayor which received much attention in the press and was facilitated by a mayoral stipend. In August 1760, following the corporation reform act, the corporation met at a post assembly to listen to the recommendations of a committee which had met to 'ascertain for the succeeding lord mayors…the income of that office by the late act of parliament'.[45] The committee resolved to increase the sum from £1,350 to £2,000, an amount which they believed was adequate to keep the lord mayor in 'splendour and hospitality necessary to preserve respect and conciliate the good affections of the citizens by promoting a social and friendly intercourse

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[39] Hill, 'The shaping of Dublin government', p. 150.
[40] *The Freeman's Journal,* 24 Sept. 1763.
[41] Such as praise heaped on Edward Sankey: 'The Right honourable Edward Sankey, lord mayor of this city attended by the high sheriffs has been remarkably indefatigable since his being sworn into office in visiting tanners, baker, hucksters, shops etc. etc where his lordship has corrected many abuses detected several frauds… From the known character of his lordship, the public have the greatest reason to expect he will fill the high office he is in with dignity and honour' (*Dublin Journal,* 4 Oct. 1766).
[42] *Dublin Journal,* 15 Jun. 1776.
[43] In 1765 Sheriff Henry Hart had made confiscations which he distributed to the confined debtors (*The Freeman's Journal,* 20 Apr. 1765).
[44] Lord Mayor Edward Sankey and High Sheriff Thomas Emerson appear to have worked together in undertaking market inspections but this was common, therefore Brian Henry's assertion that the 'only sheriffs who actually worked together on a consistent basis' were Sheriffs Bride and Andrews can not be considered wholly true and the volume of leases in the Registry of Deeds made on behalf of the corporations and which testify to both high sheriffs being present at deeds made on behalf of the corporation. (*The Freeman's Journal,* 18-21 Oct. 1766, Henry, *Dublin hanged,* p. 133).
[45] *CARD,* x, 433.

between them and their magistrates.'[46] Five hundred pounds of this grant was withheld until the lord mayor completed his term.[47] It was clear that a large portion of this income was to be spent on socialising and creating a suitably fashionable figure while in office, as well as maintaining a household that would reflect the dignity of the city. By 1792 the corporation were forced to reassess the income of the lord mayor, with some aldermen complaining that had they exceeded their £2,000 grant. A committee met to examine the income of the office and found that the last four serving mayors had spent on average £3,400 per annum.[48] City debts meant they could not justify such a large increase of the stipend and only £500 was added to the income.[49] By the 1790s serving alderman could expect to have spent about £1,400 of their own money on socialising and other expenses while in office as lord mayor. This is a substantial sum when it is considered that the means test for high sheriff was only £2,000. The corporation expected there to be a disparity in wealth or standing of the various officers. The lord mayors of this period must have been wealthy traders if they were prepared to spend £1,400 on their term as well as losing profits from their business which they would have left for the year.

Though socialising must have been the most expensive part of the office, aldermen undertook it with much vigour. Comparisons drawn between lord mayors indicate that rivalries emerged between aldermen for the splendour of their gatherings during their term. At the close of John Darragh's term, his wife held a ball. It was reported that 'the bowling green [of the Mansion House] was lighted in a superb manner, the supper was elegant and the whole did honour to the entertainer'.[50] The occasion prompted a comparison with Humphrey French, who had served in the office 1732-3. 'The present lord mayor will retire from office in the course of this month, with as much éclat as any magistrate that has worn the chain from days of Humphrey French to this present time.'[51] Lord Mayor Darragh was also successful in entertaining some of the most important men in the country. In 1782 he entertained the Duke of Leinster, the Duke of Portland, General Burgoyne 'and several

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[46] Ibid.

[47] It seems that the grant of this £500 was questioned in 1791 when Henry Howison completed his term and *The Freeman's Journal* reported that this stipend 'should never be disposed but to the *truly deserving'* which appears to have been aimed at Howison's request for the grant, the paper believed that it 'would be the greatest presumption… [of] a magistrate who pocketed what should be devoted to the support of the dignity of the office' to request the £500, furthermore, *The Standing rules and orders of the commons of the common council of the city of Dublin* specified that the £500 'shall always be determined by ballot only, and that if rejected, that no petition be received for said sum on any future assembly' indicating that the money was optional by 1799 (*The Freeman's Journal*, 4 Oct. 1791, *The Standing rules and orders of the commons of the common council of the city of Dublin* (Dublin 1799).)

[48] *CARD,* xiv, 257-9.

[49] This change would not affect the serving lord mayor, Henry Gore Sankey, and would begin at the end of the following mayor's term in office.

[50] *Dublin Journal*, 5 Sept. 1782.

[51] Ibid, 16 Jul. 1782.

others of the nobility and gentry'. Rain, however, prevented Darragh from displaying the garden entertainments which he had organised for the dinner. The occasion showed that merchants serving in the office would come into social contact with the aristocracy present in the city. This interaction cannot be taken to represent a familiar social connection, however, as the newspaper reports suggest that the lord mayor and lord lieutenant socialised in a ceremonial manner only.

The mayoralty term of James Horan, 1784-5, would appear to have successfully incorporated the active as well as administrative duties expected of a lord mayor.[52] The term opened, like many others, with dining. *The Freeman's Journal* reported 'The dinner given by the right honourable the lord mayor, after his lordship was sworn into office, on Thursday last, was most profuse, excellent and superb' and his guests included the duke of Rutland.[53] Horan focused his attention for most of the term on reforms, price regulation and market inspections. Within a week of taking office he promised relief for poorer citizens suffering from the coal shortage. As early as 9 October it was reported that coal prices had fallen by two shillings per ton and he continued throughout his term to regulate and coordinate the coal trade within the bounds of his jurisdiction.[54] He also received praise for his encouragement of the distribution of coal. An anonymous letter addressed to Horan in February 1785 appeared in the Dublin press and praised his work to eradicate the frauds attached to the coal trade. It stated that Horan had not been completely successful in eradicating all abuses within the coal trade.[55] The author blamed this shortcoming on a recent act of parliament concerned with the trade and the immorality of those involved in the sale of the commodity rather than any inactivity of the lord mayor.

Horan zealously undertook market inspections as well as seizures and provision distribution. He disbanded the root and potato market located near the New Gaol.[56] The rotting vegetables were a source of complaint not merely by the prisoners of the jail, but those in the neighbouring areas.[57] The lord mayor was praised in particular for establishing

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[52] James Horan was born 1731/32 was freed of Dublin city 1761 by Grace Especial, traded as an indigo merchant 1761- 1791, warden of the Trinity guild 1766, junior master 1771, senior master 1772, sat on the common council for the Trinity Guild in 1768-69, was high sheriff 1771-72, Alderman 1776 until his death in 1791 (see appendix a).

[53] *The Freeman's Journal,* 2 Oct. 1784.

[54] *Dublin Journal,* 9 Oct. 1784.

[55] The letter states that Horan had published a pamphlet on the topic of the abuses within the coal trade: 'I was not half sufficiently apprised of the restraint your lordship labours under from a late act of parliament, which sufficiently appears from a late publication of your lordships which has fallen into my hands since my return to town' which I have been unable to locate (Ibid).

[56] Most likely the vegetable market in close proximity to the jail. Public executions had moved from 1782 from St. Stephen's Green to outside the jail and the market ensured that large crowds were drawn to the executions from the market place creating problems (Brian Henry, *Dublin Hanged,* p. 23).

[57] *Dublin Journal,* 12 Oct. 1784.

a new market in Botham Street and Dirty Lane (near Thomas Street).[58] He apprehended men involved in coinage fraud and was credited with the reduction of forged currency in the city: 'Now that by the activity of the chief magistrate and sheriffs, several of the coiners who lately infested this city have been chased away'.[59] Newspaper accounts of his term suggest that Horan's activities extended to the economic, philanthropic and social facets of the office and that he was a reforming magistrate. These reports suggest his term was hugely successful and his death notice in the *Dublin Journal* shows the esteem he gained during his mayoralty endured. He 'maintained a most unblemished character of a merchant, while as an upright and independent magistrate of the city of Dublin, he reflected an honour on its corporation'.[60]

Despite changes resulting from the corporation reform act, the alderman board remained unpopular. In 1763 the common council upheld their newly bestowed reforms and refused to accept Peter Barré,[61] the alderman candidate, for lord mayor.[62] They rejected all of the alderman board candidates and elected their own candidate, Alderman Robert King.[63] The corporation came to a stand still for a month while Lord Mayor Charles Rossell[64] and the board of aldermen claimed they acted 'in pursuance of an act of parliament'[65] and the common council upheld that the reform act meant their actions were legal.[66] The decision was resolved in the privy council just over two weeks later, when Alderman William Forbes[67] (the second alderman choice) was returned for the position.[68] The common council had challenged the corporation but had lost. A more prolonged challenge to the alderman board's authority came in 1790. The common council, in an effort to object against the return of a police commissioner to the office of lord mayor,

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[58] This was probably the new site of the root and potato market (Ibid, 28 Jul. 1785).
[59] Ibid, 16 Dec. 1784.
[60] Ibid, 28 May 1791.
[61] Peter Barré, born c. 1701/02, a Huguenot refugee from France, by 1752 he traded at Fleet Street, from 1762 at Essex Street and had retired to Cullenswood, Co. Dublin by 1766, he was made free of the city Michaelmas 1724 by act of parliament, freed of the merchant's guild in Easter 1728, sat on the common council for the merchants' guild in 1750, was high sheriff 1756-57, alderman 1758 until his death in 1776, he was the father of Colonel Issac Barré (see appendix a).
[62] *CARD,* xi, 463.
[63] Journal of the sheriffs and commons (DCLA C1/JSC/02, f. 159).
[64] Charles Rossell, made free of the city of Dublin in 1748 by birth, merchant advertising from lower Abbey street by 1752, sat on the common council for the merchants' guild form 1750, was high sheriff 1755-6, alderman from 1757, lord mayor 1762-63, he died 1772.
[65] Journal of the sheriffs and commons (DCLA C1/ALD/MON/02, f. 303).
[66] Journal of the sheriffs and commons (DCLA C1/JSC/02, f. 159).
[67] Two William Forbes were made free of the guild of merchants in the 1730s, William Forbes, Christmas 1733, William Forbes, Midsummer 1735 so Forbes probably traded since the 1730s, he was advertising in the Dublin Directories by 1752 at Jervis Street and was trading at 'Fortick's lane, Ballybough Bridge' from 1770 where he traded until 1773, in 1750 he sat on the corporation common council for the merchants' guild, in 1757-8 he was a high sheriff, in 1758 he was made an alderman and he was lord mayor in 1763-4 and in 1772 he fulfilled the remainder of the mayoralty term on the death of Francis Booker (see appendix a).
[68] *Dublin Journal,* 7 May 1763.

refused to accept the board's choice of William James.[69] They objected to paid officers of separate institutions taking offices in the corporation.[70] The interference of city factions such as the Whig Club and radicals like James Napper Tandy[71] over the issue of the new police force ensured the second dispute was a more memorable affair.[72] The decision went again to the privy council who decided in favour of the alderman board and upheld the election of James. Nevertheless, the common council eventually had their way as Alderman James resigned.[73] The drawn out nature of the dispute (Alderman James had been rejected on 15 April and did not give up his seat until 5 August) shows that the office of lord mayor could be affected by city politics and attacked to object to unpopular institutions like the police.

While the composition of the corporation was undoubtedly changing, merchants were elected to the office more often any other guild with twenty-two serving merchants serving as lord mayor between 1760 and 1790, out of thirty-one elected. The merchants guild held one-third of the seats on the common council yet they were over-represented in the office of lord mayor by twice that number. There was a noticeable decline in merchants serving as lord mayor in the aftermath of the 1790 mayoral dispute. The Reform Act must have affected merchant promotion, but this change would have taken some time to be felt. Only nine merchants were elected to the position of lord mayor between 1790 and 1820 (from thirty-one elections), which was more representative of their overall numbers in the common council.[74] From 1790 the guild experienced a serious decline in its power and authority within the corporation, probably linked to the reform act and possibly to the mayoral dispute of 1790. The period prior to this can be seen as the last period of merchant prominence within Dublin Corporation.

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[69] William James was a grocer at Bride Street (*Dublin Directory,* 1780).

[70] While the commons passed the resolution in July 1770, during the mayoralty of Thomas Blackhall, twelve of the commons (John Cooke, Charles Burton, Thomas Mead, Philip Crampton, John Tew, Patrick Hamilton, Timothy Allen, Edward Sankey, Francis Fetherston, George Reynolds, Francis Booker, Willoughby Lightburne, Henry Hart, Thomas Emerson, Henry Bevan, William Dunn) and the lord mayor objected to the resolution, suggesting that the corporation was very much divided on the issue (*CARD,* xii, 555-6).

[71] James Napper Tandy was a merchant trading from Dorset Street by 1779, Corn market by 1780, Abbey Street by 1785, Bride Street in 1786, was chosen to represent the merchants' guild on the common council from 1776, was master of the guild of merchants 1789-90, was a city radical with links to Henry Howison and Edward Newenham, Tandy went on to join the United Irishmen (*Dublin Directory,* 1779-1790).

[72] The Whig Club's resolutions in favour of Henry Howison had been printed in *Magee's Weekly Packet,* the editor of which was strongly in favour of the common's decision (*Observations on the vindication of the Whig Club. To which are subjoined, the speech of the Lord Chancellor, as it appeared in the newspapers* (Dublin, 1790), *Magee's Weekly Packet,* 7 Aug. 1790).

[73] *The Freeman's Journal,* 27 April 1790, Kavanaugh, *John Fitzgibbon, Earl of Clare,* p. 227.

[74] This information has been compiled from a comparative look at the Lord Mayors of Dublin as listed on the official Dublin corporation htwtp://www.loughman.dna.ie/dublin/lordmayor.html (this is the only complete compilation of Dublin mayors and lord mayors) and verified by *CARD,* occupations as listed in *Watson's Dublin Almanac* (various years).

As the above shows, public offices could confer prestige, grant local powers, raise status within the city and bring the middling sort into contact with the upper class. One of the highest positions sought and one of the most exclusive positions within the country was a parliamentary seat. A parliamentary seat could provide greater avenues of mobility by opening doors to a higher social circle or enabling merchants to win government contracts. The seat also gave merchants a platform from which they could shape government policy, which made seats in parliament highly desirable for them. A merchant could enter parliament either through the purchase of a closed borough seat or through election to an open constituency. Only a limited number of merchants actually purchased their seats for parliament during this period. In 1761 John Bagwell, a Clonmel miller, purchased his seat for Tulsk. In 1776 Nicholas Lawless purchased his parliamentary seat for Lifford. In 1797 William Hare (former M.P. for Cork city 1796-7) purchased a seat for Athy. Thomas Lighton, a Dublin banker, purchased the parliamentary seat for Clifford in 1798.[75] The purchase of four parliamentary seats by merchants over a period of forty years does not denote a tradition. Ambitious merchants did better to look to the city which they traded in to fulfil their political ambitions.

There was a traditional link between civic politics and city M.P.s with parliamentary seats often granted for cities and towns to members of the corporation.[76] If the corporation were not representatives then commercial interests usually were. In Cork during the eighteenth century 'a city alderman or one closely in touch with the merchant interest—notably the Hely-Hutchinsons—shared representation of the city with a major landowner of the county whose appeal lay in his connections with one of the major regional families, usually the Boyles.'[77] Between 1715 and 1749 all but one of Dublin City's M.P.s sat on the board of Aldermen.[78] The corporation had a tight control over the parliamentary seat for Dublin up until the election contest of 1749. After this date the freemen of Dublin consistently showed that they would follow the guidance of Charles Lucas and reject alderman candidates. Just one city M.P. was an alderman during this period and only five of the ten city representatives had corporation connections. Charles Lucas, Dublin city M.P. 1761-71, had begun his public career in the city commons

[75] Malcomson, 'The parliamentary traffic of this country', p. 143, Johnston-Liik, *MPs in Dublin,* p. 101.
[76] David Dickson, '"Centers of motion": Irish cities and origins of popular politics' in L.M. Cullen, and Louis Bergeron, (eds), *Culture et Pratiques politiques en France et en Irelande* (Paris, 1980), p. 119, Dickson, *Old world colony,* p. 110.
[77] Dickson, *Old world colony,* p. 110.
[78] Hill, *From Patriots to unionist,* p. 79.

objecting to alderman corruption. James Grattan, Dublin city M.P. 1761-66, was a city recorder (a paid position). Samuel Bradstreet, Dublin city M.P. 1773-76, was also the city recorder. Travers Hartley, Dublin city M.P. 1782-90, had sat for five months on the common council as a representative for the merchants' guild[79] and Nathaniel Warren, Dublin city M.P. 1784-90 was an alderman. Only Warren had a corporation link comparable to the city representatives prior to 1749.

Merchants were even more underrepresented in this group with only Travers Hartley, becoming an M.P. for the city. Absence in parliament should not suggest that the commercial middling sort had no voice. In 1768 Henry Flood was thanked by the Aldermen of Skinner's Alley, the Shuttle Club of the Coombe, the Weaver's Guild and even the Guild of merchants promised their votes and up to £10,000 for his campaign when he decided to run again for parliament for Callan.[80] This post was a closed borough seat so the vote was to defray the cost of purchasing the seat. Flood was seen in parliament as a defender of commercial causes. Travers Hartley too, an associate of Flood, represented the mercantile interest and claimed that he would voice the concerns of the city at large. As a member of the Chamber of Commerce he presented a petition on their behalf in 1783.[81]

While merchants and members of the corporation were not hugely successful in being elected to parliament for Dublin, they certainly tried. Examples of alderman and merchant failures in parliamentary elections for this period are plentiful. These include Mathew Bailie who ran in 1763 and Geale who ran in 1771, 1774 and 1776. Henry Gore Sankey lost in 1790 and failed to follow through the alderman nomination in 1797. The castle line, which the alderman board pursued, was too conservative for the majority of Dublin city freemen who did not return the conservative aldermen. Their election campaigns can serve to illustrate further weakness in the corporation to gain national prominence and to take a position on a national platform.

The string of defeats suffered by Geale serves to illustrate some of the problems in an alderman's campaign.[82] Members proposed by the alderman board such as Geale were naturally opposed by city radicals. Edward Newenham was particularly scathing about Benjamin Geale in his letters as Brutus published in *The Freeman's Journal.*[83] Newenham and other city radicals who considered themselves natural successors of Charles Lucas

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[79] *The Freeman's Journal,* 16 Nov. 1765, 8 Apr. 1766.
[80] Kelly, *Henry Flood,* p. 126, Johnston-Liik, *History of the Irish Parliament 1692-1800,* iv, 183.
[81] House of Commons *The Parliamentary register,* ii, 206-207.
[82] Benjamin Geale, originally a banker, he traded as a merchant at Jervis Street from 1760, sheriff 1755, alderman 1759, lord mayor 1764-5, died in Kilkenny 1783 (see appendix a).
[83] James Kelly, *Sir Edward Newenham MP, 1734-1814: defender of the Protestant constitution (*Dublin, 2004), p. 103.

would have considered members of the conservative alderman board natural enemies. Board members had opposed reform in the corporation and it was a natural progression to believe they would remain conservative in parliament. Newenham (alias Brutus) suggested this in early December 1773 when the death of the duke of Leinster occasioned a vacant seat for Dublin city. He suggested that the city needed to come together in an aggregate meeting and choose a candidate to support to ensure their vote was not weakened by factionalism: 'it is...our duty immediately to select the man, most likely to combat the *Castle* and *aldermanick* influence, which are now as *united,* as they have been for sixty year past'.[84] His comments recalled the election of 1761 when Colonel James Dunn had resigned to allow Lucas to be elected in his stead. The election of both Dunn and Lucas was impossible when they ran together because they split the vote.[85] He threatened that factionalism in the city would reduce their cause and lead to failure of the city radicals once more. 'If some corporations adopt one man, and some another, the common enemy will prevail against us, and *rebind* us with those chains of *Aldermanick* tyranny.'[86] To avoid this outcome it was necessary to unite to continue 'the incessant labours of the worthy and ever gratefully remembered *Doctor* LUCAS'.[87] The death of Lucas just two years earlier had not halted the opposition to alderman power. Indeed, aggregate meetings and the use of Lucas's name and arguments show that some freemen were very eager to continue his politics.

Elections became a time to reconsider the reputations and civic careers of any corporation candidates and Geale's failure to suppress city riots during his term brought his record forward for condemnation. At the close of Geale's mayoralty term, August 1765, riots had broken out in the city. A soldier from 38th Regiment stationed in Dublin decided to take revenge on a city trader, a Mr Derham, and shot at him in the marketplace.[88] Geale imprisoned the soldier. This move proved unpopular with the soldier's regiment which appeared the following day at Newgate and released their fellow soldier and other prisoners from the jail. City magistrates were slow to react to this act and the prisoners escaped. Theft and vandalism increased in the city throughout August and September.[89] Four weeks later *The Freeman's Journal* estimated that only nineteen of the prisoners had been returned to the prison.[90] The lord mayor was charged with the task of dealing with

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[84] *The Freeman's Journal,* 6 Dec. 1773.
[85] *The free-electors address to Colonel Dunn with his answer* (Dublin, 1761), p.1.
[86] *The Freeman's Journal,* 6 Dec. 1773.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Charles Lucas, *An address to the right honourable the lord Mayor* (Dublin, 1768), p. 20.
[89] *The Freeman's Journal* and *Dublin Journal* cited a particularly high number of burglaries and crimes over these two months which they attributed to the release of the prisoners.
[90] *The Freeman's Journal,* 10 Sept. 1765.

some of the offenders. Geale committed Edward Street of the 38th Regiment, charged with breaking in the door of the prison, to Newgate.[91] The episode highlighted how unpopular the presence of army regiments was in the city. Two months after the incident, a meeting of some citizens at the Phoenix in Werburgh Street toasted 'that the military may never be able to prevail over civil power'. [92] Lucas saw Geale's inaction on the day of the release of the prisoners as embarrassing and spoke out against it, citing the whole episode as a reason to object to the army augmentation bill in 1768.[93] The incident was also used to embarrass Geale in 1773. He was accused of failing to investigate the cause of the riots adequately. This oversight was considered a betrayal of the city and an anonymous writer charged Geale with '*knowingly* and *willingly betraying* the trust reposed in you as chief magistrate of this city' by not adequately looking into the city riots.[94] Brutus proclaimed in a letter to the city that '*Newgate* is a standing memorial of his [Geale] dastardly conduct and servile *obedience* to *Castle mandates*'.[95] The event haunted subsequent attempts by Geale to further his position. As lord mayor, Geale had taken actions popularly deemed inadequate, which provided the opposition with an argument that as an M.P. he would be weak and ineffectual.

Geale had three main election promises in 1773. First, he would provide for 'the improvement and support of the trade and manufactures of this great city'. Second, he would give 'particular attention' to 'the obtaining laws for the establishing of quarterage' (illustrating his Protestant credentials to make himself popular with Dublin freemen). Thrid, he would make improvements to the regulation of the city and corporation by 'investing the magistrate and his deputy of each ward, with the necessary powers for effectual cleansing, paving and lighting of this metropolis [and upholding] circumstances absolutely requisite to the health and happiness of the inhabitants'.[96] The week following his proclamation of this platform a satirical piece in *The Freeman's Journal* imitated his election advertisement and ridiculed his whole campaign:

> Having smarted in purse and reputation by obtruding myself as a candidate at the last election of the most of the citizens of Dublin, I have waited 14 days [from the death of the Duke of Leinster] hoping from the difficulty of finding a worthy person of independent principles and fortune, that divisions would rise, and that an Alderman might slip in.[97]

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[91] Ibid, 20 Sept. 1765.
[92] Ibid, 19 Oct. 1765.
[93] Lucas had been head of the parliamentary committee which sat to establish the cause of the riot (Charles Lucas, *An address to the right honourable the lord Mayor* (Dublin, 1768), p. 20).
[94] *The Freeman's Journal,* 16 Dec. 1773, emphasis as in original.
[95] Ibid, 6 Dec. 1773
[96] Election advertisement (*The Freeman's Journal, Dublin Journal,* 4 Dec. 1773, Jan. 1773).
[97] *The Freeman's Journal,* 6 Dec. 1773.

Mirroring Geale's advertisement in form, it stated his political promises, if elected, to be 'submissive to government'.[98] The piece asserted that Geale would be led by the alderman board but would attempt to gain the favour of the electors by supporting a quarterage bill which would legally exclude Catholics from full guild participation. He would remain conservative, like the board of aldermen, and follow the government line. The letter ended 'I am, with the sincerest intention of serving myself and the board of aldermen...Benjamin Starvewell.'[99] The letter showed that city patriots and liberals saw members of the alderman board as too conservative to gain their support in elections. They would not elect a stooge of the government and alderman board.

Geale's opponent in the above election was Redmond Morres though several candidates, including a corporation merchant, had been suggested as opponents to the alderman. At an aggregate meeting held in the city during November 1773 a group of freemen had nominated Henry Howison, member of the common council, showing their further disdain for the corporation.[100] The suggestion that a member of the corporation lower in rank than a serving alderman should run must have been insulting to the upper ranks of the corporation. Newenham (as Brutus) in his December address implied that Howison and others, had been favoured for their marked contrast to members of the board: 'I have seen four several candidates offered to publick view, viz. Mr. *Singleton,* Mr. *Morres,* Mr. *Howison,* and Mr. *Bagwell,* all men of good character; it is then our duty immediately to select the man, most likely to combat the *Castle* and *aldermanick* influence'.[101] Howison declined the offer to run, declaring 'there are many distinguished characters in this city, who are much more suited for this important trust'.[102] He did not dismiss it for the future, however, adding 'I must at this time beg leave to decline the *great intended* honour'.[103] Howison's decision to decline to run for election with the backing of the popular Co. Dublin M.P. Edward Newenham is perhaps surprising. Howison indicated his refusal to run at that 'hour' and therefore seemed satisfied with the nomination if unprepared to undertake it in 1774.

Geale's defeat to Redmond Morres in 1773 (Morres received 1,564 votes to Geale's 1,478 votes) was marginal in comparison with his 1776 failure (Geale received 1,079 votes to his opponent's 1,521 votes).[104] 1773 was another failure for the aldermen to

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[98] Ibid.
[99] Ibid.
[100] *The Freeman's Journal,* 30 Nov. 1773.
[101] Ibid, 6 Dec. 1773, emphasis as in original.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Ibid.
[104] *Dublin Journal,* 17 Jan. 1782, *Saunder's Newsletter,* 18 January 1782, emphasis as in original.

join the national political platform and future attempts would also fail. This pattern shows that the corporation consistently struggled to gain a hold in national politics. Even the popular common council man Howison failed to have another nomination to run for parliament. The freemen of Dublin required their M.P.s to meet certain expectations: support against Catholic relief, a keen interest in commerce, respectability drawn from professions or title and liberal anti-government credentials.

III

Merchant participation in the public sphere was not limited to the formal organisations of civic institutions and parliament. Associations outside these included clubs, societies and philanthropic organisations which offered opportunities to create social networks, to form and forward political opinions and to develop distinctly commercial groups. They were important because they were outside the confines of formal institutions. Associations show how groups with less formal regulations reacted to crises like the American revolution and bankruptcies. As such they give a glimpse of more sporadic city opinions. They also show how the middling sort defined themselves through groups which they formed themselves.

As a collectively larger group than the upper class, M.P.s, and professions, the middling sort made up a large part of the membership of associations. The upper middling sort had both time and resources to invest within these bodies so their membership should be considered more closely then it has been to date. Societies like the Freemasons had a large number of merchants, although the composition varied from lodge to lodge.[105] Whether political, traditional or commercial, an inherent part of any association was the social aspect. Clubs were often linked with a particular venue or tavern where they met, dispensed with the business of the day, then stayed to drink and dine. Toasting accompanied these evenings and allowed clubs to associate themselves with a particular cause, political stance and politician. The reprint of toasts in the press proves that there was a desire both to advertise and acknowledge the political support of factions within the capital.[106] The Constitutional Free Debating Society, active in Dublin in the early 1770s, acts as perfect example. They met every Tuesday at the Phoenix Tavern on Werburgh

[105] Thomas Emerson (lodge 2 joined 11 Dec. 1765), James Hamilton (lodge 6, 1 Mar. 1781), John Keogh (lodge 137, 11 Feb. 1802), George Sutton (lodge 157, 24 Jun. 1765), James Hartley (lodge 198, 10 Nov. 1785), James Horan (lodge 353, 3 Sept. 1767), (Philip Crossle, *Irish masonic lodges* (Dublin, 1973), pp 21, 30, 46, 51, 53, 82).

[106] For toasting see: Martyn J Powell, 'Political toasting in eighteenth-century Ireland' in *History,* v. 91, October 2006, 508-529.

street at eight o'clock 'for the discussion of moral, political and commercial questions'[107] When they met in early May 1771 they discussed 'Whether a member of parliament ought to pursue his own sentiments' or his constituent's.[108] During a turbulent parliamentary sitting in 1771 *The Freeman's Journal* suggested that the lord lieutenant had sent spies to record the debates of those present at the meeting of this club. 'We have heard so much of the powerful influence of a certain *superior personage* in some great assemblies, that we cease to wonder at it.' At 'a private club, formed for the encouragement and improvement of oratory', it was said that spies were present 'every night'.[109] Whether there were 'spies' at the meetings of the club or not, the report affirms that clubs and meetings such as these were considered to be indicators of public opinion.

The political allegiances these associations formed could determine the nature of the society. The Rose Club had strong connections with the alderman board of the corporation. In April 1764, after the society had been dissolved, a letter published in *The Freeman's Journal* stated that members of the Rose Club had been controlling corporation elections.[110] The society called the Aldermen of Skinner's Alley was also accused of being a conservative arm of the corporation. The society claimed to have formed during the Williamite wars in Ireland when King James entered Dublin, placed Catholics in control of the corporation and ousted the protestant members. The deposed members remained loyal to William and continued their corporation meetings secretly in an ale-house in Skinner's Alley 'where they continued to hold anti-Jacobite meetings' and even 'elected their own lord mayor'.[111] When James was defeated and the protestant aldermen were restored to the corporation they continued to meet as a convivial club. The society met on a monthly basis and frequently involved themselves in the domestic problems of Dubliners. In 1767 they published a proclamation offering a reward of fifty pounds for the apprehension and conviction of members of a mob that had stolen a cargo of bacon from a ship in George's Quay.[112] The society flourished throughout the period and 'attracted the cream of Dublin's Protestant community, particularly those with corporation connections as well as members of the gentry'.[113] The decision to support the city patriot Redmond Morres in the election campaign of 1774 against Geale suggests that Barrington was not wholly correct in

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[107] *The Freeman's Journal,* 16 Mar. 1771.
[108] Ibid, 30 Apr. 1771.
[109] Ibid, 20 Apr. 1771.
[110] Ibid, 1 May 1764.
[111] Jonah Barrington, *Personal Sketches of his own time* (Dublin, 1997), p. 98.
[112] *The Freeman's Journal,* 7 Apr. 1767.
[113] Hill, *From patriots to unionists,* p. 235.

asserting the conservative nature of the body, although this reputation may have evolved in the 1790s as the body was overwhelmingly Protestant.[114]

While Catholics were prohibited from participation in the corporation and parliament they still used the public sphere to increase their political participation and to forward the repeal movement. Throughout this period they advanced their cause through meetings and political committees. The majority were organised in the capital. Though the content of Protestant meetings was certainly different than Catholic meetings, the similarities and comparable structure was undoubtedly chosen by Catholics to show they were capable of engaging with Protestant institutions. A Catholic Committee founded in 1756 'may be said to mark the beginning of formal and organised Catholic efforts to protect their interests and ultimately to press for a repeal of the penal laws'.[115] Maureen Wall dates the continued existence of this society to 1767, at which point the committee was dedicated to 'defeat the various attempts made to legalise the quarterage tax' and to 'drawing up a public statement of Catholic political principles'.[116] From its inception the committee was sought the inclusion of Catholics in politics. Its original aims concerned the Catholic middling sort as it called for a greater presence with less penalisation in guilds and aimed to express the political desires of the Catholics. The original Catholic Committee was founded by Charles O'Connor and a prominent Waterford merchant, Thomas Wyse, but it was quickly taken over by Catholic gentry who added legitimacy to the organisation. Nevertheless, the Catholic middling sort were important; they added weight through numbers to the association, without which it may not have sustained itself. By 1791 wealthy and prominent Catholic merchants had become the core of the organisation. Denis Thomas O'Brien, a wealthy Dublin merchant, had been involved in the early committee and was joined by John Keogh and Edward Byrne. The economic successes which these men had achieved gained them respectability within the committee.

By 1791 commercial figures, professionals and traders controlled the Catholic Committee. While the committee was a political organisation, because it was a voluntary body with procedures which were not dictated by law or upheld as a legal institution it can be considered an association. Like other clubs and societies, committee members socialised to network and build up connections. Tone commented in 1791 that it was 'a fashion this winter among the Catholics to give splendid dinners to their political friends in and out of parliament'.[117] The Catholic Committee used convivial gatherings to forward

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[114] Vincent Morley, *Irish opinion and the American revolution, 1760-1783* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 76.
[115] Bartlett, *Fall and rise,* p. 44.
[116] Ibid, p. 75.
[117] Memoirs (Bartlett (eds), *Tone,* p. 47).

their political aims. They considered themselves to be a political club. An anonymous pamphlet in 1792 defended their status as an association:

> It is, it seems, become a matter of reproach of Catholics to assemble together and form *clubs*....My Protestant fellow subjects, how long will prejudices blind you? You call them ignorant and of manners vile; and yet wish to chain down their intellects, and preclude them from mutual communications, which you in yourselves hold to be necessary and instructive, which you call the nursery of liberty.[118]

In an effort to show that Catholics could partake in Protestant institutions their association borrowed the phrases and procedures of protestant associations. In March 1782 a resolution of the Catholic Committee was passed calling for the members to 'immediately apply to their constituents for a collection of money'.[119] In using the same structures and language they made an argument for their inclusion in the political system. Catholics had established similar institutions and their proceedings were as fair as Protestants. The publication of their proceedings not only advertised the developments of the committee to Catholics who were not present, but showed Protestants that they adhered to a formula of fairness. Under the direction of these new commercial leaders greater strides were made toward Catholic emancipation. Both the Irish government and ministers in England negotiated with committee leaders and a considerable number of penal laws were repealed. The respectability and following of the commercial leaders within the association proved an asset to the Catholic cause.

Exclusively commercial societies were also popular. There were three in Dublin: the Ouzel Galley, the Committee of Merchants and the Chamber of Commerce. In 1761 the Committee of Merchants formed for the 'general care of their public interests as merchants'.[120] The committee's legacy was the Royal Exchange which they funded through lottery schemes from 1767.[121] They campaigned against the location of the new Custom House further down the quay from Essex Street. When trade in the city or country was threatened they presented petitions to parliament or the lord lieutenant.[122]

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[118] Anon, *An appeal to the political olio* (Dublin, 1792), p. 45.
[119] 29 Mar. 1782 (Edwards (ed.), 'The minute book of the Catholic Committee', p.66).
[120] 'The case of the merchants of the city of Dublin' in Fair minute book of the Committee of Merchants (RIA, MS 12 D 29).
[121] 26 Jun. 1767, Fair minute book of the Committee of Merchants (RIA, MS 12 D 29).
[122] In 1773 when a mob attacked a shipment of worsted yarn owned by John Pim Joshua and Son, respectable and wealthy Dublin Quaker merchants, the Committee of Merchants, the corporation and traders of the city came together at a meeting at the Tholsel and passed resolutions condemning the act, and offering a reward for the apprehension of those involved. Four of six of their resolutions were concerned solely with asserting the importance of worsted manufacturing to Ireland and the importance of exports, while the last resolution vested the Committee of Merchants with the responsibility 'to prosecute such persons as have been or shall

The Ouzel Galley Society was another prominent and exclusively mercantile society in the capital which settled arbitration disputes and acted as a convivial society. The society claimed to have originated in 1705. It fell into disuse which has made it difficult to establish the true origins of the society. Regardless, it was formed anew on 15 February 1748 at the Phoenix Tavern when the three most senior members were replaced (all three had died) and an additional six members were elected to the society to fill vacant positions.[123] There is little evidence in the society records that it undertook arbitration in the eighteenth century but it certainly undertook charitable benefactions. In 1773 they resolved that one guinea be paid annually by members 'the better to defray the necessary expenses and to grant charitable benefactions'.[124] The exclusive society limited the number of members to the number of a ship's crew (the forty members' posts all mirrored positions on a ship).

While the Chamber of Commerce had a shorter life span it was also of importance to the commercial community. More radical in nature than the Catholic Committee or Ouzel Galley, its leading members were Joshua Pim, Travers Hartley and James Napper Tandy. It was founded in 1783 in the aftermath of Irish parliament legislative independence with 'fond hopes of rising commerce and consequently increasing opulence'. Members sought to direct parliament in light of 'the late revolution in the political system' on 'the variety of commercial regulations necessarily incident to the changing circumstances' of the country.[125] By 1791 the Chamber of Commerce had collapsed.

These commercial societies were significant because they both encouraged the most successful merchants to join and transcended religious denominations.[126] The formation of exclusively commercial clubs, whether for arbitration, promotion of trade or conviviality, showed that merchants were not just attracted to societies for links with the professions, politicians and gentry. Indeed, they came together in bodies which actively excluded these groups and which canvassed, networked, and involved themselves as merchants, making themselves identifiable leaders of the commercial community in Dublin.

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be detected in the prevention of any manufactures of this country' (*CARD,* xii, 249-250. 10 March 1773, Fair Minute Book of Committee of Merchants, RIA, MS 12.D.29).

[123] 15 Feb. 1748, Ouzel Galley transactions book 15 February 1748-18 December 1823 (RIA, MS 12 F 48E).

[124] 4 Nov. 1773, Fair minute book of the Committee of Merchants (RIA, MS 12 D 29).

[125] Draft Minute Book of Committee of Merchants, 1767-83 (RIA, MS 3.C.25).

[126] In 1766 the Committee of Merchants comprised of Robert Jaffray (Quaker), George Sutton jun. (Anglican), John Hunt (Anglican), Thomas Blair (Anglican), Travers Hartley (Presbyterian), Michael Cosgrave, Edward Strettel (Quaker), Alexander Jaffray (Quaker), Joseph Fletcher, Anthony Dermot (Catholic), Theophilius Thompson (Anglican), John Marsden (Anglican), James Varielles (Anglican), Richard Blake (Catholic?), William Dunne (Anglican), John Connor (Anglican), Charles Smith (Anglican), William Colvill (Anglican), (list taken from *The Freeman's Journal,* 16 August 1766, religions varied).

Improving societies like the Dublin Society, while not necessarily commercial in nature, were also very popular with merchants for two reasons.[127] Societies not only encouraged the economy but also brought merchants into contact with the elite, since members of the gentry, landowners, M.P.s, scientists and professions were all members of these bodies. Philanthropy was a similar undertaking for these merchants, although many undertook charitable donations through their clubs. The lottery which the Committee of Merchants organised in the late 1760s and early 1770s in aid of the Royal Exchange provided donations for many of the city's charities. In November 1769 the Committee of Merchants gave Meath Hospital £100, the Marine nursery £200, the Hibernian Society for Soldiers and Children £200, Mercer Hospital £300, marshalsea Locke Hospital £200, the Inne Quay infirmary £300, the Magdalene Asylum £200 and the Charitable Loan £200 from the proceeds of their lottery.[128] These societies gave donations in a manner which individuals could not. Through these gifts the commercial community were seen as important benefactors for the poor of Dublin and not just interested in encouraging their own wealth. Money was also granted to these charities in wills. Peter Barré's bequests were particularly noteworthy for this as he left over £285 to various charities throughout the city.[129] The *Dublin Journal* noted his gifts as a 'a considerable sum to [be put to] charitable uses'.[130]

Involvement in clubs and societies was an important way of participating in the public sphere, particularly if, as for Catholics, other avenues were prohibited. Alexander Jaffray,[131] Quaker, built up a reputation through clubs, societies and philanthropy.[132] He joined commercial societies like the Committee of Merchants, the Ouzel Galley, Hibernian

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[127] Ten of the thirty merchants examined in this case study were members, Hans Bailie (1762-1772), Mathew Bailie (1766-1771), Peter Barré (1753-1770), John Darragh (1775-1784), Thomas Emerson (1768-1798), Benjamin Geale (1765-1782), William Forbes (1772), James Hamilton (1780-1793), Alexander Jaffray (1767-1800), Joshua Pim (1782-1800) (Mary Kelleher, *List of members of the Dublin Society 1731-1800* (Dublin, 1982), p.2).

[128] *Dublin Journal,* 16-18 Nov. 1769.

[129] Barré gave 'the poor of the French churches of St. Peter's and St. Lucy's Lane' £130, £10 to the French Church of St. Patrick's, £10 the French society school, £20 to the charity school of the parish of St. Andrew's, £35 to the protestant charity school of Ireland, £20 to the marine school, £20 to the Hibernian Society, £20 to the Blue coat hospital, £20 to the Inns quay infirmary (Will of Peter Barré, NAI, T17839).

[130] *Dublin Journal,* 23 Jan. 1776.

[131] Alexander Jaffray was made free of the city at Christmas 1761 by service with his father Robert Jaffray, he advertised from 1760 at Eustace Place with Robert Jaffray, by 1775 Alexander traded on his own, by 1786 he had joined in the partnership of Jaffray, Fayle and Hautenville at 19 Eustace Street which lasted until about 1802 (see appendix a).

[132] While Quakers were prohibited from participation in Dublin Corporation and parliament because they could not take the oath proscribed to them, Jaffray took an oath to be a Director of the Bank of Ireland and Hone believes that this casts doubt on his membership of the Quaker community (Hone, 'Bibliographical notes', p. 493).

Marine Society and the Chamber of Commerce.[133] He also belonged to the Dublin Society. Jaffray appeared frequently as a trustee or executor of financial institutions. He was a director of the Bank of Ireland and of the Hibernian Fire Insurance and a trustee of the Royal Exchange.[134] He was heavily involved in philanthropy and served as a guardian of Lock Penitentiary and of the Magdalene Asylum, trustee of Simpson's Hospital and governor of the Erasmus Smith School. He additionally subscribed to the fund for the relief of confined debtors.[135] Jaffray was also a junior Grand Warden of Lodge no. 1 in Ireland, 1799 and 1800 and was a Deputy Grand Mason 1801-1806.[136] As this was the lodge of the earl of Rosse, who continually held the position of Grandmaster, Jaffray could rise no higher than this position. He was a well-known Dublin merchant and would have made connections, business and social, through these clubs and his philanthropic work. These connections would have acted in the same way as civic office or political involvement would have to make him a recognizable persona within Dublin's commercial community and social networks.

IV

While civic offices were unpaid they could offer rewards. Being a churchwarden allowed the officer a pew which they would otherwise have had to purchase. From 1786 three members of the alderman board were appointed to one of the paid positions in the Dublin city police force. Commissioners were paid salaries of £500 (to the chief commissioner) and £300 (the two junior positions).[137] Rewards could be granted and members could be appointed to profitable positions, although it seems less clear if contracts were given to members of the corporation between 1760 and 1800. Certainly, it was possible to profit from an office but most profitable positions were granted to high ranking civic officers. Between 1772 and 1786 Henry Hart[138] held the position of Ballast Officer with an income

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[133] *Dublin Journal,* 16 Aug. 1766, Richard Lewis, *The Dublin guide: or, a description of the city of Dublin, and the most remarkable places within fifteen miles* (Dublin, 1787), p. 199.

[134] *The Freeman's Journal,* 23 May 1771, *The treble almanack for the year MDCCLXXXVI. Containing I. Watson's Irish almanack, II. Exshaw's English court registry, III* (Dublin, 1786), p. 12, 76.

135 *Dublin Journal*, 9 May 1778, *The treble almanack for the year MDCCXCVIII. Containing I. John Watson Stewart's almanack, II. Exshaw's English court registry, III* (Dublin, 1798), p. 144, *The gentleman's and citizen's almanack, compiled by Samuel Watson, bookseller, for the year of our Lord, 1796* (Dublin, 1796), p. 90.

[136] Philip Crossle & John Herron Lepper, *History of the grand lodge of free and accepted masons of Ireland* (Dublin, 1925), p. 437.

[137] 26 Geo. III, c.24 (1786).

[138] Henry Hart, son of Alderman Henry Hart, was made free of the city in 1757 by birth, traded as a merchant at Eustace street from 1757, sat on the common council for the merchants' guild from 1763/4, sheriff 1764-65, alderman 1770, mayor 1774, died 1796 (see appendix a).

of £150 per annum.[139] Hart was given this office because he was a serving alderman. These positions were granted to individuals who had served a significant time in the corporation already. Indeed, Hart's father had served as an alderman and his family had a tradition within the corporation.[140] Rewards were given only when a corporation member had been within the institution for a long period, for Hart this was ten years but it could be longer for others. Rewards were not guaranteed and cannot be cited as an adequate reason for why these merchants became involved within the public sphere through these institutions.

It is more likely that they sought prestige through these offices. They were certainly raised above ordinary freemen when they became leaders for guilds and city administrators. Their importance was reaffirmed throughout the year with annual civic display and show. Perambulating the boundaries of the city may have occurred every three years, dying out in the middle of this period, but annual customs such as dining at the Ballast Office block house, the Michaelmas ceremony at Christ Church cathedral, or the annual procession to celebrate the birth and landing of King William reiterated these men's importance in very visible ways.[141] There were noticed on the city streets in parades as part of the civic regalia. Any absences were reported in the press.

Nevertheless, even when a merchant climbed to the highest offices available within civic institutions they experienced difficulty in going further. The corporation offered very limited scope for promotion outside its own institutions. The alderman board had the backing of the government, but this support acted more as a hindrance to their election campaigns and only one alderman in this period was elected to parliament. Reports of election campaigns show that being part of the alderman board affected these men negatively. If difficulties had arisen during their time as lord mayor, like with Geale, they were more unlikely to be elected to parliament. In this way being a member of the corporation hampered these men's ambitions. Some men, like James Horan, successfully navigated the office of lord mayor, but Horan did not offer himself for parliament. What is clear from Dublin city elections between 1760 and 1800 is that the majority of freemen wanted a city patriot and those who chose to run for election within the corporation rarely had the reputation which the freemen sought.

Clubs, societies and philanthropy could work to enhance status in the city in the same way that civic institutions could. They were used by religious groups who had other avenues, such as parliament and the corporation, closed to them and as such were very important. The variety of clubs in the city in this period reflects the various interest groups

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[139] *CARD,* xii, 218-9, xiii, 441.
[140] *CARD,* x, 467.
[141] *Dublin Journal,* 19 Aug. 1766, 4 Oct. 1791, 10 Nov. 1791,

among the populace. Through their clubs these groups sought to make their presence felt and their opinions heard. This effort was not restricted to Catholics or Quakers. Merchants, as a group, certainly made their presence felt. The petitions to parliament and the lord lieutenant presented by these associations show that merchants saw themselves as a distinct community that needed to protect its own interests. The exclusive nature of some merchants' clubs, such as the Ouzel Galley, underpins this. These men did not seek members of the aristocracy to legitimize their clubs; they sought legitimacy on their own. Nevertheless, the membership of merchants in clubs as varied as the Whig Club and the Freemasons shows that social networks could be made within higher social circles as well as within their own community and both networks were valuable.

The clubs which these men joined therefore says much about the individual and collective mentality of these merchants. The overall reputation of a club was important as it reflected onto a member's own reputation. Foremost, a merchant joined any association because he respected its deeds. Yet a merchant could link himself to radical bodies like the Chamber of Commerce, to corporation clubs like the Aldermen of Skinner's Alley, exclusively mercantile groups such as the Ouzel Galley Society, or political ones like the Whig Club to define his identity. Merchants' choices to engage in mercantile societies as well as professional and gentry clubs suggests they saw both as important, networking within their own community and with the gentry were both significant. Nevertheless, associations had limitations and a closed association with commercial societies marked figures out as engaged in trade and they became more entrenched in their middling station than lifted above it because of their participation. Associations, while creating social networks, could also act to confirm the middling rank of members.

Chapter 6

Marriage, Consumption and Education: Social Mobility in the Private Sphere

This chapter examines the activity of merchants in their private sphere. Marriage, education and consumption took place within the private sphere and were motivated by economic situation, mindset, personal and family circumstances. Private sphere activities altered status and perceptions of station to varying degrees as drawn out in previous case studies in this thesis. Marriage was of particular importance to the middling sort as it showed that rank had been maintained or increased in both the first and second generations. Consumption was undertaken to varying degrees but the merchants in this study certainly consumed more then just necessities and purchases were often made for comfort, fashion and luxury. Consumption worked on two levels. First is altered a merchant's appearance to upper class and second it enhanced comfort and raised standard of living. The regularity of merchant children's education of their children will also be highlighted here. The popularity of education suggests that it was one of the most important avenues of social mobility and evidently attendance of children at university led to the move into the professional status of the second generation.

The private sphere as considered here consists of domestic and personal consumption as well as expenditures on care and maintenance of family. Within the private sphere marriage, material and cultural consumption, socialising, leisure time and education act as indicators of the taste, breeding and wealth of these traders. The private sphere, while not altogether disconnected from the public sphere and business world, acted as a further avenue through which status could be enhanced. Marriage has been identified as an avenue of mobility as status was transferred through marriage. As such marriages to the upper class was increased status. Material consumption allowed merchants to display taste and breeding to make impressions comparable with the gentry within Dublin. Similar leisure activities to the upper class allowed merchants to socialise with the gentry. Merchants consolidated or enhanced their status through the apprenticeship of sons or education. Both marriage and the education of the second generation show how far the first generation had come by examining marriage settlements to assess if marriage was made to equals or those above their status and the profession or rank which their children could claim. This chapter will draw on sources from the Registry of Deeds (where marriage settlements were registered) wills, account books, extant correspondence and newspapers to assess consumption and activity.

I

Marriage is identified as one method of increasing status. William Hogarth's widely reproduced series *Marriage à la Mode* would have been known in Ireland, a market for the English artist's satirical work. In the series a merchant married his daughter to an earl with large debts. In lieu of a title she brought a large settlement to the marriage which could pay the debts on an encumbered estate. Thus the merchant successfully entered his daughter to the aristocracy.[1] Anthony Malcomson, in his study on the marriage patterns of the upper class, has shown that in Ireland *Marriage à la Mode* was, for most, a myth. 'The Irish aristocracy and its sons and heirs tended to marry within the ranks of the landed class… great mercantile windfalls' were rare.[2] The Irish gentry would not sacrifice their status through between the upper class and wealthy commercial families. 'Marriages involving marked disparity of rank and status were not usually made by members of the Irish aristocracy.'[3] David Large saw this pattern as ingrained within society and believes these marriages did not occur because 'social custom militated against such matches'. He calculated that 'of 151 matches contracted by the Irish peerage…in 1783 only six can certainly be described as alliances between commercial wealth and landed property, although another eight may just have possibly fallen into this category.'[4] Large suggests that 55 per cent of peerage marriages were with relatives and that commercial-gentry marriages were, in the wider context of Ireland, known but very rare.

The reluctance of the Irish gentry to sacrifice their status through marriage to commerce was borne out in contemporary comment. A scene in *The conscious lover,* a play which opened in 1722, pointed to the embarrassment felt by a gentry family from the marriage of a daughter to a merchant. Her father remarked on the union: 'this is the first merchant who has married into our house… there's no hiding the disgrace.'[5] Richard Steele, author of *The conscious lover* was born in St. Bride's parish in Dublin to a Protestant gentry family c. 1672.[6] The comedy in this situation is that the fall in status occasioned by a marriage would have been a familiar one to Dublin audiences who were

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[1] APW, Malcolmson, *The pursuit of the heiress: aristocratic marriage in Ireland, 1750-1820* (2nd ed., Belfast, 2007), 45.
[2] Ibid, p. 71.
[3] Ibid, p. 11.
[4] David Large, 'The wealth of the greater Irish landowners, 1750-1815' in *Irish historical studies,* xv (1966-7), p. 41.
[5] Richard Steele, *The dramatic works of Sir Richard Steele, Knt. containing, the funeral, the tender husband, the lying lover, the conscious lovers* (London, 1760), p. 60.
[6] Calhoun Winton, 'Steele, Sir Richard (*bap.* 1672, *d.* 1729)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, Oct 2005, [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26347, accessed 15 April 2008]

expected to know that this marriage lowered the rank of the family by creating a strong bond with commerce. Status counted in the Irish marriage market and commercial figures there found it difficult to purchase rank in this way. The Irish gentry were keenly aware of status and the need to marry a member of the same rank.

Marriage for the middling sort, even the wealthy middling sort, was restricted for the main part to those within their social group. This section looks at the marriages of merchants themselves and then those of their children. While marriage could only take place when a merchant had built up capital, enough to support a wife and provide a home, it was early in his life and normally prior to the establishment of a large fortune. A merchant marriage would have reflected more closely the family which both people had been born into. Marriage settlements had at this point infiltrated the middling sort and were extremely popular. By 1750 they had become 'the most usual instrument for effecting a strict settlement' and were used by not just the gentry but 'by merchants, clergy and what appears to be modestly endowed farmers.'[7] They provide a glimpse at what money or land both parties brought on entering a marriage.

Money was provided in settlements to ensure that on the death of the husband the wife and children of the marriage could continue with a sufficient standard of living. the dowry was to be invested to ensure that a return was built up during the term of the marriage to provide, at the marriage's end, an annuity for the rest of her life or a suitable investment for the children of that marriage. On the death of the husband the wife would receive 10 per cent of dowry per annum. In the event of the death of the wife the dowry provided for the children of that marriage. Dowries were not always invested immediately and it is likely that this money was often used to expand a firm or to increase profits thus achieving (if the risk paid off) a greater annuity for the wife or children.

Many advertisements of marriages in this period stated simply: married 'a lady possessed of every accomplishment with a considerable fortune.'[8] Such an advertisement was inserted in the *Dublin Journal* on the marriage of Thomas Emerson to the 'widow Howard' in 1776. Unfortunately it does not suggest what a considerable fortune was for people like these.[9] It is possible to identify marriage settlements for seven members of the group. These began at £250 and reached £1,500 and are shown in the following table.

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[7] Malcolmson, *The pursuit of the heiress,* p. 26.

[8] *Dublin Journal,* 25 Jan. 1776.

[9] Thomas Emerson traded from Castle Street as a weaver then silk merchant, was listed as sitting on the common council as a representative of the weavers guild, showing the overlap between city guilds as well as the power held by members of the merchant's guild to sit in seats outside their domain, he was high sheriff 1766-1767, appointed Alderman 27 February 1770 and Mayor 1775-6, he was made free of the 6 and 10 per cent in 1783 and by 1780 he adverted just his corporation status and his private residence at 23 Anglesea Street, his last entry is in 1786 and he died in 1796 (see appendix a).

Table 6.1

First generation marriage settlements

Merchant name	Bride	Daughter of	Dowry	Date
Benjamin Geale[10]	Ann Falkiner	Frederick Falkiner, Merchant	£1,000 to be invested in land	c. February 1762
Charles Rossell[11]	Susannah Aston, widow of William Noy	Henry Aston[12]	£500 and any real and personal estate she inherited from William Noy	c. June 1741
James Horahan/ Horan[13]	Winifred Brett	Unknown	£250	c. October 1753
George Reynolds[14]	Elizabeth Noy	Edward Noy, Attorney[15]	£600	c. December 1740
Travers Hartley[16]	Ann Spencer	Sarah and Abraham Spenser, brewer of Dublin, deceased	£500	c. February 1747
Travers Hartley[17]	Anne Gibton	Rebecca Gibton widow	£800	c. March 1752
William Forbes[18]	Anne Tighe	James Tighe	£800	c. November 1739

This overview suggests that by 1760 between £750 and £1,000 would have been a standard dowry brought to a marriage made with a merchant while £1,000 or over would have been a considerable dowry. However, other factors must be taken into consideration to assess how representative this was.

It is necessary to take into account the year in which the marriage settlement was made. The lowest marriage settlement of £250 made in 1753 between James Horan and

[10] John Geale, Frederick Faulkiner, Daniel Falkiner, Joseph Evans, Anne Falkiner, Geale, 26, 17 September 1750 (Reg. Deeds, 145.171.97502).

[11] Susannah Aston (widow of William Noy and daughter of Henry Aston), Rossell, 10 Jun. 1741 (Reg. Deeds, 103.320.71590).

[12] A 'Henry Aston, esquire' is listed in *Watson's Almanack* between 1738 and 1742 as a governor of Dr. Steven's Hospital.

[13] Horahan, Winifred Brett, 4 Oct. 1753 (Reg. Deeds, 172.240.116054).

[14] George Reynolds and John Reynolds, Edward Noy and Elizabeth Noy, 29 Dec. 1740 (Reg. Deeds, 103.7.70403).

[15] Subscriptions, such as in John Thomson, *Sir Solomon Gundi, with her Highness the punch-bowl; with wine a-bun-dan-di. A miscellaneous poem: or the tarantula turning, or metamorphosed* (Dublin, 1738), cite 'Edward Noy, Attorney' or simply 'Edward Noy, Esquire'.

[16] Hartley, Ann Spenser (daughter of Sarah Spenser widow of Abraham Spenser), 11 Feb. 1747 (Reg. Deeds, 128.507.87777).

[17] Hartley, Ann Gibton (daughter of Rebecca Gibton), 28 Mar. 1752 (Reg. Deeds, 152.445.102472).

[18] John Forbes and William Forbes, James Tighe and Anne Tighe 7 Nov. 1739 (Reg. Deeds, 96.230.67405).

Winifred Brett can be explained by two factors. Horan had just established himself to trade eight years before he was freed of the merchant's guild and adverted his firm only in 1761.[19] Because Brett was a Catholic and Horan was Anglican it would have made the marriage undesirable and could be another factor in such a low marriage settlement.[20] This would confirm that the status of partners was reflected in the dowry and as such varying dowry sums can be considered as a markers of both of their positions at the time of his marriage.

John Keogh received the largest marriage settlement from Mary Drew in 1774 of £1,500. Keogh's settlement probably reflected his financial stability. Keogh was thirty-six years old, and he had traded in his own firm for over two years at Dame Street as a silk-mercer.[21] Despite disputes with his partner of three years, the widow Lincoln, Keogh had emerged with his reputation intact and his business appears to have been doing well. He had received £10,000 on the dissolution of his firm and his new firm would have been large and showing promise.[22] By 1774 Keogh had amassed several urban leases which show he was a financially sound trader.[23] Keogh's financial situation, as well as Mary's good standing, would have been reflected in her dowry of £1,500. It must be noted that while Keogh received the largest settlement his marriage was still within his own rank and with a daughter of a fellow Catholic merchant. Marriage settlements reflected the merchant's financial situation and that of his intended.

Business connections were extremely important to the success or failure of a firm and could be made or consolidated through marriage. Norman Gamble noted the prevalence of marriage within business partnerships in Belfast for 1767-1800.[24] This trend can also be seen in Dublin. Marriage provided business links as it created greater social networks among families who drew new relations into their own social and business spheres. It could even prompt a career change. Benjamin Geale trained and practised as an attorney yet on his marriage to Ann Falkiner, granddaughter of Alderman Daniel Falkiner, Geale became a partner in Falkiner's mercantile firm.[25] Connections made on marriage led to an increase in business transactions between two firms. It is possible to suggest that

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[19] Tombstone listed in Sean Murphy 'Monumental inscriptions from Rathfarnham Graveyard, Dublin', *The Irish Genealogist,* 7 (1986), pp.293-306.
[20] Eileen O'Brien, Anne Chamney, Clare Wallace (eds), *The Convert Rolls: The calendar of convert rolls, 1703-1838* (Dublin, 2005), p. 125).
[21] *Dublin Directory,* 1774-1776 and see appendix a.
[22] Keogh, *Mary Frances Lincoln,* p 22.
[23] Keogh, Charles Ward, 12 Sept. 1771 (Reg. Deeds, 281.514.187819), Keogh, Thomas Kelly, 14 Sept. 1771 (Reg. Deeds, 287.444.187820).
[24] Norman Gamble, 'The business community and trade of Belfast, 1767-1800', (Ph.D thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 1978), p. 35.
[25] Hill, *From patriots to unionists,* p. 162.

when two merchant families came together through a marriage. The marriage of Valentine O'Connor's daughter, May, to Anthony O'Brien, the son of Denis Thomas O'Brien, in 1803, most likely indicats of past connections and anticipates more business between the two families.[26] This match made intimate commercial connections as both men's sons followed his father's business.

Finance was not the main consideration on marriage and factors such as community, status and religion all played important parts in forming of marriage unions. While Gamble noted how often marriages were linked to business partnerships he also questioned if 'marriage as an institution was subordinated to business interests.'[27] Marriage interest more than likely would have arisen from a shared social circle that bought the couple into contact. Similar social circles would have given them similar social outlooks and frames of mind which were important for a marriage. Proximity and a shared social group were essential for members of the middle rank Malcolmson has noted that geography played an important role in these matches. Members of the middle rank 'might well marry into a neighbouring farm or the next door' and these factors also would have affected marriage.[28] Not surprisingly there was a high level of marriage within religious communities. For the most part, Catholics married Catholics and Protestants married within their own groups. There were two notable exceptions to religious intermarriage which suggest that this was not the absolute rule. Abigail, the sister of Alexander Jaffray,[29] married outside her religion and was expelled from the Friends community.[30] This expulsion most likely links to Jaffray's own resignation from the Quakers in November 1777.[31] Winifred Horan, wife of James Horan, appears on the convert rolls in 1760, seven years after her marriage.[32] Shared status, life experience, culture and economic background would have been important to a successful marriage. These factors would have been important whether they facilitated business or arose from business.

Unsurprisingly, prominent merchants married children of the professions, as marriage of Elizabeth Noy, daughter of Edward Noy, attorney, to George Reynolds in 1740 attests. Reynolds received £600 on his marriage to Elizabeth. By 1752 Reynolds was

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[26] O'Connor, Thomas Meade, Anthony O'Brien, May O'Connor, 4 Feb. 1803 (Reg. Deeds, 573.112.384753).
[27] Gamble, 'The business community and trade of Belfast', p. 35.
[28] Malcolmson, *The pursuit of the heiress,* p. 89.
[29] Jaffray was made free of the city at Christmas 1761 by service with his father Robert Jaffray, he advertised from 1760 at Eustace Place with Robert Jaffray, by 1775 Alexander traded on his own, by 1786 he had joined in the partnership of Jaffray, Fayle and Hautenville at 19 Eustace Street which lasted until about 1802 (see appendix a).
[30] Hone, 'Bibliographical notes' p. 493
[31] Richard S Harrison, 'Dublin Quakers in Business, 1800-1850', M-litt, (1987, TCD), p. 63.
[32] *The convert rolls,* p. 125.

trading as George Reynolds, esquire, merchant, Earl Street.[33] The insertion of Esquire by the mid century, prior to Reynolds corporation membership, suggests that he ran a substantial firm most likely inherited from his merchant father. Yet available evidence shows only one marriage for the daughter of a professional. In the first generation the only marriages which took place outside the commercial community were with the professional classes and even these were exceptional.

Marriage settlements of a merchant's children indicate how far a merchant had advanced socially when he provided for his children. Settlement figures increased in the second generation. James Horan received £250 when he married Winifred Brett in 1753[34] yet in 1789 he bestowed upon his daughter a total settlement of £2,100. By the time their children married they had established themselves in business and could provide settlements for their children that reflected their status. The following table reviews the available information to show the increase in dowry sizes for the second generation.

Table 6.2

Second generation marriage settlements

Merchant	Son/ daughter	Bride/ groom	Parent of bride/ groom	Settlement	Date
James Hamilton	Sarah Hamilton (sister)	John Tredenick		Tredenick secured for Patrick and Galbraith Hamilton the lands of Tierconnel and Tiermurrienty in Tyrone for their several uses with the power to secure by sale of mortgage the sum of £500 subject to deeds and leases.	c. May 1763[35]
James Darragh	Susannah Darragh	Dudley Hussey		Two houses on Mecklinburgh Street	c. June 1778[36]
Benjamin Geale	Frederick Geale	Laetitia Brady	Patrick Brady[37]	£1,000 and unspecified interest in land	c. 1781[38]
Alexander	Abigail	Rawdon		£1,000 to be invested	c. October

[33] *Dublin Directory,* 1752.
[34] Horahan, Winifred Brett, 4 Oct. 1753 (Reg. Deeds, 172.240.116054).
[35] Hamilton and Sarah Hamilton, John Tredenick, May 1763 (Reg. Deeds, 308. 615.208105).
[36] Darragh and Susanna Darragh, 5 Jul. 1764 (Reg. Deeds, 228.417.151532), Darragh and Mary Darragh, Susannah Darragh, 19 May 1775 (Reg. Deed. 306.518.204482), Darragh and Susannah Darragh, Dudley Hussey 24 Jun. 1778 (Reg. Deeds, 307.450.204998).
[37] Patrick Brady was a merchant trading from 103 North King Street in 1780 (*Dublin Directory,* 1780).
[38] Geale and Frederick Geale, Letitia Brady (daughter of Patrick Brady deceased),18 May 1781 (Reg. Deeds, 335.426.226418).

Jaffray	Jaffray (sister)	Hautenville, esquire Captain, 61st Regiment of foot			1783[39]
James Horan	Mary Horan	Robert Anthony Flood Sharp		£700 with a bond of £1,400	c. December 1789[40]
Edward Byrne	John Byrne (eldest son)	Elizabeth Byrne (minor)	Henry Byrne (Gent, deceased)	The lands of Allardstown, Cruisetown, Labanstown and Parsontown in the townlands of Cortell the east and west division of Allardstown in Co. Louth, John Byrne received £25,000. £15,000 of this was to be invested on her behalf, £10,000 for their children.	Settlement was made June 1797[41]
Denis Thomas O'Brien	Anthony O'Brien, (eldest son)	May O'Connor	Valentine O'Connor (merchant)	lease for three lives and an unknown sum	c. February 1803[42]
Valentine O'Connor	Maria O'Connor	Mathew Blake	Son of Isidore Blake of Towerhill of Mayo	£9,000 was given to pay debts on the estate of 302 acres mansion etc... Maria is due to receive an annual sum of £600 if she outlives Mathew. Mathew then leased some land to Hugh O Connor for 99 years for £500 and £600. £1,000 to be invested in parliamentary stocks for Maria.	c. August 1803[43]
Denis Thomas O'Brien	Denis O'Brien (second	Maria Ball	Marble Clare Ball	£5,000	c. November 1805[44]

[39] Rawdon Hautenville, Jaffray and Abigail Jaffray, 16 Oct. 1783 (Reg. Deeds, 356.50.238152).
[40] Robert Anthony Flood Sharp, Horan and Mary Horan, 3 Dec. 1789 (Reg. Deeds, 353.289.238290).
[41] Byrne and John Byrne, Thomas Coleman (executor of Henry Byrne) and Rev. James Kindlestan, Elizabeth Byrne, Mark Byrne 28 Jun. 1787 (Reg. Deeds, 509.224.330619).
[42] O'Connor, Thomas Meade, Anthony O'Brien, May O'Connor, 4 Feb. 1803 (Reg. Deeds, 573.112.384753).
[43] Maria O'Connor, Maurice Blake, Hugh Connor, O'Connor, 3 Aug. 1803 (Reg. Deeds, 558.124.370319, Reg. Deeds, 557.277.370320).

	son)				
John Keogh	John Keogh jun. (eldest son)	Catherine Quinn	Elizabeth Quinn widow and Thomas Quinn[45] deceased.	Catherine would receive £300 per annum when Keogh jun. died and in lieu of debts her father owed to John Keogh sen. She brought to the marriage the lands of Ardglass, townlands of Killkimage, otherwise Kilkimmeon also called Carrowals, also Drunnercoole also part of part of George Carey lands of Arrcanhill and Mullaghmore and Shroneheeragh all in Roscommon.	c. September 1812[46]

The majority of settlements made in the late 1770s and 1780s range between £1,000 and £2,000 including John Darragh's settlement for his daughter of two houses. Darragh was, at this point, involved in lease speculation in Dublin city and leases he gave with his daughter would have been profitable. Property was frequently given as it was a common way of investing finances. Darragh's houses were granted to his son-in-law between 1762 and 1778 so it is likely that this was also part of her inheritance. It is also worth noting that although some sisters, such as Abigail Jaffray or Sarah Hamilton, married later and had their settlements arranged by their brothers their settlements reflect those of their generation, akin to their brothers, rather than that of the other settlements arranged by these merchants for their children. These settlement figures for Dublin are comparable to Dickson's figures for Cork merchants, if slightly lower, in a similar period. He states that by the 1770s dowries of 'leading city daughters' in Cork were '£3,000-£5,000 range; i.e. similar to what second rank rural landowners were able to give'.[47] On average the figures are similar but considering the time period when the marriages took place, between 1763 and 1812, there was a huge disparity probably more indicative of the variety of merchant incomes in this period.

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[44] O'Connor, Thomas Meade, Anthony O'Brien, May O'Connor, 4 Feb. 1803 (Reg. Deeds, 573.112.384753), O'Brien and Denis O'Brien, Maria Ball (daughter of Marble Clare Ball) 20 Nov. 1805 (Reg. Deeds, 574.234.388191).

[45] Most likely a middleman.

[46] Keogh and John Keogh jun., Catherine Quinn and Elizabeth Quinn (widow of Thomas Quinn), 11 Sept. 1812 (Reg. Deeds, 645.310.448525).

[47] Dickson, *Old world colony,* p. 163.

While marriages between the upper class and wealthy mercantile commercial families were rare in Ireland, Edward Byrne made such a match for his son. Valentine O'Connor also successfully married one of his children to a member of the landed gentry. He paid a large sum at £9,000. It is also clear that the money owed on the estate made O'Connor uncomfortable and so a clause was inserted that her husband to be, Mathew Blake, would have to invest £1,000 in parliamentary stocks (assumed a safe investment). Yet for all of this, O'Connor had achieved a difficult task and married his daughter to a propertied Catholic Irish lineage.[48] He had also paid £16,000 less than Byrne. Byrne's status as one of the largest merchants of his day must be taken into consideration as it would have been reflected in the settlement of his children. O'Connor's son, Hugh, also received a lease of land as part of the contract. Six of these ten settlements made for the second generation relate to land. These merchants had obviously developed a greater interest hold and interest in the acquirement of land. The marriage between the eldest son of Denis Thomas O'Brien and a daughter of Valentine O'Connor also related to land. The only reference to a financial transaction between both parties is that O'Connor provided a lease of three lives to Anthony O'Brien which further illustrates the value placed on land and leases by these men. Where land did not play a part in these settlements it is clear that commercial interest and religion were factors in these marriages, as illustrated but the unions of members of the O'Brien and O'Connor families (both Catholics).

Money and business connections were important factors in creating marriage alliances but it is difficult to say whether money played a greater part than affection. The marriage of wealthy merchants to members of the upper class was not common in Ireland. Nevertheless, it was more apparent within the second generation showing that an increase in status could be made as their career progressed and as they made greater profits which could be transferred to their children. However, the marriage of Valentine O'Connor's daughter and Edward Byrne's eldest sons to land shows that marriage with landed families at least was possible.

II

Consumption was perceived to indicate wealth, style and taste. Objects such as clothes, carriages, furniture and books could act as a visible indicators of the status of the holder. 'All commentators stressed the obligation to maintain a suitable display as a mark of

[48] Maria O'Connor, Maurice Blake, Hugh O'Connor, O'Connor, 3 Aug. 1803 (Reg. Deeds, 558.124.370319, Reg. Deeds, 557.277.370320).

gentility or nobility' and for those who wished to create a façade of gentility to do so.[49] It has been recognised that in England in the eighteenth century there was a 'greater proportion of the population' than had previously enjoyed 'the pleasures of buying consumer goods'.[50] An increase in the consumption of material products has been used to suggest that the middling sort 'aped their betters'.[51] Further work has asserted that while eighteenth-century Britain experienced the birth of a consumer society caution must be taken when applying the notion that members of all social orders consumed to unprecendented levels and in particular that they consumed new products. McKendrick's assertion that society 'bought not only necessities, but decencies and even luxuries'[52] has been reassessed. Stana Nenadic, on consideration of inventories from Glasgow and Edinburgh, suggested that while the middling sort consumer purchased secondhand goods 'beyond the need of mere subsistence', the inherited and old goods were also valued by these members of society.[53] Nenadic has established from an analysis of Scottish inventories that middling sort consumption 'was highly selective and founded in a cultural agenda'.[54] They did not just purchase for emulation and considered their purchases as well as maintenance and use of the product after acquired. Colin Campbell asserts that the pitfalls of generalisations of consumption patterns, particularly those applied to the middling sort, must be avoided as 'intention and consequence have a more subtle and complex relationship'.[55] The purchase of a product, which may be the same or similar to one which had been consumed by another individual, does not imply that direct emulation of another person has occurred. The act simply reflects fashion. The decision to purchase a product thus is motivated by several factors.

Barnard, smilar to McKendricks theory, asserts that in Ireland the middling and lower sort had access to the 'delights' of the material world which they took advantage. He highlights the significant position which Dubliners held in relation to purchasing. They were 'second only to Londoners' in their ability to consume.[56] Provincial consumers had less ability to enjoy the range of products available to those in the capital. The luring

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[49] Stone, 'Social mobility in England', p. 39.
[50] Neil McKendrick, 'The consumer revolution in eighteenth-century England' in Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J.H. Plumb *The birth of a consumer society: the commercialization of eighteenth-century England* (London, 1983), p. 9.
[51] McKendrick, 'The consumer revolution in eighteenth-century England', p. 68.
[52] McKendrick, 'The consumer revolution in eighteenth-century England', p. 9.
[53] Stana Nenadic, 'Middle-rank consumers and domestic culture in Edinburgh and Glasgow 1720-1840' in *Past and Present,* 145 (Nov, 1994), pp 122-156.
[54] Ibid, p. 125.
[55] Colin Campbell, 'Understanding traditional and modern patterns of consumption in eighteenth-century England: a character action approach' in John Brewer and Roy Porter (eds), *Consumption and the world of goods* (London, 1993), p. 41.
[56] Toby Barnard, *Making the grand figure: lives and possessions in Ireland, 1641-1770,* (London, 2003) p. 120.

commodities on offer to Dubliners are perceived by Barnard as available to 'shopkeepers, crafts-workers and artisans' who 'aspired to gentility…lured into spending on what was said to betoken sophistication'.[57] For Barnard a visible pattern of consumption connected social standing and ownership of particular commodities: 'In Dublin…housing and contents were ways in which the respectable and genteel lifted themselves above their neighbours and employees.'[58] He also suggests that other factors must be taken into consideration such as 'wishes of spouses and children' recognising the multiple levels of decisions related to purchasing and consumption.

Personal items such as clothes were highly prized objects and special care and attention was taken to their selection and use. Dressing appropriate to surroundings and events was important. Merchants, particularly those who worked within the cloth and textile trade would have held a keen awareness of the importance of presentation through clothes. Clothes reflected success and the illusion of a business thriving. When society, civic affairs or politics brought them beyond the counting house or Exchange these men were expected to appear fashionably dressed. The inventories contained within the account book of Daniel Geale suggest he had quite an extensive capacity to consume fashion. Always present in his yearly records was expenditure on clothes: £94 7*s* 2*d* in 1779,[59] £69 *4s 9d* ½ in 1783,[60] £62 1*s* 7*d* in 1784 (with an additional £60 spent on washing),[61] £6 8*s* 1 ½*d* in 1785,[62] £53 4*s* 10*d* in 1786[63] and £45 *16s* 11½*d* in 1787 (declining notably as he grew older).[64] These amounts, with the exception of 1785, always exceeded the combinied wages of his servants. Yet Geale does not appear to have socialized with the upper classes (with the exception of one known occasion) so his attire would not have been used primarily to create an impression of equality with his social circle.[65] He cared enough for his clothes to make a full inventory of them in 1783 suggests there was satisfaction and pride in the accumulation. His inventory appears in the ollowing table.

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[57] Ibid, p. 309.
[58] Ibid, p. 118.
[59] Account book of Daniel Geale, 1779-1803 (NLI, MS 2286, f. 4).
[60] Ibid, f. 6.
[61] Ibid, f. 15.
[62] Ibid, f. 16.
[63] Ibid, f. 24.
[64] Ibid, f. 29.
[65] In 1779 he records £1.2.2 paid towards dinner with Lord Charlemont, this was a militia occasion. Account book of Daniel Geale, 1779-1803 (Ibid, f. 2).

Table 6.3

Geale's clothes inventory 1783

White cloth waistcoat with sailor buttons	Raven grey frock silk vest of breeches
Old feather overcoat	Green satin waistcoat and breeches
Hunting waist coat	Apple green silk waistcoat breeches
Old scarlet regiment coat	Satin vest and breeches light grey frock
White plush hunting waistcoat	Light blue full trimmed suit
Strong brown drake hunting coat	Silk vest
Green cloth hunting coat	Saxon grey suit fur lining
Mixed cloth coat (purchased in Bath)	6 pairs of Leather breeches
Green cloth coat button	Black silk breeches
Scarlet cloth frock coat	Rather light coloured frock
Rust scarlet regimental coat	Olive colinad tabinneth frock coat
Mixed silk waistcoat (purchased in London)	Old marrow coat silk lining
Very dark black frock with mixed silk waistcoat	Mixed cloth front lined with pink silk
Embroidered waist coat	Red black stripped flannel waistcoat
Silver embroidered waistcoat	New satin yellow and black breeches
Dark brown frock coat with gilt buttons	4 new marseilles waistcoats
White cloth uniform jacket	Blue leopold coat

His wardrobe shows the versatility of his activities as it encompassed work, leisure and dress wear. Included in this inventory were six pairs of 'leather breeches' that would have been used in a working environment. Geale's notation of having purchased clothes in London and Bath shows that Dublin was not his only market and on trips he would have made fashionable purchases. Nathaniel Trumbull junior also purchased clothes from London. In 1796, prior to a visit to London Trumbull wrote to an acquaintance and requested shoes and other clothes to be purchased on his account and sent to Dublin. Trumbull, that it would be difficult to acquire credit in London shops as he was not resident but his associate had no difficulty: 'far from your credit being bad, it was very good or they would not have sent the things home immediately'.[66] Merchants were not confined to Dublin shops and their trade would have facilitated a link with continental markets and fashion in places like London.

Merchants could convey success in clothes more easily than any other medium. Those who were well-dressed gave the impression that they were wealthy and consequently successful in business fostering reputation of the confidence in a firm was important, clothes could reflect this. On Geale's trips to both London and Bath and it was necessary for him to be dressed appropriately to his surroundings. Purchasing clothes in these places was probably motivated by a desire to reflect the style of the season or appropriate dress for particular social occasions which may have arisen. Geale probably did not want to look like he came from outside England. The most logical reason why clothes were so important for these men was that they implied station. Geale dressed as wealthy merchant with time to enjoy leisure.

The importance of display also can be seen in carriages. The carriage was a luxury item and its potential for decoration ensured that it could be used to display wealth and taste. Members of the corporation had several occasions within the civic calendar display their carriages. For instance, the annual October procession when the lord mayor was sworn in at Dublin Castle and the high sheriffs were sworn at the Tholsel. The corporation rode in the carriages in a cavalcade from the Tholsel to the castle and then returned to the Tholsel. Prior to the state carriage (introduced in November 1791) this would have been a particularly important day for the lord mayor elect to display his own carriage. A newspaper report of 1784 confirmed that this

[66] John Thompson to Trumbull, 3 October 1796 (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MSS 3039, Box no. 2).

annual procession could be quite extensive. On departing, the cavalcade was described as 'splendid beyond example' and consisted of 'upwards of fifty gentlemen's carriages composing it' while the carriages of the sheriffs in particular were singled out as 'remarkable for their taste and elegance.'[67] In 1791 *The Freeman's Journal* provided further information on the display by detailing the Dublin carriages to illustrate the elegance and style which could be produced in Dublin. The lord mayor, Henry Gore Sankey had a 'beautiful' carriage, white 'with broad borders of flowers, richly painted'. The carriage was 'drawn by six capital black horses' with 'rich and elegant harness'. Also included were descriptions of the sheriffs carriages.

> Mr. Sheriff Gault's carriage is a pearl colour, stripped across the body with gold and very shewy... Mr. Sheriff Norton's is a beautiful pearl colour, remarkably neat, and like the lord mayor's, richly boarded with flowers; elegant hammer cloth and silver mounted harness... and is much admired as a neat piece of workmanship.[68]

The description affirms that the carriages were intended to be seen by the population of the city and showed they fulfilled this ambition when they 'attracted the attention of a numerous concourse of people.' The procession itself was made to draw the attention of the population of Dublin and designed to show the importance of the day as well as the wealth and standing of the sheriffs and lord mayor whose carriage it was reported displayed 'suitable dignity to the exalted station of the chief magistrate'.[69] The description of Gault's carriage as 'shewy' indicates that this display would be scrutinized as well as recorded. In order to encourage the manufacture of Irish produce *The Freeman's Journal* cited who made each carriage. Lord Mayor Henry Gore Sankey's carriage had been produced by John Whitton (of Summerhill),[70] Sheriff Gault's was produced by Eleanor Whitton (of Dominick Street),[71] while Sheriff Norton's was a product of Jane and Charles Harrick (of

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[67] *The Freeman's Journal,* 2 Sept. 1784.
[68] Ibid, 1 Oct. 1791.
[69] Ibid.
[70] *Dublin Directory,* 1798.
[71] Ibid, 1794.

Marlborough Street).[72] Carriages were increasingly, throughout this period, an everyday sight in Dublin so the corporation officers would have had to make every effort at these ceremonies for their carriages to stand out.

Wealth could be signified through both the use and ownership of a carriage or chaise. Hugh Douglas Hamilton's sketches from 1760 (*Cries of Dublin*) show a variety of modes of transportation which reflect the wealth of the city inhabitants. He sketched 'a noddy… for two persons' which was a uniquely Irish form of chaise and was probably the cheapest of these chaise or carriages.[73] Showing that station was infereed in these modes of transport one of his sketches as entitled 'A hearse or sedan chair used at Cork for people of the middling station'.[74] Indeed this sketch can be seen as part of a set within the *Cries* the first of which is 'An Open hearse used at the funerals of the Higher Rank' and the last was depicted in the sketch a 'funeral procession of the lower rank'.[75] Each of these stations was reflected in the display and decoration on the carriage with the higher rank being the most decorative and elaborate. Hamilton, it would seem, was very aware that he was depicting the broad range within Dublin's social orders. The pictures of the street vendors in the *Cries* show 'a stratum within a stratum' of these people and suggest Hamilton sought to depict this social and economic disparity.[76] Through his sketches of funeral hearses Hamilton displayed this disparity of rank and wealth and how it was seen visually on a daily basis in the city.

Dublin had 'a relatively well organised system of public transport with some 400 hackney coaches and sedan chair plying for hire.'[77] Complaints about city traffic and the problems carriages created were published frequently and point to a greater increase in carriages in the second half of the century. In 1773 *Saunder's Newsletter* published a request that parliament look into 'the great increase of carriages' in the city which made it difficult for pedestrians to pass up and down the streets 'for want of room' and 'through the carelessness of the drivers'. The correspondent felt that pedestrians 'are often in danger' and that something had to be done.[78] The lord mayor had attempted to regulate this traffic particularly 'during the sitting of parliament'

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[72] Ibid, 1798.
[73] William Laffan (ed.). *The Cries of Dublin by High Douglas Hamilton* (Dublin, 2003), p. 56.
[74] Ibid. p. 68.
[75] Ibid. p. 66, 68, 184.
[76] Ibis, p. 124.
[77] Ibid. p. 56.
[78] *Saunder's Newsletter,* 8 Dec. 1773.

when carriages cluttered Dame Street and College Green while drivers waited for the members inside.[79]

Increasingly carriages became a commodity linked with successful traders and commercial figures. Hans Bailie, James Hamilton and James Horan[80] all referred to carriages in their wills. As has been seen Henry Gore Sankey owned a carriage. Nathaniel Trumbull also owned a carriage.[81] On his death Bailie[82] bequeathed for the immediate use of his wife Anne the 'sum of two thousand pounds sterling…and also such coach, chariot or chaise and the harness thereof and horses as I shall posses'[83] While the other wills do not make reference to carriages Bailie's indicate of the overall pattern of these merchants' wills. They were more concerned with the correct portioning of land and money than of goods were collectively given to wives or next of kin. From mentions made in extant wills and sources it appears that carriages were popular items of consumption for successful commercial figures. The non-specific reference made by Bailie to 'such coach… as I shall possess' confirms that they were also a non permanent commodity and members of the group owned several or different carriages during their lifetime.

If a merchant could not afford a new carriage as secondhand carriages were available within the city. *Saunder's Newsletter* devoted a section to the sale of carriages in the 1780s. In one February edition in 1787 they advertised four carriages individually, one new and three secondhand.[84] In 1773 William Dalton, the coach-maker, was also selling secondhand carriages as this advertisement shows: 'An exceedingly good fashionable coach, lined with green cloath, large size with a pair of harness, both in perfect order, to be sold. Inquire to William Dalton, coach maker, Dominick Street.'[85] The reference to 'in perfect order' suggests this carriage was not new. In 1814 Trumbull received an offer of sixty guineas for his carriage. Indeed, the offer was below the asking price as, the potential buyer stated, there was no harness

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[79] Ibid, 10 Dec. 1773.
[80] Will of Hans Bailie (NAI, T6878), Will of James Hamilton (NAI, T13312), Will of James Horan (NAI, T11306).
[81] T. C. Mangan to Trumbull, 10 Nov. 1814 (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box no. 1).
[82] Hans Bailie was made free of the merchant's guild at Christmas 1727 by Grace Especial, he traded at lower Abbey Street, he was first listed sitting for the corporation common council for the merchant's guild in 1732, but sat for only a short time, he was not listed again until 1747, he was high sheriff 1748-9, alderman from 1748, lord mayor 1754-5, was father of Mathew Bailie who was in business with him from 1764 until he was lost at sea c. 1770, he died 27 March 1773 at Kilkenny (see appendix a).
[83] Will of Hans Bailie (NAI, T6878).
[84] *Saunder's Newsletter,* 17 Feb. 1787.
[85] Ibid, 10 Nov. 1773.

'the brakes and pole piece are indifferent' and the 'coats must be altered'.[86] As large, luxurious and expensive items secondhand carriages were certainly available within the city. Horses too could be acquired within the city. In 1798 Trumbull purchased from John Goulding's 'Repository for the sale of Horses and carriages' in Anne Street a Bay Mare for £23.[87]

The middling sort also purchased seconhand furniture. Sales of the entire contents of a house were advertised frequently in the press. These sales were usually arranged by auctioneers within the city. In 1771 Peter Hoey, joiner and auctioneer was advertising the sale of 'household furniture of a Gentleman lately deceased'. Included in the sale were 'feather beds, bedding, press and field beds, mahogany dinning, tea and card tables, pier and other glasses, an eight-day clock, a parcel of knives and forks, and kitchen furniture'. [88] This was not a one-off sale for Hoey. He appears to have disposed of these goods in a full-time and professional capacity. As a joiner he also bought and repaired furniture and as an auctioneer he could dispose of the entire contents of these houses showing there was a market for these secondhand goods. A full household stock could be obtained in these sales. Merchants establishing themselves in a home, or even setting up a business, and who would probably have had limited capital for these type of purchases could acquire their necessities in these sales.

Patrick Boyd, active in leasing in Dublin city during this period, provides an example of furniture being leased and sold. In May 1762 Boyd leased to Martha Aston, widow, a house and stable/coach house on Abbey street for the annual rent of £113 15*s* This included £44 per year for the contents of the house, all furniture, fixtures and fittings.[89] In June 1778, Boyd sold the entire contents of a house on New Row for £350 which included;

> All the plate, … glass, earthen ware, bed., bedding, furniture, pictures, chairs, stools, tables, presses, looking glass, grates, linen, woollen, pewter, brass and all otherfurniture and all other furniture, goods, chattels and things mentioned[90]

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[86] TC Mangan to Trumbull, 10 Nov. 1814 (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box no. 1).
[87] John Goulding receipt (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box no. 26).
[88] *Dublin Evening Post*, 8 Apr. 1771.
[89] Boyd, Martha Aston, 28 May 1762 (Reg. Deed. 216.264.124786).
[90] Boyd, William Cathcart, 5 Jun. 1778 (Reg. Deed. 327.147.216165).

Much has been made of the emulation of the middling sort and purchasing of secondhand commodities has been considered a significant indicator that the middling sort, through this consumption, imitated their betters. Barnard comments that 'sales, in the same way as bequests, allowed prestigious articles to descend the social scale.'[91] The paid £350, as a significant sum suggests William Cathcart was not a member of the lower orders and he was most likely the William Cathcart trading as a merchant in New Row in 1780.[92] Necessary purchases changed in a lifetime as did wealth. On establishing his self it would have been necessary to acquire basic commodities even though capital would, for a large part, be sunk in investments. Sales like Boyd's offered an opportunity to acquire these basic items and even luxuries. They show that these goods stayed within the middling sort and did not always descend the social scale but changing hands depending on a different stage within a lifecycle. These sales indicate that in the same way the upper class could sell to the middling sort they consumed within their own groups.

This sale shows the ability of Boyd to consume and then to dispose of his important domestic items in bulk. Boyd held a significant store of furniture in two houses and these furnishings were not essential items for him. He could sell them as they were additional to his own personal requirements. The £44 annual rent and £350 wholesale price affirms that they were investments and profitable (although susceptible to depreciation due to the nature of the commodity). This evidence moreover indicates the ability of the middling sort to consume within their own order and hints at the various ranks and income within the middling sort. It also suggests that if, perhaps, Boyd had inherited this furniture, or indeed purchased this furniture, that his tastes changed with age and increasing income levels new commodities like furniture were consumed, not merely as they became unusable, but through choice. Furniture was passed between generations of the same class in the same way that it was passed up and down through classes.

Further evidence of furniture consumption is provided in the account book of Daniel Geale. His account book[93] provides detailed accounts for the redecorating of two rooms.[94] In 1782 and 1784 Geale redecorated his personal bedroom and study. This redecoration of his bedroom in 1782 included the room being papered, bed (£55

[91] Barnard, *Making the grand figure,* p. 96.
[92] *Dublin Directory,* 1780.
[93] His personal accounts begin in 1779 and span until 1792, thereafter they include business accounts.
[94] Account book of Daniel Geale, 1779-1803 (NLI, MS 2286).

14*s* 9*d*) and window curtains (£56 11*s* 11*d*), a bed stand and matching pillows (£2 16*s* 10½*d*), six green bedchamber chairs (£1 *2s* 16*d*), a pine bed and ballster (£4 11*s* 6*d*), a hair mattress (£1 18*s*), a 'fine' pillow (5*s* 5*d*), 'pertinage for putting on bed' (6*s* 6*d*) and some other additions for washing. He also spent a total of £3.3.6 on his bed sheets.[95] Additions for his study included; twenty-four yards of Damascus (£52 14*s*), six study chairs (£2 2*s*), a high-hand chair (*10s* 6*d*), a cabinet and shaving stand (£18 17*s* 9*d*) and an oak writing table (£10 6*s*). Some expense, which it can be assumed were for both rooms, included locks '32 oct. locks and 7 press locks in study' (£3 12*s* 7*d*),[96] chimney pieces (£2 19*s* 9*d*), six prints purchased from London (£3 5*s* 6*d*), one Hogarth print (*5s* 5*d*),[97] 'Callaghan for a print of Lazarces' (£2 5*s* 6*d*)[98] and Alex Gordon for painting and papering the two rooms (£5 13*s* 9*d*).

By the winter of 1784-85 he had spent a total of £158.11.6 on improvements to these rooms. This amount included expenditure on items and services such as 'Tom Callaghan[99] Glazing and Painting sundries' (£3 15*s* 4*d*),[100] a stool for his office and curtains for the bedchamber (£10 11*s* 5½*d*), additions to his writing desk (£3 8*s* 3*d*), 'alterations to furniture' (£7 *8s* 6*d*),[101] a coat bin (£13) glass for shaving stand 'and others' (£4 1*s* 9½*d*). The accounts further suggest that furniture was a commodity that Geale purchased consistently and regular purchases were made to the Geale household. Furniture is included in each of his detailed annual recordings of expenditure.[102] In 1782 £92 1*s* 10*d* was spent,[103] in 1783 £62 13*s* 10*d*,[104] in 1784 £43 9*s* 1*d*,[105] in 1786 £105 9½*d* is spent on furniture and repairs for his children at

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[95] Ibid, f. 310.
[96] Ibid, f. 309.
[97] This was recorded as a purchase made from 'Cave', there were an extensive number of print-seller specialists advertised during this period in the Dublin Directories including: William Carter, print-seller at 19 Grafton Street (1786), William Allen, map and print-seller at 32 Dame Street (1794), Vincent Dowling print-seller and perfumer at 21 Suffolk Street (1794), Christopher Hynes, print-seller at 27 Capel Street (1794), Christian Hamram, print-seller at 5 South Anne Street (1794), Thomas Lefeveree, print-seller at 62 South Great George Street (1794), William McCleery, print-seller at 18 Lower Ormond Quay (1794), Christopher O'Connor, print-seller at 31 Lower Ormond Quay (1794) and Joseph Wright, engraver and print-seller at 33 Mary's Abbey (1794), (*Dublin Directory,* 1786, 1794).
[98] Account book of Daniel Geale, 1779-1803 (NLI, MS 2286, f. 309).
[99] Also sold him a print, in 1794 Cornelius Callaghan was trading from 35 Mary Street as a glazier, printer, map and print-seller (ibid).
[100] Ibid, f. 310.
[101] Ibid.
[102] The account book is detailed from 1789-92 but becomes erratic as it would appear he is using a separate account book from this point (or even before) for household accounts.
[103] Account book of Daniel Geale, 1779-1803 (NLI, MS 2286, f. 4).
[104] Ibid, f. 6.
[105] Ibid, f. 12.

Summerhill[106] and also in 1786 £6 17*s* 2*d* is spent on furniture for his business premises at Bachelor's walk.

The additions made within this household may suggest the expansion of his family. Yet by 1786 his daughter Mary-Ann had died[107] and his account book suggests that his daughter Tammy may have died prior to this date and possibly in 1783.[108] The addition of expensive cloth and material to his personal rooms at various intervals would suggest that he used these private rooms to engage with fashion in the home by, perhaps, recovering furniture or re-hanging curtains. Geale does not list or make account of furniture being sold in his meticulous accounts or within his separate furniture accounts. It is likely that he purchased the majority of these wares new rather than secondhand and retailers such as Robert Morgan, his cabinet-maker, are listed in the *Dublin Directory* (Morgan's premises are advertised as 16 Henry Street in 1786). These facts suggest that older furniture rather than being taken from the household was placed in another room or distributed to servant's quarters.[109] The corporation stipulated in 1759 that the annual budget for furniture and repairs for the entire mansion house should not exceed £100. This was maintained until 1771 when £400 was provided for which was to include plate but appears to have been adhered to.[110] The budgeted amounts for the mansion house suggest that Geale was spending quite a large amount on these two rooms.

Geale's position and stage in life differed from William Cathcart who purchased Boyd's furniture. Geale was an established and successful merchant who could afford the complete redecoration (even if gradual) with new commodities of rooms within his home. Peter Earle has pointed to the decoration and furniture of the 'best bedroom' of the London middling sorts as an indicator of their status and wealth. 'The best bedroom was normally the primary focus of display in a London house'. He adds that '[t]hose who spent a lot' on this room 'were either merchant or

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[106] Ibid, f. 24.
[107] Ibid, f. 21.
[108] She was ill in 1783 (Ibid, f.22).
[109] Accounts indicate the Geale household had at least three servants, Daniel had his own servant man (his salary was £15.4.6, in creased to £18.9.5 in 1788), there was a nanny for the children who disappeared from the accounts by 1787 (although she may also have worked within the household it is difficult to ascertain) and a servant girl, or possibly more, Geale refers in 1789 to 'Servant money, clothing' as £14.6.8, in 1790 to the total servant budget as £23.10.6 which would suggest that the Nanny had left the household and that this paid for his own servant and possibly a kitchen maid (Ibid).
[110] *CARD,* vii, 374, xiv, 465-6, xii, 145.

rich wholesalers or else were mercers, drapers and similarly genteel shopkeepers.'[111] Geale's expenditure on this room fits with a similar pattern of spending in London and places him at the highest end of the middling sort.

The inclusion of prints in Geale's accounts raises the issue of how these men interacted and engaged with popular culture. The purchase of Hogarth prints indicates that paintings and prints were enjoyed by the middling sort. The purchase to adorn the walls of a bedchamber and study suggests that other pictures, paintings or prints hung in the rooms throughout the house. While prints were a low-cost form of decoration in comparison with painting the purchase of prints in London nonetheless reiterates that they were a commodity carefully selected. *The Hibernian Journal* commented in 1791 that 'engraving next to painting ranks amongst the most elegant of the imitative arts.'[112] The description of engravings as 'elegant' suggests that they were an accepted form of decoration for houses. It is difficult to suggest further what type of 'art work' adorned the walls of these men's houses. The commissions of Keogh and Sankey, mentioned previously, suggest that some merchants had the finance to engage portrait painters to capture them. There is a great variance, however, between purchasing prints in Dublin and London and commissioning paintings. The activities of Keogh and Sankey served to further illustrate the wide range of disposable income within the middling sort. Some may have had the ability to commission painters, some may had purchased prints in London and many, perhaps, faced bare walls. Geale also may have had portraits painted as his account books do not span his lifetime. The indication that some merchants engaged in the consumption of these items is suggestive of an overall awareness of fashionable visual art.

Books were certainly purchased and consumed by the middling sort. The mercantile profession demanded not only literacy but the ability to speak and write in several languages. In 1795 John Aikin's advice to his son on the beginning of an apprenticeship asserted the importance of reading yet included the need to show restraint when purchasing books. Reading was 'a cheap amusement.' Some had a fondness for the look of a book rather than the contents. A 'taste for books, indeed, may be made an expensive enough, but that is a taste for editions, binding paper and type.' Therefore he suggested that while his son could enjoy this cheap amusement he

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[111] Peter Earle, 'The middling sort in London' in Christopher Brooks and Jonathan Barry (eds), *The middling sort of people: culture society and politics in England* (Basingstoke, 1994), p. 147.
[112] *The Hibernian Journal,* 6 May 1791.

must exercise economy on purchasing books '[i]f you are satisfied at getting at the sense of an author in some commodious way a crown at a stall will supply your wants as [good as] a guinea at a shop.'[113] Aikins identified the superficial aspect of book buying while proving that books were consumed and considered to be a good purchases.

Geale records purchasing books on four occasions in his accounts. In May 1785 he purchased twenty books at a book stand for 15*s* 2*d*,[114] in 1786 he simply records the buying at £2 6*s* 2*d*[115] and in 1788 he records 19*s* 6*d* of books.[116] In August of 1779 he recorded purchasing Johnson's dictionary at £2 5*s* 6*d*[117] These three years 1785, 1786 and 1788 appear to be intervals when Geale dedicated time to the consumption of literature and the erratic nature of these purchases make it difficult to establish how much Geale read other then to suggest he had a modest collection of books. He may have begun recording from 1788 the purchase of books in another manner such as 'pocket expenses' did not stipulate what p[ocket expenses included.. It is also possible, though not cited in his accounts, that he used a city library. Nathaniel Trumbull, or someone within his household, was a member of Kempston's library, lower Sackville Street.[118] Books were commonly available throughout the city through purchase or through borrowing.

Book subscriptions can tell us more about the tastes of these men. They would have purchased more books then they subscribed to but the act of subscribing is particularly important as it shows they supported publishing as well as an interest in subject matter. It is possible to identify four merchants who subscribed to a particularly high number of books: Alexander Jaffray subscribed to at least twelve, Anthony McDermott to at least eight, Edward Byrne to at least eight, and at least seven for Travers Hartley. Alexander Jaffray subscribed to five books concerned with poetry or literature (Brooke's *The poetical works,* Anketell's *Poems on several subjects, A collection of poems, mostly original, by several hands, Shakespeare's dramatic works* and Moore's *Miscellaneous poems*) four of Irish interest (Beaufort's *Memoir of a map of Ireland*, Burns', *An historical and chronological remembrancer,*

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[113] John Aikin, *Letters from a father to his son, on various topics, relative to literature and the conduct of life. Written in the years 1792 and 1793* (Dublin, 1795), p. 201.
[114] Account book of Daniel Geale, 1779-1803 (NLI, MS 2286, f.16).
[115] Ibid, f.24.
[116] Ibid, f. 32.
[117] Ibid, f. 3.
[118] Receipt from Kempston's Library (NYPL, Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box no. 26).

The post-chaise companion, Pool's *Views of the most remarkable public buildings, monuments and other edifices in the city of Dublin*), one philosophy (Duplain's, *La religion vengée des blasphêmes de Voltaire*), one history (Gast, *The history of Greece*) and one economic (Steuart, *An inquiry into the principles of political oeconomy*). This was not a conservative reading list and shows a broad interest.[119] Anthony McDermott subscribed to three history texts (including a translation of Sallust's *The Catiline and Jugurthine wars*, Charles O'Connor's *Dissertations on the antient history of Ireland* and William Crawford's *A history of Ireland*), two editions of Jonathan Swift, one religious text (Alban Butler, *The lives of the fathers, martyrs, and other principal saints*) and two economic texts (Steuart's *An inquiry into the principles of political oeconomy* and Hayes, *The negociator's magazine*).[120] Edward Byrne subscribed to six religious books on a variety of religious topics (Henry VIII's *Defence of the seven sacraments,* Duplain's, *La religion vengée des blasphêmes de Voltaire,* François-Xavier de Feller's, *The philosophical catechism, or, a collection of observations fit to defend the Christian religion* Silvester Goonan's, *Sermons on various religious subjects,* Joseph Morony, *Sermons, and exhortations for the whole year*) not including in 1795 seven copies of Jean Nicholas Grou's *The characters of real devotion.* He subscribed to Thomas Bond's *A digest of foreign exchanges* (a

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[119] James Steuart, *An inquiry into the principles of political economy: being an essay on the science of domestic policy in free nations* (Dublin, 1770), John Burns, *An historical and chronological remembrancer of all remarkable occurrences, from the creation to this present year of our Lord, 1775* (Dublin, 1775), Robert Pool, *Views of the most remarkable public buildings, monuments and other edifices in the city of Dublin* (Dublin, 1780), Claude Duplain, *La religion vengée des blasphêmes de Voltaire, en six cantos, Ou les horreurs de son Epitre à Uranie* (Dublin, 1783), *The post-chaise companion: or, travellers directory, through Ireland to which is added, a dictionary, or alphabetical tables* (Dublin, 1786), *A collection of poems, mostly original, by several hands* (Dublin, 1789-90), William Shakespeare, *Shakspeare's dramatic works; with explanatory notes, To which is now added, a copious index to the remarkable passages and words* (Dublin, 1791), Daniel Augustus Beaufort, *Memoir of a map of Ireland; illustrating the topography of that kingdom* (Dublin, 1792), Henry Brooke, *The poetical works of Henry Brooke,* (3rd ed, 4 vols, Dublin, 1792), John Anketell, *Poems on several subjects* (Dublin, 1793), John Gast, *The history of Greece* (Dublin, 1793), Jane Elizabeth Moore, *Miscellaneous poems, on various subjects* (Dublin, 1796).

[120] Jonathan Swift, *The works of J. S, D.D, D.S.P.D. in four volumes. Containing, I, The author's miscellanies in prose, II, His poetical writings, III, The travels* (Dublin, 1735), Jonathan Swift, *Volume VI of the author's works. Containing The publick spirit of the whigs; and other pieces of political writings* (Dublin, 1738), Richard Hayes, *The negociator's magazine: or, the most authentic account yet published of the monies, weights, and measures of the principal places of trade* (Dublin, 1749), Charles O' Conor, *Dissertations on the antient history of Ireland: wherein an account is given of the origine, government, letters, sciences, religion* (Dublin, 1753), James Steuart, *An inquiry into the principles of political oeconomy: being an essay on the science of domestic policy in free nations* (Dublin, 1770), Sallust, *The Catiline and Jugurthine wars, translated from Sallust by Hugh Maffett* (Dublin, 1772), Alban Butler, *The lives of the fathers, martyrs, and other principal saints: compiled from original monuments, and other authentic records* (Dublin, 1779-80), William Crawford, *A history of Ireland, from the earliest period, to the present time, in a series of letters, addressed to William Hamilton, Esq* (Strabane, 1783).

popular book with merchants) and Sheridan's *A general dictionary of the English language*.[121] While his subscriptions were overwhelmingly religious they show an educated interest in French authors and historical texts within the reading list. Travers Hartley subscribed to a Glasgow edition of Francis Hutcheson's *A system of moral philosophy* in 1755, two books of poetry (Battier's, *The protected fugitives, A collection of miscellaneous poems* and *A collection of Poems, mostly original* By several Hands Dublin), two religious books (William Fletcher's *Twenty sermons,* William Digby's *Twenty-one lectures on Divinity,* Henry Murray, *The evidences of the Jewish and Christian revelations*) and one commercial book (*A correct book of Interest).*[122] When considered collectively the subscriptions show that these merchants had a variety of interests and that subscriptions were not made to only trade books or religious literature. They clearly had an interest in literature, history and to a lesser degree philosophy. Their subscriptions show a broad interest in scholarly subjects and while not a complete list of the books which they had read, or even subscribed to, suggestive of their tastes.

Their level of involvement in both civic and national politics as well as commercial and improving societies, discussed in a previous chapter, shows that these merchants would have consumed newspapers and pamphlets. As figureheads of causes these merchants featured in both the press and pamphlets. Both Hans Bailie and Peter Barré are mentioned in Lucas's 1749 *A letter to the free-citizens of the city of Dublin*.[123] In 1766 Lucas mentioned Hans Bailie, William Forbes, Benjamin Geale,

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[121] Henry VIII, *Assertio septem sacramentorum: or, a defence of the seven sacraments, against Martin Luther,* (Dublin, 1766), Claude Duplain, *La religion vengée des blasphêmes de Voltaire, en six cantos. Ou les horreurs de son Epitre à Uranie* (Dublin, 1783), Thomas Sheridan, *A general dictionary of the English language* (Dublin, 1784), Jean-Nicolas Grou, *The characters of real devotion. Translated from the French of L'abbé Grou* (Dublin, 1795), Thomas Bond, *A digest of foreign exchanges: containing an abstract of the existing laws and custom of merchants relative to bills and notes* (Dublin, 1795), Joseph Morony, *Sermons, and exhortations for the whole year, on the sacred mysteries and most important truths of the Christian religion* (Dublin, 1796), Silvester Goonan, *Sermons on various religious subjects, for different Sundays and festivals of the year* (Dublin, 1798), François-Xavier de Feller, *The philosophical catechism, or, a collection of observations fit to defend the Christian religion against its enemies* (Dublin, 1800).

[122] Francis Hutcheson, *A system of moral philosophy, in three books* (Glasgow, 1755), William Fletcher, *Twenty sermons,* (Dublin, 1772), William Digby, *Twenty-one lectures on Divinity in two parts* (Dublin, 1787), Henry Murray, *The evidences of the Jewish and Christian revelations* (Dublin, 1790), *A correct book of Interest containing the fullest tables of interest that have yet appeared* (Dublin 1783), *A collection of Poems, mostly original* (Dublin, 1789-90), Henrietta Battier, *The protected fugitives, A collection of miscellaneous poems, the genuine productions of a lady* (Dublin, 1791).

[123] Charles Lucas, *A letter to the free-citizens of the city of Dublin* (Dublin, 1749), p. 9.

Patrick Hamilton[124] and George Reynolds[125] in *A third address to the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, the board of aldermen, and the sheriffs, Commons, and citizens of Dublin.*[126] They would have read this literature to engage with arguments that included them.

Newspapers would have been consumed by these merchants for a wide range of purposes including rates of exchange, shipping news, advertisements, political news and opinion pieces. A letter to the *London Chronicle* in 1763 praised the foundation of *The Freeman's Journal*. It asserted that an aim of this new paper was:

> [T]hat all persons shall be invited, by public advertisements, to send to the said press all such intelligences, advices, notices, narratives of facts well attested, essays, schemes, proposals, and projects they think may tend to promote the wisdom, knowledge, virtue, loyalty, wealth and prosperity of this nation, and from time to time advise the conductors of the said press, on all flagrant public offences against law, religion, humanity, or the rights and liberties of the subject within their respective neighbourhoods throughout the kingdom of Ireland.[127]

There market was a market for newspapers to provide local, national and international news aimed at the freemen of the city, the politicised groups within Dublin, traders and workers and at the middling sort in general. This market was not a new one and it was certainly one which had been expanding throughout the century. Robert Munter has pointed to the early decades of the eighteenth century as a time when newspapers broadened their concerns to match their readership. 'Readers of the lower social strata

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[124] Hamilton was made free of the city in midsummer 1745 and was made free of the merchant's guild in midsummer 1749, he was a trader on Abbey Street by 1752, he sat on the common council for merchant's guild by 1750, was a high sheriff 1752-53, was an alderman 1756-80 and lord mayor 1760-61, he married Elizabeth Meredith in 1747 and they had at least one daughter who married Captain Richard Fawcer in 1766, Hamilton appears to have had no land in Dublin and died in Twickenham in 1780 (see appendix a).

[125] Reynolds was made free of the city and the merchant's guild at Christmas 1745, he was trading on Earl Street by 1752, he sat for the merchant's guild on the common council c. 1748-50, was high sheriff 1750-51, alderman 1764-72 and lord mayor 1770-71, his father John was his business partner, he married Elizabeth Noy c. 1740 and they had two children William and Elizabeth, he died in 1771 (see appendix a).

[126] Charles Lucas, *A third address to the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, the board of aldermen, and the sheriffs, Commons, and citizens of Dublin* (Dublin, 1766).

[127] *London Chronicle,* 28 Jul. 1763.

were starting to subscribe in large numbers to the periodical press and, from 1716 or 1717 onwards, were beginning to make their needs known, both as subscribers and as advertisers.'[128] *The Freeman's Journal* must be noted as another milestone in the expansion of this press as it was marketed to the middling sort or the mass of the freemen of the city as well as politicians, professionals and the upper class.

The Catholic Committee used the press and pamphlets throughout the 1790s. It's leaders were commercial figures so we know that they must have had an awareness of the utility of print. Dickson has pointed to three areas which facilitated 'Catholic entry into the world of public affairs' and publication was central to all. He points to 'the printing press, the loyal address and legal challenges to municipal monopoly'.[129] Pamphlets, and the publication of the their meetings and proclamations in the press, served to keep their supporters outside of the capital up to date with their meetings and sentiments but also expressed to the civic and political elite their aims and methods.[130] This confirms that the commercial elite knew the value of print and had engaged with the press and pamphlet literature of the period. Furthermore the wide spread nature and popularity of pamphlets would suggest that a significant proportion of the literate class read these and so it can be assumed the middling sort as a whole engaged in the consumption of this material.

Merchants would have frequented coffee shops and taverns for political news and current Dublin and foreign newspapers. By 1786 *Wilson's Dublin Directory* was advertising nine Dublin coffee houses.[131] Politics and commercial news were discussed in these houses and customers could browse a wide range of newspapers

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[128] Robert Munter, *The history of the Irish newspaper, 1685-1760* (Cambridge, 1967), p. 132.

[129] Dickson, *Old world colony,* p. 276.

[130] Such as: *Proceedings at the Catholic meeting of Dublin, duly convened on Wednesday, October 31 1792, at the Exhibition-Room, Exchequer-Street* (Dublin, 1792), *An address from the general committee of Roman Catholics, to their Protestant fellow subjects, and to the public in general* (Dublin, 1792), Theobald McKenna, *Address to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, relative to the late proceedings, and on the means and practicability of a tranquil emancipation* (Dublin, 1792), Theobald McKenna, *An essay on parliamentary reform, and on the evils likely to ensue, from a republican constitution, in Ireland* (Dublin, 1793), *The Petition of the Catholics in Ireland entitled to the King's most excellent majesty* (Dublin, 1793), Theobald, McKenna, *Substance of the arguments offered by Doctor M'Kenna, to the general meeting of the Roman Catholics, April 22, 1793; with several miscellaneous* (Dublin, 1793), *A report of the debate in the House of Commons of Ireland, on the bill, presented by the Right Hon. Henry Grattan, For the further relief of his majesty's popish or Roman Catholic Subjects* (Dublin, 1795), *Transactions of the General Committee of the Roman Catholics of Ireland during the year 1791* (Dublin, 1792).

[131] *The treble almanack for the year MDCCLXXXVI. Containing I. Watson's Irish almanack, II. Exshaw's English court registry,* III (Dublin, 1786), p. 10, The same 9 are listed in Lewis, Richard, *The Dublin guide: or, a description of the city of Dublin, and the most remarkable places within fifteen miles,* (Dublin, 1787) p. 113.

and pamphlets.[132] Petitions were also left in coffee houses to be signed as they were considered places entirely suitable for political forum.[133] Three of nine Dublin coffee houses were commercial or had commercial links, one was located in the Royal Exchange, one at the Old Exchange and a further house was located at the Custom House.[134] Taverns were also important as meeting places for clubs and societies with rooms for hire in many city taverns.

Leisure time was spent outside the public sphere of politics and reading. While little is known about the social season and habits of these commercial figures it is important to mention the social aspect of their life which was not confined to clubs, and societies. The season in Dublin may have ran around the gentry when parliament was in session but wealthy traders would have had their own social occasions. For instance the corporation calendar which included dining and balls. Merchants also had access to the theatre, subscription balls and the Rotunda pleasure gardens. Richard Twiss commented on the range of social activities he encountered in Dublin in 1775: 'The places of public resort for amusement, besides the two theatres, and the gardens behind the hospital…are the castle, where there are balls every Tuesday evening in winter; subscription balls and several places where concerts are occasionally held'.[135] There was Ranelagh gardens in the summer also. Within the city centre gardens offered important opportunities for the display of finery: 'In Dublin, Sackville Mall and the New Pleasure Gardens together formed a sequence of spaces dedicated to conspicuous display and spectacle'.[136] These gardens were undoubtedly used by the middling sort who could afford entrance to the gardens and who displayed the gentility to pass an evening there. 'Most recreations were available to those who could pay' but 'suitable clothing' and 'correct manners' were also required to engage with these public social spaces.[137] The gardens were significant spaces as they became the arena where the finery accumulated from business profits were displayed. The gardens were a 'vortex of fashion, where parading the latest costumes accompanied evenings spent eating, drinking and promenading the gravel walks which snaked

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[132] Munter, *The history of the Irish newspaper,* p. 50.
[133] *The Freeman's Journal,* 26 Oct. 1775.
[134] See note. 126.
[135] Finnegan (ed.), *Twiss in Ireland,* p. 12.
[136] Gary A. Boyd, *Dublin 1745-1922; hospitals, spectacle and vice* (Dublin, 2006), p. 80.
[137] Toby Barnard, Toby, 'Public and Private uses of Wealth in Ireland, c.1600-1760 in J.R. Hill, C. Lennon, (eds), *Luxury and Austerity; Historical Studies* (Dublin, 1999), p.72.

through the plantation groves.'[138] Leisure was combined with fashion, conviviality and social networks in these spaces. Music concerts and dances would have worked in the same manner. The alternative to these public gatherings were private social gatherings. Due to the dearth of primary source correspondence it is more difficult to assess the frequency with which members of the middling sort enjoyed these public spectacles or came together in more private gatherings to assess if they socialised outside their rank. How often social occasions in general brought members of the commercial community into contact with the gentry is unclear. Dublin's social scene was busy and 'in the winter of 1764/65 the Great Musick Hall in Fishamble street hosted thirteen grand balls, thirteen assemblies, twenty-five concerts and one 'entertainment' sponsored by the lord lieutenant'.[139]

III

Education helped define status because it established the future profession or trade of a man and provided him with the skills with which he would maintain himself. While status was defined on birth, the provision of education became central to ensuring that the children of merchants maintained or increased their status. The provision of a greater education for the second generation, university, was intended to give children greater opportunities within the professional classes and to draw them from trade. Similarly, education could entrench them within the middling sort if they undertook an apprenticeship to trade. Christopher Brooks asserts that 'a particular concern for the education and future of their children may be the most distinctive single characteristic of the middle classes in modern British society'. Brooks believes this was a common worry for the middle sort in the early modern period.[140] None of these merchants attended Trinity College Dublin or the King's Inn and yet they showed an overwhelming inclination to educate their children at both of these establishments. This trend shows that education was highly prized and desirable for children even if the first generation did not receive it.

The second generation was educated in a variety of ways. Education may have come through a university degree and then further education such as a master's degree

[138] Boyd, *Hospitals, spectacle and vice,* p. 80.
[139] Tighernan Mooney, & Fiona White, 'The Gentry's Winter Season' in David Dickson (ed.), *The Gorgeous Mask: Dublin 1700-1850* (Dublin, 1987), p. 7
[140] Brooks, 'Apprenticeship, social mobility and the middling sort', p. 52.

or professional training (medical, clerical or legal) or it may have been through apprenticeship. Initial education was of the utmost importance as most trades necessitated skills such as reading, writing, counting and keeping accounts for the administration within a business and possibly geography and a foreign language. How accessible this type of education was to the middling sort, what the varying standards were and how often it was used is more difficult to gauge for Ireland than England. However, part of the corporation controversy concerning Charles Lucas in the 1740s was his complaint that members of the aldermen board and governors of the Blue Coat School sent their sons to the institution, precluding to some extent the original aim of the school which was to provide an education for poorer boys. Formal education from six to twelve years of age would have been given to boys prior to embarking for their apprenticeship or their university career.

While we know nothing about the early education of the sons of these merchants it is possible to speculate about the nature of that education. The most prestigious Irish schools for primary education were Kilkenny College and the Royal Schools in Ulster. They were where many of the gentry were educated. (Private tutors were enlisted by the gentry for alternative home education.)[141] It is unlikely that Dublin merchants, even those with social pretensions, would have sent their sons to these establishments. Schools within the capital and in the hinterlands would have provided both day and boarder education. Day schooling would have been important for the provision of education for at least some within the middling sort. The Blue Coat School, the Marine School and the Chartered schools were all active within the capital and would have provided a Protestant education for some who could not afford the more expensive institutions within the city.

Despite laws against Catholics teaching or attending schools a variety of education appears to have been available for middling sort Catholics who could indulge in the luxury of education. Connolly has shown that the laws directed at Catholic education were motivated by a desire to halt 'the regular traffic' between Catholic Irish and Catholic European schools.[142] By the 1760s Catholics still sent their sons to be educated at Catholic institutions both at home and abroad. An estimate in 1731 put the total number of Catholic schools in Ireland at 549, which would have been an underestimation. The number would probably have grown by the

[141] Johnston-Liik, *MPs in Dublin,* p. 26.
[142] Connolly, *Religion, law and power,* p. 268.

1760s.[143] The casual enforcement of these laws meant that in reality Catholic schools were 'outside the strict terms of the law' and, while they could be under the direction of the parish priest, no regularisation meant that 'some teachers' were 'a law unto themselves'.[144] Catholic schools were open, active and visible in Dublin despite laws prohibiting them. In April 1765 *The Freeman's Journal* printed a letter which complained of a school kept by a Catholic priest, Father Fagan, in St. Paul's parish. The author even suggested that Protestants sent their children to this school. 'Father Fagan... has a school more crowded with children of all religions, than any the most celebrated Protestant teacher'.[145] This comment probably was an attempt to alarm and so an exaggeration, but it does show that there were schools within the city for Catholics.

While men commonly entered the professions and trades of their fathers, this pattern was not uniform. Frequently, it would seem, when boys entered schools their professions had not yet been chosen for them, especially for boys whose fathers were not merchants or were younger sons. Nathaniel Trumbull recommended trade for the son of his friend Richard Falkiner. In the correspondence it is clear that Falkiner had provided initial education for his son but not with a trade in mind. Trumbull was worried he had insulted Falkiner by suggesting trade. Falkiner wrote 'believe me you mistake much in thinking it necessary to apologise for recommending it to me bring up my sons to business as I have no other deal' for them. Trumbull arranged for Falkiner's son to enter the firm of a business associate. 'Tom is very happy at the thought of going into a house where you have any concern.'[146] Patrick Bellew similarly used business connections to help establish his nephew in a mercantile house near the end of his schooling. He wrote to his brother of his nephew's decision to become a merchant on the imminent completion of his studies: 'I suppose you'll be happy to learn Pat has fixed on trade. I therefore applied to manufacturers in France and Flanders that are under no small obligation to my house'.[147] It is clear that decisions were made concerning the particular profession these boys would go into once their education was near completion. It is also apparent that social and familial connections drew these sons into trade as associates arranged for an apprenticeship.

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[143] Ibid, p. 151.
[144] Dickson, *Old world colony,* pp 440-1.
[145] *The Freeman's Journal,* 30 Apr. 1765.
[146] Richard Falkiner to Trumbull, 23 January 1796 (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box no. 1).
[147] Patrick Bellew to Michael Bellew, 16 Feb. 1786 (NLI, Bellew papers, MS 27,133).

Their first curriculum stressed a moral, cultural and practical basis. In 1820 William Thompson wrote to Trumbull soliciting his patronage for his school. His school could 'boast of education' for boys that focused on 'their literacy acquirements, their morals and their health'.[148] The subjects taught in these schools, taken from an 1822 advertisement of a boys' school in Dominick Street included English, elocution, grammar, writing, ancient and modern history, chronology, geography, arithmetic, bookkeeping, mathematics, logic, Greek, Latin, Hebrew, French, Italian, drawing, dancing and fencing.[149] This school cost fifty guineas per annum for boarders under the age of twelve and sixty guineas for older boys. This amount was expensive but obtainable nonetheless and less expensive for day boys. The curriculum consisted of the basic requirements for entrance to university or for apprenticeship to a mercantile firm so it is likely that have been a school that members of the upper middling sort would have sent their sons.

While not all merchant sons would have received an education like the Dominick Street school, there was a standard which was expected of men on the entrance to a mercantile firm. Not only should an apprentice have a good reading and writing skills, but a clear hand was necessary for accounts. Patrick Bellew, who was responsible for his nephew's apprenticeship in France in 1786, complained to his brother that his nephew was 'in great need' of a 'good hand' as his writing 'was not intelligible when [he] left Bouvay'.[150] While his nephew had received a gentleman's education in France, it appears that his handwriting was still difficult to comprehend and that further training was required. Languages were desirable and bookkeeping essential.

Some women of the middling sort also would have received a primary education. Twiss remarked in 1775 that 'Irish ladies are extremely well educated, as they have little besides their beauty and merit to recommend them for wives'.[151] He suggests that women were educated above their station but could not make a marriage equal to this 'polite education' because they had no dowries. Equally 'men of moderate fortunes cannot afford to maintain them in the style in which they were bred or reared (often superior to their station) and they are not (at least whilst in the prime

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[148] William Thompson to Trumbull, 18 Jun. 1820 (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box no. 1).
[149] Advertisement for Dr. Smyth's boarding and day school (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box no. 26).
[150] Patrick Bellew to Michael Bellew, 16 Feb. 1786 (NLI, Bellew papers, MS 27,133).
[151] Finnegan (ed.), *Twiss in Ireland*, p. 26.

of youth) adapted to become the helpmates of tradesmen'.[152] It is highly unlikely that parents would educate their daughters at the expense of a provision of a dowry (and subsequent future maintenance) as it seems at the very least an unpractical step for commercial men. On the death of a husband women executors were sometimes in the position to take over the business of their deceased spouse. They must have had an adequate education for this.

In 1773 Mrs. Pennington and Miss Teare advertised that they would continue their mother's boarding school for ladies despite her death. Their advertisement was aimed at 'families in the city of Dublin' as well as Ireland which indicates that the Athlone school would have had a large number of girls from the capital.[153] Nathaniel Trumbull sent his daughters to Miss Austin's boarding school in Clontarf and Eliza Tourelle's in Monasterevan.[154] There were schools in close proximity to Dublin which would have taken and educated these girls. Forty guineas, while less than for a boy's education, shows that the education of girls would have been a luxury for members of the commercial community.

The cost of educating a son or daughter at a boarding school around 1800 was as much as £100 per annum. The provision of dowries and further education or an apprenticeship fee, essential to the future career or marriage of a child, made this initial education a costly affair and a luxury for daughters. Dickson has calculated that at mid-century 'a fee of up to £200 was required for an apprenticeship contract with an export house'.[155] Trumbull arranged for Falkiner's son to go to a firm which required £100 for apprenticeship in 1796.[156] It was essential that men received schooling, however, the quality of that education would have depended upon the success of the father and what he could provide for his family. Placement of a son in a mercantile firm would have been similar and reflected the economic situation of a father who possibly also had to provide primary education for other sons as well as dowries for daughters.

The expense of further education should then make it uncommon. The thirty wholesale and wine merchants analysed in this case study show, through the frequency with which they sent their sons to Trinity College Dublin, how desirable

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[152] Ibid, emphasis as in original.
[153] *Saunder's Newsletter,* 17 Nov. 1773.
[154] Eliza Tourelle to Nathaniel Trumbull, 23 Dec. 1811-Dec. 1817 [19 letters], Terms of Miss Austin's boarding school, 1808 (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, box, no. 2 & 26).
[155] Dickson, *Old world colony* (Cork, 2005), p. 161.
[156] Richard Falkiner to Trumbull, 27 Feb. 1796 (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box no. 1).

further education was for the upper middling sort. Those who entered Trinity College Dublin or King's Inn are shown in the table below.

Table 6.4

Second generation attendance at Trinity College Dublin (TCD) or King's Inn

Merchant name	Son	Education at TCD or King's Inn	Profession
George Alcock	George Alcock	TCD, B.A. 1792	Called to bar 1799[157]
Peter Barré	Isaac Barré	TCD, B.A. 1745[158]	Treasurer of the Navy, Colonel and British M.P.
Edward Byrne	Patrick Byrne	King's Inn Middle Temple, Trinity term 1792[159]	Merchant
Thomas Emerson	Thomas Emerson[160]	TCD, B.A. 1791[161]	Unknown
Benjamin Geale	John Geale	TCD, B.A. 1772[162]	Called to the bar, year unknown[163]
James Hamilton	John Hamilton	Graduated B.A.1787[164]	Died while at Trinity possibly undertaking a master's degree[165]
Henry Hart	Henry Hart	TCD, entered 1786[166]	Unknown
James Horan	William Horan	TCD, B.A. 1787[167]	Barrister[168]

[157] *Alumni Dublinenses,* i, 6.
[158] Ibid, 42
[159] Edward Keane, P. Beryl Phaik, Thomas U. Sadlier (eds), *King's Inns Admission papers* (Dublin, 1982), p. 69
[160] The only later reference to a Thomas Emerson, exempting Alderman Thomas Emerson, is a Justice of the peace for Co. Leitrim.
[161] *Alumni Dublinenses,* i, 216.
[162] Ibid, ii, 320.
[163] By the 1790s he was a barrister at Ormond Quay.
[164] *Alumni Dublinenses,* ii, 364.
[165] *Dublin Journal,* 10 Apr. 1790.
[166] *Alumni Dublinenses,* ii, 376.

John Keogh	John Keogh	TCD, entered 1794[169]	Brewer
John Keogh	George Keogh	TCD entered 1796[170]	Brewer (and estate owner)
John Keogh	Cornelius Keogh	TCD, expelled after 1798[171]	Soldier in France
Joseph Lynam[172]	John Lynam	TCD, B.A. 1792[173]	Unknown
Henry Gore Sankey	Edward Sankey	TCD, entered 1794	Captain in the British Army[174]
Henry Gore Sankey	Snyed Sankey	King's Inns, entered 1814[175]	Unknown
George Sutton	John Sutton[176]	TCD, entered 1792[177]	Unknown
Nathaniel Trumbull	Robert Nathaniel Trumbull	TCD, B.A. 1834[178]	Unknown

Twelve of these merchants, over a third of the group, sent their sons to Trinity College. Many more grandsons reached the university.[179] At least three, George Alcock junior, John Geale and William Horan, entered law while Colonel Isaac Barré entered the navy and went on to become treasurer of the British Navy as well as an MP. Edward Sankey became a captain in the British army. Five sons, at least, became members of the professions. For those who did not enter the professions, university

[167] Ibid, 411.
[168] By the 1790s he was advertised in the *Dublin Almanack* as a barrister.
[169] *Alumni Dublinenses,* ii, 463.
[170] Ibid, 463.
[171] In appendix, Bartlett, *Revolutionary Dublin,* p. 373.
[172] Joseph Lynam was freed from the city, and the merchant's guild, at Easter in 1773 by Grace Especial, he traded from 1764 from Bachelor's Quay, from 1768-1774 with William Lynam, by 1778 was advertising just as an alderman, he was warden for the merchant's guild in 1775, junior master in 1777 and senior master 1778, he was high sheriff 1775-6, alderman from 1776, lord mayor 1786-87 and died in 1788 (see appendix a).
[173] *Alumni Dublinenses,* ii, 517
[174] Sankey, family pedigree (Genealogical office NLI, MS 175, f. 18).
[175] *King's Inns Admission papers,* p. 437.
[176] He is possibly the 'John Sutton' listed as Surveyor General in 1796 *Dublin Directory.*
[177] *Alumni Dublinenses,* ii, 794
[178] Ibid, 825.
[179] Daniel Geale, son of Benajmin Geale (account books cited above) sent his son John to Trinity College and Valentine O'Connor junior sent two of his sons, David Henchy O'Connor and Hugh O'Connor to Trinity. Likewise it would appear that by the nineteenth century the grandchildren of Patrick Bellew and Joshua Pim were attending the university (Ibid, ii, 320-671).

education provided polish to these sons of merchants, if not a professional career, and it was certainly sought after if one in two of the merchants within the group were undertaking the expense. Regardless, this table shows that rather than merchants being heavily connected with land, successful merchants would pay to educate their children and they became intertwined with the professional class. This heavy involvement through kinship suggests that successful merchants, while turning over money and commodities for trade, were heavily connected socially with the professional class.

IV

The private sphere has been defined in this chapter as the part of a merchant's life which was taken up by the domestic, personal and family concerns. This sphere was undoubtedly influenced by commercial concerns. Profits drove lifestyle and allowed merchants to a varying degree to provide for a wife on marriage, for a family's daily needs, education and dowries to enhance or maintain their status and their own display. They clearly invested heavily within the domestic realm, in the home for themselves, their wives and children, in provisions for that home and for their children's education and marriage. These expenses were, however, only in part for the enhancement of social status. While it has been touched on only lightly here due to dearth of evidence, personal concern for family members and their provision on the death of the provider must have prompted the involvement of merchant's within these realms.

An investigation into these areas has shown that the private sphere could affect status. Marriage for the first generation was made within their own social group or the profession. There was only marginally greater evidence that marriage with the lower gentry could take place within the second generation, similar to Glasgow. 'In the case of the tobacco merchants [in Glasgow] in this period...matrimony was the route to broad acres for only a tiny minority.'[180] Devine has calculated that seven of fifty-five successful tobacco merchants and landowners between 1740 and 1790 achieved landed status through marriage. This number is larger than can be seen for these Irish merchants. The inclusion of land in marriage settlements suggests that while estates may not have been acquired through marriage, land was important in the marriage

[180] Devine, *The tobacco lords,* pp.18-19.

market. Marriages with professionals and merchants dominated marriage patterns for both generations. It was possible, as Valentine O'Connor and Edward Byrne showed, to make a match with the lower gentry but it was nonetheless rare. Rank and status ensured that marriage remained within the social group of these merchants and their children. While business concerns would be built up on the marriage of two mercantile families, it is probable that a shared background, outlook and status would have made the marriage desirable for the couples.

While merchants consumed practical goods they also purchased goods designed to show wealth and display taste were purchased. Nenadic's conclusions, drawn from the inventories of Glasgow, that the consumption of the middling sort was 'highly selective and founded in a cultural agenda' can be applied to these Dublin merchants.[181] Merchants' subscriptions show that they engaged with literature, religion and politics. An examination of Geale's purchases shows he bought not just necessary items but luxurious and decorative commodities that reflected his success. However, his purchase of luxury goods cannot be taken as a sign that all ranks of merchants could consume to this extent. The purchase of secondhand goods shows that there were various grades of consumption and that different points of a merchant's life required different consumption. Secondhand as well as new and luxurious goods were consumed.

Only the very wealthy members of the middling sort could acquire carriages and similarly costly goods. They could engage in consumption on a level comparable to the professions. While these goods were advertised with greater frequency this does not necessarily mean there was a huge opening of the consumer market. Dublin remained a city which experienced economic highs and lows frequently over the course of this period. Small merchants, petty traders and craftsmen as well as the artisans of the Liberties would have had limited, if any, opportunities to engage with this consumerism. The purchases of Geale and Trumbull must be considered in this context. Rather then characterising their consumption as emulation, it can be seen to show the fine grades of income within the middling sort and used to illustrate a lively picture of middle sort culture. They would have engaged within some of the public social occasions in the city but the extent to which this drew them into the sphere of the gentry is unclear.

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[181] Nenadic, 'Middle-rank consumers and domestic culture', p. 125.

While education was expensive it was necessary to equip sons with the basic skills for their future careers. Education in Trinity College Dublin or even in the King's Inns was not necessary and so the expense of this education points to a desire for an elevated status for their children. Through education and subsequent professional careers, merchants' sons rose to the status of professionals, a small but noteworthy rise. The number who educated their sons at Trinity College Dublin that of those who purchased estates, so it would seem university education was a more immediate concern for these men than their own accumulation of land. This trend shows the degree to which personal factors motivated activities. As a result, the professions appear to have been intertwined with the upper trades and when marriage is considered the connection seems inescapable. Education and marriage were the easiest avenues within the private sphere for a child to make a permanent elevation but marriage was not always an option and only a very small number could marry gentry. Consumption could both entrench merchants within the upper middling sort and elevate them, but it was only a temporary statement. Analysis of activities within the private sphere, marriage, consumption, marriage of children and provision of education and dowries shows that a merchant's status varied throughout his life and his private sphere can tell us much about what his rank and stage at various points.

Chapter 7

Land patterns: investment and social mobility

This chapter assesses, from an investigation of sources in the Registry of Deeds, the land investment of twenty-eight merchants to see what type of property and land they acquired. Case studies at the beginning of this thesis have shown that mortgages, purchase of stocks such as Bank of Ireland stock, insurance, lotteries and investment in corporation and government loans were important sources of income for these merchants, however, a complete picture of financial investment can not be shown.[1] It is not possible to determine that land was more important as a form of investment or that accumulation of land was the main priority for these merchants. However, the frequency with which these men invested in land certainly shows that they desired to accumulate land. Nevertheless, they used land for a variety of purposes so we can not ascribe social mobility as the overriding motivation without correspondence. This chapter investigates the patterns of these twenty-eight merchants and assesses their land accumulation.

Involvement in the property market within the city was a natural consequence of their residence and need to invest. Certainly land accumulation outside the city was sometimes prompted by trade, however, it was more often acquired and sub-let to tenants suggesting use as an estate or for investment purposes. Villas with land, frequently used for retirement, provided an income separate from trade and allowed merchants to retire. Land was often used to secure capital prior to passing it to the next generation to be sold on to provide annuities and inheritance. The accumulation of land shows that it was used for investment and security and resulted in an elevation of status. Land provided the merchants under review here with an income and allowed them to retire from business to live off their rental income. Despite the advantages of acquiring an estate, it will also be shown that Irish merchants acquired these estates less frequently than their Scottish counterparts.

How frequently merchants purchased land says much about the circulation of money through social groups, as money moved from the upper class usually to the commercial world which then used it to purchase entrance to the gentry. The ambition to transcend social barriers and move into the upper class has been recognised as a characteristic of the middling sort. The ownership of land, especially in Ireland, was the

[1] This can be seen when Travers Hartley, John Keogh, Edward Byrne, James Hamilton and Nathaniel Trumbull were assessed, however, investment by the wider financial community has been shown by W. A. Thomas in *The Stock Exchanges of Ireland* (Liverpool, 1986) particularly in his discussion on chapter 2 'Annuities, tontines and lotteries', pp 16-38.

most 'clear-cut social boundary' between the commercial classes and the gentry.[2] Land has been recognised to bestow 'upon its holders a distinctive and enviable status'.[3] This chapter uses results from an investigation of twenty-eight merchants to discuss the patterns of land investment by Dublin merchants in the later half of the eighteenth century.[4] It establishes how many of these merchants invested in land, the nature of their investments, if the estates can be considered those worthy of making rises in status to the level of gentry and states the motivations for purchase of land.

I

In 1776 Adam Smith stated that: 'Merchants are commonly ambitious of becoming country gentlemen'.[5] Contemporary comment has prompted in-depth examinations of the move of British merchants and members of the middling sort into the upper class by the purchase of estates. The greatest and perhaps most controversial of these studies was *An Open Elite* by Lawrence Stone.[6] His study concluded that social mobility was restricted to particular periods when it was easier to 'rise' and also that merchants and professions favoured, instead of large country estates, town houses and manors within commuting distance of urban centres. Stone suggested that as urban centres grew in importance the middling sort felt they could compete with the upper class or 'elite' in urban contexts. Their wealth and importance could be displayed within the city and these men did not have to move to the country to prove their importance. The purchase of estates by merchants was, therefore, overstated. After his study on the Ibbetsons, the merchant family of Leeds which rose to prominence and held vast estates, R.G. Wilson concluded that 'the transition of merchant to landowner was much more complex then Lawrence Stone suggests'.[7] Geoffrey Holmes showed that not only was Stone too narrow in his definition of the elite, but that he failed to recognise more far reaching consequences within the professions.[8] T.M. Devine's study of 163 tobacco merchants in Glasgow revealed far clearer conclusions. 'Most successful tobacco merchants owned estates at some stage during the course of their life...between

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[2] Connolly, *Religion, law and power,* p. 59.
[3] Julian Hoppit, 'The landed interest and national interest, 1660-1800' in Julian Hoppit (ed), *Parliament, nations and identies in Britain and Ireland, 1660-1800* (Manchester, 2003), p. 83.
[4] To avoid confusion and incorrect results two men of the original group of thirty which have been used for this study, James Hamilton and George Sutton have been excluded from an examination of land transactions in the registry of deeds due to the high number of merchants with their names, however, the will of James Hamilton and his purchase of a lease which is verified in *CARD* has confirmed his land on death to have been a retirement villa in Co. Dublin (Will of James Hamilton (NAI, T13312), *CARD,* xi, 324.).
[5] Adam Smith, *An inquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth of nations,* (2 vols. Dublin, 1786), i, 405.
[6] Stone and Fawtier Stone, *An open elite?*
[7] Wilson, 'Merchants and land', p. 84.
[8] Holmes, 'The professions and social change in England', pp 319-320.

1760 and 1790 at least fifty-five held land.'[9] The small merchant community active in Glasgow, which dominated the burgeoning import and re-export trade of North American tobacco, as well as the survival of relevant documents, facilitated such an in-depth and conclusive study. It has allowed Devine to show that just less than one-third of the merchants involved in the tobacco trade dominated it and became successful enough to purchase estates. It must be noted that in Devine's study he incorporated smaller estates than those used by Stone in his study. Stone sought vast estates while Devine noted that in his study 'the typical unit' of land purchased by tobacco merchants 'was very small, normally no more than a few hundred acres'.[10]

While the recognition of the link between ambitious commercial men and the accumulation of land has not prompted a similar case study in Ireland, the phenomenon has been recognised. Irish merchants sought land and estates: 'the conventional view was that Irish merchants after accumulating a small capital abandoned trade and productive economic activity to become landowners and men of leisure.' [11] David Dickson has pointed to the contemporary comments of visitors to Ireland to show that this was a prevailing attitude. 'Even outsiders considered the Irish situation distinctive, with the ports resembling colonies where men go to make money but where they would have no desire to live out their lives.'[12] In Ireland the country estate was an important marker of social status: 'Most Irish gentry families had a country base somewhere, usually consisting of a distinctively large house, a demesne farm, gardens, orchards, and parkland, often adjacent to an estate village or on the site of a former castle'.[13] The estate was an important way of marking out an individual's status as a member of the upper class. Thus, if an individual sought to enter the upper class they needed an estate. The accumulation of land to form an estate has been used to show that an individual wanted to move into the upper class.

Four particularly prominent cases of Irish commercial investment of land in the eighteenth century must have galvanised the belief that merchants sought to invest their commercial profits in land. In 1744 the Colvill estate at Newtown(ards) in Co. Down, owned by Sir Robert Colvill was sold to Alexander Stewart, 'a rich, ambitious Belfast flax-merchant' who already held an estate in Donegal.[14] In the 1760s Nicholas Lawless, merchant and son of the Catholic merchant Robert Lawless, converted to Anglicanism,

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[9] Devine, *The tobacco lords*, p. 18.
[10] Ibid., 19.
[11] Dickson, *New foundations,* p. 133.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid., p. 122.
[14] Johnston-Liik, *MPs in Dublin,* p. 53.

admitting 'he had no motive for the step except social and material advancement'.[15] In 1775 Lawless completed his advancement through the purchase of an estate at Abington in Co. Limerick (3,683 Irish acres) which cost him £26,000.[16] His rental income was £1,104 in 1793 (so he paid roughly twenty-three years rental income for the estate) and matched with an income of £500 per annum from his Bank of Ireland stock (5 per cent on his £10,000 investment)[17] as well as his government debentures and other investments. Lawless must have had a considerable income. In addition, Lawless boasted a parliamentary seat and a £10,000 house on Merrion Square. In 1776 he was made a baronet and acquired a peerage in 1790.[18] Robert Hare, a wealthy Cork provisions merchant, purchased parts of the estate of the earl of Kerry beginning in 1775. The accumulated purchases amounted to £49,000.[19] In 1776 the Caledon estate of the earl of Cork and Orrery was advertised to be sold by auction at the Globe coffee house in Dublin. This event would have attracted the attention of the landed, professional and commercial classes within the city. The estate was sold, almost wholly (5,506¼ Irish acres), to a Derry merchant named James Alexander for £96,500. Alexander, who sat as an M.P. for Derry, was free to sell the political interest which the estate held. It furthered his ambitions to title also. By 1790 he had a peerage and received an earldom ten years later.[20] The sale of such large estates to merchants from 1744, as well as their elevation to titles, would explain contemporary comments concerning the accumulation of land by commercial figures and it is perhaps because of these infrequent but highly publicized sales, as well as the purchase of estates in the aftermath of the William forfeitures, that eighteenth-century Ireland has appeared to be an 'open' society.

II

Factors governing or restricting the sale of land by merchants must be noted. Catholics were restricted in their investment of land until the beginning of repeal in 1778. They could acquire leases for only thirty-one years which meant that security on land could be granted only through inheritance and even this was affected by proportional grants to sons rather than primogeniture. The evidence for this investigation comes primarily from three sources. The first source is the Registry of Deeds, a rich source for this period that has

[15] Hone, 'Biographical notes', p. 499.
[16] Johnston-Liik, *M.P.s in Dublin,* p. 52.
[17] Hone, 'Biographical notes', p. 499.
[18] Johnston-Liik, *M.P.s in Dublin,* pp 52-53.
[19] Dickson, *Old world colony,* p. 79.
[20] Johnston-Liik, *M.P.s in Dublin,* p. 53.

been used in this study to provide evidence of a great number of land transactions. The Deeds have their limitations and these must be considered. The second source is the corporation records of Dublin. Finally, extant wills have been used to show how these estates were divided and what land individuals held on death.

For the purpose of the investigation it is necessary to define an estate. According to Dickson and Johnston-Liik, at the beginning of the eighteenth century there were about 2,000 estates between 2,000 and 4,000 statute acres (c.1,250 to 2,500 Irish acres, which are used in this case study).[21] 'The majority of estates were not compact and often comprised of land bestowing political influence, in different counties, far beyond the county were the landlord normally resided.'[22] Estates as large as 50,000 acres still existed in late eighteenth-century Ireland. Townlands varied in size between 200 and 400 acres and can be considered estates.[23] Land prices rose almost consistently throughout this period. The confidence in land was 'driven by one fundamental assumption: that its value was rising and that rental income of the gentry would rise in its wake',[24] which means that investment for short-term profit must be distinguished from investment for the purpose of retirement or to build up an estate. Devine's examination of Glasgow showed the purchase of estates of several hundred acres[25] (the Scotch acre was only slightly smaller than the Irish acre) which is comparable to the size of an Irish townland and this standard is replicated here. For the purpose of this study an estate will be defined as any holding over two hundred acres. In his study of London merchants Hancock defined a country villa as 5 to 100 acres.[26] The use of 200 Irish acres to judge a holding as an estate shows that it is larger than a villa or a farm.

It will be argued here that estates purchased or acquired through lease in perpetuity became smaller in this period, which necessitates the recognition of holdings as small as 200 acres as estates. While the largest landowners and greatest estates remained in the same families, 'in the early eighteenth century there was a tendency for the very large estates to fragment over time, as sections were sold off or let in perpetuity terms, generally to existing smaller landowners'.[27] These parcels were the land which merchants acquired. The purchase of multiple perpetuity leases which could make up several hundred acres was not uncommon, particularly as landowners would sell land or leases on their estates several

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[21] Johnston-Liik, *M.P.s in Dublin,* p. 19, Dickson, *New foundations,* p. 117.
[22] Johnston-Liik, *M.P.s in Dublin,* pp 19-20.
[23] Dickson, *New foundations,* pp 117-118.
[24] Dickson, *Old world colony,* p. 82.
[25] Devine, *The tobacco lords*, p. 19.
[26] Ibid., p. 287.
[27] Dickson, *New foundations,* p. 177.

years apart allowing investors to consolidate holdings. The desire of commercial figures to purchase small estates was recognised. The agent of Arthur Annesley attempted to persuade him to sell his estate in smaller blocks which would cater to merchants seeking a country seat rather then one purchaser.[28] Indeed, Hans Bailie, one of the cases examined here, acquired parts of the Annesley estate on a lease for 999 years when Richard Annesley raised money from the estates in the 1740s. Merchants seeking small estates were certainly in greater supply than wealthy men who could buy one full estate.

There were two ways of acquiring land: the outright purchase of an estate or a lease. Leases were the most common method of acquiring an interest in land but could vary in nature according to the length of a lease. For this study they were certainly the most important way of acquiring land. A lease allowed the holder rights to land for an annual and stipulated rent. Leases could be granted for a specific term, usually thirty-one years (until 1778 Catholics could lease only for this length, so it was a standard lease length), or for a number of lives ending on the death of the last person. If a lease was granted for a number of lives, then it was more difficult to quantify how long the lease would last and how profitable it would be. It was granted to ensure that an investment in a lease and a landholding could be passed to a son or grandson. These leases were often made for three lives and they offered practical security for a family. Leases made for a specific time period or even a number of lives could be sold. These leases held a clause for renewal or, on payment of a fine, the insertion of a new name to replace a deceased party mentioned within the lease.

The perpetuity lease or 'fee simple' lease gave total control of the land and would have been granted for a fee, usually because the landlord needed to raise finance on their estate. Although not outright ownership, they granted practical possession of an estate. 'Part-sale, part-lease…leases held in perpetuity separated the beneficial ownership from the possession of an estate.'[29] The perpetuity lease, similar to the lease for 999 years, gave the holder the practical possession of an estate and they are considered here as an estate acquired. These leases were expensive but profitable because of the power which they gave the holder. Also, they could be resold. As land prices continued to rise throughout this period this made the perpetuity leases very attractive forms of investment. Rents on these estates were usually nominal because of the initial purchase price. Leases are a fundamental part of this study and the frequency with which they were made, bought and sold is borne out in these merchants' land acquisitions.

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[28] Johnston-Liik, *M.P.s in Dublin,* p. 51.
[29] Johnston-Liik, *M.P.s in Dublin,* p. 20.

III

The land involvement of these twenty-eight[30] merchants makes clear that merchants engaged with land frequently in their lifetime and in a variety of ways. Areas of land investment can be grouped into urban, suburban and rural land. These acquisitions can be further broken down into why they chose these lands. In the city they used these properties for trading premises, warehouses, residential property or speculation. Suburban land was used for commercial and manufacturing, retirement homes or for speculation or re-lease. Rural land was acquired for speculative investment, mortgage, inheritance, retirement or to create an estate. The below table of the general pattern of land investment which emerged from the investigation of land holdings at the Registry of Deeds shows where land was acquired, how, and its use.

Table 7.1

Land accumulation, method and motivation: urban, suburban and rural

Location of property	Urban	Suburban	Rural
Use of property and nature of holding	Trading premises and or domestic residence (lease)	Commercial/ manufacturing (lease)	Speculative investment (lease)
Use of property and nature of holding	Warehouse or storage (lease)	Retirement villa/home with land (lease or purchase)	Inheritance (lease or outright ownership)
Use of property and nature of holding	Property speculation (lease)	Parcel of land, usually inherited (lease or outright ownership)	Retirement property (lease or purchase)
Use of property and nature of holding	Residential property (lease)		Estate (long term or in perpetuity lease or purchase)

[30] See note 4.

Each of these different activities denoted different uses for the land. The importance of the lease in land transactions is immediately apparent as will be shown later in the land accumulations of individuals.

There were several ways in which merchants came in contact with the land market. A merchant acquired or purchased leases, sub-let, sold leases, purchased land, acquired mortgages or made leases. A merchant came into contact with land transactions in a range of ways, beginning with business when he acquired trading premises. He handled land transactions in an official capacity as an executor for family or individuals within a religious community or as a corporation member such as a sheriff or lord mayor. He also dealt with land as part of managing investments for his children or his own retirement. At the very pinnacle of his contact with the land market would have been the purchase of an estate.

As figures with capital, merchants acted as executors and were requested to engage with the land market for others on a regular basis. Patrick Boyd undertook a number of transactions in an official capacity, six between 1768-69 as a high sheriff and witness on behalf of the corporation[31] and four as executor of James Plunkett.[32] In 1790 Nathaniel Trumbull advertised the sale at his premises of an estate of an associate, Maxwell, in Kilkenny.[33] Merchants' frequent interaction with the land market, on behalf of themselves in an urban setting or others, would have made them sensitive to the investment opportunities which land offered. Merchants would have maintained a watchful eye on the economy including land prices. The almost continuous increase in land prices from the 1740s to the Napoleonic wars[34] would have encouraged the notion that it was a safe investment which would reap returns for them or their children. Dickson characterised the involvement of Cork merchants in the land market as 'usually...modest taking the form of lending on mortgage or investment in beneficial leases'.[35] Similarities between Dublin and Cork merchants can be seen. It must be noted, however, that a higher level of participation should be expected from these merchants under review as they were large city traders represented by their specialities as wholesale and wine merchants.

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[31] Boyd made the following leases with Henry Bevan as part of their duties as high sheriffs: 24 Mar. 1768 (Reg. Deeds, 267.236.170804), 14 May 1768 (Reg. Deeds, 270.129.170804), 13 Jul. 1768 (Reg. Deeds, 267.293.171666), 17 Aug. 1769 (Reg. Deeds, 270.369.172326), 17 Dec. 1768 (Reg. Deeds, 266.479.173561), 21 May 1769 (Reg. Deeds, 280.186.181266).

[32] Boyd made the following leases on behalf of James Plunkett: 24 Apr: 1771 (Reg. Deeds, 287.116.185815), 22 May 1771 (Reg. Deeds, 286.222.186306), 26 Jul. 1771 (Reg. Deeds, 286.288.187254), 22 Jul. 1772 (Reg. Deeds, 288.491.192257).

[33] Mr. Maxwell to Trumbull, 7 Nov. 1790 (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, Box 1).

[34] Dickson, *Old world colony,* p. 355.

[35] Ibid., p. 85.

A number of trends can be seen which allow for some broad conclusions about popular ways of investing money in land. These included small and large scale investment in urban leases, purchases of mortgages, purchases of leases of small parcels of land outside the city of Dublin, lands inherited, rural lease speculation, and creating an estate. The overall view would concur with Dickson's assertion then that 'few merchants [were] without some rural property, in fee or leasehold, inherited, acquired as a speculation, or brought in as a marriage settlement'.[36] The low number of merchant leases in some cases can usually be explained by early and unexpected death like Patrick Bellew or Mathew Bailie, who was lost on the *Aurora* c. 1769[37] and who previously had been in business with his father and so did not have to acquire leases on his own account. Patrick Hamilton, who died in 1780 at Twickenham, made only one deed, although he may have purchased land in England. Equally, it was not unusual for Catholic merchants to renew leases several times because of their short duration or in the aftermath of repeal of the penal laws because they were increasing their security on land. The following table shows overall result of deeds relating to land investment for each merchant.

Table 7.2

Number of deeds found to be registered for each merchant relating to their own land transactions[38]

Name of merchant	Properties Registered	Name of merchant	Properties registered
George Alcock	1	James Horan	25
Hans Bailie	9	Henry Howison	7
Mathew Bailie	0	Alexander Jaffray	27
Peter Barré	16	John Keogh	32
Patrick Bellew	1	Joseph Lynam	7
Patrick Boyd	9	Anthony McDermott	2
Edward Byrne	21	Denis Thomas O'Brien	30
John Darragh	26	Valentine O'Connor	17
Thomas Emerson	10	Joshua Pim	16
William Forbes	11	George Reynolds	7

[36] Dickson, *New foundations,* p. 133.
[37] *Dublin Journal,* 27 Apr. 1775, *CARD,* xii, 351, 363.
[38] This table has omitted all deeds that each merchant made on behalf of other individuals and institutions and these figures relate to deeds of land which they owned, leased, or had investment in.

Benjamin Geale	5	Charles Rossell	7
Patrick Hamilton	1	Edward Sankey	3
Henry Hart	1	Henry Gore Sankey	9
Travers Hartley	12	Nathaniel Trumbull	30

Most merchants were involved with the acquisition or sale of a lease or land interest at some point in their lives. Merchants preferred to use leases to acquire land rather than purchase land outright which may reflect a higher level of activity in lease and land transfer although this may simply reflect the rate of registering deeds.

The deeds show the importance of the lease to city traders as their first and last asset in business. In 1785, Henry Hart and his business partner James Hart were forced as a result of bankruptcy to sell the deed of lease to their premises.[39] The company appears to have been in difficulty since the early 1780s which was probably a result of the slump in the Irish economy in the opening years of that decade. A corresponding, although not as bad, crisis in England led to a number of bankruptcies. The accounts of Hart and Hart at the Bank of England show that, while the company did well 1778-80, they were overdrawn by 1780[40] and had practically ceased all transactions with the bank by 1782.[41] Indeed, the last transaction with the bank was in March 1785, just months prior to the auction of their lease, when Henry Hart withdrew £10 11*s*. 10*d*., the remaining balance[42] The lease was the last of the company property to be sold and most humiliating was that the lease was sold by public auction at the Royal Exchange.[43] The auction of their trading premises would have acted as a very public announcement that the Harts' business had failed and that they were not returning to business despite the more favourable conditions in the economy. The lease was important as one of the first and last assets of a company.

The necessity of the lease to acquire trading premises was probably the first experience which these men had with property. The urban speculation of leases and subsequent acquisition of urban perpetuity leases should not be a surprising characteristic of any merchant property holdings and is exemplified by the land holdings of John Darragh. By 1760 Darragh leased at least three properties on Moore Street. Two were

[39] Thomas Burgh, Alderman Kilner Sweetman, alderman, John Hart, Hart, 16 Aug. 1785 (Reg. Deeds, 372.63.247600).
[40] Account ledgers of Henry Hart (Bank of England, C98/2793 (147): 1778-1780 2364, 2555).
[41] Ibid. (Bank of England, C98/2809 (153): 1782-1784 2308,2155).
[42] Ibid. (Bank of England, C98/156: 1784-1786 2325,2155).
[43] Ibid.

leased for ninety-nine years[44] and one for 900 years.[45] One lease gave Darragh a return of £80 immediately (for the purchase of the lease) and £20 per annum thereafter[46] which suggests that Darragh could make approximately £60 per annum from these leases. In addition Darragh held interest in property on Robin's Street (adjacent to Grafton Street)[47] and lower Ormond Quay.[48] Darragh also acquired at least four properties from the corporation which provided favourable leases. By 1773 he had acquired no. 3 Harry's Street (formerly Flint's Croft).[49] In 1774 he purchased the leases of a premise on Clarendon Street and another on Harry Street,[50] and in 1780 he acquired the lease of no. 24 and no. 25 Grafton Street.[51] Darragh was obliged to build houses (the specifications of these houses were made by the corporation and written into the lease as terms and conditions of the sale), but the structures added to the overall profit of the lease.

In October 1780 Darragh purchased a lease of the corporation estate of Ballycullen and Grange in Co. Dublin at the rent of £1. 7*s*. 6*d*. per acre: 'John Darragh being the highest bidder for the remaining 26 acres'.[52] This tract was not the only land which Darragh accumulated outside of the city. In May 1773 Darragh and Richard Spear[53] paid £615 13*s*. *9d*. for 13¼ acres in Rathfarnham.[54] This land was leased just a month later for an unspecified sum.[55] By 1777 Darragh received £37 per annum (the initial lease was sold for £110) for 8¼ acres and a passage behind the garden wall and a dwelling house in Ballygriffin near Malahide[56] and in 1779 he received £22 *16s.* per annum for 11¼ acres on the high road leading from Felim with a dwelling houses.[57] Darragh provided a dowry of two houses for his daughter Susannah.[58] Mary Darragh's inherited her husband's interest in property and in January 1786 (approximately six months after his death) she petitioned for, and was granted, the addition of her name on the corporation leases he had purchased.[59] It appears that the rural leases were his speculative acquisitions and the urban leases made up

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[44] Darragh, John Wills, 9 Feb. 1760 (Reg. Deed. 204.135.134704), Darragh, Jane Burry 31 Dec. 1760 (Reg. Deed. 207.394.137756).
[45] Darragh, George Newtown, 13 May 1760 (Reg. Deed. 203.344.135646).
[46] Darragh, John Wills, 9 Feb. 1760 (Reg. Deed. 204.135.134704).
[47] Darragh, William Walsh, 10 Jun. 1776 (Reg. Deed. 315.228.210021).
[48] Darragh, John Ker, 3 Mar. 1779 (Reg. Deed. 335.322.224586), *CARD,* xi, 324.
[49] *CARD,* xi, 285.
[50] Ibid., 324.
[51] Ibid., viii, 152.
[52] Ibid., xiii, 153-4.
[53] Spear's name does not, however, appear on any of the subsequent leases.
[54] Darragh, Grace Pallin, Richard Spear, 2 May 1773 (Reg. Deed. 295.254.195972).
[55] Darragh, James Smith, 9 Jun. 1773 (Reg. Deed. 297.657.196558).
[56] Darragh, Thomas Taylor, 5 Aug. 1777 (Reg. Deed. 323.140.213021).
[57] Darragh, John Ker, 3 Mar. 1779 (Reg. Deed. 335.150.222856).
[58] John Darragh, Susanna Darragh 5 Jul. 1764 (Reg. Deeds, 228.417.151532), Darragh and Mary Darragh, Susannah Darragh, 19 May 1775 (Reg. Deed. 306.518.204482), Darragh and Susannah Darragh, Dudley Hussey 24 Jun. 1778 (Reg. Deeds, 307.450.204998).
[59] *CARD*, xiii, 461-2.

the foundation of his inheritance to his wife and daughter. These properties were prompted more by investment than social mobility. They maintained Darragh's profits for himself and his family. As such, they kept him entrenched within the middling sort and ensured he remained within this group.

Alexander Jaffray acquired a large interest in urban leases. This speculation proved extremely profitable and between 1769 and 1798 Jaffray sold leases of land for further development in Merrion Square, Ely Place (where Jaffray resided) and Baggot Street, some of the most fashionable areas in the city which then were being developed.[60] Jaffray was very active in the purchase of leases for property in Dawson Street[61] which suggests that he restricted his interest in lease speculation to the most desirable addresses within the city. He also held land in Roebuck, Co. Dublin, where he leased property and sold leases.[62] Jaffray did not own these lands but had purchased the leases to sub-let or sell them when the properties became more desirable. When these leases are assessed together with the at least eight mortgages he purchased between 1781 and 1813 (Jaffray was the most active mortgage purchaser of the twenty-eight merchants analysed here)[63] it can be gathered that the majority of his lease interest was motivated by speculative interests and profit, perhaps with the exception of his own residence on Ely Place. Jaffray appears to have received a significant interest from these properties. His initial investments in the 1770s probably encouraged him to invest more heavily in lease purchase and mortgages.

Between 1811 and 1813 he sold four mortgages and the recorded amount which he invested or made on return illustrates some of his cash flow in these years. In March 1793 Jaffray purchased a mortgage for £2,000 which was sold in June 1811 to John Foyle and presumably included the rate of interest of 5 per cent (later deeds cite this interest rate).[64] This would have earned Jaffray £10 per annum for eight years, a fairly insignificant sum. Yet when this amount is added to the 5 per cent interest received for several other properties it shows that he received over £360 in total interest from mortgages during this period. These holdings included a £1,200 mortgage held for sixteen years on 800 acres of

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[60] Jaffray and Robert Jaffray, John Warmingham and Francis Ryan, 30 June 1769 (Reg. Deed. 274.76.176465), Jaffray, Edward Burne, 27 January 1789, (Reg. Deed. 409.83.266553), Jaffray, Edward Barré, 3 Dec. 1789 (Reg. Deed. 407.545.272149), Jaffray, Edward Burne, 3 Dec. 1789 (Reg. Deed. 414.455.272150), Jaffray to Robert Shaw, 16 Nov. 1802 (Reg. Deed. 541.134.356302).

[61] Jaffray, George Digby, 30 Sept. 1800 (Reg. Deed. 530.141.347394).

[62] Jaffray, Thomas Dillon, 24 Apr. 1799 (Reg. Deed. 517.350.340054), Jaffray, Thomas Dillon, 24 Apr. 1799 (Reg. Deed. 518.58.840054).

[63] Mary Brown, Jaffray, 12 Jul. 1781 (Reg. Deed. 342.108.228583), Jaffray, Robert Norris, 21 Jul. 1789 (Reg. Deed. 404.558.270003), Jaffray, Thomas Needham, Jacob Goff, 7 Mar. 1793 (Reg. Deed. 463.186.296878), Jaffray, John Foyle, 1 Jun. 1811 (Reg. Deed. 664.418.458374), Jaffray and Rawdon Hauntenville, Andrew Reynolds, Thomas Reynolds, 7 Feb. 1811 (Reg. Deed. 664.420.458375), Jaffray, John Shannon, Bejamin Fayle, 1 Jun. 1811 (Reg. Deed. 664.421.458376), Jaffray, Benjamin Fayle and Robert Jaffray, 1 Jun. 1811 (Reg. Deed. 664.422.458377).

[64] Jaffray, John Fayle, 1 Jun. 1811 (Reg. Deed. 664.418.458374).

the lands of Corbetstown[65] that yielded £6 per annum for a total of £96 (he held this land with Rawdon Hauntenville but this was Jaffray's portion), a £1,500 mortgage he held for five years on a house in Dame Street (£7.50 per annum a total of £37 6*s.*)[66] and a mortgage over £4,000 that he held for eighteen years[67] (roughly £20 per annum). Jaffray supplemented his rental incomes and mercantile firm with significant amounts from these mortgages while they also allowed him to secure his profits.

Mortgages were popular with merchants because of the accepted opinion that land value and rental income was rising. The results from the Registry of Deeds does not show the full extent of activities and some of the men within the group may have had more interest in mortgages than the results suggest. Writing to Fitzgibbon in 1795, Lord Alborough described his attempts to buy an estate from a man named Eardley. This letter suggested that Joseph Lynam also accumulated mortgages: 'I understand Mr. Hornby or Alderman Lyneham who acts for [Eardley]...has a mortgage, costs and interests amounting to £5,000...which if paid...[would] complete the sale'.[68] It was not obligatory to register these mortgages and merchants would have been frequently involved with them as Nathaniel Trumbull's correspondence has shown. Mortgages were not the most secure investment and they were not always returned in full with a profit. Travers Hartley suffered the loss of £380 on a mortgage he had purchased when the property was sold for less than the mortgage at public auction in 1778.[69]

The auction of corporation leases of urban properties show how some of these properties came on the market and were sold. The corporation granted long and favourable leases within the city and with a fixed rent they became very profitable. In 1753 Peter Barré investigated city leases to find how many had lapsed and not been renewed at a greater rent. He pursued legal action to recover the unnoticed losses.[70] The corporation constantly looked for new sources of revenue. Leases were auctioned to ensure the highest possible rent was paid. The long terms of these leases made them very desirable. Leases were usually for ninety-nine years and priced by square foot. Rates varied throughout the city but averaged approximately £1 3*s.* 1*d.* per square foot for commercial and city centre properties in the middle of this period (1774). As leases were sold by auction the price

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[65] Jaffray and Rawdon Hauntenville, Andrew Reynolds, Thomas Reynolds, 7 Feb. 1811 (Reg. Deed. 664.420.458375)

[66] Jaffray, John Shannon, Bejamin Fayle, 1 Jun. 1811 (Reg. Deed. 664.421.458376).

[67] Jaffray, Benjamin Fayle and Robert Jaffray, 1 Jun. 1811 (Reg. Deed. 664.422.458377).

[68] Edward Stratford, Lord Aldborough to John Fitzgibbon, Earl of Clare, 30 Dec. 1795 (D. A. Fleming and A.P.W. Malcomson (eds), *'A voley of execrations': The letters and papers of John Fitzgibbon, Earl of Clare, 1772-1802* (Dublin, 2005), p. 243).

[69] Hartley, James Cartland, 13 Jul. 1775 (Reg. Deed. 309.337.205920).

[70] *CARD*, ix, 101-2, 338, 351-2.

varied and Thomas Emerson bought lots in South Strand for £25 per annum in 1760 rather than by square foot.[71] Auctions usually sold lots in close proximity to or on part of a street that gave some traders opportunity to buy leases of significant land.[72] In 1780 John Rose[73] purchased the leases of 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15 Suffolk Street.

The corporation also owned land outside the city, and auctions of rural land show the popularity of small rural leases within the commercial community. In 1780 James Hamilton and John Darragh acquired rural leases through these auctions. The lands of 'Ballycullen and Grange in Co. Dublin' consisting of forty acres were let for 'three lives renewable within seventy years or for ninety-nine years at the option of the taker'.[74] James Hamilton acquired 14½ acres while Darragh took the remaining 25½ acres at the rent of £1 7*s.* 6*d.* per acre.[75] Some plots were acquired for commercial ventures but not all. Though very small, they provided enough land for a house, a garden and a plot for vegetables which would provide a retirement home and reflect the status of the upper middling sort. The land was clearly desirable and the corporation auctions show that these commercial figures desired small parcels of rural land either for residence or retirement, to subdivide and lease further or even for the development of manufacturing. A similar pattern emerged in Belfast during this period where the land within the town and the majority of the surrounding area was part of the Donegall estate. Norman Gamble has noted that Belfast merchants retired to 'mini-estates' which were acquired by leases on this estate and others and which held 'the same place in their owners' affection as the demesne'.[76] Indeed, one successful merchant family, the Kers, acquired and broke up the townland of Ballymazer into small lots to 'cater for a market which was rapidly emerging among the Belfast business community' for small plots of retirement land.[77] These smaller estates would mirror, to some extent, the idea of villas which Stone proposed.

Peter Barré acquired a suburban villa which he leased and to which later retired. This land was acquired not for his commercial investment but for (small-scale) redistribution and retirement. In 1754 Barré leased land in Cullenswood, Milltown, Co. Dublin which he held under a lease of ninety-nine years.[78] The first portion of land he sub-

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[71] Ibid., xi, 238-9.
[72] Ibid., viii, 151-152.
[73] John Rose traded from Andrew Street from 1779 until 1808, sat at the corporation common council for the merchants guild, was appointed high sheriff 1776-7, alderman 1780 and lord mayor 1788-9 (*Dublin Directory,* 1779-1808).
[74] *CARD*, xiii,153-4.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Gamble, 'The business community and trade of Belfast', p. 198.
[77] Ibid.
[78] It is unclear who held this land from Registry of Deeds index as it lists only the seller, however, the time frame of these leases show that the original lease was held for ninety-nine years.

let was of Old Butter Lane for £12 per annum.[79] He also sold a lease in Cullenswood for £100 of a dwelling house with a stable and a walled 'pleasure garden'. This lease was for ninety-four years and the annual rent was £9.[80] This lease also mentions that Barré, who did not retire fully from trade until 1766, resided on this Cullenswood property. The deed mentions that two houses, Barré's and the one to be rented, were similar, adjacent and situated 'on the south west side of the road leading from Dublin to Milltown being part of the lands of Cullenswood'. Both contained gardens and a stable. Perhaps both houses had been built at the same time, though it is unclear if Barré or a previous landowner erected these buildings. In 1761 he sub-let a further 3¼ acres in Cullenswood for £34 17*s.* per annum.[81] By 1764 he sub-let 6 fields (a total of 9¼ acres) for 89 years in Cullenswood, at approximately £60 per annum to John Shea, farmer.[82] Barré may have developed property on this land as two years later he leased a house in Cullenswood to Shea for a further £8 per annum.[83] In the same year he leased a dwelling house, garden and coach house in Cullenswood to William Athenloch for £9 per annum which again may indicate that Barré had built houses on this property or acquired leases from this property which had houses on the site.[84] In 1771 he leased a brick house in Cullenswood, the first dwelling in his deeds to be identified as such.[85] A 1772 lease for £16 2*s.* contained only 1½ acres.[86] By 1775 he was again leased property in Cullenswood but just a dwelling house, coach house, stable, yard and garden (probably very small) at £11 per annum with an additional £5 10*s.* for every lease renewed.[87] Barré's overall leases were small in size and profit. He earned £30 per annum for sub-leasing a house on Bigbutter Lane[88] and £50 per annum for sub-leasing his former trading premise on Essex Street from 1769.[89] At the height of his suburban leasing Barré could have earned £127 19*s.* per annum. His urban leases gave him a gross income of £80, so made greater profits from his suburban rather than his urban leases.

From 1766 Barré advertised his alderman title but no longer as a merchant in the *Dublin Directories* and his address was cited as Cullenswood.[90] This listing shows that

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[79] Barré, John Guest, 11 Jun. 1754 (Reg. Deeds, 165.560.113201).
[80] Barré, Hugh Stafford, 7 July 1754 (Reg. Deed. 171.86.113898).
[81] Barré, Michael Nowlan, 2, 3 Sept. 1761 (Reg. Deed. 213.129.140128).
[82] Barré, John Shea, 5 Mar.1764 (Reg. Deed. 229.152.149762), Barré, John Shea, 2 Jul. 1766 (Reg. Deed. 253.22.161458).
[83] Barré, John Bird,14 Mar. 1775 (Reg. Deed. 307.400.204770).
[84] Barré, William Athenloch, 22 Jul. 1766 (Reg. Deed. 266.515.173933).
[85] Barré, Edward Newlan, 6 Feb. 1771 (Reg. Deed. 309.419.206227).
[86] Barré, Peter Crebessar, 1 Sept. 1772 (Reg. Deed. 290.389.192700).
[87] Barré, Bridget Shea (widow of John), 17 Jun. 1775 (Reg. Deed. 307.213.203773).
[88] Barré, Mathew Reily, 13 Feb. 1755 (Reg. Deed. 242.435.157453.)
[89] Barré, Samuel Lee, 15 Sept. 1769 (Reg. Deed. 269.359.177411).
[90] *Dublin Directories,* 1769-1770.

Barré had retired to his suburban property. The land in Cullenswood which Barré acquired in 1754 acted clearly as a small suburban villa for retirement. The holding was small but he had his own property and in addition to his home he received an annual income from sub-leasing this land. When he retired in 1770 (six years prior to his death) he was established as a landlord in the countryside yet remained within commuting proximity to the city for corporation business. Erecting buildings on these properties made small portions of his lands more profitable and more desirable. Barré also had a legacy to pass to his only son, Col. Isaac Barré, who was well established in London by the time of his father's death. He did not take up residence at these properties but continued to lease them.[91]

Inheritance was an important way for merchants both to acquire land and to create an investment for their children. The long term nature of leases made them ideal for creating an inheritance. Benjamin Geale inherited from his father, John Geale, half a tract of townland in Co. Kilkenny. His father and Joseph Evans had purchased a lease in 1738 of a townland in Co. Kilkenny of 212 acres for £86 7*s*. 1*d*. per annum for three lives. They had intended to divide this tract, but it was impossible for some time. Under a deed of 1767 it was agreed that Benjamin Geale, who had inherited his father's estate on his death in 1750, would take 102 acres and Evans would take 110 acres.[92] Geale's inheritance shows some of the complications which could arise from acquiring an inheritance. John Geale had mortgaged for £400 his part of the land to Joseph Evans and Frederick Falkiner.[93] In 1750 Benjamin Geale married Anne Falkiner, daughter of Frederick Falkiner, and under the marriage settlement it was agreed that Geale would receive £1,000 and inherit Frederick Falkiner's estate, including the land.[94] By a deed of 1763 Geale paid off Joseph Evans and his 102 acres were returned to him.[95] Through repayment of his father's debts and marriage, Geale's case was maintained. While the land was not sizeable enough to be an estate, it was a large country villa which would have provided him a retirement home.

The Pim family accumulated a large interest through leases in land in Kildare. Joshua Pim, Quaker, was son of John Pim, a merchant who moved to London in 1770.[96] He was 'one of Dublin's most powerful Merchants'.[97] Joshua Pim[98] is probably best

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[91] Patrick Barré, Issac Barré, Mary Deane, 13 Jul. 1776 (Reg. Deed. 315.147.209145), Col. Issac Barré, Peter Warren and Stephen Deyton 8 Aug. 1776 (Reg. Deed. 316.10.209142).
[92] Joseph Evans, Richard Baldwin, John Geale, Geale, 2 Jun. 1769 (Reg. Deeds, 273.200.176021).
[93] John Geale, Frederick Faulkiner and Joseph Evans, 4 Jul. 1763 (Reg. Deeds, 220.574.147094).
[94] John Geale, Frederick Faulkiner, Daniel Falkiner, Joseph Evans, Anne Falkiner, Benjamin Geale, 26, 17 September 1750 (Reg. Deeds, 145.171.97502).
[95] John Geale, Frederick Faulkiner and Joseph Evans, 4 Jul. 1763 (Reg. Deeds, 220.574.147094).
[96] Louis M. Cullen, 'Merchant communities overseas, the navigation acts and Irish and Scottish response' in Louis M. Cullen & T.C. Smout (eds.), *Comparative aspects of Scottish and Irish economic and social history 1600-1900* (Glasgow, 1977) p. 166.
[97] Cullen, *From Princes to pirates,* p. 35.

remembered for his proposal for a Chamber of Commerce of Dublin. On his father's death in 1796, Joshua Pim was responsible as the eldest son for carrying out his father's will and disbursing his estate in Queen's County.[99] John Pim had created deeds as early as June 1780 to give his legacy to his children but his speculation of leases made this task extremely difficult.[100] The will of John Pim (not extant) appears to have been concerned with the provision of annuities to his wife, daughters and sons (he had eight children)[101] which were to be provided by the sale of leases he held.[102]

By April 1798 Joshua Pim had begun to break up the estate and sell his father's lease interests and land to provide for the family.[103] In October 1799 Joshua Pim sold a lease of 71 ¼ acres, part of the townlands of Leagh in Queen's County for £2,650 to provide family annuities for John Pim and Tobias Pim.[104] In a further deed made during the same month Pim sold to Moses Pim, a cousin, for £240 the lease to the Queen's County townlands of Dawnerahine, Coole, Clossealane, Ballynacoudagh, Codagh and Culmertagh in Maryborough[105] and assigned Moses Pim two acres of oak woods in the townland of Dermagher.[106] In the following month more of the land in Mountrath was disbursed[107] when the lease of 213¾ acres in Milltown was sold.[108] In September 1802 Pim made deeds relating to his father's will which granted Tobias Pim £612 19*s*. 11*d*. and granted John Pim (of London) and Joshua Pim the remainder of the estates.[109] It is difficult to assess how much of the land that their father had accumulated survived the disbursement of the estates for annuities and inheritance. Pim was most likely left with enough to create a significant landed interest for himself, but when he divided his estate for his sons in 1808 the land he held was in Carlow and Kildare.[110] These lands may have been built up through his own business interest. Nevertheless it shows that despite the complications of settling his

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[98] Joshua Pim, traded with his father at 15, 16 and 17 Usher's Island from 1771, but on his own from 1776 when his father moves to London, he died in 1822 (see appendix a).

[99] John Pim Joshua, John Grub, Tobias Pim, Moses Pim, Pim and John Pim 22 Jun. 1780 (Reg. Deed. 336.386.225326).

[100] Ibid.

[101] John Pim, 1718-1796 married Sarah Clibborn and together they had eight children, settled in Dublin, then London. Their children were: Sarah 1746-1832 (married John Grubb); Joshua 1748-1822, Usher's Island, Dublin; Joseph Pike unmarried (he was partners in a mercantile and banking from with Joshua 1748-1822); Elizabeth, Clonmel; Thomas; John 1752-1829; William; Richard (I would like to thank Jennifer Boyle for this reference from the 'Pim Genealogy' at the Friends Historical Library).

[102] P. Beryl Eustace *Registry of Deed, Dublin abstract will 1708-1832* (Dublin, 1984), pp 143-4.

[103] Sarah Grubbs, Elizabeth Pim, Hannah Pim and Abigail Pim, William Pain, Thomas Pim, Joseph Pim, Richard Pim, Tobias Pim, Pim, 19 Apr. 1798 (Reg. Deed. 512.520.335107).

[104] Tobias Pim, Pim and John Pim, Joseph Williams, 14 Oct. 1799 (Reg. Deed. 521.156.341525).

[105] Pim and John Pim, Thomas Haughton, 18 Oct. 1799 (Reg. Deed. 521.181.341567).

[106] Tobias Pim, Joseph Pim and John Pim, Moses Pim, 18 Oct. 1799 (Reg. Deed. 521.182.341568).

[107] Pim and Thomas Pim, John Pim, 5 Sept. 1799 (Reg. Deed. 522.127.341878).

[108] Tobias Pim, Pim and John Pim, Richard Grace, 26 Nov. 1799 (Reg. Deed. 524.96.342410).

[109] John Pim (deceased), Pim and John Pim, Tobias Pim, 10 Sept. 1802 (Reg. Deed. 549.326.363873).

[110] Pim the elder, John Pim and Joshua Pim, William Pim and John Pim, 28 Sept. 1808 (Reg. Deed. 603.291.412075).

father's estate Pim mirrored the practice of his father and accumulated similar estates to provide an inheritance for his sons.

The sale of land for inheritance was common as bequests had to be carried out and provisions made for younger children. Joseph Lynam was eldest son of Reverend Richard Lynam of Coleraine who had been apprenticed to a merchant in Dublin.[111] Lynam had three brothers, John, woollen draper, William, merchant, and Charles.[112] By June 1764 Reverend Lynam had died and Joseph Lynam divided his estate. In June he sold to Lord Slane the townlands of Glenbuck for an unspecified amount.[113] In December 1764 Lynam sold six houses and land in Coleraine to Robert Magee, again with no price cited. Lynam's brothers were all cited in this deed and clearly had an interest in the sale as the profits were apportioned among the brothers.

Alderman Hans Bailie invested in a large number of rural leases and acquired significant interest in estates in Tyrone, Dublin, Wexford, Mayo and Down which allowed him to create his own estate. Two large leases were made from the earl of Annesley in 1746 and 1749 which included the townlands of Araghter otherwise known as Manor Annesley (1746)[114] in Tyrone and townlands of Killmukbridge in Co, Dublin, Castle Annsely and Ballaghny (1749) in Wexford.[115] Manor Annsley was leased for only 41 years at £41 per annum but the second lease was for 999 years at 5 shillings per acre. In 1762 he leased 10½ acres (part of the above lands) for £10 10*s*. for three lives.[116] By 1763 he had acquired land in Mayo which he sub-let for 21 years for £150 per annum.[117] There is little logic to the acquisition of these properties as they lie in separate counties. They show that the land acquired was fragmented and that the investment would have been made as a good investment rather than to acquire a consolidated estate In his will made in 1772 (a year prior to his death) Bailie divided his lands in addition to his Dublin offices among his sons Richard, Robert and Edward while his daughters were apportioned sums of money.[118] What this makes clear is that the disposal of these long-term leases was done in a manner similar to land which was owned outright. Bailie's sons had been suitably taken care of and once annuities had been provided for his wife and other children (sale or mortgage of his landed interests could take place in order to do this) the remainder would go to

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[111] Gertrude Thrift (ed.) *Roll of Freemen; City of Dublin 1468-1485, 1575-1774,* iii (NLI, MS 797),
[112] Rev. Richard Lynam, Lynam, John Lynam, William Lynam and Charles Lynam, Robert Maggee, 24 Dec. 1764 (Reg. Deeds, 233.221.153617).
[113] Rev. Richard Lynam, Lynam, Lord Slane, 26 Jun. 1764 (Reg. Deeds, 229.483.151390).
[114] Richard Earl of Annseley and Charles Annseley, Bailie, 28 Jun. 1764 (Reg. Deed. 124.50. 83742).
[115] Richard Earl of Annseley, Bailie, 19 May 1749 (Reg. Deed. 140.125.93373).
[116] Bailie, Edward Patterston, 10 Jul. 1764 (Reg. Deed. 232.190.151635).
[117] Bailie, Thomas Adderly, 29 Oct. 1763 (Reg. Deed. 241.111.157185).
[118] Will of Hans Bailie (NAI, T6878).

> my eldest son Richard Bailie for and during the term of his life without impeachment of waste remainder to my said trustees and their heirs during the life of my said eldest son in trust to preserve the contingent remainders remembering to his first and other sons successively in tail male remainder to my second son Robert for life without impeachment....[to be passed] successively in tail male remainder to my third son Edward for life.[119]

The remainder of Bailie's land, on fulfilment of the provision of annuities and inheritance which he had stipulated, was to be passed by tail male order (the land would pass from eldest son and through the male line) through the family. Bailie specified that 'my good friends' Christopher Robinson and Arthur McGuire should dispose of this land for annuities rather than his son who might not have come of age.[120] His acquisitions together provided not only security for his family but land for his sons.

Some of the leases or parts of the land held by leases could be disposed of to provide for women within the family or for children. The sale of leases in this manner shows that land could provide inheritance and was an asset which could be sold to provide financial security for families without an income on the death of a provider. The inheritance of land, as shown by Lynam, Pim and Bailie, rarely meant that this land would be maintained within the family and frequently meant that it would be sold on to grant legacies and provide for the remaining family. It would have been up to the eldest son to decide which leases and land were sold to pay for these legacies. Nevertheless, land was a secure way of investing for the future and these examples have shown an important one to ensure that families maintained their status on the death of a senior provider.

As has been seen by the land accumulation of both John Keogh and Edward Byrne, estates were acquired. Bailie and Keogh, over a period of about twenty years, built up interest in large tracts of land through perpetuity and long-term leases. Byrne waited until he had established his sons and an estate in Co. Down became available before he purchased land outright. Two further estates were purchased by members of the group. William Forbes was a wholesale merchant[121] and a member of the Dublin Society, 1772-4.[122] In 1739 Forbes married Anne Tighe, 'spinster, daughter of James Tighe and sister in

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[119] Ibid.
[120] Ibid.
[121] Two William Forbes were made free of the guild of merchants in the 1730s, William Forbes, Christmas 1733, William Forbes, Midsummer 1735 so Forbes probably traded since the 1730s, he was advertising in the Dublin Directories by 1752 at Jervis Street and was trading at 'Fortick's lane, Ballybough Bridge' from 1770 where he traded until 1773, in 1750 he sat on the corporation common council for the merchant's guild, in 1757-8 he was a high sheriff, in 1758 he was made an alderman and he was lord mayor in 1763-4 and in 1772 he fulfilled the remainder of the mayoralty term on the death of Francis Booker (see appendix a).
[122] Mary Kelleher, *List of Members of the Dublin society, 1731-1800* (Dublin, 1982), p. 15.

law to William and Elizabeth Chaigneau'.[123] While the marriage settlement mentioned only that a sum would be granted to Forbes 'at their discretion', it stipulated that she should be granted '£800 on his death for his wife or all of his property that he owns at death and £36 per annum'.[124] Anne died and in 1741 Forbes remarried Judith Blackhall. In February 1769, after thirty years in trade, Forbes purchased from John Graham of Platin, Co. Meath, the townlands of Druigille or Kellystown, Rouskey and Bruslanstown in Co. Meath (no acreage cited).[125] Forbes paid an initial sum of £225 15*s*. and a further sum of £7,378. In a second deed, dated May 1769, Graham sold land to Forbes Mollagh (otherwise Mullog) in Co. Meath and received an initial payment of £5.13*s*. 9*d*. and a further £1,794 6*s*. payment.[126] The several months of separation between the sales suggest that Graham had been in financial difficulties. Both purchases cost Forbes a total of £9,177 and must have given him several hundred acres. If Forbes paid the standard twenty years' rental income for the estate,[127] then the income from this land would have been £458 per annum which was a sizeable income considering the rental rates would rise further.

In 1773 Forbes leased some of this land in Meath to his nephew including part of the lands of Newstone a total 247 acres in Slane, Co. Meath, for three lives renewable forever at the rent of £14 6*s*. 1*d*. per annum.[128] No purchase price was mentioned for the lease. Just a year later Forbes leased the remainder of these townlands to Arthur Forbes (a probable relation) from Newstone, Co. Meath. This second lease consisted of 258 acres of Newstowne in Slane Co. Meath for two lives.[129] On his death in October 1775[130] his fortune passed to his nephew John Forbes (1750-97). This legacy allowed John to purchase a parliamentary seat. He sat for Ratoath 1776-83 and then for Drogheda 1783-96. Forbes was a founding member of the Irish Whig club. He was a supporter of Grattan and a patriot. In the House of Commons he was 'primarily [a] supportive' figure 'but he was a useful speaker in his own right, and he was adept at pulling strings behind the scenes'.[131] He died at Nassau in June 1797 as lieutenant-governor of the Bahamas. His wealth and

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[123] Forbes, John Forbes, James Tighe, Anne Tighe, 7 Nov. 1739 (Reg. Deeds, 96.230.67405).
[124] Ibid.
[125] John Graham, Forbes, 13 Feb. 1769 (Reg. Deeds, 260.480.174158).
[126] John Graham, Forbes, 22 May 1769 (Reg. Deeds, 269.244.176062).
[127] Johnston-Liik, *M.P.s in Dublin,* p. 52
[128] William Forbes, John Forbes, 14 Sept. 1773 (Reg. Deeds, 298.282.197442).
[129] Forbes, Arthur Forbes, 14 Sept. 1773 (Reg. Deeds, 295.439.197440).
[130] *The Freeman's Journal,* 11 Nov. 1775.
[131] James Kelly, 'Forbes, John (1750–1797)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/67014, accessed 8 April 2008], William Forbes, John Forbes, 14 Sept. 1773 (Reg. Deeds, 298.282.197442), Forbes, Arthur Forbes, 14 Sept. 1773 (Reg. Deeds, 295.439.197440).

success were certainly built from his uncle's commercial success. He inherited his estates and his wealth allowed him to enter parliament and the gentry.[132]

In 1761 Patrick Boyd purchased for £2,229 10*s*. the townlands of Killguade in the barony of Newcastle in Co. Wicklow. The rental income from the land was stated as £100 per annum in 1761,[133] so Body paid twenty-two years rental income. No acreage was cited in the deed but as townlands it would probably have been a couple of hundred acres. Boyd did not leave his work though and continued to trade until 1771.[134] Nevertheless, in 1769 while a high sheriff Boyd advertised his home address as Gardiner Row. A wine merchant, Boyd was clearly a wealthy trader. He appears to have retired by 1773 and advertised as an alderman on Sackville Street in 1776.[135]

By 1782 the land market shifted when the penal laws against Catholic ownership of land were repealed. Catholics could acquire long-term leases and purchase land outright. This change perhaps may have come too late for some members of the group such as Anthony McDermott, who did not invest in land. Keogh and Byrne, as seen in previous chapters, appear to have waited until an appropriate time when an investment arose to place their money in land. Once the penal laws were repealed, and to some extent prior to this date, Catholic land investment mirrored that of Protestants. Prior to the repeal of laws Catholics certainly purchased and made leases, so it is perhaps surprising that a search undertaken for land investment by McDermott shows only two leases: one in 1767[136] and one 1770 with Edward McDermott.[137] McDermott was a substantial merchant and held £8,000 in Bank of Ireland stock.[138] He died in 1785, just seven years after the repeal of the laws affecting Catholics taking leases. Among Catholic merchants in this study, there was no immediate rush to acquire land and several years passed before most invested. Perhaps this period was not long enough for McDermott to invest his money in land. It is possible that as a brandy merchant involved in international trade[139] he was encouraged to invest abroad.

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[132] Kelly incorrectly cites this land as the birth place of John Forbes and his family estate, however, these deeds show the land was accumulated by his uncle and passed to him (Ibid.)

[133] Earl of Ross Richard Boyle, Patrick Boyd, 2 Feb. 1761 (Reg. Deeds, 210.126.138208).

[134] Patrick Boyd was made free of the merchants guild at Michaelmas 1760 by Grace Especial, he was junior master 1769, senior master of the guild of merchants in 1770, in 1762 he sat on the corporation common council for the merchant's guild, was high sheriff 1768-9 and an alderman 1772-1787, he traded from Lower Abbey Street from 1762, he died in 1787.

[135] *Dublin Directory,* 1771-1776.

[136] John Robbins, Edward McDermott and McDermott, Robert Birch, 26 May 1767 (Reg. Deeds, 249.504.165602).

[137] Edward McDermott and McDermott, Christopher Fallon, 1 Sept. 1770 (Reg. Deeds, 271.432.180949).

[138] Hone, 'Bibliographical notes', p. 509.

[139] Cullen, *From Princes to Pirates,* p. 29.

The repeal of the laws offered much greater security for Catholic traders as shown through the investments of Denis Thomas O'Brien who was heavily involved in the accumulation of leases within the city and rural land for manufacturing. In 1784 he leased to Mathew Lynam, distiller, a premises and 'school yard room' on the west side of Swan Alley.[140] In 1786 he leased 31 and 32 Cook Street to John McDonnell for ninety-nine years at £72 per annum.[141] In 1793 O'Brien leased with his partner, John Comerford, two fields (six acres) with a dwelling house in Balbriggan. They held the lease for 999 years and sub-let it for two lives at £35 per annum to James Griffin and Thomas Griffin. In 1795 he sold these leases to Richard O'Brien for three lives for £300.[142] In 1799 he leased to Jane Gannion, linen draper, 'a parcel of ground' on Merchant's Quay which he held in lease from the guild of St. Anne for ninety-five years. In 1801 he inherited, from Thomas O'Brien, interest in land in Beaumont in Co. Dublin which consisted of 23 acres with a dwelling house, gardens and offices for which he received £141 16*s*. 6*d*. per annum.[143] He leased to Gannion for £100 in consideration of the improvements he had made to this parcel of ground (he probably built a house).[144] In 1800 he still held premises on the north side of Cook Street for forty-nine years (probably the remainder of a lease) at £44 2*s*. 10*d*. per annum.[145] In 1804 he sold a lease of a dwelling house in Corn Street.[146]

O'Brien was a significant trader and Cullen has estimated O'Brien's annual trading in linen and cotton goods to have been worth £50,000 or £60,000.[147] Much of this trade came from his manufacturing. By the 1790s O'Brien held leases from John Olafson on manufacturing property in Palmerstown.[148] O'Brien sold these because a year previously he had been faced with bankruptcy and forced to get an emergency loan from the government.[149] In February 1794 O'Brien and a new business partner, Edward Clarke, sold to William Harkness for £3,000 their leases (which they held for three lives) of land in Palmerstown including 'Bogwood Mills' with a dwelling house, stables and garden. No acres are specified but this property does not appear to have been large and the name would imply that it had some type of commercial and manufacturing connection. This partnership held further property in Palmerstown, and in April 1794 he leased to John

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[140] O'Brien, Mathew Lynam, 6 Jul. 1784 (Reg. Deeds, 360.195.241912).
[141] O'Brien, William White, 4 Sept. 1784 (Reg. Deeds, 380.131.153105).
[142] O'Brien, Richard O'Brien, 29 Oct. 1795 (Reg. Deeds, 491.202.317692).
[143] Thomas O'Brien, Patrick Murray, O'Brien, 24 Dec. 1801 (Reg. Deeds, 542.209.357191).
[144] O'Brien, Jane Gannon, 17 Dec. 1799 (Reg. Deeds, 524.226.342805).
[145] O'Brien, Patrick Whelan, 25 Oct. 1800 (Reg. Deeds, 535.224.350436).
[146] O'Brien, Thomas Meade, 19 Oct. 1804 (Reg. Deeds, 569.99.379995).
[147] Cullen, *Anglo-Irish trade,* pp. 97-98.
[148] O'Brien, Edward Clarke, 29 Oct. 1795 (Reg. Deeds, 494.402.332319).
[149] *Dublin Journal,* 14 May 1793, William Drennan to Sam McTier Undated [1793] (Jean Agnew (ed.), *The Drennan- McTier letters,* i, p. 531).

Lawless land adjoining the 'Bogwood Mills' property, a piece of land called 'Lime yard and Mill lane' for ninety-nine years for £68 5*s*. per annum.[150] In the aftermath of 1793 the sale of these leases would have brought much needed money to the business. In 1795 O'Brien made leases in Palmerstown to his ex-partner, Edward Clarke. O'Brien sub-let Wellfield, a parcel of two acres of land which had been part of 'the Old Mill' property and which he held under lease for three lives.[151] This lease was sold in 1797 which shows how transferable manufacturing properties were in the 1790s.[152] In the 1790s O'Brien was diversifying his manufacturing interests and he attempted to branch into the manufacture and dye of wool. In 1799, probably encouraged by war, O'Brien went into partnership with Thomas Curran to establish a dye and wool mill. The partnership lasted only until 1805.[153] It is difficult to assess how the enterprise fared. It was established from the outset for only six years and while the woollen manufacture was in decline as a cottage industry it was becoming more a factory-based production which suggests the enterprise may have been profitable.

O'Brien also invested in mortgages and received £863 18*s*. 10*d*. in 1801, although it is unclear how much he initially invested.[154] He held a mortgage from Patrick Egan of 34 Queen Street for ten years and was repaid £100 in 1803.[155] In 1804 Mark Lynch of Galway repaid O'Brien for a mortgage on 523 acres of land in Galway. Unfortunately the sum is not specified or the rate of interest. Under this deed the land was re-signed to Lynch.[156] In 1810 O'Brien bought a mortgage from Chris Richelle of Lower Gardiner Street. O'Brien acquired the mortgage for two parcels of ground, including dwelling houses and stables, near Parliament Street for £2,000 and £1,603 7*s*. 3*d*. respectively with 5 per cent interest and all sub-letting rights.[157] Interest on these mortgages would bring O'Brien £180 per annum and with the additional rent from two city centre properties the mortgage would have provided a significant annual return.[158]

O'Brien's land transactions show how better placed Catholics were in the aftermath of the repeal of penal laws affecting land. He held far greater security from long term

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[150] O'Brien, John Lawless, 1 Apr. 1794 (Reg. Deeds, 489.349.310083).
[151] O'Brien, Edward Clarke, 29 Oct. 1795 (Reg. Deeds, 494.402.332319).
[152] O'Brien and Edward Clarke, 2 Nov. 1797 (Reg. Deeds, 509.319.332317).
[153] O'Brien, Mark Lynch, 9 May 1804 (Reg. Deeds, 566.343.383578).
[154] Joseph Droduree, John Reade, Alexander McDonnell, William Joseph Brellam, O'Brien, 5 Oct. 1771 (Reg. Deeds, 541.4.355557).
[155] O'Brien, Patrick Egan, 30 Nov. 1803 (Reg. Deeds, 558.334.4372033).
[156] Thomas Curran, Denis Thomas O'Brien, 11 April 1805 (Reg. Deeds, 566.343.383578).
[157] O'Brien, Chris Richelle, 12 Aug. 1810 (Reg. Deeds, 618.254.424563).
[158] While the city centre had moved in a more easterly direction the centre of commercial activity was still Castle centred and the surrounding environs particularly Dame Street (Jenny Price, 'Dublin 1750-1850, Spatial distribution and organization of economic activity ', (M.Sc thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 1981), p. 68).

leases. They provided him with capital when his business was failing in 1793. He had certainly re-emerged as a significant trader after this crisis but the capital which he raised from his leases, £3,000 in 1794 from the sale of a lease in Palmerstown, shows that land was an important asset for his business and helped him survive. Equally, while it can be difficult to establish exactly how much he made from mortgages, they were a significant avenue for him to invest his capital. These assets could be sold and provided an opportunity for investment of business capital and profits. The repeal of these laws opened up new avenues for Catholics to invest their money and to make profits. Catholic merchants, like McDermott, made money regardless of their ability to invest their profits in land but it was an important way to protect capital, as seen by O'Brien's land investment. Therefore the opening of this avenue for Catholics once the penal laws were repealed provided more secure and durable ways for Catholics to invest money and to pass investments to their children. The repeal effectively widened the middling sort to increasingly include Catholics. Another distinguishing factor of Catholic land investment is that Catholics were eager to create outright estates for their children. Keogh and Byrne wanted to establish their sons to land and this desire can be seen among other Catholic members of the group. Denis O'Connor's daughter Maria married Mathew Blake, son of Isodore Blake and O'Connor provided a dowry of £9,000 to pay the debts on Blake's estate of 302 acres (which included a mansion).[159] In contrast O'Brien's son married Maria Ball who brought £5,000 to the marriage on condition that O'Brien leased land to her family.[160]

IV

Land was an important avenue for investment for Dublin's upper middling sort. Merchant investment patterns discussed here show that it was a prized asset. The purchase of mortgages by various members of this study has shown that they used land as a secure investment and to increase profits. They did so in two ways: land was used as collateral to raise money and also to make money through the provision of finance and loans. Government loans were another investment which members of this group made. The investments made in government loans were substantially smaller than Hamilton's investment in civic bonds, and the returns appear small. Nonetheless, these loans show the range of ways in which these merchants invested their money. The wife of Charles Rossell

[159] O'Connor, Maria O'Connor, Isodore Bake, Mathew Blake, 23 Aug. 1803 (Reg. Deed. 557.277.370320).
[160] O'Brien, Denis O'Brien, Marble Clare Ball, Maria Ball, 20 Nov. 1805, (Reg. Deed. 574.234.388191).

received £2 10*s.* per annum on her investment[161] while Alderman Hart, father of Henry Hart received £34 per annum.[162] A 'Mr. Hartley', possibly Travers or his father, invested 200 in a loan in 1746.[163] Government loans were one means to could lodge money securely and create a return. A spate of bank failures in the 1740s and 1750s show that banks were volatile in the early eighteenth century. Government loans were used in a variety of ways. A clause inserted into the 1803 marriage settlement of Maria O'Connor, daughter of Valentine, demanded that her husband invest £1,000 in government bonds.[164] O'Connor wanted to ensure that his daughter would be supported if her husband died and sought the safest investment. These loans show that these investments were used in a similar way to land: for the provision of dowries, income for a family when the provider died, initial capital for business and for general security.

The establishment of the Bank of Ireland created another avenue of investment. As the premier banks and merchants of Ireland were involved in the creation and direction of the bank, traders from across the commercial community invested in bank stock. The total capital sought was £600,000 and those who held £2,000 in stock could be elected a director.[165] The account books of the Bank of Ireland give glimpses of the money lodged by some of these merchants in the years following the foundation of the bank. Edward Byrne's contribution was relatively small at £1,000 in 1793, considering his reputation within Ireland as a merchant of vast wealth. This amount rose to only £3,300 in December 1801.[166] John Keogh invested only £1,000 in two £500 sums in 1797.[167] Valentine O'Connor held only £1,000 in the bank by 1797.[168] Henry Gore Sankey held £7,215 in the bank by 1801, which is the largest extant record of any Sankey's financial transactions.[169] His transaction is comparable to that of Alderman William Alexander, brewer at £8,015.[170] Travers Hartley invested £2,000, the minimum investment to become a director, and a further £2,000 for his son, James Hartley.[171] The high volume of transactions suggest that Alexander Jaffray and Denis Thomas O'Brien, in contrast, used their accounts to transact

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[161] TCD, Mss 7261, f. 50.
[162] TCD, Mss 7261, f. 50.
[163] TCD, Mss 7264, f. 41.
[164] Reg. Deeds 558.124.370319, Reg. Deeds 557.277.370320.
[165] House of Commons, *Acts and statutes, made in a session of Parliament at Dublin, begun the ninth day of October, in the twenty-first year of the reign of George III* (Dublin, 1782), pp. 500-501.
[166] Bank of Ireland Stock Book 1783-1800: Dublin City Archives (Pearse Street) Ms 9, f. 109.
[167] Bank of Ireland Stock Book 1783-1800: Dublin City Archives (Pearse Street) Ms 9, f. 197.
[168] Bank of Ireland Stock Book 1783-1800: Dublin City Archives (Pearse Street) Ms 9, f. 166.
[169] Bank of Ireland Stock Book 1783-1800: Dublin City Archives (Pearse Street) Ms 9, f. 104.
[170] Ibid., f. 277.
[171] Ibid., f. 7, f. 124.

business.[172] Bank lodgements and investment in bank capital and prove these men did not invest their total capital in land.

In his investigation of the Quaker business community in Dublin, Harrison has shown the broad range of investment opportunities taken by Quaker merchants:

> The last decade of the eighteenth century saw an increasing availability of capital. Besides the development of specialist financial institutions such as the Bank of Ireland there was also to be seen an increased investment in public and joint-stock companied or utilities as distinct from the more traditional and still common investment in private, family and mercantile partnerships.[173]

Harrison uses the establishment of the Grand Canal in 1771, the Hibernian Insurance Company in 1771 and the General Insurance Company in 1777 to show that merchants had increased opportunities for investment in loans, stocks and debentures. 'Unfortunately available sources do not enable us to identify the scale of the investment of each.' [174] While we can not quantify the size of the investments made by merchants, it is important to recognise that there were a large number of institutions where merchants could and did place their money and that land was only part of a bigger picture of investment.

V

Wilson's assertion that 'no two landowners are identical' can be applied to these merchants as land investors. They invested in different lands, at different times, for different purposes. Investment in land ultimately relied on profits from trade and this probably provided the largest variable as profits could fluctuate and affect investment. Wilson believes 'it is the idiosyncrasy of their behaviour that makes generalizations about trends so difficult'.[175] Nevertheless, similar practices in land accumulation can be linked to their trade, their community and their mind-set as members of the middling sort. Similarities in their land purchases show the desirability of land. There are reasons why some members of this group did not invest such as early death, bankruptcy and the penal laws. Overall, however, the group's high level of activity shows that merchants wanted land but that they had varying levels of engagement with the land market.

A premises was needed to become an established trader. The second step in land investment was usually to acquire further urban lease interests such as John Darragh's

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[172] Ibid., f. 12, 67, 90, 169.
[173] Harrison, 'Dublin Quakers in Business', pp 251-2.
[174] Harrison, 'Dublin Quakers in Business', pp 251-2.
[175] Wilson, 'Merchants and land', p. 99.

acquisition of corporation premise. For wholesale merchants and merchants seeking to expand their business, a second or third premises could be obtained. These premises were obtained frequently through leases. Thomas Emerson took this step in 1764, as did Edward Byrne in 1780, and James Horan from 1788. Their leases may have been for commercial purposes or domestic properties. The purpose of city addresses is often unclear in the deeds and so private urban residences have not been treated here because of the difficulty of distinguishing them. It is unclear how many merchants lived separate to their trading address but as successful merchants probably quite a few did. When merchants retired, they often advertised an address separate to their trading premises. In 1804, after thirty-five years of trade at Usher's Quay and then Merchant's Quay, Denis Thomas O'Brien advertised his residence at 33 Rutland Square. His sons had taken over his business, and he appears to have retired with an interest in the business. Similarly, in 1812 while advertising only his corporation titles, Henry Gore Sankey put his address at Rutland Square. These were the urban residences of retired men. It is unclear how long they had lived separate to their trading addresses, but it was the mark of business expansion or success to live away from the business premises. They likely lived and traded at one address until they could afford to obtain another city address. Due to the nature of the deeds it is difficult to assess which properties, when acquired, were for business expansion and which was used in a domestic capacity. Regardless, it is clear that several urban leases were acquired by these merchants in a lifetime.

In an official capacity, as executors or members of the civic community, merchants made leases on behalf of others. They knew the value of both urban and rural property from these undertakings. It would have been clear to these merchants that land was a good investment with an increasing return and one which could be disposed of or passed to the next generation by either a lease for lives or a perpetuity lease. The constant sale of leases which emerged in this case study shows that a lease was profitable regardless of how many years remained on it, particularly as confidence in the land market remained and the commercial community showed their confidence by investment. The purchase of a lease for even thirty-one years at a specified annual rent gave the opportunity to sell that lease several years later for a greater sum or greater annual rent.

If merchants wished to invest their profits outside Dublin, then they could acquire land in the suburbs of the city and Co. Dublin. The county was also an area of expansion for business and provided the premises for mills and other manufacturing properties. Auctions for land were made in the newspapers and at coffee houses and the corporation frequently auctioned land. Auctions of the premises of bankrupt traders were often done at

the Royal Exchange from its opening or at the Commercial buildings from 1799. Trumbull's advertisement of Maxwell's estate in Co. Kilkenny at his premises in Abbey Street affirms that these advertisements were not restricted to Co. Dublin property. Wholesale or wine merchants would have had networks in the hinterlands to provide them news of sales. Opportunities to invest in land were advertised within the public realm and the private business sphere. The accumulation of land for investment was hugely important to the middling sort and must be considered separately to land which was acquired for upward social mobility.

Frequently these investments were undertaken through a lease for three lives. The perpetuity lease was also important to the acquisition of land but was not as common as a lease for a term because they were expensive acquisitions. Perpetuity leases were not, of course, as costly as the purchase of an estate outright which was certainly the least common form of land investment. It must be noted that it was highly unusual for these men to leave trade although they frequently retired. Also, on the purchase of an estate a merchant did not immediately retire from trade. They usually waited, presumably until they had built up capital from which to live or were prompted by old age or illness.

There are similarities between this type of land accumulation and that of Hancock's sample in his *Citizens of the world* study which looked at the activities of London merchants engaged in Atlantic trade 1735-85. The first contact his London merchants had with land was for commercial purposes. 'Upon moving to London, the [members of his sample] acquired leaseholds in the city. Initially, these consisted of counting-houses that they also used as dwelling-houses.'[176] They would then acquire a residence separate to their business premises: 'As they prospered, they separated home from office and moved their lodgings to townhouses in more fashionable suburbs'.[177] This new home would be an investment in a fashionable property in the city and usually coincided with the next two stages of property accumulation: 'At the same time that they moved their lodgings to townhouses, they also bought villas in the country.'[178] This country 'villa', which Hancock places as 5-100 acres, was acquired consistently by these Dublin merchants. 'At the same time that they made their first purchases in the City, the [London merchants] also bought overseas plantations, and continued to do so for the rest of their careers.'[179] No evidence suggests that any Dublin merchants studied herein invested their money in this way. This difference can be accounted for either because correspondence has not survived for the

[176] Hancock, *Citizens of the world,* p. 285.
[177] Ibid., p. 285.
[178] Ibid., p. 287.
[179] Ibid., p. 287.

majority of these men so it is not possible to trace their land investment abroad or it was the case that Irish merchants did not have a wealth equal to their London counterparts so they did not purchase plantations abroad. The next step which Hancock discusses was the purchase of country seats which 'were generally purchased even later than villas and in the case of most of them they replaced the villa.' [180] The estates that Hancock identifies are far larger than Irish country seats and usually consisted of several thousand acres. This size indicates the financial strength of London traders in comparison to the Dublin traders who have been looked at here.

Estate purchases were smaller in Ireland. Certainly this study has set out to encompass smaller land parcels and the frequency with which these smaller estates are accumulated suggests a familiar pattern of land ownership. Estates as large as the Caledon estate, 5,506¼ acres, sold rarely. Likewise, few merchants could afford to purchase estates of 3,683 acres as did Nicholas Lawless. For landowners to raise capital but maintain large estates they sold or made long leases of parts of their land. Merchants held capital and were interested in estates that were sizeable enough to increase their status. William Forbes held a total of 505 acres. This land can certainly be considered a small estate. Boyd's paid £2,229 for a small retirement estate. While it was a small estate it was certainly larger then suburban villas like Barré's. These smaller estates were important in the land market and must be considered. Regardless, these merchants acquired land in smaller parcels than the London merchants studied by Hancock probably because their income was smaller.

The penal laws did affect the land investment of Catholics. Prior to the repeal of these laws Catholics could invest only in the short-term for thirty-one years but they did make leases. The importance of leases for business, domestic life and even to build up small retirement estates has been shown above, but the importance of long-term leases must be noted. When Edward Byrne acquired interest in a lease of eighty-one years in 1761, the security which he held with this lease was minimal and the lease stated only that he would, along with three other merchants, pay the rent and occupy the premises.[181] Prior to 1778, leases of thirty-one years were important to Catholics and were used as a way of investing their money and securing limited security for businesses. The examination of the land investment of John Keogh showed this. He had made seven leases before the first repeal of laws affecting land in 1778. Yet the security which long-term leases in the aftermath of the penal laws gave Catholic traders, like Denis Thomas O'Brien, can not be ignored. On the failure of his mercantile firm in 1793 he had security from leases which he

[180] Ibid., pp 287-9.
[181] John Roche, James Forbes, Francis French, Byrne and Owen Dermott, 3 Apr. 1761 (Reg. Deeds, 280.689.185690).

sold. On repeal of the laws there was not a great rush among the individuals in this group to acquire land. It would have taken time to release money from other investments to buy a lease or land. Certainly within a generation those who could afford to buy land did within a few years. Three years after the passage of the law Edward Byrne acquired a lease for ninety-nine years for a commercial property.[182] The delay in purchasing land was probably because they needed time to find an appropriate and affordable investment.

The assessment of the land investment of twenty-nine merchants (including James Hamilton who held a suburban villa) showed that five, Hans Bailie, Patrick Boyd, Edward Byrne, William Forbes and John Keogh, purchased a townland of 200 Irish acres or larger through long leases or outright,. A further six, Peter Barré, Benjamin Geale, James Hamilton, James Horan, Thomas Emerson and Nathaniel Trumbull, acquired outside Dublin a country or suburban villa with some acres. As these men frequently retired to these land holdings it is possible to suggest land was important to them and seen as more than just investment. The villa was a place where they could retire from trade or enjoy the profits of commerce.

Merchants did invest in land, and Dickson's observation of merchants and land in Cork and south Munster applies in Dublin. 'To most merchants purchase of an estate, or of rural land for a residence remained a perpetual ambition, but their contact with the land market was usually modest.'[183] Land appears to have been desirable, and if men were well placed to purchase it outright or by lease they would do so. It is difficult without correspondence and complete financial records to assert that land was the asset most desired by merchants or that it was invested in more than other avenues. Nevertheless, the frequency with which they invested land shows that it was certainly considered highly.

[182] Lady Newhaven, Byrne, 20 Aug. 1781 (Reg. Deeds, 346.30.230105).
[183] Dickson, *Old world colony,* p. 85.

Conclusion

From this examination it becomes clear that the middling sort in Dublin engaged in social mobility through a variety of avenues and there were numerous consequences of their activities within these spheres. Activity within the public sphere could lead to an increased status. Civic, political and associational activity provided opportunities for the attainment of titles, leadership and power. While Catholics were outside the bounds of most government institutions, they successfully participated in politics by creating their own associations. Civic institutions and associations distinguished office holders and placed them above the rest of the middling sort. This rise in status was only a temporary and could not be transferred to the second generation.

Activities within the private sphere offered opportunities for more concrete gains primarily for the second generation. Consumption led to greater comfort and a higher standard of living. It also allowed the middling sort to engage within fashion and to create a façade of equality with the upper class. Marriage and education offered greater opportunities for social gain. Marriage could consolidate the status of a member of the middling sort as it was most often undertaken with another member of the middling sort. When a merchant became successful he could provide greater marriage dowries for his daughters than he perhaps received. This possibility was shown most strongly in the cases where Catholic merchants were examined, such as Edward Byrne and Valentine O'Connor. Merchants frequently married their children to members of the professions. This elevation was small, but it was upward mobility nonetheless. Education acted in a similar way to marriage. Provision of primary education and an apprenticeship allowed members of the second generation to replicate the status of their fathers. Through this merchant families could consolidate their status in the middling sort. If they could finance further education, then they could elevate their status. University education provided members of the middling sort with opportunities to become members of the professions which raised them above the status of tradesmen. Education was important for Catholic and Protestant merchants and members of both groups sent their children to university. The private sphere offered greater scope for the elevation of the second generation and an analysis of extant marriage settlements and university rolls show that it was eagerly utilised. There was a strong connection in the private sphere between trade and the professions which marriage and education made clear.

Education shows that while professionals were educated akin to gentlemen there was a closeness of rank. A merchant had the potential to earn more than a barrister despite

the barrister's legal education which conferred social status. Merchants could use their income to replicate those characteristics which raised the professionals and acquire a library, travel, and educate their children. There were similarities in social and economic position between merchants and professionals which meant that, while rank placed the professional higher than a man of commerce, in reality they shared a similar platform. Land could change this hierarchy and placed the tradesman even higher than the professional.

Land provided an important form of investment. Without a complete examination of investment patterns, which is not possible due to the low survival rate of financial records, it is difficult to consider the importance of land against other forms of investment. The high rate of investment by members of this group suggests a wider pattern of investment in land and its importance as a mark of social status. A majority of members of the group under review acquired land in one form or another; low rates of merchant activity in land can be explained by early death, poor financial situations or the economic climate. It must be noted that land was acquired for a variety of purposes. Acquisition of land was often used to maintain status, rather than to enhance status. Acquisition of urban properties for trading premises and warehouses and the accumulation of speculative leases whether in urban, suburban or rural land all served to entrench an individual in the middling sort. Such acquisitions acted to assist trade or provide annuities and inheritance for retirement or family. The purchase of a lease of land for a retirement estate suggests that a merchant believed he was wealthy enough to leave trade within his life and that he could do so comfortably. Estates provided a rental income, but merchants did not usually retire from trade even when they owned estates. This would suggest that the accumulation of wealth was a greater priority then retiring to an estate.

It has also been shown here that while Catholic activity in the land market was limited by the penal laws to provide them with less opportunity for secure investment, Catholics were shrewd investors and made the best possible use of the thirty-one year lease available to them. They also invested similarly to other merchants despite the penal laws by building up urban, suburban and rural land interests. When penal laws were repealed Catholics did not immediately acquire property. Rather, they waited to acquire estates until they had available finance and found a good investment. Catholics who could afford to accumulate land had all done so within a generation or less of the repeal. A comparison of Protestant and Catholic land investment should be made to show whether Catholic activity was unusual. The comparison made in this thesis has shown that Catholics should not be excluded from an examination of the middling sort and these similarities are important to

understanding Dublin. It is possible to suggest that there were differences in their activities in these spheres although a broader study is needed to confirm this.

The trends which have appeared in this study in associational activity, civic and political involvement, consumption, marriage, education and land have allowed broad conclusions. They show that a framework or set of rules of involvement in the avenues of social mobility can not be applied universally. Differences were not, however, due to confessional variations. While Catholic participation in the public sphere sometimes diverged from that of Protestants, Catholics still participated in the public sphere and used similar forms. Their practice can be linked to the mindset of the middling sort who knew how to use associations, press, business, socialising and wealth to their advantage. Most variations occurred because of personal decisions and preference. Some merchants like Alexander Jaffray showed a strong inclination towards associational activity, some like Patrick Hamilton favoured corporation involvement and others like Nathaniel Trumbull focused on the accumulation of land for retirement,. Economic condition and personal circumstance motivated much of this activity. Life cycle also affected status. Time was needed to build up a fortune to invest in land. Provision of marriage settlements and education for children drained accumulated capital and would have decreased the economic status of a merchant, particularly if a son was taken into business and profits were divided. The point of life at which a merchant's status was assessed must be considered.

The painting for which John Keogh sat for over twenty years after his retirement from trade was probably prompted by the status he held as a result of his career in trade. After a hugely successful career in politics, he could reflect on his career with confidence because it had provided him with the income and security to embark on his political career. Trade laid the foundations for his future in politics and land by providing him with finance to undertake these endeavours. Keogh's estate would have given him the confidence to proudly acknowledge his background. Henry Gore Sankey, in the other portrait discussed in the introduction, looked to his civic career to bolster his reputation and obscured his mercantile roots. In contrast with Keogh, Sankey held small parcels of land. His success instead rested on his political career, which he could not transfer to his children. The significant gains in social mobility that he achieved were impermanent, so he was less confident about his origins in trade. Taken together, these portraits represent the range of possibilities and challenges to social mobility faced by Dublin merchants in the middling sort at the end of the eighteenth century. The accumulation of finance through trade and investments to support themselves and their families and secure their futures was a priority

for these men. While land was accumulated frequently showing that it was important it is very difficult to show that it was their main goal or the most important route of entering the upper class in Ireland.

Appendices

Appendix A: Extant details of each of the thirty merchants examined in detail for this study including: personal, business, public sphere, private sphere and land details of each one.

Merchant 1

Name: George Alcock

Born: unknown **Died:** May 1788[1]

Business[2]

Address: Bow Street (1769), George's Hill (1772).

First advertised as trader: 1769

Partnership: 'Alcock and King' (1774-75), 'Alcock and Lea' (1783-88)

Type of firm/commodity: wholesale merchant and free of the 6 and 10 per cent at the Custom House from 1783[3]

Retired: on death (1788)

Public sphere

Free of the city: Easter 1772[4]

Guild:[5] free: Easter 1772[6]
junior warden: 1773-74
senior warden: 1774-75
junior master: 1775-76
senior master: 1776-77

Corporation: common council: post 1772, pre 75
high sheriff: 1775-76
alderman: 1776-88
lord mayor: 1786-87[7]

Private Sphere

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[1] *Dublin Journal,* 24 May 1788.
[2] Information taken from the *Dublin Directories* 1769-1788.
[3] This suggests they were whole sale merchants and was only advertised in the *Dublin Directories* from 1783.
[4] Gertrude Thrift (ed.) *Roll of Freemen; City of Dublin 1468-1485, 1575-1774,* i (NLI, MS 79).
[5] Information taken from the *Dublin Directories* 1773-77.
[6] List of freemen (NLI, MS 3019, guild of merchants).
[7] There is no full listing for those who sat in the common council (*CARD,* xiii, 473-4, 512, *Dublin Journal,* 7 Oct. 1776).

Religion: Church of Ireland, parish was St. Michan's where he was churchwarden in 1773[8]

Family: His wife died in October 1763 in Sligo, married his second wife Mary Mills of Cherryfield, Co. Roscommon September 1764, daughter Jane, son, George Alcock.[9]

Land

Urban: Sold a lease of a warehouse on Francis Street in 1775[10]

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[8] *Dublin Directory,* 1773, *A list of the persons on whose lives the sum of 175000l was subscribed, pursuant to an Act of Parliament passed in the kingdom of Ireland ... for granting annuities in the manner therein provided* (Dublin, 1777) p. 27.

[9] *Dublin Journal,* 29 Oct. 1763, *Freeman's Journal,* 24 Sept. 1765, *Alumni Dublinenses,* i, p. 7, *A list of the persons on whose lives the sum of 175000l was subscribed,* p. 27.

[10] George Alcock, William Ellison, 12 Aug. 1775 (Reg. Deeds 308.372.205506)

Merchant 2

Name: Hans Bailie

Born: unknown **Died:** 27 March 1773[11]

Business[12]

Address: Abbey Street (by 1738)

First advertised as trader: was trading by 1738

Partnership: from 1761 he advertised at the same address as Mathew Bailie

Type of firm/commodity: wine merchant

Retired: on death (1773)

Public sphere

Free of the city: Christmas 1727[13]

Guild: free: Christmas 1727[14]

Corporation: common council: 1747
high sheriff: 1748-49
alderman: 1748-73
lord mayor: 1754-55[15]

Other: Member of the Ouzel Galley from 1748, member of the Dublin Society (1762-72).[16]

Private Sphere

Religion: Church of Ireland

Family: Wife Anne Bailie, father of Mathew Bailie (eldest son), Richard Bailie (second son), Robert Bailie (third son), Edward Bailie (fourth son). His daughters were Martha,[17] Mary, Catherine, Jane and Anne.[18]

Land

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[11] *Dublin Journal,* 3 Apr. 1773.
[12] Information taken from the *Dublin Directories* 1738-73, the first directory was printed in 1738.
[13] Gertrude Thrift (ed.) *Roll of Freemen; City of Dublin 1468-1485, 1575-1774,* iii (NLI, MS 79).
[14] List of freemen (NLI, MS 3019, guild of merchants).
[15] *CARD,* viii, 453, 455, x, 457-8.
[16] Ouzel Galley transactions book 15 Feb 1748-18 Dec 1823(RIA, Ouzel Galley, MS 12), Kelleher, *List of members of the Dublin Society*, p.5.
[17] Married William Crichlow of Bristol (NAI, prerogative grant book of 1839 fol. 101b), Will of Hans Bailie (NAI, T6878)
[18] Will of Hans Bailie (NAI, T6878).

Rural: Held extensive lands by lease in Tyrone, Dublin, Wexford, Mayo and Down [19]

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[19] Richard Earl of Annseley, Bailie, 19 May 1749 (Reg. Deed. 140.125.93373), Bailie, Thomas Adderly, 29 Oct. 1763 (Reg. Deed. 241.111.157185), Richard Earl of Annseley and Charles Annseley, Bailie, 28 Jun. 1764 (Reg. Deed. 124.50. 83742), Bailie, Edward Patterston, 10 Jul. 1764 (Reg. Deed. 232.190.151635), Will of Hans Bailie (NAI, T6878).

Merchant 3

Name: Mathew Bailie

Born: unknown **Died:** lost at sea c. 1769

Other: In April 1775 the aldermanic board were presented with a resolution by the commons to vacate the seat of Alderman Mathew Bailie. The *Dublin Journal* reported that he had been lost at sea. '[T]he seat of Mathew Bailie, who was supposed to be drowned in the Aurora Frigate going to the East Indies was declared vacant.'[20] In 1770 Alderman Bailie's trading address was given, in the *Dublin Directory'* as 'abroad' and this entry continued until 1773 when he ceased to be listed. A post assembly was called for Thursday 1 June to elect a new alderman in the place of Bailie. He further enlisted the recorder to establish the 'legal and necessary steps... to disenfranchise the said Alderman Bailie. By May disenfranchisement was complete. If the *Dublin Directory* listed Alderman Mathew Bailie as abroad since 1770, and it is probable that he had been abroad since the previous edition of the Directory, then a period of five to six years had passed before the corporation resolved to remove him from the aldermanic council. On his removal, the consultation of legal records to ensure that the seat could be declared vacant and the passing of five to six years suggests that a significant period of time had to pass before the council would replace him [21]

Business[22]

Address: Lower Abbey Street (1760), Bachelor's Quay (1764), Jervis Quay (1766), Abroad (1770).

First advertised as trader: 1760

Type of firm/commodity: wine merchant

Retired: on death

Public sphere

Free of the city: Midsummer 1756[23]

Guild: free: Midsummer 1756[24]
junior warden: 1760-61
senior warden: 1761-62

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[20] *Dublin Journal,* 27 Apr. 1775.
[21] (Finnegan (ed.), *Twiss in Ireland* pp 92-3, *CARD,* xii, 351, 363, 479-482, *Dublin Journal,* 27 Apr. 1775, *Dublin Directory,* 1770).
[22] Information taken from the *Dublin Directories* 1760-72.
[23] Gertrude Thrift (ed.) *Roll of Freemen; City of Dublin 1468-1485, 1575-1774,* i (NLI, MS 79).
[24] List of freemen (NLI, MS 3019, guild of merchants).

junior master: 1762-63

senior master: 1763-64[25]

Corporation: common council: 1756[26]

high sheriff: 1762-63

alderman: 1763-75[27]

Other: member of the Dublin Society (1766-71), member of the constitution club.[28]

Private Sphere

Religion: Church of Ireland

Family: Son of Hans Bailie

Land: n/a

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[25] *Dublin Directory,* 1760-1764.
[26] *CARD,* xi, 504.
[27] *CARD,* xii, 462, 482.
[28] Kelleher, *List of members of the Dublin Society,* p.5, *Constitution Club* (Dublin, 1774), p. 4.

Merchant 4

Name: Peter Barré

Born: unknown **Died:** January 1776[29]

Business[30]

Address: Fleet Street (1752), Essex Street (1762), Cullenswood (1766), Cullenswood and Kevin's Port (1770)

First advertised as trader: by 1752

Partner: Barré and Cloffey (1752-59)

Type of firm/commodity: wholesale

Retired: 1766

Public sphere

Free of the city: Michaelmas 1724[31]

Guild: free: Easter 1728[32]

Corporation: common council: 1750
high sheriff: 1756-57
alderman: 1758-76.[33]

Other: Barré was at the centre of the lord mayor dispute of 1763 and was refused his seat.[34] He was a member of the Ouzel Galley from 1748 and a member of the Dublin Society (1753-70).[35]

Private Sphere

Religion: French Huguenot, he was most likely a member of one of the French churches within the city (St. Peter's or Lucy's Lane)

Family: Wife, Marie Madelaine (*née* Raboteau) his son was Colonel Issac Barré, British MP.[36]

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[29] *Dublin Journal,* 23 Jan. 1776.
[30] Information taken from the *Dublin Directories* 1752-77.
[31] Gertrude Thrift (ed.) *Roll of Freemen; City of Dublin 1468-1485, 1575-1774,* i (NLI, MS 79).
[32] List of freemen (NLI, MS 3019, guild of merchants).
[33] *CARD,* ix, p. 455.
[34] *Dublin Directory,* 1750, *CARD,* x, 505, xii, 463.
[35] Ouzel Galley transactions book 15 Feb 1748-18 Dec 1823(RIA, Ouzel Galley, MS 12), Kelleher, *List of members of the Dublin Society*, p.6.
[36] Peter D. G. Thomas, 'Barré, Isaac (1726–1802)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, May 2006 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1509, accessed 23 June 2008].

Land

Urban: He held a lease of a dwelling house on Digges Street and Essex Street (adjoining the Custom House Coffee Shop).[37]

Rural: Barré held a small portion of land in south Co. Dublin by lease which he subdivided and used for a retirement property.[38]

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[37] Barré and John Marclane Merchant, Rev. Isaac Subremont and Thomas Trantins 23 Nov. 1767 (Reg. Deeds 270.123.170621), Barré, Samuel Lee 15 Sept. 1769 (Reg. Deeds 269.359.177411).

[38] Barré, John Guest, 11 Jun. 1754 (Reg. Deeds 165.560.113201), Barré, Hugh Stafford, 7 July 1754 (Reg. Deed. 171.86.113898).

Merchant 5

Name: Patrick Bellew

Born: c. 1742 **Died:** 6 July 1789[39]

Business[40]

Address: Abbey Street (while in Dublin)

First advertised as trader: 1789 (in Dublin)

Partnership: Bellew began his trading life at Cadiz at the firm of Bellew Lynch, when he returned to Dublin c. 1789 he set up Patrick Bellew & Co. probably to bring his son into business.

Type of firm/commodity: Whole sale/ flour factor, provisions[41]

Retired: on death

Public sphere

Free of the city: n/a

Guild: n/a

Corporation: n/a

Private Sphere

Religion: Catholic

Family: Third son of Christopher and Barbara Bellew, brother Michael Bellew of Mount Bellew, his wife died in 1771, his son, Christopher Bellew, took over his business.[42]

Land

Urban: He refers in his correspondence to taking a lease on a house in Abbey Street but this was not registered.[43]

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[39] Harvey, *The Bellews of Mount Bellew,* p. 128, 133, 138.
[40] Information taken from the *Dublin Directories* 1789.
[41] Harvey, *The Bellews of Mount Bellew,* p. 133.
[42] *The Freeman's Journal,* 4 January 1771.
[43] Patrick Bellew to Michael Bellew, 5 June 1788 (NLI, Bellew papers, MS 27, 133).

Merchant 6

Name: Patrick Boyd

Born: unknown **Died:** 1787

Business[44]

Address: Lower Abbey Street (1762), Lower Ormond Quay 1766, Palace Row (1771), Gardiner Row (private address from 1772), Sackville Street (private address from 1776)

First advertised as trader: 1762

Partnership: Boyd and Woodward (1786-87)

Type of firm/commodity: wine merchant

Retired: on death (1787)

Public sphere

Free of the city: Michaelmas 1760[45]

Guild: free: Midsummer 1760[46]
junior warden: 1765-66
senior warden: 1766-67
junior master: 1767-68
senior master: 1768-69[47]

Corporation: common council: 1762 for merchant's guild.
high sheriff: 1768-69
alderman: 1772-87[48]

Other: He was a member of the Ouzel Galley from April 1769 and Governor of the Work House 1774. He was arrested for the murder of a criminal he was apprehending called Fleming, a member of a gang called 'the Chalkers' in March 1768. He was released and commended for the actions he had taken.[49]

Private Sphere

Religion: Church of Ireland, parish of St. Thomas [50]

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[44] Information taken from the *Dublin Directories* 1762-87.
[45] Gertrude Thrift (ed.) *Roll of Freemen; City of Dublin 1468-1485, 1575-1774,* i (NLI, MS 79).
[46] List of freemen (NLI, MS 3019, guild of merchants).
[47] *Dublin Directory,* 1765-9.
[48] *CARD*, xiii, 480, 534.
[49] *Dublin Directory,* 1774, Ouzel Galley transactions book, 15 Feb 1748-18 Dec 1823 (RIA, Ouzel Galley, MS 12), *The Freeman's Journal,* 1 Mar.- 3 March 1768.
[50] Raymond Refaussé (ed.) *The register of the parish of St. Thomas, Dublin 1750-1791* (Dublin, 1994), pp

Family: Married Elizabeth Birch in 1752 and received £500 as part of the marriage settlement, children Elizabeth b. 1756, George b. 1757, William b. 1758, Richard b. 1760, Patrick b. 1762. In June 1769 the death of his second son, Robert Boyd was reported'.[51]

Land

Urban: Boyd held some urban leases including a premises in Abbey Street [52]

Rural: In 1761 Boyd purchased the town lands of Killguade in Co. Wicklow the rental income was stated in that year to be £100 per annum.[53]

19-27.

[51] Boyd, Richard Birch and Elizabeth Birch, 3 Jul. 1752 (Reg. Deeds 158.9.103933), Raymond Refaussé (ed.) The register of the parish of St. Thomas, Dublin 1750-1791 (Dublin, 1994) pp 19-27, H. F, Morris, 'Finns Leinster Journal, 1769, Births, Marriages and Deaths' in *Irish Genealogist,* 7 (1986-89), 573.

[52] Boyd, Martha Aston, 28 May 1762 (Reg. Deed. 216.264.124786).

[53] Earl of Ross Richard Boyle, Patrick Boyd, 2 Feb. 1761 (Reg. Deeds 210.126.138208).

Merchant 7

Name: Edward Byrne

Born: 1739/40 **Died:** 1804[54]

Business[55]

Address: Mullinahack (1771), Allen's Court and Mullinahack (1786), North Great George Street (1788)

First advertised as trader: 1771

Partnership: Various, in particular with Randall McDonnell, on death his partnership was Randall McDonnell, Andrew Walsh, Patrick Byrne, Mathew Byrne.

Type of firm/commodity: sugar baker, distiller, manufacturer and exporter, wholesale merchant free of the 6 and 10 per cent at the Custom House 1788. It was claimed in 1792 that he contributed £80,000 annually to the revenue of Ireland.[56]

Retired: on death (1804)

Public sphere

Free of the city: n/a

Guild: free: Michealmas 1793[57]

Corporation: n/a

Other: A member of the Catholic Committee from 1773,[58] Theobald Wolfe Tone called him 'the vintner'.[59] He was a member of the General Fire Insurance Company and the Chamber of Commerce.[60]

Private Sphere

Religion: Catholic

Family: Son of John Byrne of Saggart and brother of Mark Byrne who inherited the family farm in Saggart from their father in 1763. Edward married Mary Devine of Cooke Street. Together they had six sons and two daughters: John (the eldest), Thomas, Edward, Patrick, Gerard, Mark, Mary and Celia. Although it is uncertain when Byrne's first wife died he

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[54] Woods, 'Byrne', *DIB*.
[55] Information taken from the *Dublin Directories* 1770-1804.
[56] Maureen Wall, 'The rise of a Catholic middle class in Eighteenth century Ireland' in G. O' Brien (ed), *Catholic Ireland in the eighteenth century: collected essays of Maureen Wall* (Dublin, 1989), p. 80.
[57] List of freemen (NLI, MS 3019, guild of merchants).
[58] Edwards (ed.), 'The minute book of the Catholic Committee', p. 4.
[59] Bartlett, *Life,* p. 116.
[60] *Dublin Directory,* 1781-90.

remarried in July 1792 to Maryanne Roe, daughter of Catherine (nee Mathew) and Philip Roe.[61]

Land

Urban: He held a lease at Mullinahack where his family residence and business premises were and he held various other business and urban premises in partnership and on his own.

Rural: Byrne purchased an estate in Co. Down in 1801.[62]

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[61] Woods, 'Byrne', *DIB,* Will of Edward Byrne (NAI T1829), *Dublin Journal,* 8 Feb. 1763.

[62] Drennan to Martha McTier, 30 Mar. 1801, (Agnew (ed.), *The Drennan- McTier letters,* ii, 690).

Merchant 8

Name: John Darragh

Born: unknown **Died:** 1785

Business[63]

Address: Capel Street (1752), Lower Ormond Quay (1760),

First advertised as trader: 1752

Type of firm/commodity: china/ glass merchant and wholesale merchant, he was made free of the 6 and 10 per cent at the Custom House by 1783

Retired: 1784

Public sphere

Free of the city: Michaelmas 1750[64]

Guild: free: Christmas 1760[65]

Corporation: common council: 1762 for the shearmen and dyer's guild, 1768 for the merchants guild.[66]
high sheriff: 1772-73
alderman: 1773-85
lord mayor: 1781-82[67]

Other: elected to the Chamber of Commerce in 1783 and sat until 1785, member of the Dublin Society (1775-1784)[68]

Private Sphere

Religion: Church of Ireland

Family: Son of James Darragh (dyer), he married Mary Newton 1750[69] and they had one daughter Susannah who married Dudley Hussey in 1778[70]

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[63] Information taken from the *Dublin Directories* 1752-85.
[64] Gertrude Thrift (ed.) *Roll of Freemen; City of Dublin 1468-1485, 1575-1774,* ii (NLI, MS 79).
[65] List of freemen (NLI, MS 3019, guild of merchants).
[66] *CARD,* xi, 481, *The Freeman's Journal,* 12 Nov. 1768.
[67] *CARD,* xii, 5, pp 281-2, xiii, 517.
[68] *Dublin Directory,* 1783-5, Kelleher, *List of members of the Dublin Society*, p. 12.
[69] D. A. Chart, *Marriage Entries from the Registries of the Parishes of St. Marie's, St. Luke, St. Catherine and St. Werburgh 1627-1800,* p. 21
[70] Darragh and Susannah Darragh, Dudley Hussey, 24 Jun. 1778 (Reg. Deeds 307.450.204998).

Land

Urban: He held a high number of urban leases including corporation leases.[71]

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[71] Darragh, John Wills, 9 Feb. 1760 (Reg. Deed. 204.135.134704), Darragh, George Newtown, 13 May 1760 (Reg. Deed. 203.344.135646), Darragh, Grace Pallin, Richard Spear, 2 May 1773 (Reg. Deed. 295.254.195972), Darragh, James Smith, 9 Jun. 1773 (Reg. Deed. 297.657.196558), Darragh, William Walsh, 10 Jun. 1776 (Reg. Deed. 315.228.210021), Darragh, Thomas Taylor, 5 Aug. 1777 (Reg. Deed. 323.140.213021), Darragh, John Ker, 3 Mar. 1779 (Reg. Deed. 335.322.224586), *CARD,* xi, 324.

Merchant 9

Name: Thomas Emerson

Born: unknown **Died:** Sept. 1796 (when his alderman seat was advertised as vacant)

Business[72]

Address: Castle Street (1767), 23 Angelsea Street (1780)

First advertised as trader: 1767

Type of firm/commodity: silk merchant, free of the 6 and 10 per cent from 1783

Retired: 1785

Public sphere

Free of the city: Christmas 1753 (weaver)[73]

Guild: free: Michealmas 1766[74]

Corporation: common council: 1762 as a weaver
high sheriff: 1766-67
alderman: 1770-96
lord mayor: 1775-76[75]

Other: In 1767, when acting as high sheriff, he saved Henry Thomas Rathburn a ship master from London, and his cargo, stranded in Dublin port. He was Governor of the Work House with John La Touche, invited to be Governor of the 'intended Weaver's school', member of the Dublin Society (1768-1798) and a member of the Freemasons (lodge 2, he joined 11 December 1765). Emerson was also Divisional Justice of the police force on its foundation in 1783.[76]

Private Sphere

Religion: Church of Ireland

Family: He married Catherine Howard of Enniskillen 1776 during his Mayoralty. His son was Thomas, entered TCD 6 November 1786, aged 16, graduated BA 1791, which suggests that Catherine was his second wife.[77]

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[72] Information taken from the *Dublin Directories* 1752-85.
[73] Gertrude Thrift (ed.) *Roll of Freemen; City of Dublin 1468-1485, 1575-1774,* ii (NLI, MS 79).
[74] List of freemen (NLI, MS 3019, guild of merchants).
[75] *CARD,* xi, 481, 534, xii, 57, xiii, 512.
[76] Henry, *Dublin Hanged,* p. 139, Kelleher, *List of members of the Dublin Society,* p. 14, *The Freeman's Journal,* 31 Jan. 1767, 7 Oct. 1769, 12 Sept. 1771, Philip Crossle, *Irish masonic lodges* (Dublin, 1973), p. 21.
[77] *Dublin Journal,* 25 Jan. 1776, *Alumni Dublinenses,* i, 216.

Other: Emerson was probably originally from Enniskillen and traded there until the mid 1760s. A deed of 20 February 1763 cites him as 'Thomas Emerson of Enniskillen in Fermanagh, merchant' a 'near relation' of Francis Emerson of Dublin. This would explain his marriage to Catherine Howard 'widow of Enniskillen'.[78]

Land

Urban: Primarily urban premises, he speculated by acquiring and re-leasing other properties and held premises in James Street, Thomas Street, Castle Street .[79] He also held property in Enniskillen.[80]

Rural: He held 40 acres, the lands of 'Bawn' in Queen's County which he sold in 1763.[81]

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[78] Emerson, Francis Emerson, 20 Feb. 1763 (Reg. Deeds 224.161.145338)

[79] *CARD,* xi, 238-9. viii, 151-152, xiii, 37, Emerson, John Harrison, 10 Jul. 1761 (Reg. Deeds 208.546.139693), Emerson, John Harrison, 29 Aug. 1761(Reg. Deeds 213.121.140095), Amelia Gavin, Emerson, 9 Aug. 1762 (Reg. Deeds 219.252.143541), Ross Osbourne Gavin, Emerson, 2 Dec. 1762 (Reg. Deeds 220.206.144633, Reg. Deeds 220.208.144634)

[80] Emerson, Francis Emerson, 20 Feb. 1763 (Reg. Deeds 224.161.145338)

[81] Emerson, Thomas Sankey, 23 Oct. 1765 (Reg. Deeds 239.222.157141)

Merchant 10

Name: William Forbes

Born: unknown **Died:** 1775

Business[82]

Address: Jervis Street (1752)

First advertised as trader: 1752

Type of firm/commodity: wholesale merchant

Retired: On death (1775)

Public sphere

Free of the city: Midsummer 1735[83]

Guild: free: 6 February 1733 or 6 August 1735, two listed[84]

Corporation: common council: 1750

high sheriff: 1757-58.

alderman: 1758-75

lord mayor: 1763-64 and 1772 on the death of Francis Booker[85]

Other: Member of the Dublin Society (1772-74)[86]

Private Sphere

Religion: Church of Ireland, parish St. Werburgh (his first marriage was here).

Family: His father was John Forbes.[87] He married Anne Tighe 29 September 1739[88] and Judith Blackhall 1741. On his death in October 1775 (travelling from Holyhead) his fortune passed to his nephew John Forbes (1750-1797) which allowed John to purchase an Irish parliamentary seat and go on to be a member of the patriot faction in the commons.[89]

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[82] Information taken from the *Dublin Directories* 1752-75.
[83] Gertrude Thrift (ed.) *Roll of Freemen; City of Dublin 1468-1485, 1575-1774,* ii (NLI, MS 79).
[84] List of freemen (NLI, MS 3019, guild of merchants).
[85] *CARD,* ix, 455, x, 472-3, 479-480, *Dublin Journal,* 7 May 1763.
[86] Kelleher, *List of Members of the Dublin Society,* p. 15.
[87] Forbes, John Forbes, James Tighe, Anne Tighe, 7 Nov. 1739 (Reg. Deeds 96.230.67405).
[88] D. A. Chart, *Marriage Entries from the Registries of the Parishes of St. Marie's, St. Luke, St. Catherine and St. Werburgh 1627-1800* p. 123
[89] James Kelly, 'Forbes, John (1750–1797)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept. 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/67014, accessed 8 April 2008]

Land

Rural: He spent £9,177 on land in Meath, no acreage specified.[90]

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[90] John Graham, Forbes, 22 May 1769 (Reg. Deeds 269.244.176062), John Graham, Forbes, 13 Feb. 1769 (Reg. Deeds 260.480.174158).

Merchant 11

Name: Benjamin Geale

Born: unknown **Died:** 1783

Business[91]

Address: Jervis Quay (1760), Ormond Quay (on his retirement in 1768)

First advertised as trader: Geale was an attorney until he married into a merchant firm, so his first advertisement was 1760.

Type of firm/commodity: wholesale merchant

Retired 1768

Public sphere

Free of the city: Christmas 1757[92]

Guild: free: Christmas 1757[93]

Corporation: common council: Geale was made free of the merchants guild in 1757 and resigned as an elected sheriff in 1755- he possibly sat for another guild but does not appear as sitting for the merchants or another pre 1759[94]

high sheriff: 1755 but resigned, elected again 1758

alderman: 1759-83

lord mayor: 1764-65[95]

Other: He ran for parliament for Dublin city in 1771, 1774 and again in 1776. He was city treasurer from 1761 until his death in 1783, member of the Constitution Club, member of the Dublin Society (1765-82).[96]

Private Sphere

Religion: Church of Ireland

Family: The third son of John Geale, he married Alderman Daniel Faulkner's granddaughter, Ann, in September 1750. They had three sons, John who entered TCD

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[91] Information taken from the *Dublin Directories* 1755-83.

[92] Gertrude Thrift (ed.) *Roll of Freemen; City of Dublin 1468-1485, 1575-1774,* ii (NLI, MS 79).

[93] List of freemen (NLI, MS 3019, guild of merchants).

[94] First mention in the corporation records was in 1755 when he was elected Sheriff, this may be because he was elected prior to corporation reform (*CARD,* x, 461-2, 464-5).

[95] *CARD,* x, 477-8, 481-2, xi, 534.

[96] *CARD,* xi, 462, Kelleher, *List of members of the Dublin Society*, p. 17, *Constitution Club* (Dublin, 1774), p. 14.

1768 and graduated BA 1772, Daniel Geale and Frederick Geale, both merchants. His niece, Miss Humphrey, married in 1770. [97]

Land

Rural: Geale inherited 102 acres (Mount Geale) in Kilkenny from his father.[98]

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[97] Hill, *From patriots to unionists* p. 162, John Geale, Frederick Faulkiner, Daniel Falkiner, Joseph Evans, Anne Falkiner, Geale, 26, 17 Sept. 1750 (Reg. Deeds 145.171.97502), *Dublin Journal,* 17 Feb. 1770, *Alumni Dublinenses,* ii, 320.

[98] Joseph Evans, Richard Baldwin, John Geale, Geale, 2 Jun. 1769 (Reg. Deeds 273.200.176021), John Geale, Frederick Faulkiner and Joseph Evans, 4 Jul. 1763 (Reg. Deeds 220.574.147094), John Geale, Frederick Faulkiner, Daniel Falkiner, Joseph Evans, Anne Falkiner, Geale, 26, 17 Sept. 1750 (Reg. Deeds 145.171.97502).

Merchant 12

Name: James Hamilton

Born: unknown **Died:** January 1798[99]

Business[100]

Address: Ormond Quay (1761), Dominick Street (on retirement in 1789)

First advertised as trader: 1761

Partnership: James and Galbraith, his brother, were in partnership 1761-1789

Type of firm/commodity: wholesale merchant

Retired: 1789

Public sphere

Free of the city: Easter 1732[101]

Guild: free: Michaelmas 1775 or Midsummer 1757 or Midsummer 1760[102]
junior warden: 1770-71
senior warden: 1771-72
junior master: 1772-73
senior master: 1773-74[103]

Corporation: common council: 1762 for merchant's guild
high sheriff: 1771-72
alderman: 1773-98
lord mayor: 1779-80[104]

Other: He was city treasurer on the death of Benjamin Geale, a member of the Dublin Society and possibly a member of the Freemasons (lodge 6, a James Hamilton joined 1 March 1781).[105]

Private Sphere

Religion: Church of Ireland

Family: He had two brothers, Dr. Archibald Hamilton and Galbraith Hamilton. His son, James Junior, died while attending Trinity. He was survived by his sister Margery Pomier,

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[99] *Dublin Journal,* 28 Jan. 1798.
[100] Information taken from the *Dublin Directories* 1760-98.
[101] Gertrude Thrift (ed.) *Roll of Freemen; City of Dublin 1468-1485, 1575-1774,* ii (NLI, MS 79).
[102] List of freemen (NLI, MS 3019, guild of merchants).
[103] *Dublin Directory,* 1770-1774.
[104] *CARD,* xi, 480, xiii, 52, 511, 522.
[105] *CARD*, xiii, 521, xv, 496, Philip Crossle, *Irish masonic lodges* (Dublin, 1973), p. 30, Kelleher, *List of members of the Dublin Society*, p. 16.

nephew James Tredenick, who died a fortnight after him and was his executor. He also had nieces Mary Ann Hamilton, Matilda McConchy, nephews, Archibald Tredenick, James Hamilton and William Hamilton, John Hamilton and Galbraith Hamilton.[106]

Land

Rural: In 1780 Hamilton purchased a lease of 14½ acres of land at Ballycullen and Grange Co. Dublin.[107]

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[106] Will of James Hamilton (NAI, T.13311), HF Morris, 'Ramsey's Waterford Chronicle, 1772, Births, Marriages and Deaths' in *Irish Genealogist,* iv (1974-1979), p. 487), *Dublin Journal,* 10 Apr 1790.
[107] *CARD,* xiii, 153-4.

Merchant 13

Name: Sir Patrick Hamilton

Born: unknown **Died:** 22 August 1780 (at Twickenham)[108]

Business[109]

Address: Abbey Street (1752)

First advertised as trader: 1752

Type of firm/commodity: wine merchant

Retired: 1770 when he listed himself as 'abroad'

Public sphere

Free of the city: Midsummer 1745[110]

Guild: free: Midsummer 1749[111]

Corporation: common council: 1750 for merchant's guild

high sheriff: 1752-53

Alderman: 1756-80

lord mayor: 1760-61[112]

Private Sphere

Religion: Church of Ireland, parish St. Marie (he was married there)

Family: He married Elizabeth Meredith in 1747 and a daughter who married Captain Richard Fawcer in 1766.[113]

Land: None registered in Ireland

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[108] *Dublin Journal,* 30 Aug. 1780.
[109] Information taken from the *Dublin Directories* 1752-80.
[110] Gertrude Thrift (ed.) *Roll of Freemen; City of Dublin 1468-1485, 1575-1774,* ii (NLI, MS 79).
[111] List of freemen (NLI, MS 3019, guild of merchants).
[112] *CARD,* ix, 455, x, 453-4, 468-9, 485-6.
[113] D. A. Chart, *Marriage Entries from the Registries of the Parishes of St. Marie's, St. Luke, St. Catherine and St. Werburgh 1627-1800,* p. 20, *Dublin Journal,* 10 Jun. 1766.

Merchant 14

Name: Henry Hart

Born: unknown **Died:** 1796

Business[114]

Address: Eustace Street

First advertised as trader: 1762

Partnership: Henry and James Hart, brothers, were partners, 1762-73.

Type of firm/commodity: linen merchant

Retired: Bankrupt by 1780[115]

Public sphere

Free of the city: Christmas 1757[116]

Guild: free: rolls not extant
junior warden: 1763-64
senior warden: 1764-65
junior master: 1765-66
senior master: 1766-67[117]

Corporation: common council: 1763/4
high sheriff: 1764-65
alderman: 1770-96
lord mayor: 1774-75[118]

Other: He was Ballast officer from August 1772 with an income of £150 per annum and from 1783 he was Divisional Justice of the police force which held a salary of £200 per annum.[119]

Private Sphere

Religion: Church of Ireland

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[114] Information taken from the *Dublin Directories* 1762-96.
[115] Thomas Burgh, Alderman Kilner Sweetman, alderman, John Hart, Henry Hart, 16 Aug. 1785 (Reg. Deeds 372.63.247600).
[116] Gertrude Thrift (ed.) *Roll of Freemen; City of Dublin 1468-1485, 1575-1774,* ii (NLI, MS 79).
[117] *Dublin Directory,* 1763-67.
[118] He is certainly on the council by 1764 but it is not possible to discern which year exactly (*CARD,* xi, 534, xiii, 511, 549).
[119] *CARD,* xii, 218-9, xiii, 441, Henry, *Dublin Hanged,* p. 139,

Family: He was son of Henry Hart, freed Michaelmas 1714, and Alderman and brother of James. He had one son, Robert, who entered TCD 25 October 1786 aged 16.[120]

Land

Urban: Only deed was for the Eustace Street premises with his business partner which they were forced to sell when their business went bankrupt.[121]

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[120] *Alumni Dublinenses,* ii, 376, Edward Stewart Gray, Some notes on the high Sheriffs of Co. Donegal' in *Irish Genealogist,* i (1937), p. 179.

[121] Thomas Burgh, Alderman Kilner Sweetman, Hart and John Hart, 16 Aug. 1785 (Reg. Deeds 372.63.247600).

Merchant 15

Name: Travers Hartley

Born: 1723 **Died:** 28 March 1796[122]

Business[123]

Address: 89 Bride Street (1752)

First advertised as trader: 1752

Partnership: Travers Hartley and Son from 1782

Type of firm/commodity: linen merchant

Retired: Advertised as a trader until death (1796) but he probably retire while he was in parliament.

Public sphere

Free of the city: Michaelmas 1745[124]

Guild: free: Christmas 1757[125]

Corporation: common council: November 1765[126] he had resigned by 8 April 1766[127]

Other: City MP 1782-1790, Hibernian Fire Insurance Company, Committee of Merchants, Trustee of the Royal Exchange, Governor of the Marine Society 1775-1795; Governor of the Foundling Hospital and Director of the Bank of Ireland, member of the Ouzel Galley from November 1762.[128]

Private Sphere

Religion: Presbyterian

Family: In 1747 he married Anne Spencer daughter of Abraham and Sarah Spencer. In 1752 he married Ann Gibton, daughter of Rebecca Gibton, widow.[129] Hartley and Ann had at least eight children who survived to adulthood. In 1783 they were listed in a deed as:

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[122] Johnston-Liik, *History of the Irish Parliament,* iv, 374.
[123] Information taken from the *Dublin Directories* 1752-96
[124] Gertrude Thrift (ed.) *Roll of Freemen; City of Dublin 1468-1485, 1575-1774,* ii (NLI, MS 79).
[125] List of freemen (NLI, MS 3019, guild of merchants).
[126] *The Freeman's Journal,* 16 Nov. 1765.
[127] *The Freeman's Journal,* 8 Apr. 1766
[128] Johnston-Liik, *History of the Irish Parliament,* iv, 374, Ouzel Galley transactions book 15 Feb 1748-18 Dec 1823 (RIA, Ouzel Galley, MS 12).
[129] Hartley, Anne Spenser daughter of Sarah Spenser and Abraham Spenser (deceased), 11 Feb. 1747 (Reg. Deeds 128.507.87777), Hartley and Ann Hartley (nee Gibson), John Faulkner, Godfrey Green Vaughan, 16 Jul. 1783 (Reg. Deeds 353.157.237366), Hartley and Ann Hartley (nee Gibson), John Faulkner, Godfrey Green Vaughan, 16 Jul. 1783 (Reg. Deeds 353.157.237366).

James, eldest, William, second son, Tom, third and daughters Rebecca,[130] Isabella, Elizabeth, Temperance and Ann.

Land

Suburban: His wife inherited from her grandfather 3 houses and 39 acres in Terenure which Hartley rented for £420.12s.6d per annum.[131]

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[130] By 1783 Rebecca had married Richard Litton a merchant at 21 Lower Ormond Quay and a member of the Ouzel Galley (*The city and country calendar; or Irish court registry, for the year of our Lord 1794* (Dublin, 1794), p. 261, *The treble almanack for the year MDCCXCVIII* (Dublin, 1798), p. 70).
[131] Hartley, James Stevenson, 8 Sept. 1792 (Reg. Deeds 455.441.293575).

Merchant 16

Name: James Horan[132]

Born: 1731/32 **Died:** 23 May 1791[133]

Business[134]

Address: Meath Street (1761)

First advertised as trader: 1761

Type of firm/commodity: indigo merchant, starch manufacturer, free of the 6 and 10 per cent at the Custom House from 1790

Retired: on death (1791)

Public sphere

Free of the city: Christmas 1761[135]

Guild: free: Christmas 1761[136]
junior warden: 1765-66
senior warden: 1769-70
junior master: 1770-71
senior master: 1771-72[137]

Corporation: common council: 1768/69
high sheriff: 1771-72
alderman: 1776-91
lord mayor: 1784-85[138]

Other: James Horan joined Freemason Lodge no. 14.[139]

Private Sphere

Religion: Church of Ireland

Family: He married Winifred Brett in 1753. She was a catholic but converted in 1760. An advertisement of a marriage in 1770 of Miss Horahan, daughter of James Horahan of Meath Street to Timothy Lane possibly refers to a sister of his as this daughter is not

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[132] Also goes by Horahan but Horan has been used for this study.
[133] Tombstone listed in Sean Murphy 'Monumental inscriptions from Rathfarnham Graveyard, Dublin', *The Irish Genealogist,* 7 (1986-89), 293-306.
[134] Information taken from the *Dublin Directories* 1761-91.
[135] Gertrude Thrift (ed.) *Roll of Freemen; City of Dublin 1468-1485, 1575-1774,* ii (NLI, MS 79).
[136] List of freemen (NLI, MS 3019, guild of merchants).
[137] *Dublin Directory,* 1765-72.
[138] *Dublin Directory,* 1769, *CARD,* xiii, 511, 516, 523.
[139] Worthy Brother, *Fratrimonium excelsum. A new Ahiman Rezon: or, a help to a brother. With an elegant copper-plate frontispiece. Shewing, the excellency of secrecy* (Dublin, 1770), p. x.

mentioned in the will. His children that are cited are: daughter Elizabeth married Samuel Stock (Hosier and church warden of St. John's), daughter Amy wife of Robert Anthony Sharpe, eldest son James Horan, second son William Horan and Thomas Horan.[140]

Land

Urban: Purchased numerous corporation leases and he held land on Meath Street, Thomas Street and Arundel court[141]

Rural: In 1760 he purchased a lease for lead mines in Tipperary.[142]

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[140] *Dublin Journal* 2 October 1770, *Dublin Directory,* 1780, James Horan, will (NAI, T11306), James Horahan, Winifred Brett, 4 Oct. 1753 (Reg. Deeds 172.240.116054).
[141] *CARD,* vii, 56-7, xi, 286, xiii, 318
[142] Thomas Kneightly and Thomas Holt, James Horahan, 6 Feb. 1760 (Reg. Deeds 206.10.134647).

Merchant 17

Name: Henry Howison

Born: unknown **Died:** 1817[143]

Business[144]

Address: Jervis Street (1769), 14 Dominick Street (1793), 6 New Sackville Row (1803), 6 Westmorland Street (1808), 21 Westmoreland Street (1812)

First advertised as trader: 1769

Partnership: Thomas and Henry Howison (1769-1793)

Type of firm/commodity: linen merchant

Retired: 1816

Public sphere

Free of the city: Christmas 1766[145]

Guild: free: Christmas 1766[146]
junior warden: 1775-76
senior warden: 1776-77
junior master: 1777-78
senior master: 1778-79[147]

Corporation: common council: 1770-72
high sheriff: 1778-79
Alderman: 1783-1817
lord mayor 1790-91[148]

Other: Howison was elected lord mayor in the aftermath of the 1790 mayoral dispute. He declined to run for parliament in 1784.

Private Sphere

Religion: Church of Ireland, parish St. Mary's where he was a churchwarden c.1784-5.[149]

Family: Father Charles Howison, mother Sarah, brother, Thomas Howison, sister Elizabeth.[150]

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[143] Hill, *From patriots to unionists,* p. 187.
[144] Information taken from the *Dublin Directories* 1769-1817.
[145] Gertrude Thrift (ed.) *Roll of Freemen; City of Dublin 1468-1485, 1575-1774,* ii (NLI, MS 79).
[146] List of freemen (NLI, MS 3019, guild of merchants).
[147] *Dublin Directory,* 1775-79.
[148] *Dublin Directory* 1772, *The Freeman's Journal,* 27 April 1790, *CARD,* xii, 417-8, xiii, 343.
[149] *Dublin Directory,* 1784-85.
[150] Will of Charles Howison (NAI T. 13402 1769).

Land

Urban: He held, with Thomas Howison, leases for two houses on Dame Street.[151]

Suburban: Sold a lease of land in Drumcondra in 1807[152]

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[151] Howison and Thomas Howison, Frederick French, Andrew Caldwell and John Swan, 4 Mar. 1799 (Reg. Deeds 525.500.345588).

[152] Howison, John Cash, 23 Jul. 1807 (Reg. Deeds 593.195.402456)

Merchant 18

Name: Alexander Jaffray

Born: unknown **Died:** 1813[153]

Business[154]

Address: Eustace Street (1760), 8 Ely Place and 19 Eustace Street (1783)

First advertised as trader: 1760

Partnership: He was in partnership with his brother, Robert, until 1775 when Robert moved to London. From 1788 he was in the partnership of Jaffray, Fayle and Hautenville, which was just Jaffray and Hautenville by 1792 and until 1802.

Type of firm/commodity: wholesale merchant, free of the 6 and 10 per cent by 1783

Retired: advertisements continued until 1815, but Jaffray junior may have taken over his business and continued to advertise the premises.

Public sphere

Free of the city: Christmas 1761[155]

Guild: free: Christmas 1761[156]

Corporation: n/a

Other: He was admitted to the Ouzel Galley February 1772, was a member of the Committee of Merchants, Hibernian Marine Society, the Chamber of Commerce, Director of the Bank of Ireland, Hibernian fire Insurance, Trustee of the Royal Exchange, a governor of the Magdalene Asylum, subscribed to the fund for the relief of confined debtors, Trustee of Simpson's Hospital, member of the Dublin Society and Governor of the Erasmus Smith School. Jaffray was also a junior Grand Warden of Lodge no. 1 in Ireland, 1799 and 1800 and was a Deputy Grand Mason 1801-1806.[157]

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[153] Hone, 'Notes', p. 493.

[154] Information taken from the *Dublin Directories* 1760-1813.

[155] Gertrude Thrift (ed.) *Roll of Freemen; City of Dublin 1468-1485, 1575-1774,* iii (NLI, MS 79).

[156] List of freemen (NLI, MS 3019, guild of merchants).

[157] *Dublin Journal*, 16 Aug. 1766, 9 May 1778, *The Freeman's Journal,* 23 May 1771, *he treble almanack for the year MDCCXCVIII. Containing I. John Watson Stewart's almanack, II. Exshaw's English court registry, III* (Dublin, 1798), p. 144, *The gentleman's and citizen's almanack, compiled by Samuel Watson, bookseller, for the year of our Lord, 1796* (Dublin, 1796), p. 90, *The treble almanack for the year MDCCLXXXVI. Containing I. Watson's Irish almanack, II. Exshaw's English court registry, III* (Dublin, 1786), p. 12, 76, Richard Lewis, *The Dublin guide: or, a description of the city of Dublin, and the most remarkable places within fifteen miles* (Dublin, 1787), p. 199, Ouzel Galley transactions book 15 Feb. 1748-18 Dec 1823(RIA, Ouzel Galley, MS 12), Philip Crossle & John Herron Lepper, *History of the grand lodge of free and accepted masons of Ireland* (Dublin, 1925), p. 437, Kelleher, *List of members of the Dublin Society*, p. 19.

Private Sphere

Religion: Quaker but he resigned in November 1777.[158]

Family: His father was Richard, he had a brother Robert and a sister. He married Sarah Fayle, and died without issue at Cheltenham in 1813.[159]

Land

Urban: Alexander Jaffray purchased a large number of mortgages and re-leased land on Ely place and Merrion Square.[160]

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[158] Richard S Harrison, 'Dublin Quakers in Business, 1800-1850', M-litt, (1987, TCD), p. 63.
[159] Hone, 'Notes', p. 493.
[160] Mary Brown, Jaffray, 12 Jul. 1781 (Reg. Deed. 342.108.228583), Jaffray, Robert Norris, 21 Jul. 1789 (Reg. Deed. 404.558.270003), Jaffray, Thomas Needham, Jacob Goff, 7 Mar. 1793 (Reg. Deed. 463.186.296878), Jaffray, John Foyle, 1 Jun. 1811 (Reg. Deed. 664.418.458374), Jaffray and Rawdon Hauntenville, Andrew Reynolds, Thomas Reynolds, 7 Feb. 1811 (Reg. Deed. 664.420.458375), Jaffray, John Shannon, Bejamin Fayle, 1 Jun. 1811 (Reg. Deed. 664.421.458376), Jaffray, Benjamin Fayle and Robert Jaffray, 1 Jun. 1811 (Reg. Deed. 664.422.458377).

Merchant 19

Name: John Keogh

Born: 1740 **Died:** 1817[161]

Business[162]

Address: Dame Street

First advertised as trader: 1767

Partnership: Lincoln, son and Keogh (1767-1771, business in dispute and assets frozen from 1771), he traded on his own from that point.[163]

Type of firm/commodity: silk mercer

Retired: 1790/1

Public sphere

Free of the city: n/a

Guild: n/a

Corporation: n/a

Other: A prominent leader of the Catholic Committee[164]

Private Sphere

Religion: Catholic

Family: Son of Cornelius and Abigail Keogh, in 1774 Keogh married Mary Drew daughter of George Drew merchant. John and Mary had at least four sons: Michael (eldest), Cornelius, John and George Drew.[165]

Land

Rural: Keogh had a Co. Dublin estate, Mount Jerome, and held interest in Leitrim, Sligo and Roscommon.[166]

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[161] Woods, 'John Keogh', *DIB*.
[162] Information taken from the *Dublin Directories* 1767-90.
[163] Keogh, *Mary Frances Lincoln,* p. 7.
[164] Edwards (ed.), 'The minute book of the Catholic Committee', p. 44.
[165] George Drew and Mary Drew and Keogh, 4 Aug. 1774 (Reg. Deeds 305.526.203454), John Keogh jun., Michael Keogh, Mary Keogh widow of John Keogh sen, Hugh Trevor and George Drew Keogh, Thomas Dillon, 4 Aug. 1818 (Reg. Deeds 730.496.498432).
[166] James Gallagher, Keogh, William Cooper, 12 Aug. 1775 (Reg. Deeds 307.571.205589), Keogh, William Caldbeck, 17 Jul. 1779 (Reg. Deeds 322.478.220566), Keogh, James Hybrants, 22 Nov. 1784 (Reg. Deeds 359.356.243787), Keogh, James Woods, 22 Dec. 1779 (Reg. Deeds 334.59.222027), Keogh, James Woods, 15 Dec. 1779 (Reg. Deeds 334.60.222028), Elizabeth Clarke (widow of John Clarke), Keogh, 30 Apr. 1784 (Reg. Deeds 356.459.241423).

Merchant 20

Name: Joseph Lynam

Born: unknown **Died:** May 1799[167]

Business[168]

Address: Bachelor's Quay (1761), Bachelor's Walk.

First advertised as trader: 1761

Type of firm/commodity: wholesale merchant

Retired: 1798

Public sphere

Free of the city: Christmas 1764[169]

Guild: free: Christmas 1764[170]

Corporation: common council: 1768-69
high sheriff: elected in 1772 he resigned
alderman: 1772-99
lord mayor: elected in 1778 but resigned.[171]

Other: He was a member of the Ouzel Galley, a trustee of the Royal Exchange, Governor of the Hiberniain Marine Nursery, a member of the Hibernian Fire Insurance Company and a director of the Grand Canal.[172]

Private Sphere

Religion: Church of Ireland, his parish was St. Mary's where he was a church warden in 1774.[173]

Family: Father Rev. Richard Lynam of Colerain in Co. Londonderry, Brother John Lynam of Dublin Woolen Draper, William Lynam of Dublin merchant and Charles Lynam of Drumcondra. John, son of Joseph, entered TCD 9 January 1779 aged 17, graduated BA

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[167] *CARD,* xv, 108.
[168] Information taken from the *Dublin Directories* 1760-99.
[169] Gertrude Thrift (ed.) *Roll of Freemen; City of Dublin 1468-1485, 1575-1774,* iii (NLI, MS 79).
[170] List of freemen (NLI, MS 3019, guild of merchants).
[171] *Dublin Directory,* 1769, *CARD,* xii, 192, 195, xiii, 24.
172 *The city and country calendar; or Irish court registry, for the year of our Lord 1794* (Dublin, 1794), p. 248, Ouzel Galley transactions book 15 Feb 1748-18 Dec 1823(RIA, Ouzel Galley, MS 12), *The gentleman's and citizen's almanack, compiled by Samuel Watson,* (Dublin, 1774), p. 91, Watson, Samuel. *The gentleman's and citizen's almanack, compiled by Samuel Watson, bookseller, for the year of our Lord, 1783* (Dublin, 1783), p. 84, 92.
[173] *Dublin Directory,* 1774.

1782. His only daughter, Sarah, married Hans Hamilton, Captain of 5th Regiment of Dragoons, eldest son of James Hamilton of Sheephill Co. Down, Esquire.[174]

Land

Urban: In 1764 he sold three houses in Colerain which he had inherited with his brothers, from their father.[175]

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[174] *Alumni Dublinenses,* ii, 517, Rev. Richard Lynam, Lynam (executor of Rev. Richard Lynam), John Lynam, William Lynam and Charles Lynam, Robert Maggee, 24 Dec. 1764 (Reg. Deeds 233.221.153617), James Hamilton and Hans Hamilton, Sarah Lynam, 21 Jun. 1787 (Reg. Deeds, 388.152.257349).

[175] Rev. Richard Lynam, Lynam (executor of Rev. Richard Lynam), John Lynam, William Lynam and Charles Lynam, Robert Maggee, 24 Dec. 1764 (Reg. Deeds 233.221.153617).

Merchant 21

Name: Anthony McDermott[176]

Born: unknown **Died:** 1784[177]

Business[178]

Address: Usher's Quay (1738), Arran Quay (1768)

First advertised as trader: 1738

Partnership: This was a family firm and he was joined by his son, Anthony junior, in 1768.

Type of firm/commodity: 'Owned Ships and carried on an extensive trade in provisions.' He traded in paper and brandy merchants they were free of the 6 and 10 per cent at the Custom House by 1783.[179]

Retired: on death (1783)

Public sphere

Free of the city: n/a

Guild: n/a

Corporation: n/a

Other: A member of the Catholic committee from 1773, a member of the Chamber of Commerce, admitted to the Ouzel Galley in 1783, he was chosen to collect subscriptions for the Bank of Ireland and subscribed £8,000 himself. He took the Oath of Allegiance in 1775.[180]

Private Sphere

Religion: Catholic

Family: Married, his wife died in April 1767, he had at least one son, Anthony, who succeeded him on his death.[181]

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[176] Anthony McDermott's name is variably as Dermott and McDermott but the later will be used in this case study.

[177] Mary Pollard, *Dictionary of the members of the Dublin book trade based on the records of the Guild of St. Luke the evangelist, Dublin* (London, 2000), p. 149

[178] Information taken from the *Dublin Directories* 1753-84.

[179] Wall, 'The rise of a Catholic middle class', p. 82, Pollard, *Dictionary of Dublin book trade,* p. 149, Cullen, *Princes and Pirates,* p. 29.

180 Edwards (ed), 'The minute book of the Catholic committee', p. 4, F. G. Hall, in Gerard O'Brien (ed), *The Bank of Ireland, 1783-1946* (Dublin, 1948), p. 37, 509, Ouzel Galley transactions book 15 Feb 1748-18 Dec 1823(RIA, Ouzel Galley, MS 12), *Copies of all the lists which have been returned to the clerk of the Privy Council, or his deputy* (Dublin, 1786?).

[181] *Dublin Mercury,* 28 Apr. 1767.

Land

Urban: Anthony McDermott was involved with two mortgages for approximately £1,500 with Edward McDermott a probable relation and possible business partner.[182]

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[182] John Robbins, Edward McDermott and Anthony McDermott, Robert Birch, 26 May 1767 (Reg. Deeds 249.504.165602), Edward McDermott and Anthony McDermott, Christopher Fallon, 1 Sept. 1770 (Reg. Deeds 271.432.180949).

Merchant 22

Name: Denis Thomas O'Brien

Born: 1736? **Died:** 1814[183]

Business[184]

Address: Usher's Quay (1769), Rutland Square (1805), 23 Merchant's Quay (1805)

First advertised as trader: 1769

Partnership: John Comerford & O'Brien (1769), Comerford, O'Brien & Clarke (1789), Comerford & O'Brien (1795-1801), O'Brien, Meade & Co. (1806),

Type of firm/commodity: wholesale merchant and cotton manufacturer. In 1792 the firm received a severe blow with a depression in the economy and were forced to get an emergency loan from the government.[185]

Retired: 1814 (on death)

Other: Tone described him as 'a rich and timid Catholic of some consequence'.[186]

Public sphere

Free of the city: n/a

Guild: n/a

Corporation: n/a

Other: O'Brien was on the Catholic Committee since 1773, he was elected to the Chamber of Commerce in the place of Anthony McDermott, admitted to the Ouzel Galley in 1800, he was on a committee to erect a statue to Nelson.[187]

Private Sphere

Religion: Catholic

Family: O'Brien had at least three sons, Anthony, Mahon and Denis[188].

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[183] Bartlett (ed.), *Revolutionary Dublin,* n. p. 128

[184] Information taken from the *Dublin Directories* 1769-1814.

[185] Cullen, *Princes and Pirates,* p. 23, *Dublin Journal,* 14 May 1793, Drennan to Sam McTier Undated [1793] (Jean Agnew (ed.), *The Drennan- McTier letters,* i, 531).

[186] 10 Nov. 1792, Bartlett, *Life,* p. 170.

[187] Edwards (ed), 'The minute book of the Catholic committee', p. 3, Ouzel Galley transactions book 15 Feb. 1748-18 Dec. 1823, (RIA, Ouzel Galley, MS 12), Cullen, *Princes and Pirates,* p. 29, 46.

[188] O'Brien and Denis O'Brien, Maria Ball (daughter of Marble Clare Ball) 20 Nov. 1805 (Reg. Deeds 574.234.388191). O'Connor, Thomas Meade, Anthony O'Brien, May O'Connor, 4 Feb. 1803 (Reg. Deeds 573.112.384753), Bartlett (ed.), *Revolutionary Dublin,* n. p. 128

Land

Urban: He was heavily involved in accumulating leases both within the city and the suburbs for manufacturing and business and held land in Corn Street, Cook Street, Beaumount (Co. Dublin), Merchant's Quay, Balbriggan, Swan Alley, Bogwood Mills in Palmerstown and Old Mill in Wellfield, Co. Dublin.[189]

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[189] O'Brien, Mathew Lynam, 6 Jul. 1784 (Reg. Deeds 360.195.241912), O'Brien, William White, 4 Sept. 1784 (Reg. Deeds 380.131.153105), O'Brien, Richard O'Brien, 29 Oct. 1795 (Reg. Deeds 491.202.317692), Thomas O'Brien, Patrick Murray, O'Brien, 24 Dec. 1801 (Reg. Deeds 542.209.357191), O'Brien, Jane Gannon, 17 Dec. 1799 (Reg. Deeds 524.226.342805), O'Brien, Patrick Whelan, 25 Oct. 1800 (Reg. Deeds 535.224.350436), O'Brien, Thomas Meade, 19 Oct. 1804 (Reg. Deeds 569.99.379995), O'Brien, Edward Clarke, 29 Oct. 1795 (Reg. Deeds 494.402.332319), O'Brien, Edward Clarke, 29 Oct. 1795 (Reg. Deeds 494.402.332319),

Merchant 23

Name: Valentine O'Connor

Born: 1744 **Died:** 1814[190]

Business[191]

Address: Bachelor's Quay (1771), 6 Dominick Street (1792), 37 Granby Row (1798), 5 Granby Row/Place (1803).

First advertised as trader: 1771

Partnership: This was a family firm which Valentine, Hugh and Malachy carried on from their father's firm, Hugh O'Connor had branches in Dublin, London and the Isle of Man.[192] From 1804 Valentine was in partnership with Edward Moore.

Type of firm/commodity: wholesale merchant, they dealt in cotton, sugar, wine, rum and spirits, mainly provisions.[193]

Retired: on death (1814)

Public sphere

Free of the city: rejected in 1793

Guild: n/a

Corporation: n/a

Other: A member of the Catholic Committee since 1781, a member of the first council of the chamber of commerce, he was on a committee to erect a statue to Nelson, Catholic Committee.[194]

Private Sphere

Religion: Catholic.

Family: Father Hugh, brothers, Hugh and Malachy, daughter May married Anthony O'Brien, son of Denis Thomas O'Brien and daughter Maria married into a landed family on her marriage to Mathew Blake.[195]

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[190] Hill, *From patriots to unionists,* p. 233

[191] Information taken from the *Dublin Directories* 1771-1814.

[192] Wall, 'The rise of a Catholic middle class', p. 81.

[193] Ibid, 82.

[194] Edwards (ed), 'The minute book of the Catholic committee', p. 56, Hill, *From patriots to unionists,* p. 276, 233.

[195] O'Connor, Thomas Meade, Anthony O'Brien, May O'Connor, 4 Feb. 1803 (Reg. Deeds 573.112.384753), Maria O'Connor, Maurice Blake, Hugh Connor, O'Connor, 3 Aug. 1803 (Reg. Deeds 558.124.370319, Reg. Deeds 557.277.370320).

Land

Urban: O'Connor held properties on Kevin's Street, Bachelor's Walk, Dame Street, James Street, New Row, Granby Row and Beresford Place, all in Dublin and a premises on Stardyle Street in the town of Athlone.[196]

Suburban: He held 31 acres in Butterfield lane, Rathfarnham (probably for manufacturing).[197]

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[196] O'Connor and Malachy O'Connor and William Cook, Maria Steel, 29 Jan. 1791 (Reg. Deeds 431.207.279733), O'Connor, Henry Waring, 7 Jun. 1791 (Reg. Deeds 436.385.282637), O'Connor, Charles Cox, 9 Jul. 1795 (Reg. Deeds 490.500.313/5924), O'Connor and John Castigan, Peter Roe and George Drewer 1 Oct. 1802 (Reg. Deeds 538.329.358210), O'Connor, Hugh O Connor, Malachy O Connor, Edward Moore 10 May 1804 (Reg. Deeds 570.448.382379), Robert Howard, O'Connor, 1 Jun. 1809 (Reg. Deeds 612.414.419176), John Cockburn, John Cockburn, 2 Jul. 1808 (Reg. Deeds 634.107.432950).

[197] George Drennan and O'Connor, Joshua Andrews, 12 Jan. 1802 (Reg. Deeds 553.335.365245)

Merchant 24

Name: Joshua Pim

Born: unknown **Died:** 1822

Business[198]

Address: 15 Usher's Island

First advertised as trader: 1771 (with his father)

Partnership: Father, John Pim (also John Pim Joshua or John Joshua Pim) moved to London in 1770 leaving him with the Dublin firm.

Type of firm/commodity: cloth, worsted yarn, wholesale merchant

Retired: On death (1822)

Public sphere

Free of the city: 1754 Christmas[199]

Guild: free: Midsummer 1760[200]

Corporation: n/a

Other: presented the original proposal for the Chamber of Commerce with John Patrick, was a member of the Ouzel Galley by 1776, member of the Dublin Society.[201]

Private Sphere

Religion: Quaker

Family: John Pim, 1718-96, married Sarah Clibborn and together they had eight children, settled in Dublin, then London. I. Sarah 1746-1832 (married John Grubb), II Joshua 1748-1822, Usher's Island, Dublin, III Joseph Pike? unmarried (he was partners in a mercantile and banking from with Joshua 1748-1822) V Elizabeth, Clonmel V. Thomas VI John 1752-1829 VII William VIII Richard [202]

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[198] Information taken from the *Dublin Directories* 1771-1822.
[199] Gertrude Thrift (ed.) *Roll of Freemen; City of Dublin 1468-1485, 1575-1774,* iii (NLI, MS 79).
[200] List of freemen (NLI, MS 3019, guild of merchants).
[201] Cullen, *Princes and Pirates,* p. 45, Ouzel Galley transactions book 15 Feb. 1748-18 Dec. 1823(RIA, Ouzel Galley, MS 12), Kelleher, *List of members of the Dublin Society*, p. 26.
[202] 'Pim Genealogy' (Friends Historical Library).

Land

Rural: Pim was responsible for disbursing his father's land and it is very difficult to assess how much of this land he held once inheritance and disbursements had been provided for.[203]

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[203] Tobias Pim, Pim and John Pim, Joseph Williams, 14 Oct. 1799 (Reg. Deed. 521.156.341525), Pim and John Pim, Thomas Haughton, 18 Oct. 1799 (Reg. Deed. 521.181.341567), Tobias Pim, Joseph Pim and John Pim, Moses Pim, 18 Oct. 1799 (Reg. Deed. 521.182.341568), Pim and Thomas Pim, John Pim, 5 Sept. 1799 (Reg. Deed. 522.127.341878), Tobias Pim, Joshua Pim and John Pim, Richard Grace, 26 Nov. 1799 (Reg. Deed. 524.96.342410), John Pim Joshua (deceased), Pim and John Pim, Tobias Pim, 10 Sept. 1802 (Reg. Deed. 549.326.363873), Pim, John Pim and Joshua Pim, William Pim and John Pim, 28 Sept. 1808 (Reg. Deed. 603.291.412075).

Merchant 25

Name: George Reynolds

Born: unknown **Died:** 1772[204]

Business[205]

Address: Earl Street

First advertised as trader: trading by 1752

Type of firm/commodity: wholesale merchant

Retired: 1771 (he was mayor in this year and did not advertise his business)

Public sphere

Free of the city: Christmas 1745[206]

Guild: free Christmas 1745[207]

Corporation: common council: c. 1748-50

high sheriff: 1750-51

alderman: 1764-72

lord mayor: 1770-71[208]

Private Sphere

Religion: Church of Ireland, his parish was St. Catherine's[209]

Family: Father and business partner, John, wife, Elizabeth (nee Noy) married c. 1740, son, William born 1753, Daughter, Elizabeth, married in 1765.[210]

Land

Urban and suburban: He held premises on Earl Street, Thomas Street and some land in Crumlin.[211]

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[204] *Dublin Journal,* 23 May 1772.
[205] Information taken from the *Dublin Directories* 1752-72.
[206] Gertrude Thrift (ed.) *Roll of Freemen; City of Dublin 1468-1485, 1575-1774,* iv (NLI, MS 79).
[207] List of freemen (NLI, MS 3019, guild of merchants).
[208] *CARD,* ix, 457, x, 503, xiii, 511.
[209] His son was baptized in 1752 and his daughter was married there (RCB Parish Registry St. Catherine's: Baptisms, c. 1699-1966, f.117.1.2)
[210] George Reynolds and John Reynolds, Edward Noy and Elizabeth Noy, 29 Dec. 1740 (Reg. Deeds 103.7.70403), *Dublin Journal,* 21 May 1765.
[211] John Reynolds, Reynolds, William Brownlow, 15 Dec. 1764 (Reg. Deeds 232.451/7.153489) Reynolds, Rachel Carlton, 18 May 1772 (Reg. Deeds 291.212.191178), Reynolds, John King, 15 May 1770 (Reg. Deeds 281.77.181449).

Merchant 26

Name: Charles Rossell

Born: unknown **Died:** February 1772[212]

Business[213]

Address: Lower Abbey Street

First advertised as trader: by 1752

Type of firm/commodity: wholesale merchant

Retired: 1764

Public sphere

Free of the city: Christmas 1748[214]

Guild: free: Christmas 1748[215]

Corporation: common council: 1750
high sheriff: 1755-56
alderman: 1757-72
lord mayor: 1762-63[216]

Private Sphere

Religion: Church of Ireland

Family: Probably related to Rev. Charles Rossell of Cavan (he received £200 in rent from land left to him by Rev. Rossell). His wife was Susannah, nee Aston, widow of William Noy.[217]

Land

Urban: Charles and Susannah Rossell held a house on Dame Street, a premises on Abbey Street[218]

Suburban: Rossell and his wife Susannah leased 75 acres situate in Arklow in 1741 [219]

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[212] *Dublin Journal,* 25 Feb. 1772.
[213] Information taken from the *Dublin Directories* 1752-72.
[214] Gertrude Thrift (ed.) *Roll of Freemen; City of Dublin 1468-1485, 1575-1774,* iv (NLI, MS 79).
[215] List of freemen (NLI, MS 3019, guild of merchants).
[216] *CARD,* ix, 455, viii, 453, 466, ix, 534.
[217] Rev. Charles Rossell, Rossell, 27 Jul. 1753 (Reg. Deeds 163.282.409205), Rossell, Susannah Aston, 10 Jun. 1741 (Reg. deeds, 103.320.71590).
[218] Rossell and Susannah Rossell, Pat Curry, 19 May 173 (Reg. Deeds 108.344.76564), 9 Apr. 1755 (Reg. Deeds 173.393.116676)
[219] Rossell and Susannah Rossell, Henry Aston, 16 Feb. 1741(Reg. Deeds 106.190.73315)

Merchant 27

Name: Edward Sankey

Born: unknown **Died:** March 1784[220]

Business[221]

Address: Dame Street (1752 at least), Grafton Street (1764)

First advertised as trader: by 1752

Type of firm/commodity: Apothecary (1750?), wine merchant (1753)

Retired: 1779

Public sphere

Free of the city: Christmas 1738[222]

Guild: free: Easter 1742[223]

Corporation: common council: 1750

high sheriff: 1759-60

alderman: 1761-84

lord mayor: 1766-67[224]

Other: He ran the Public coal yards in the city from 1764 until his death.[225]

Private Sphere

Religion: Church of Ireland

Family: Sankey was the younger son of Thomas Sankey of Slyhane or Slihane a Longford gentleman, his grandfather was Edward Sankey of Newtown and Kill in King's County. He married Mary, daughter of George Medlicott and May (nee Blount daughter and together they had at least three sons. The eldest, unnamed, died after 1768. The remaining two sons were Henry Gore and John. They had at least one daughter, Bridget. [226]

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[220] *Dublin Journal,* 20 Mar. 1784

[221] Information taken from the *Dublin Directories* 1760-72 and Edward Sankey, Samuel Powell, 26 Mar. 1762 (Reg. Deeds 214.518.142098).

[222] Gertrude Thrift (ed.) *Roll of Freemen; City of Dublin 1468-1485, 1575-1774,* iv (NLI, MS 79).

[223] List of freemen (NLI, MS 3019, guild of merchants).

[224] *CARD,* ix, 455, x, 482-3, xi, 534.

[225] Coal yard reports from the House of Commons (NAI 1a.46.46 p. 12).

[226] Sankey, family pedigree (NLI, Genealogical office, MS 175, p. 116), Registrars of St. Andrew's. p. 26.

Land

Urban: Premises on Dame Street, Grafton Street and St. Stephen's Green.[227]

Rural: On his death he held a lease for part of the town lands of Cardaragh at New Park which consist of 179 acres.[228]

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[227] Bridget Sankey, Rev. John Williamson and Thomas Oakley Williamson, 15 Jun. 1795 (Reg. Deeds 476.346.314873).

[228] Albny Packet, Sankey and John Sankey, 2 Apr. 1750 (Reg. Deeds 140.309.94909).

Merchant 28

Name: Henry Gore Sankey

Born: unknown **Died:** 1821

Business[229]

Address: Grafton Street (1776), Clare Street (1786), Rutland Sqare (in his retirement, 1812)

First advertised as trader: 1776

Type of firm/commodity: wine merchant, by 1783 he was free of the 6 and 10 per cent at the Custom House

Retired: 1793

Public sphere

Free of the city: Christmas 1768[230]

Guild: free: Christmas 1768[231]

Corporation: common council: 1773
high sheriff: 1777-78
alderman: 1784-1821
lord mayor: 1791-92[232]

Other: Superintendent of the city coal yards on his father's death, he ran for one of the two city seats in 1790 and failed to be elected to parliament and he was a Colonel of the Dublin city militia.[233]

Private Sphere

Religion: Church of Ireland he was married at St. Bride's and a church warden at St. Anne 1785-6[234]

Family: Son of Edward Sankey, brother John (merchant) and sister Bridget, in May 1776 Sankey married Barbara Sneyd. They had five children together. Edward, born approximately a year after the marriage, entered Trinity College Dublin 7 June 1794 and went on to become an army captain. In August 1807 he married Francis the daughter of

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[229] Information taken from the *Dublin Directories* 1776-1815.
[230] Gertrude Thrift (ed.) *Roll of Freemen; City of Dublin 1468-1485, 1575-1774,* iv (NLI, MS 79).
[231] List of freemen (NLI, MS 3019, guild of merchants).
[232] *Dublin Directory,* 1773, *Dublin Journal,* 4 Nov. 1777, *CARD,* xiii, 356
[233] *The Freeman's Journal.* 4 Sept. 1764, *The Dublin Journal, The Freeman's Journal, Saunder's Newsletter,* Feb, Mar, Apr. 1790.
[234] *Register of St. Bride's* p. 168, *Dublin Directory,* 1785-6.

Sir. John Cramer Coghill, Baronet and Maria daughter of the most reverend and right honourable Josiah Hoit [?], D.D. Lord Archbishop of Tuam (the family had settled in York). Their second son, Henry Sneyd, died unmarried in 1819. The eldest daughter, Eleanor married a barrister Richard Scott but died without issue. The two remaining daughters were May and Barbara.[235]

Land

Urban: Sankey sold the interest in a lease of a dwelling on Dame Street (inherited from his father), 1781, Clare Street and Rutland Square. [236]

Suburban:

Rural: He inherited from his father part of his land in Co. Longford which he released in 1798. By this time he had also acquired a lease of a small portion of land at Castle Farm in Monkstown which consisted of a dwelling house. [237]

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[235] Sankey, family pedigree (Genealogical office NLI, MS 175, f. 18), *Dublin Journal,* 23 May 1776, *Alumni Dublinenses* ,ii, 733.

[236] Henry Gore Sankey, James Hogarty 28 May 1781 (Reg. Deeds 339.145.227944).

[237] Albny Parker deceased and Albny Parker Sankey (heir of Albny Parker), Letitia Kelly (nee Sankey widow) and Sankey (Reg. Deeds 518.340.342145), Sankey, John Hickey, 6 Sept. 1811 (Reg. Deeds 636.487.439.188).

Merchant 29

Name: George Sutton

Born: unknown **Died:** 1790

Business[238]

Address: Nicholas Street (1752) Lower Ormond Quay (1763), 43 Stafford Street (1775)

First advertised as trader: by 1752

Partnership: The family firm was run by George from 1753, he was joined by Thomas in 1761 and John in 1774.

Type of firm/commodity: silk and wholesale merchant, 1783 free of the 6 and 10 per cent

Retired: 1782

Public sphere

Free of the city: Christmas 1764[239]

Guild: free: Michaelmas 1780[240]

Corporation: common council: 1768

high sheriff: 1772-73.

alderman: 1783-90[241]

Other: Admitted to the Ouzel Galley in 1772, he was a member of the Committee of Merchants and a Freemason. A piece in *The Freeman's Journal* in March 1781 abused his character and warned that he should not be elected an alderman.[242]

Private Sphere

Religion: Church of Ireland

Family: Father George and brothers (?) Thomas and John, his son was George junior.

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[238] Information taken from the *Dublin Directories* 1776-91.
[239] Gertrude Thrift (ed.) *Roll of Freemen; City of Dublin 1468-1485, 1575-1774,* iv (NLI, MS 79).
[240] List of freemen (NLI, MS 3019, guild of merchants).
[241] *Dublin Directory,* 1769, *CARD,* xii, 5, xiii, 548
[242] Ouzel Galley transactions book 15 Feb. 1748-18 Dec. 1823 (RIA, Ouzel Galley, MS 12), Philip Crossle, *Irish masonic lodges* (Dublin, 1973), p. 82, *Dublin Directory,* 1783, *The Freeman's Journal,* 1 Mar. 1781.

Merchant 30

Name: Nathaniel Trumbull

Born: 1749 **Died:** 1823

Business[243]

Address: Abbey Street

First advertised as trader: 1787

Partnership: 'Nathaniel Trumbull and Co', Trumbull was in partnership with Martin Geoghegan c. 1797-1807 and his nephew, Nathaniel Anderson 1813-1815[244]

Type of firm/commodity: tobacco merchant and wholesale

Retired: 1815

Public sphere

Free of the city: rolls not extant

Guild: free: rolls not extant

Private Sphere

Religion: Church of Ireland

Family: Grandson of Nathaniel 'Trimble', freed of the city in 1710 and son of Nathaniel Trumbull, weaver, freed in 1743. He had two illegitimate children, Mary and Sarah from Mary Jackson. In 1807 he married Sarah Woodcock and they had at least four children together, Dora born December 1808, Nathaniel born October 1810, Robert born April 1812 and Sarah born November 1815. It is unlikely that Nathaniel survived, however Robert entered Trinity College Dublin, October 1829 aged 17 and graduated in 1834.[245]

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[243] Information taken from the *Dublin Directories* 1787-1815 and NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039.

[244] (Nathaniel Trumbull and Martin Geoghegan trading as Nathaniel Trumbull and Co., Robert Meyler, 29 Apr. 1807 (Reg. Deeds 595.326.406544), Nathaniel Trumbull, Martin Hynes Geoghegan, 17 Apr. 1809 (Reg. Deeds 610.22.416224), Owen McEvatt, Trumbull and Nathaniel Anderson, 15 Oct. 1816 (Reg. Deeds 717.550.490685).

[245] *Alumni Dublinenses*, ii, 825, Mary Jackson to Trumbull, 28 Apr. 1799 (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, box 1), Gertrude Thrift (ed.) *Roll of Freemen; City of Dublin 1468-1485, 1575-1774,* iv, (NLI, MS 79), Sarah Trumbull in a letter to her children's nurse remarked 'Miss Dorah will be 13 years of age next December, master Nathaniel 11 in October, Master Robert 9 in April, Miss Sarah 6 in November' (22 Aug. 1821, Sarah Trumbull, Bloomfield, to Nurse O'Flaherty, Beechwood, (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, box 2), Sarah Trumbull to Dora Trumbull, undated (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, box 2).

Land

Urban: He held properties on Capel Street, Frances Street, Parliament Street and Abbey Street and Francis Street by lease[246]

Suburban/Rural: He acquired an estate 'Beechwood' estate, near Malahide in Co. Dublin.[247]

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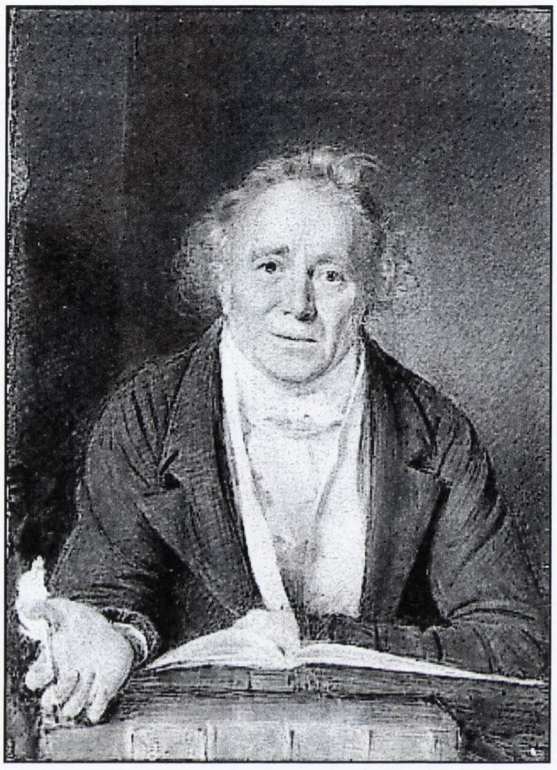
[246] Trumbull, Hugh Holmes, 18 Apr. 1803 (Reg. Deeds 651.381.450239), Trumbull, Edward Darly 15 Sept. 1820 (Reg. Deeds, 755.277.513213), Nathaniel Trumbull sen., Ann Brevett, 15 May 1786 (Reg. Deeds 381.51.251199), Trumbull, Robert Usher, 27 Jan. 1806 (Reg. Deeds 581.135.389798), Trumbull, Peter Latouche 10 Jul. 1806 (Reg. Deeds 582.371.394084), Trumbull, Edward Croflow 11 Aug. 1804 (Reg. Deeds 564.220.377856), Trumbull, Robert Usher, 16 Jan. 1801 (Reg. Deeds 534.420.350800), William Somerville, Trumbull, 2 Apr. 1801 (Reg. Deeds 536.285.354730).

[247] No deed found but correspondence shows he retired (NYPL, The Trumbull papers, MS 3039, box 2).

Appendix b: Miniature of John Keogh by John Comerford (1811), reproduced here by permission of the National Gallery of Ireland



Appendix b: Portrait of Henry Gore Sankey by William Cumming (1792), with permission of Dublin City Council. The portrait hangs today in the city council chamber rooms.

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