1641 DEPOSITIONS

VOLUME VII

Wexford, TCD, MS 818 & TCD, MS 819

Principal Editor AIDAN CLARKE[†]

Editors
THOMAS BARTLETT
JOHN MORRILL
JANE OHLMEYER
MICHEÁL Ó SIOCHRÚ

Associate Editors
EDDA FRANKOT
ANNALEIGH MARGEY
ELAINE MURPHY



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his volume is part of the wider '1641 Depositions Project' which began with a series of discussions in 2005 between Jane Ohlmeyer of Trinity College, Dublin (TCD) and Micheál Ó Siochru, then at the University of Aberdeen. The following year, the Irish Research Council for the Humanities and Social Sciences awarded a Government of Ireland Major Research Project Grant of €247,000 to Professor Ohlmeyer for the digitization, transcription and online publication of the depositions relating to Ulster. In 2007 the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) awarded Micheál Ó Siochrú and John Morrill, University of Cambridge, a grant of £650,000 to do likewise for the three other provinces. Professor Ó Siochrú subsequently moved to TCD and continued as one of the Principal Investigators on the project. With Aidan Clarke he has prepared the texts for print publication. Thomas Bartlett took over as the AHRC Principal Investigator in Aberdeen. TCD provided additional funding for conservation. We are deeply grateful to all these bodies for funding the 1641 Project.

The project officially began in October 2007 and ended in October 2010 on time, within budget and over specification. All of the depositions are now available online at http://1641.tcd.ie. Much of the credit for this achievement must go to the 'core' team of transcribers, Annaleigh Margey, Edda Frankot and Elaine Murphy. Their commitment, good humour and hard work was deeply appreciated. They helped to make this project the success it is.

In all over 50 archivists, computer scientists, conservators, historians, historical geographers, linguists and literary scholars became involved and their collective enthusiasm for the project made it a very enjoyable experience. Throughout we worked closely with our colleagues in the TCD Library, especially Robin Adams, College Librarian, Bernard Meehan, Keeper of Manuscripts and Susie Bioletti, Head of Conservation.

Finally, we are deeply indebted to the Irish Manuscripts Commission (IMC) for publishing the 1641 Depositions. Ciarán Wallace, David Brown, Seamus Lawless[†], Mark Sweetnam and Gary Munelly prepared the indexes, which were given a thorough and rigorous copyedit by Professor Clarke. Our final debt of gratitude is to James McGuire, his successor John McCafferty and Cathy Hayes from the IMC whose support, goodwill, professionalism and enthusiasm for this project from the outset have been exemplary. The graphic and sectarian content of the depositions explains why attempts by the Irish Manuscripts Commission to publish them in the 1930s failed. The outbreak of the 'Troubles' in Northern Ireland in 1969 thwarted another attempt. It is a case of third time lucky.

AIDAN CLARKE[†] THOMAS BARTLETT JOHN MORRILL JANE OHLMEYER MICHEÁL Ó SIOCHRÚ

PROFESSOR AIDAN CLARKE (1933-2020)

The Principal Editor of the 1641 volumes, Professor Aidan Clarke, died in Dublin after a short illness on 18 December 2020. Aidan was a key member of the 1641 project team from the outset, overseeing the transcription process until the launch of the website in 2010 and then helping to prepare the material for publication by the Irish Manuscripts Commission. A gifted (and exacting) editor, his vast knowledge of the period and unrivalled attention to detail ensured that the project never flagged despite some formidable challenges. In particular, the indexes proved fiendishly difficult to construct and would have defeated a lesser person, but Aidan persevered and by the time of his death, all twelve volumes had been completed.

These 1641 volumes are a fitting tribute to a masterful scholar, inspirational teacher, generous colleague, and dear friend to his fellow editors. His two monographs, The *Old English in Ireland*, 1625–1642 (London, 1966) and *Prelude to Restoration in Ireland: the end of the Commonwealth*, 1659–1660 (Cambridge, 1999) book-ended his long career in Trinity College Dublin, where he also served as head of department and vice-provost of the college. Although his administrative work, including a term as president of the Royal Irish Academy (1990–93), restricted his research output, his books and a series of seminal articles helped revitalise the study of early modern Ireland. He is sorely missed by everybody on the 1641 project.

ABBREVIATIONS & GLOSSARY

averte folium/verte turn page

coinage there were 12 pennies to the shilling

and 20 shillings to the pound. A mark

was 13s 4d and a noble was 6s 8d

on average/one year with another communibus annis

> Donal F. Creegan, 'The Confederate Creegan

Catholics of Ireland: the personnel of the Confederation, 1642–9', IHS, xxix, no. 116 (Nov. 1995), pp 490–512

de claro net of all charges/above the landlord's

rent

de eadem/de ead the same

Hughes, Patentee officers

DIBDictionary of Irish Biography, eds James

> McGuire and James Quinn (9 vols, Cambridge, 2009; vols 10 & 11,

Cambridge, 2018; dib.cambridge.org)

J.L.J. Hughes, *Patentee officers in Ireland*

1173–1826, including high sheriffs 1661-1684 and 1761-1816

(IMC, Dublin, 1960)

Irish Manuscripts Commission

elsewhere to renew

ΙP Justice of the Peace

apart from the well-known difference

between English and Irish acres, all measures in Ireland, from acres to tates, perches, pottles, ballybetaghs and the rest varied widely according to local

custom and over time

McGrath Bríd McGrath, 'A biographical

> dictionary of the Irish house of commons, 1640-1641' (Ph.D. thesis,

University of Dublin, 1997)

NHI, ix T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin and F.J. Byrne

(eds), A new history of Ireland, Volume IX. Maps, genealogies, lists: a companion to Irish history, Part II (Oxford, 1988)

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ODNB Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

(60 vols, Oxford, 2004; oxforddnb.com)

quare question

recognizance an obligation of record, entered into

before a court of record or magistrate, by which a person bound him or herself under penalty to perform a particular act

RIA Royal Irish Academy

specialities contracts, obligations or bonds

expressed in an instrument under seal

sterling the English pound enjoyed a one-third

premium over the Irish pound, smaller denominations rather less, so that £1 sterling was worth £1. 6s. 8d. Irish and

1s. sterling was worth 16d. Irish

Trinity College Dublin

ultra reprise at the last valuation

TCD

ABOUT THE 1641 DEPOSITIONS SERIES

The collection of papers commonly known as the '1641 depositions', more formally as TCD, MS 809-841, was presented to the University of Dublin in 1741 by its Vice Chancellor, John Stearne, bishop of Clogher, to mark the centenary of the 1641 rebellion. The collection was subsequently bound in thirtyone volumes. In the first of these, entitled 'Depositions concerning the Rebellion in general, more especially of the Persons seized upon the first discovery thereof in October 1641', the material was arranged to tell the story of the attempt on Dublin Castle. The two most celebrated depositions, those of Henry Jones and Robert Maxwell, were given pride of place and were followed by the statements of Owen Connolly (Owen O'Connally) and Hugh MacMahon and a succession of others suspected of having been involved in the conspiracy. This thematic sequence ended on f. 239v of MS 809. Thereafter, and for the following thirty volumes, the papers were grouped according to the county to which they were thought (not always rightly) to belong, but randomly jumbled together within the county groups.² The principle of county arrangement had already been breached by the thematic selection of items included in the first part of MS 809. This was exacerbated by inconsistency of practice where the county of residence of the deponent differed from that in which the reported events took place, a problem which was in turn aggravated by the tendency of refugees to describe themselves as of their place of refuge. An extra layer of difficulty in allocating material to counties was provided by the fact that many landowners held land in more than one county and many Dubliners owned or leased estates only outside the county. Moreover, while the records collected in the 1640s were arranged by county, those collected in the 1650s were organized according to the event or individual with which they dealt. The combination of the initial lack of clarity in categorizing the material with the later failure to preserve either the alphabetical sequences of the 1640s material or the numerical sequences of the 1650s material and to sort the categorized material before binding it created a state of multiple disorder that has concealed the fact that the collection is an amalgam of four different sets of records, and one sub-set. Each was created by the conduct of separate enquiries into particular aspects of the rebellion, but they shared a later history.

The depositions are available online, together with transcriptions, at https://1641.tcd.ie. There is a general description of the collection in Aidan Clarke, 'The 1641 Depositions', Peter Fox (ed.), *Treasures of the Library, Trinity College Dublin* (Dublin, 1986), pp 111–22.

A further two volumes were added to the series some years later. TCD, MS 840 is a compilation of documents drawn from Henry Jones's papers relating to the years 1641–7. Only those pertaining to the 'commission for the despoiled subject' have been transcribed. TCD, MS 841 is discussed below, pp liii–liv, lx–lxi.

The eponymous core of the collection consists of the records of a 'commission for the despoiled subject' which was appointed on 23 December 1641 by the Irish government, without reference to its counterpart in England, to register the losses of those who had been despoiled by the rebels. On 19 January 1642, the commission was instructed to enquire into cases of murder and apostacy also. It set to work on 29 December 1641 and concluded its business on 30 September 1647, by which stage its workload had dwindled and its active membership had been reduced to two. Between September 1645 and January 1646, in the expectation that the treaty then under negotiation between Ormond and the Confederates would provide for the destruction of the commission's records, its clerk, Thomas Waring, was instructed to make a set of fair copies of the originals, which he later conveyed to England for safekeeping. These form an historically important sub-set of the main archive. In May 1649, Waring, who was then in England, was directed by the council of state to publish the depositions and he subsequently edited the copies for this purpose, which was never achieved. The second component of the collection derives from a commission issued on 5 March 1642 directing the incoming archdeacon of Cloyne, Philip Bisse, and others of his choosing to take similar statements of loss throughout the province of Munster. Bisse, with a dozen or so assistants, collected depositions from late April 1642 until his violent death early in July 1643. In the following year his records were taken to England where they remained hidden and intact until after the execution of Charles I in 1649. When they came to hand, in unclear circumstances, the council of state entrusted them also to Waring to prepare for publication. The third component of the collection is comprised of examinations of an investigative character taken by officers of state, local officials, military commanders and others in the 1640s. Their purpose was intelligence gathering and they were taken from a wide variety of informants, willing and unwilling. The final element in the collection consists of records created by investigations conducted by and on behalf of commissioners appointed in September 1652 to discover and prosecute those responsible for murders and massacres committed during the course of the rebellion. The execution of this task was facilitated by Thomas Waring's copies which were made available to the commissioners, accompanied by elaborate indexes to the alleged perpetrators and their crimes which he had earlier compiled in London. Moreover, the Bisse depositions were returned to Ireland in time to be used in evidence against Lord Muskerry in December 1653.

On 28 December 1654, when the war was over and the time had come to implement the terms of the Act for Settling Ireland, passed on 12 August 1652, commissioners were appointed to adjudicate the cases of catholic proprietors who claimed to qualify for transplantation to estates in Connacht. The information with which they were provided to assist them in making the appropriate 'discriminations' included both invaluable captured Confederate records and the original Dublin and Munster depositions, together with various indexes and abstracts of their contents. Since these aids included an index to the examinations taken by the high courts of justice which occupies the greater part of MS 841, it is reasonable to infer that the examinations themselves were also made available. These materials were kept

separately in alphabetically identified 'books'. When the Athlone commissioners, as they were known, completed their task in September 1656 the books of evidence were returned to Dublin. In due course they were lodged in an office of 'discriminations', in the care of seven sub-commissioners appointed to execute Charles II's declaration of 30 November 1660. Extensive use of the material was made by the Court of Claims appointed to administer the Act of Settlement (27 September 1662), and its records show that the corpus of investigative examinations taken by government officers in the 1640s was then included in the books. In 1670 the books were delivered into the custody of the clerk of the council, Matthew Barry. Eight years previously, on 19 December 1662, two of the commissioners had presented Barry, acting on behalf of the council, with the county sets of Waring copies.³ At an unknown date, Barry, who continued as clerk until he was replaced by James II (27 August 1689) and who died in 1696, sold the parts of the archive that now comprise the '1641 depositions' to the collector John Madden. The remainder, which comprised, at least, the Confederate records and the records of the 'Athlone Commission' itself, was not included in the transaction. Madden died in 1702 and his widow sold his manuscript collection, sometime before 1708, to John Stearne, later bishop of Dromore (1713–17) and Clogher (1717–45). Whether the indiscriminate shuffling together of the distinct sets of records within county groups took place at the time when the original archive was divided for the sale to Madden, at the time of binding, or sometime in between is as yet unknown.

THE DUBLIN COMMISSION⁴

The commission issued by the lords justices of Ireland on 23 December 1641 to eight clergymen, headed by the dean of Kilmore, Henry Jones,⁵ required them to examine and record the testimony of 'aswell all such persons as have been so robbed and spoyled as all the witnesses that can give testimonie therein what robberies and spoyles have been committed on them ... since the [22] of October last' and also 'what traiterous or disloyall wordes, speeches or Accions were then or att any other tyme vttered or committed by those Robbers or any of them ... and howe often, and all other circumstances ... concerninge the same particulars and every of them'. The commissioners set to work on December 29 and their initial experience was quickly reflected in the issue of a second commission (18 January 1642) containing additional directions to ascertain 'what numbers of persons have been murdered by the Rebells or perished afterwards in the way to Dublin, or other places whither they fled or retired for refuge; either by way of defence or otherwise, what person or persons Clergimen or other protestants have become Papistes since the

³ TCD, MS 812, f. 5v (IMC, 1641 Depositions, viii, no. 6); TCD, MS 817, f. 131r (IMC, 1641 Depositions, xii, no. 167); TCD, MS 830, f. 125r (IMC, 1641 Depositions, xii, no. 1).

The history of the commission is dealt with in Aidan Clarke, 'The commission for the despoiled subject, 1641–7', in Brian Mac Cuarta (ed.), *Reshaping Ireland, 1550–1700: colonization and its consequences* (Dublin, 2011), pp 241–260.

The other commissioners were Randall Adams, William Aldrich, Henry Brereton, William Hitchcock, Roger Puttock, John Sterne and John Watson; for Jones see *DIB*.

⁶ TCD, MS 815, ff 1r-1v (IMC, 1641 Depositions, vi, no. 2).

INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME VII

CO. WEXFORD (TCD, MS 818 & TCD, MS 819)

The content of the Co. Wexford books divides neatly into two parts; these do not, however, correspond with its separation into two volumes. The first part, which is comprised of all the material relating to the 1640s, extends from f. 1 to f. 196 of MS 818 (nos 2–166). With one exception,⁷⁴ the remainder of TCD, MS 818 and all of TCD, MS 819 are taken up by a single set of Commonwealth records.

The first part includes 62 original depositions collected by the Dublin commissioners (nos 74–85, 87–126, 128–9, 137–42, 157–8). There is also a set of 62 copies (nos 8–70). The original of one of these is missing (no. 56) and one original was not copied (no. 157). There are also three Bysse depositions from Munster (nos 130–132), seven examinations from the early 1640s (nos 71–2, 86, 133–6) and a collection of papers dealing with allegations against Lord Esmond and others arising from the articles of agreement relating to Duncannon Fort negotiated by Esmond and General Preston (nos 143–156, 159–166).

The Dublin originals range in date from 4 January 1642 to 3 March 1646. One is a repeat, in as much as the deponent's daughter renewed his claim after he died (nos 81, 139). Oscar Butts, who was examined in December 1641 and deposed in January 1642, returned in May to add to his losses a number of debts that had proved uncollectable (nos 71, 84, 117). These depositions were originally paged from 853 to 1051 in alphabetical order, with three exceptions: Birchall was coupled with Leigh because they combined in submitting a list of the names of rebels and were processed together; Fisher was linked with Runkhorne, who presented his claim to the commissioners and vouched for its accuracy; and Sir Walsingham Cooke was mistakenly placed in the order of his forename. There is a numbered list of deponents with the sum of their losses in the standard format used in the preparations for Henry Jones's presentation to the English commons in March 1641 (no. 73).

The copies are preceded by a (barely begun) index of villains (no. 2); a name index to the copies, covering the first 61, but with only 55 entries (no. 3); copies of all three of the commissions (nos 4–6) followed by the standard formulas of certification and introduction (no. 7). Each copy is verified, mostly by Waring's 'Exw' logo. One is a duplicate, subsequently annotated 'bis intrat[ur]'⁷⁵ (nos 50, 58): this is balanced by the repetition of the number 30 (nos 37, 38).

The other materials from the 1640s fall into three groups, taken from different collections. Three are examinations taken in December and January, 1641/2: two of these, taken by William Ryve and Robert Meredith from men who later deposed, are consecutively numbered 71 and 72; the third was taken at the council board on

⁷⁴ This is an examination taken in October 1652, in anticipation of the establishment of the high court of justice, dealing with the summary execution of Captain Walter Chambers who had surrendered on quarter in 1643 (no. 167).

^{75 &#}x27;Entered twice'.

9 January and subsequently assimilated to and paged with the Dublin depositions (no 86). Four are examinations taken by Meredith later in 1642, one of them anonymous and three from protestant members of the old Wexford community (nos 133–6). The third group consists of the articles of surrender of Duncannon Fort (no. 143, 18 March 1643) together with associated letters, examinations and other matter generated by the ensuing controversy. Between these papers from the 1640s and the main body of the commonwealth material is the stray examination from 1652, taken in Kilkenny from a New Ross merchant by Henry Jones and Thomas Herbert, which records the killing of Captain Walter Chambers nine years earlier. It was not part of either the preceding or the following sequence (no. 167).

The 513 Commonwealth records that take up the rest of these two deposition books constitute one of two surviving bodies of evidence of an otherwise almost undocumented episode in the history of the Cromwellian settlement which stemmed from the act for settling Ireland, passed by the English parliament on 12 August 1652. The act had resolved the question of how catholics were to be treated in a post-war settlement by laying down the criteria to be used to discriminate between those who were to be punished and those who were to be pardoned. The first of the resulting 'classifications' exempted from pardon all those who had plotted, promoted, assisted or abetted the rebellion. This formulation had been devised more than a year previously by Henry Ireton, who had been determined to ensure that no legitimization of those who served in the army of the Confederate Catholics after it had been instituted in November 1642 could retrospectively extenuate the treason of those who had played any part in the preceding events. The act, however, had been long in the making and in important respects Ireton's eighteen-month old stipulations had been overtaken by more lenient terms incorporated in negotiated articles of surrender as Irish forces throughout the country laid down their arms. The passage of the act did not end the delays, because the conundrum of what to do with the Irish merged with the problem of where to put them. On 2 July 1653, it was announced that in the future Irish landholding would be confined to the province of Connacht and that the measures needed to put this decision into effect would be completed by 1 May 1654. The corollary, which was the transplantation 'of all the Irish Nation comprehended in the qualifications', was stated in the Act of Satisfaction passed on 26 September 1653. It was not altogether clear what this would mean in practice, but the implications of the exemption from pardon of those classified under the first qualification had already undergone an important shift as the cumulative effect of the concessions made in the various articles of surrender indicated that Ireton's ferocious intention. to punish by execution all of those who had taken any part whatsoever in the rebellion in its first year, was no longer government policy. In a scheme which particularly addressed the need to protect incoming settlers from natives, however, those who came within the first qualification remained prime candidates for removal from their home counties. In a declaration published on 14 October 1653 the Irish government ended some of the uncertainty by announcing that they were to constitute one of three categories of persons required to transplant to Connacht.⁷⁶

Printed in S. R. Gardiner, 'The transplantation to Connaught', English Historical Review, xiv (1899), pp 710–15.

In the following month, commissioners 'for examining the delinquency of the Irish and other proprietors' were appointed in each of the administrative precincts into which Ireland was divided.⁷⁷ They were instructed to identify suitable witnesses to the conduct of suspected delinquents and to require them to answer a set of thirteen 'interrogatories' designed to elicit the information needed to place individual landowners in the appropriate category. Witnesses were to be asked whether their subject had assisted the rebels, either actively by bearing arms or attending meetings or passively by paying money or supplying provisions, in the first year of the rebellion, which was reckoned to have ended on 10 November 1642, and whether he had taken or possessed any goods of Englishmen, either in a personal or a purportedly official capacity. Information was also to be sought about the later involvement of the subject and of his family members with the 'Irish' in respect of political, military or civil activity. Finally, witnesses were to be asked Whether they knew of any murders or robberies committed on the English in the said first year of the Rebellion, and whether they did shelter such.'78 These instructions were radically changed on 8 February 1654 when it was ordered, 'for the more quick dispatch of that service', that the commissioners should begin the interrogation by establishing whether witnesses could provide 'good proof' that their subject was guilty of murder or of 'having acted or assisted the Rebellion in the first year thereof: if either were possible the remaining interrogatories, into crimes 'which tend not to the forfeiture of life and estate, according to the tenor of the said Act', were to be dispensed with.⁷⁹

The result of this initiative was the creation of a new and distinct set of Commonwealth records which certainly formed a part of the material gathered together, in what became known as the 'books of discrimination', to inform the decisions of the Athlone commissioners. Its extent, however, is unknown. Apart from a single examination impugning the celebrated Confederate lawyer, Patrick Darcy, which was taken by delinquency commissioners in the Clonmel precinct and ended up in a file in the Galway book,⁸⁰ the only records of examinations to have survived are from the Wexford and Cork precincts. In Wexford (where precinct and county were co-extensive) the conduct of interviews with witnesses began on 26 December 1653. By the end of the first week in February, some 260 statements from about 134 suspected delinquents had been taken by 11 commissioners from 68 informants, some of whom deposed many times. There is evidence, in the form

The context within which the delinquency commissioners were established is set out in the first two chapters of John Cunningham, *Conquest and land in Ireland: the transplantation to Connacht, 1649–1680*, Royal Historical Society Studies in History, New Series 82 (Woodbridge, 2011). Dr Cunningham's assistance in the investigation of this hitherto unnoticed episode is gratefully acknowledged.

Robert Dunlop, Ireland under the Commonwealth (2 vols, Manchester, 1913), ii, 378–9. The sample commission printed by Dunlop is to the Waterford commissioners and is dated 16 Nov. 1653. A similar commission for the precinct of Athlone, although dated 17 Nov., was not dispatched until 6 Dec.: John O'Hart, The Irish and Anglo-Irish landed gentry when Cromwell came to Ireland (facsimile, Dublin, 1969), pp 238–9. Details of a commission for Connacht (i.e. Galway precinct), dated 16 Nov. and directed among others to Henry Jones, are given in the King's Inns Library, Prendergast Papers (14 vols, Dublin, 1875), i, 172, 694–711.

⁷⁹ Ibid., ii, 401–2.

⁸⁰ TCD, MS 830, ff 249r–50v (IMC, 1641 Depositions, xii, no. 75).

of a number of sharply curtailed reports of interviews, of an immediate response to the altered instructions of 8 February (most notably, no. 340, taken on that day), but this was followed by two intermissions, from 10-16 and 18-23 February, which resulted in a round-up of fresh informants about new suspects. When the commissioners completed their task, on 4 April, a total of 108 informants had given evidence against 195 individuals and, in addition, the townsmen of Aclare and Ross had come under special scrutiny. In all, fifteen commissioners took part in these proceedings: seven of them — Dancer, Hart, Moore, Overstreet, Puckle, Stothard and Walker — were army officers; two — Hussey and Neale — were army suppliers; Tomlin, a civilian, was later appointed comptroller of the artillery train; Andrews, who may have belonged to a prominent settler family in the south-east, had earlier been appointed by Ireton as a revenue commissioner in the Kilkenny precinct, and it is likely that all of the delinquency commissioners were attached to the administrative apparatus of the Wexford precinct. Dowse, who appears to have had particular responsibility for the townsmen, Withey (a local name) and Woodward are unidentified. The practice of adding the record of a later examination to the folio on which a related examination had been recorded previously indicates that the arrangement was by subject. The examinations were foliated after the event, from 1 to 67481 (in no particular order) and were bound in that sequence with many gaps and without the relocation of misplaced items. In the course of the binding, folio 200 was chosen to begin the second volume, preceded by the title page — 'Precinct of Wexford, Examinations touching delinquencyes' — and the 190s number-range was lost. The beginning of the series (at no. 168) was unmarked.

1641 DEPOSITIONS

The Wexford commissioners did not adhere slavishly to their instructions. From the outset, some examinants whose knowledge of their subject was limited to a particular episode or period were allowed to relate what they knew 'upon the whole interrogatorye' without conforming to the question/answer format. A very few whose knowledge was wide-ranging made an additional general statement unconfined by the 'interrogatoryes'. For the great majority, the questionnaire was used, where appropriate with an alternative last question concerning the subject's conduct after 'the coming of the Lord Cromwell' to the county. The revised instruction of 8 February led to the introduction of a new stream-lined form of statement in which the witness swore to his knowledge of the suspect's guilt and stated the source of his information, but the 'interrogatoryes' and the conventions surrounding them were not abandoned.

In the course of the commisioners' proceedings it became clear that violence in county Wexford was largely associated with publicly organized siege operations against forts and castles, but had also occurred to a lesser degree when private plundering was resisted. A good deal of light was thrown on what emerged as a number of key incidents in the first year of the rebellion — the attacks on Duncannon, Carnew, Tintern, Fethard and Redmond's Hall, related killings at Gandulph and the Hook, and the battles of Kilrush and, later, Ross. However, the similarity of the structure of the interviews, the repetititive phrasing of the reports and the rigidly *ad hominem* approach combined to produce depersonalized results.

For the most part, but not consistently, no account was taken of blank sheets.

WEXFORD DEPOSITIONS (TCD, MS 818 & TCD, MS 819) WEXFORD DEPOSITIONS (TCD. Me or o

Copyright. It is h Manuscripts

1. TITLE PAGE, TCD, MS 818

[ff (unfol.)r-(unfol.)v, blank]

[f. (i)r] Depositions concerning Murders &c committed in the County of Wexford; 1st Vol; [Notes on manuscript binding]

[ff (i)v-(iii)v, blank]

[f. (iv)r] FOL 4

[f. (iv)v, blank]

TCD, MS 818, (unfol.)r-(iv)v

MANUSCRIPT INDEX [f. 1r] A mc: Art Donnell whoe claymed Barrogh [f. 1v] Capt: Dermot Е ffurlong Christopher of Dainestowne in the Glan..... [f. 2r] G Н mc: James John some of the Cauenagh K [f. 2v] L M Mc: Murtagh morrice of Tynnyshinnogh gent Miller Nicholas his men of Doncormucke M N

[f. 3r] O P Q R [f. 3v] S T Toole LukeV		fol 4 TCD, MS 818, ff 1r–3v
3. INDEX TO THE WARING COPIE	S OF THE WEXFORD DEPOSI	TIONS
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Browne Peter 5	Buckner Jo: 38	
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Barcroft william 18	Barton Jane 54	
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Wilam Wa[]

[scribbles]

ffryday the second day of december I deliuered my letter with copies therein vnto Margarat Bencammes to be deliuered to Ower Bishell 9th of January I deliuered an other letter to Owner 📢

In the

TCD, MS 818, ff 4r-4v

4. FIRST COMMISSION OF CHARLES I

23 DECEMBER 1641

[f. 5r] Wexford; <Hand> Charles by the grace of god King of England Scotland ffrance and Ireland defender of the faith &c To our welbeloved Henry Jones Deane of Kilmore Roger Puttock william Hitchcock Randall Adams John Sterne William Aldrich Henry Brereton and John Watson Clerks greeting: Whereas divers wicked and disloyall people have lately risen in arms in seuerall partes of this kingdome and haue robbed and Spoyled many of our good subjects brittish and protestants who haue been seperated from theire setled habitacions and scattered in most lamentable manner And forasmuch as it is needfull to take due examinacion

concerning the same Knowe yee that we reposing especiall trust and confidence in your care diligence and provident circumspeccion haue nominated and appoynted you to be our Comissioners and doe hereby give vnto you or any two or more of you full power and authoritie from tyme to time to call before you and to examine vpon oath on the holy Evangelists (which we hereby authorize you or any two or more of you to administer) as well all such persons as haue been so robbed and spoyled as all the witnesses that can give testimony therein what robberies and spoyles haue been committed on them or any other to theire knowledge since the two and twentieth of October last or shall hereafter be comitted on them or any of them, what the particulars were or are whereof they were or are shalbe so robbed and spoyled, to what value, by whome what theire names are and where they now or last dwelt that comitted those robberies on what day or night the said robberies or spoyles comitted or to be committed were done, what traiterous or disloyall words speeches or Accions were then or at any other time vttered or committed by those robbers or any of them, what violence or other lewde Accions were then performed by the said robbers or any of them, and how often. And all other Circumstances touching or concerning the said particulars & every of them And you our said Comissioners are to reduce to writing all the Examinacions which you or any two or more of you shall take as aforesaid, and the same to returne vnto our Justices and Counsell of this our Realme of Ireland vnder the hands and seales of you or any two or more of you as aforesaid Witnesses our Right trustie and welbeloved Counsellors Sir william Parsons knight & Baronett & Sir John Burlase knight our Justices of our said Realme of Ireland at Dublin the 23th day of December in the xvijth yeare of our Reigne.

Carleton1

TCD, MS 818, f. 5r

5. SECOND COMMISSION OF CHARLES I

18 JANUARY 1642

[f. 5v] Charles by the grace of god King of England Scotland ffrance & Ireland, Defender of the faith &c. To our welbeloved Henry Jones deane of Kilmore Roger Puttock william Hitchcock Randall Adams John Sterne william Aldrich Henry Brereton and John watson Clerkes Greeting. Whereas divers wicked and disloyall people haue lately risen in armes in seuerall partes of this kingdome, and haue robbed and spoyled many of our good subjects Brittish and protestants who haue been separated from theire setled habitacions and scattered in most lamentable manner; and many others haue been deprived of their lands Rents goods and chattells. And forasmuch as it is needfull to take due examinacion concerning the same Knowe yee that we reposing especiall trust and confidence in your fidelities care and provident circumspeccion haue nominated and appoynted you to be our Comissioners, and doe hereby give vnto you or any two or more of you full power, and authoritie from time to time to call before you and examine vpon oath (which

George Carleton, joint clerk of the hanaper and crown in Ireland (Hughes, *Patentee officers*).

wee hereby authorize you or any two or more of you to administer on the holy Evangelists) aswell all such persons as have been so robbed and spoyled or deprived of theire lands rents goods or chattells as all the witnesses that can give testimony therein what robberies and spoyles have been comitted on them or any of them, what lands Rents goods or Chattells any person or persons have since that tyme been deprived of by occasion of this rebellion, what the particulars were or are in landes Rents goods or Chattells whereof any person or persons were or shalbe so robbed spoyled or deprived, to what value; by whome such robberies or spoyles were committed what theire names were and where they now or last dwelt that committed those robberies or spoyles, on what day or night the said Robberies or spoyles committed or to be committed were done; what traiterous or disloyall wordes speeches or Accions were then or att any other time vttered or comitted by those robbers or any of them, and what vnfitting words or speeches concerning the present Rebellion or by occasion thereof were spoken att any tyme by any person or persons whatsoever, what violence or other lewde Accions wh were then performed by the said Robbers or any of them, and how often what numbers of persons haue been murthered by the rebells or perished afterwards in the way to Dublin or other places whither they fledd or retired for refuge either by way of defence or otherwise what person or persons Clergiemen or other protestants haue become papists since the said 22th of October last And all other Circumstances and things [f. 6r] touching and concerning the said particulars and euery of them either before the 23th of October or sithence And for the better performance of the service, all Incumbents Curates & parish Clerks and Sextons of Churches in the kingdome are hereby required to give in to you our said Comissioners to the best of theire knowledge the names and numbers of the poore so spoyled who have been buried in their respective parishes and hereafter in and about Dublin they are to give in weekely bills vnder the hands of the Ministers or Church wardens of such parishes of such of the said persons as shalbe so buried in the same parishes And you our said Commissioners or any two or more of you as aforesaid are to reduce to writing all the Examinacions which you or any two or more of you shall take as aforesaid, and the same to returne vnto our Justices and Counsell of this our Realme of Ireland vnder the hands and seales of you or any two or more of you as aforesaid Witnes our right trustie and welbeloved Counsellors Sir William Parsons knight and Baronett and Sir John Burlase knight our Justices of our Realme of Ireland at Dublin the xviijth day of January in the xvijth yeare of our Raigne.

Carleton.

TCD, MS 818, ff 5v-6r

6. THIRD COMMISSION OF CHARLES I

11 JUNE 1642

[f. 6r] Charles by the grace of God king of England Scotland ffrance & Ireland defender of the faith &c. To our welbeloved Henry Jones Doctor of Divinitie Deane of Kilmore Edward Pigott william Hitchcock Randall Adams John Sterne william

Aldrich Henry Brereton and John Watson Clerkes greeting Whereas divers wicked and disloyall people haue lately risen in Armes in seuerall partes of our kingdome of Ireland, and haue robbed and spoyled many of our good subjects brittish and protestants who haue beene separated from theire setled habitacions, and scattered in most lamentable manner And many others have beene deprived of theire lands Rents goods and Chattells. And forasmuch as it is needfull to take due examinacion concerning the same We therefore reposing speciall trust and confidence in your care and wisdome doe hereby give vnto you or any two or more of you full power and auctoritie from time to time to call before you or any two or more of you, and to examine vpon oath on the holy Evangelists All such persons as haue beene so robbed spoyled or otherwise deprived of their lands Rents goods or Chattells, as all the witnesses that can give testemony therein what robberies and spoyles haue beene Committed on them or any other to theire knowledg since the 22th of October last or shall hereafter be committed on them or any of them, what lands Rents goods or Chattells any person or persons have since that time been deprived [f. 6v] of by occasion of this rebellion, what the particulars were or are in lands Rents goods or Chattells whereof any person or persons were or shalbe so robbed spoyled or deprived, to what value; by whome such robberies or spoyles were committed what theire names are and where they now or last dwelt that comitted theise spoyles or robberies, on what day or night the said robberies or spoyles comitted or to be committed were done; what traiterous or disloyall words speeches or Accions were then or at any other time vttered or committed by those rebells or any of them, and what vnfitting words or speeches concerning the present rebellion or by occasion thereof were spoken at any time by any person or persons whatsoever, what violence or other lewd Accions were then performed by the said Robbers or any of them, and how often, what number of persons haue beene murthered by the rebells or perished afterwards in the way to dublin or other places whither they fledd or retired for refuge either by way of defence or otherwise. what person or persons Clergiemen or others protestants have become papists since the said 22th of October last, and all other Circumstances and things touching or concerning the said particulars and every of them either before the 23th of October last past or sithence And for the better performance of this service our will and pleasure is that all Incumbents Curats parish Clerkes and Sextons of Churches in our said kingdome of Ireland doe give in to you our said Comissioners to the best of theire knowledg the names and number of the poore soe spoyled who have beene buried in theire respective parishes. And our further pleasure is that hereafter in or about our Cittie of Dublin they give in weekly bills vnder the hands of the ministers or Churchwardens of such parishes of such of the said persons as shalbe soe buried in the said parishes, And you our said Comissioners or any two or more of you as aforesaid are to reduce to writinge all the Examinacions which you our said Comissioners or any two or more of you shall take as aforesaid, and the same to returne to our Justices & Counsell of our said Realme of Ireland vnder the hands and seales of you or any two or more of you as aforesaid. Witnesses our right trustie and welbeloved Counsellors Sir william Parsons knight &

Baronett and Sir John Burlase knight our Justices of our said Realme of Ireland at Dublin the eleaventh day of June in the eighteenth yeare of our Raigne.

Carleton et Exham.²

The Execution of the seuerall Comissions above written appeare in the Examinations following

Hen: Clogher,³ Will: Aldrich

TCD, MS 818, ff_6r-6v

7. MANUSCRIPT INTRODUCTION TO THE DEPOSITIONS FOR WEXFORD

[f. 7r] Deposicions of Protestants and the kings loyall subiects taken at the Cittie of Dublin in the kingdome of Ireland on the daies and in the monethes and yeares hereafter particularly expressed and putt vnto every of theire deposicions before vs Henry Jones Doctor of Divinitie Deane of Kilmore Roger Puttock William Hitchcocke Randall Adams John Sterne William Aldrich Henry Brereton and John Watson Clerkes, and the rest taken before them and Edward Pigott Clerke Comissioners by force of his Maiesties severall Comissions abouewritten to them directed vnder the Broad Seale of the kingdome of Ireland as follow vizt., The Countie of Wexford

TCD, MS 818, f. 7r

8. DEPOSITION OF MARGARET BAILEY, COPY (WARING)

4 JANUARY 1642

Copy of the deposition of Margaret Bailey, TCD, MS 818, ff 60r–61v (see no. 87), with the following variations:

[f. 7r] <1 Exw>; Line 1, replacement: 'Margarett Bayly' instead of 'Margaret Baly' in original; Lines 1–2, deleted: 'in the parish of Lymbricke and Barony of Gory'; Line 2, omission: 'a Brittish protestant'; Line 2, replacement: 'being duly sworne deposeth and saith' instead of 'duly sworne deposeth' in original; Line 5, replacement: 'was robbed and dispoiled of his goods and Chattells to the value and to his present losse of three score and eight pounds' instead of the itemized list of losses (with a total of 68 pounds and 10 shillings) in original; Lines 8–9, replacement: 'when farr words and more traiterous Actions were committed in a most cruell manner.' instead of 'and those treatrous actions were committed, And in a miserable cruel manner' in original; The comment 'She desireth to sett on worke at spining & knitting' has been omitted

TCD, MS 818, f. 7r

² John Exham was Carleton's partner in office (Hughes, *Patentee officers*)

Henry Jones was consecrated bishop of Clogher on 9 November 1645 (NHI, ix).