The
History and Antiquities
of Dublin

Collected from Authentic Records and the Manuscript Collections of
Sir James Ware, Knt,

by
Robert Ware, son of that learned Antiquary

1678.
The Preface

My designe in writing this historicall treatise in not to unfould the complicated affaires of State intricacies, for policy was never my profession nor studie, nor doe I intend, nor indeed can I hope to deduce a clear and uninterrupted series of action from the cloudy originall of this nation, or from the first inhabitation of this famous Cittie of Dublin; soe ancient that its founders are not certainly known, though in the life of Griffith ap Cinan, wee read that Harald of Norway when he had subdued the greatest part of Ireland, built Divelin.

My scope is only to comply with those inducements which have been often vehemently urged unto mee, for the publishing, in the best method I can such observations of my deceased father Sir James Ware, Knight, and other particulars of moment relating to the Cittie of Dublin, since the conquest of Ireland, as I find in the several volumes of those manuscripts, which he was pleased to bequeath unto mee, as a legacy of great price, & for the regulation and conduct of myself in this undertaking. I shall look up to no other pole, nor have any other scope then the impartial representation of truth out of authentick memorials compiled with the secure warranty of faithful dealing.

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1 King Edgar in a certain chart of his calls it the famous City of Dublin
The History of Dublin

The City of Dublin, though anciently it was not to be compared for number of inhabitants, magnificence of building or extent of place with the Cities of Armagh, Derrycolmeekill, Drumcleoth, Kenlish in Meath, and Fatymore, they having been townes of the greatest estimation in Ireland; yet ever since Ireland was brought under the government of the Crown of England, hath been the Chief Seat of the state, and therefore accompted the Metropolis of the Kingdom, and tearmed the beauty and eye of Ireland. [2]

It hath also been an Archepiscopal See, ever since the thirty first year of Gregory bishop of Dublin which fell in the year of our Lord one thousand one hundred fifty two when John Paparo Cardinal and Christian O’Conarchy Bishop of Lismore being then the Pope’s Legate conferred on him the Pall, and therewith the Archiepiscopall dignity, as some say in a synod elsewhere, others in the Church of the Holy Trinity in Dublin, on that Lord’s day wherein according to the then rituall was sung Laetare Hierusalem.

What was the name of this Citty from its first foundation, or why is it called Dublin, are questions which though learned and ingenious criticisme hath acutely disputed, I am unable absolutely to determine. Ptolomie calls it by the name of Eblana, which Hollinshed saith is a corruped denomination of Avelana, from Avelanus. But I must dissent from that opinion by reason it was called Eblana by Ptolomy, before Avelanus or his brothers Sytaracus or Iporus came into Ireland, though I will not deny but that Avelanus was an inlarger of this Cittie in the second century computed from the birth of our Saviour.

It hath anciently bene called Dublina, Dubliena and Dublinum and sometimes Duvelinium, wherewith the name Divelin, now used by the neighbouring Fingallians, and the word Duvelinium recited in the following Charter of Henry the Second doe well agree. And it is derived with most probability from two Irish words Dough and Ling, which signify a black lake or puddle, for in such a place was the Cittie first built, and by reason thereof called by some Ballycleagh or the town built upon hurdles.

Here it may be observed that the West of Ireland is called Acley Narry and the east thereof Acley Dulene, and that the breath of Ireland hath been measured from Acley Narry to Acley Dulene, as the length thereof hath been anciently admeasured from Clockstallam in the North to Carneballen

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1 This synod was held as some say att Kells others at Mellifont
2 [O be joyful, Jerusalem, from Isaiah 66:10.]
in the South. Upon this and to have accomp Acley Dulene may seem to signify Dubline, and to have reference in point of opposition or analogie to Acley Narry, but this I leave to the inquisition of better criticks in the Irish tongue.

I shall not farther trouble the reader with the nomenclature thereof, yet, before I come to the rise of its government under the policie and authority of England, and for the better knowledge and disposition of things to follow in the course of my proceeding in the history thereof. It will not (I hope) be thought impertinent to look a little back into the manner – how it was taken, lost and regained in short vicissitudes of fortune, and what was the condition thereof when first taken and afterwards brought under dominion of England.

When the time drew near for the accomplishment of what was foretold anciently by the four great Saintes of Ireland, Saint Patrick, Saint Columb, Saint Bragan and Saint Molinge, and afterwards by the Bishop of Ardrackan, [4] concerning the coming of the English into Ireland and the reduction thereof under the dominion of England, Robert Fitz Stephens having chief command in the first expidition and conduct of English forces into Ireland and being a person of suitable magnanimitie

[The following in Harris’s hand is inserted on a slip, replacing the erased introduction.]

the reduction thereof to the Crowne of England, there wanted not secondary means for the effecting thereof, for Ireland being then governed by divers petty Kings, it so happened that Dermot (comonly called Dermot Mac Morroug) who reigned over the east part of Ireland thereof called Leinster, being for his tyranny and lustfulness thrust out of his kingdome, by reason he had ravished the wife of O’Rorke king of Meath, obtained of Henry the 2nd then King of England great ayde and forces for the recovery of his dominion, covenanting also with Richard Strongbow Earle of Pembroke that for his assistance likewise therein, he would give him his daughter Eve in marriage and assure unto him the said Kingdom of Leinster, in reversion after him. Whereupon that Earle with a brave army of Welsh and English, hasted into Ireland; Robert fitz Stephen having a chief command in that first expedition, who, being a person of suitable magnanimitie ..

..to so great an undertaking as was the Conquest of Ireland, resolved from his first landing at the Bann in the County of Wexford, to proceed with circumspection, and an active and unwearied diligence, as finding himself entered into a theatre of action, large enough to display his great abilities, and to exercise the valour of his consorts and followers, never neglected occasions nor lost

3 [recte Bréifne. Leitrim, Cavan & parts of Sligo]
advantages, and therefore being unwilling to let time run on too far to his prejudice, or to the advantage of his enemy, especially when fortune and opportunity suggested unto him a fit and hopeful season to pursue so generous a designe, while the Irish and other inhabitants of Ireland were cast into the confusion of counsels by so sudden a surprise, and soe that his forces were augmented the very next day after his landing by the accession of Maurice Prendergast accompanied with tenn knights and sixty archers, hee wrote a letter subscribed by himself and the said Maurice unto Dermot McMorough King of Leinster, who according to an agreement made between him and his English confederates, absconded himself in the monastery of Fernes (founded by himself, and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary⁴), not far from the place of their landing, in expectation of their arrival, and to be in the greatest readiness to give furtherance and assistance to them at their first [5] landing; the tenor of which letter you have in these words following:

“Wee according to the commission of our Royall Sovereigne Henry King of England and our contract made with your Grace, have brought what assistance we were able, still expecting more for your assistance as wee shall proceed: wee therefore desire to know your princely intentions and that speedily.

From Bann⁵ May eleventh 1169

Signed Maurice Prendergast Robt Fitz Stephens”

Upon this intimation given unto Dermott McMorough, hee conceiving no other answers of greater importance to his confederates, then his personall presence; nor greater assurance to them of his upright intentions, then his immediate repair unto them. Without delay he came to their camp at the Bann, where after mutual congratulations, they proceeded to continue the orderly disposition of means for the prosecuting of the warre. And in the first place immediately established among themselves a resolution to attaque the town of Wexford, being the most distressed with fear of all other places, by reason there was no town so near that powerfull army that could so plentifully reward their first attempt with publique and private advantage.

The next day after Dermott McMorough drawes them out against the town, the inhabitants loosing their courage upon so potent an attaque as was then made; and after a very weak and feeble resistance there being but twenty one men slain on both sides, surrendered [6] themselves to the exceeding glory of England’s armes, and as much consternation to the contray thereabouts.

The surrender of this town was accelerated by the persuasion of two or three prelates, who upon the second assault observing with how wonderful effects the engines of warre threatened the besieged,

⁴ [A house of Augustinian canons c. 1158.]
⁵ [Bannow Bay]
imployed the vigour of their best faculties to compose matters, by reducing them to their due obedience unto King Dermott; they therefore vehemently exhort them to make their peace, stamping in their minds the dismal horrors and damage of war; telling them that by continuance thereof the sacred ministrations of religion would be polluted, the churches ruined that the streets would be washed with the blood of the townsmen. That widows would suffer violent compressions; virgins would be ravished; and wives in the sight of their husbands would be compelled to satisfy the inflamed lusts of the libidinous soldiery; then mothers would be unclasped from the imbraces of their children, and all things would be cast into utter confusion.

Moreover they signified unto the magistrates and people how flagitious it was to bear arms against their King; that the dominion of Kings was of Divine institution; and that their Princes if good were to be loved if evil to be borne with, so that they were not to imitate their vices for their authority nor despise their authority for the pravity of their actions. Concluding, that on the consideration of the premises it was more prudence to accept of secure conditions of peace, than to put themselves in the uncertain events of war.[7]

Shortly therefore after the taking of Wexford, Dermot raises an army of his own subjects, amounting to the number of three thousand men, which being conjoined with the British forces, hee marcheth against Donnogh Prince of Ossory whom he overcame in battle.[8]

Which two victories being obtained, it was thought fit in the next place to endeavour to gain and fix a station in the City of Dublin, as the depositary of honour and safety of their designe, and wherein they might lay the foundation of a hopeful progress of the entire conquest of the whole Kingdome.

And the rather that Dermot McMorogh had persuaded them that the work had no greater difficulties thence to attempt it; and urged thereunto upon incitements of animosity and revenge against the citizens of Dublin; for that they upon the apprehension of some injuries received from his father Morierchu[9] under pretence of inviting him to a feast) had proditoriously cutt his throat; and that being done, wounded him with many stabbes of skeans, and afterwards buried him with contempt in some vile place with a dogg. Therefore King Dermot with his forces putt themselves upon the march to Dublin, where being arrived with great resolution, they turned all their forces against the Osten citizens, being a collony of Danes & Norwegians, who thought for some few days they were

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[6] [shamefully wicked]
[7] In those days subjects were more observant of their King, than the pretended Saints of this age now are.
[8] Donogh Prince of Ossory was overcome June the 10th Anno 1169
[9] Judas Kiss
able to oppose the besiegers, but wisely apprehensive of their inability to hold out longer came to a rendition, yielding it up to King Dermott to whom they gave hostages for their obedience who restored it again to Asculphus, their Prince whom whom Maurice Regan interpreter to McMorrough in his ‘Fragments’ calleth Asculph Mc Turkile.

After this Dublin revolted again which caused Dermott and his son in law Strongbow to leave a Garrison at Waterford and to march with joined forces through the opposition of O’Connor against Dublin, which they besieged the second time. Then Asculphus the Ostman Lord thereof, knowing his disability to make resistance, and persuaded by Lawrence, then Archbishop of Dublin began soone to treat about a surrender. Wherein King Dermott and the Earl Strongbow, employed Maurice Regan, a man of tried experience and great prudence in negotiation, to summon the city to a rendition, and to demand for their better assurance thirtie pledges; whereupon McTurkill, fearing the issue of the siege, and consulting with his owne safetie, promised to render both own and pledges, but the citizens disagreeing in the choice of their hostages, the time assigned was spent. Wherefore Reymond Le Grose, and Myles Cogan, well skilled in taking advantages, without any direction from King Dermott or the Earl, with a select number assaulted the Cittie on the twenty first of September (being Saint Matthew’s day) entered the same (as my author saith) Valuis effractis mutorum strage edita; possessed themselves thereof, got good spoil (for the citizens were rich) and there found great abundance of victualls whilst Hesculphe Mc Turkill, and most of the townesmen saved themselves by the strond of the sea, and made their escape by boates provided for that purpose to the northern parts of the Island. This being done Dermott and his sonne in law, within a few days departed from Dublin with intention to break with the rest of the army into Meath and to waste that country in the progress of their march with fire and sword; and the Earl marched towards Wexford leaving a garrison in Dublin under the command of Myles Cogan. Things standing in this posture Asculphus sailes to Dublin with a fleet of sixtie vessels, being assisted with the islanders of Man and the Orchades; and having landed his men, assaulted the east part of the Cittie, and although Myles Cogan att that time had not a very strong garrison, yet whilst hee defended that part of the Cittie valiantly, in the heat of the assault he sent his younger brother Richard Cogan by way of diversion or repulse to fall with as much of the garrison as hee then could spare out of the southerne gate, then called Saint Paul’s Gate (commonly called Pole Gate). The draw bridge being then let

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10 Dublin yielded to King Dermott July Ides the 2nd 1169. 
11 [Richard Stanhurst, De Rebus in Hibernia Gestis, Antwerp, 1584, p.107] 
12 Sonne in Law is meant Strongbow himself 
13 Myles Cogan the first Governour of Dublin Anno 1170 
14 [ancient name for the Orkney Islands] 
15 Draw bridges in these days before gates were hung up; by reason of the water course round the Cittie
downe, for the water ran round the Cittie, having a large circumvallation about twenty yards broad, the said Richard making a sudden sally charged the enemy unwares without any great resistance made, put them to rout, most of them supposing new supplies had been arrived for the reliefe of the Cittie. In this encounter many Ostmen and islanders were slaine, and several taken prisoners, amongst them Asculph himself, who soone after upon the provocation of certain boasting, and intemperate speeches which fell either from his inconsideracy or enraged fury was put to death. King Dermott died at Ferns, May the 4th 1171.

This storme had no sooner past when a greater and more cruell succeeded for Rory or Rotherick having [10] gathered together a very great army out of Connaught and other provinces and also having procured some auxiliary forces from Godwick then King of Man, determiness now to try his uttermost ability, ether to slay in battle, or otherwise to expell all the British out of Ireland with this army. Hee therefore consulting with policy, first intends to besiege Dublin, unto which he was incited by Laurence O'Tool then Archbishop of Dublin, but before his approach, the earl having intelligence of his designe, had brought with him, and strengthened the Cittie with a new supply which although it were not very great, yet did it afford a greater security then when Asculphus besieged it.

The King at length sett down before it with all the strength of his army and besieges it almost for the space of two months, expecting still when it should be delivered unto him, by reason hee had certain intelligence by the contrivance of Laurence O'Toole from the Irish beggers whom he employed to goe to and fro, that the Cittie was in great want of victualls.

The Cittie being thus invironed with a puissant armie, and the defendants within, neither in number nor ammunition soe well provided as was necessary, and besides but weakly stored with victuals, the Earl out of these considerations called unto him his principall councillors to advise upon the imminent dangers which threatened their ruine, att the which councell there was present:

Robert de Quincy  Myler Fitz Henry
Walter de Riddlesford  Myles Fitz David
Maurice de Prendergast  Richard de Mareinn
Myles de Cogan  Walter Bluet [11]

and diverse others to the number of twenty** unto whom the Earl addresses his speech to this effect.

You see, said hee, with what great forces our enemies do besiege us, wee have not victualls to suffice us longer thene for fifteen dayes, a measure of wheat is now sould for a mark, of barley for half a mark. Wherefore I think it best that we do presently send unto the King of Connought to tell him, that if hee will rise and depart from this siege, I will submit my self unto him and be his man, and hold Leinster of him. And I am of opinion that Laurence the Archbishop of Dublin is the meetest
man to negotiate this business. The earl’s councell was approved and the Archbishop Laurence was sent unto the king, unto whom when hee had made reallion of his message, the proud king for answere willd him to tell the the besieged, that unless the earl would surrender up unto his hands the Cittie of Dublin, and Waterford, and the town of Wexford with all his forces and castles, and immediately att a day assigned, abandon the land and returne into England with all his English forces, he would without further delay give an assault upon the Cittie, making no doubt but & carry that by force.16

Tha Archbishop being returned with this sad answere (with an audible noise hee delivered unto the Earl in the presence of his councell) they were amazed at the proud and exorbitant deamands of the Irish monarch and grew to be pensive. Then Miles de Cogan (rousing up his spirit) brake silence. “Wee are here (said hee) a good number of good men. Our best remedie is to make a sally, which is least doubted by the enemie, and I hope in the goodness of God, that [12] wee shall have the victory, or att the least die with honour; and my desire is that I may be the first man that shall be appointed & force upon their quarter.” With a generall applause Cogan’s councell was approved and the captains commanded to draw forth their companies. The vanguard was designed to Myles de Cogan consisting of two hundred. Raymond le Grose with other two hundred commanded the battle and the Earl with two hundred marched in the rear.

In this enterprise full of perill, they used not the aid of their Irish souldiers, for neither in their fidelitie, nor in their valour reposed they confidence, saving onlie in the persons of Donall Kavanagh, McRelie and Amlie O’Carvie17 of whom they were assured. Unto Finglass they directed their march. When they approached the enemies camp, who were careless, and secure, not instructing any such attempt, Miles de Cogan to encourage his souldiers “In the name of God saith hee, let us this day try our valour up on these savages, or die like men. And thereupon breaking furiously into the camp, made such slaughter as all fled before him. Raymond calling upon St David fiercely rushed in amongst his enemies, and performed wonders, and so did the Earl Richard, but especially Myler fitz Henry’s valour was admired att by all men, for though the danger of warre be incident to all, yet the glory thereof happeneth commonly to a few. In Baynvill10 100 of the enemies were slaine, & in all more than 1500; for the slaughter continued from morning till night, many were taken prisoners & the King himself, being the first onsett in a bath, by reason of his indisposition of body did hardly escape, but there was only one footman hurt of the British. This overthrow soe discouraged the Irish that the

16 Laurence OTool sent to Rotherick, & his proud answere sent to the English att Dublin & what hee demanded. Aug the 11th 1171.
17 [Domhnall Caomhánach, illegitimate son of Diarmuid, Ua Raghallaigh of Uí Briúin Bréifne (an opponent of Ua Ruairc) and Amlaib Ó Gairbhith of the Uí Felmeda Tuaidh in Carlow]
s ease was nearly abandoned [13] and the Cittie relieved for in the enemies camp there was gotten so
great store of baggage, and such quantities of corne, meal and pork, as near sufficient to victuall the
Cittie for one whole year.

The victors having been informed of the great distress fitz Stephens was brought unto att his
castle near Wexford18 beleagued straightly by the Irish, left a garrison behind them in Dublin and
marched with the hastiest stepps they could to his reliefe; and true it was, that hee being begirt with a
great armie of the enemy so dangerously that hee and his were almost brought to the termes of
desperation, but Irish craft anticipated their speed; for upon Duvaldus, or Dunaldus19, and his
companions who besieged them, saw they were noe way able with their greatest force to gaine the
castle, they endeavoured by fraud and lying pretence to draw them to a surrender. In order whereunto
they bring to the walls of the castle two Prelates, to witt the Bishop of Kildare and Fernes20 (whom my
author calls Bishop of Wexford21) vested in their formalities; who affirmed unto Fitz Stephens with
terms of strongest asseveration that Richard Strongbow had suffered the just punishment of his great
temeretie. That Rotherick and O’Rorck, having joined themselves in a common league, offensive and
defensive, to balance the power of invaders, and to free the kingdom from the fear of their dominion,
had taken in Dublin, and that all the British for their pertinacious resistance to the last had lost their
lives.

Moreover that the Prince of Connaught was resolved immediately to send his army against this
castle which would dissipate and destroy the inconsiderable reliques of the British invaders, & thereby
free the island not only from warr, but from the very apprehension thereof & for as much as these
transactions & resolutions were so certainly true & publick, this fatale calamity [14] was soe nigh at
hand, they were unwilling to conceal from him the meanes of his preservation for the great affection
they bore unto him, by reason of the civil offices wherewith he had obliged them, more than the rest
of the Brittanies, and that therefore and for as much as there was no reliefe to be expected, nor any
hope of evasion for the future. They advised him with very great instance immediately to withdraw
him self and his from soe imminent ruine, promising largely unto him, for the extraordinary affection
they bore him, the best assistance they could afford in a case of so great extremite, and swear that if
he would quit the castle, and put himself into their protection, they would free him, and all his
followers from that strait, and provide shiping to transport them with safety into Wales. By these &
other the like blandishments of pretended good offices, Fitz Stephens who in other cases had a great

18 [Ferrycarrig]
19 [Domhnall Mag Ghiolla Phadraig, King of Ossory 1165-76.]
20 [Malachias Ua Brain and Joseph Ua h-Aeda]
21 [The bishops were indifferently styled as of Ferns, Hy Kinsellagh, or Wexford.]
sagacity in suspicious matters, was so credulous as to be mastered by their fraud. Yet historians forbear to censure him as guilty of gross imprudence by reason that correspondencie between him and Dublin, which was the onely means of sustaining hope and of procrastenating rendition, was not onely made difficult, but altogether obstructed. Fitz Stephens thus catched in the nett of this fraudulent contrivance by the treacherous artifice of religious persons, commended himself and his followers to the patronage of his enemies, and being devested of armes, and void of suspition, they fell into the power of the Irish, who were soe farre from shewing acts of humanitie unto them, though they confided in their protection, with as much securitie as if they had been received into a sanctuary, that they treated them with the greatest crueltie imaginable, for some they hanged [15], others they threw downe precipices, they pulled out the eyes of some, the tongues of others, they cutt off the armes of some, they break the thighes of others, some they whipped, others they kept in the securitie of chaines.

The siege of Dublin was no sooner raised and Strongbow gone into England, but his absence gave incouragement to Teigernagh O’Rork to besiege Dublin; but therein he lost his labour and forfeited his reputation, being putt to flight by Myles Cogan, and his sonne lost in the conflict. 22

I should now proceed to the description, and historie of Dublin, according to the principall scope of my designe, beginning from the landing of Henry the 2nd but shall at the solicitation of gratitude to the memory of those noble persons who came to the assistance of Dermot McMorough, set down the names of them as they appear in the Chancery of Ireland 23

Richard Strongbow Earl of Pembrook
Robert Fitz Stephens
Harved de Mont Marish
Maurice Prendergast
Robert Barry
Miler Mielerine
Maurice Fitz Gerald
Redmond nephew of Fitz Stephens
William Ferron
Miles de Cogan
Richard de Cogan
Gaulter de Ridensford
Gaulter and Alexander, sonnes of Maurice Fitzgerald[16]
William Notte
Robert Fitz Bernard
Hugh Lacy

22 O’Rork putt to flight and his sonne slaine on the ides of October 1171.
23 [This list appears in Camden’s Britannia (1610)]
William Fitz Adelme
William Macarell
Humphrey Bohune
Hugh de Guendevill
Phillip de Hasting
Hugh Tirrell
David Walsh
Robert Power
Osbert de Henloter
William de Bendenger
Adam de Gernez
Phillip de Breos
Griffin nephew of Fitz Stephens
Ralph fitz Stephen
Walter de Barrie
Phillip Walsh
Adam de Hereford

To whom may be added out of Giraldus Cambrensis
John Courcy
Hugh Contilone
Redmond Cantimore
Redmond fitz Hugh
Myles of St David’s etc

I having now sett forth the manner, means and noble instruments of acquiring Dublin, and the establishment thereof in the peacable possession of the British nation, I am now to present the reader with a short description & topography thereof, comprehending under the name of Dublin, not only the, town and suburbs thereof within the Lord Maior’s Libertie24, but also all other places of jurisdiction, corporations and franchises as are not within the boundes or concerne of the Cittie Liberties but contiguous thereunto, taking warrant from the topographers of London, who in their description of the noble [17] Cittie, expressly describe therewith the Cittie of Westminster, and Burrough of Southwark; without any signe or desire in mee thereby to prejudice or confound the particular rights, privalidge or honour of these respective places, but for the more clear discriminating of them from one another, shall hereafter in their due place set forth the Liberties of the Cittie according to the riding of their fringes or franchises in the fourth year of King Henry the 7th.

The Cittie of Dublin is unequally divided by the greatest and most pleasing river of the County of Dublin, which discharges it self Eastward into a wide bay, shutt up at seven miles distance between the head of Houth, being a promontary on the North; and the town of Bullock on the South.

24 [Rightly the Liberty of the City of Dublin.]
Wee doe not finde the river Liffey in Ptolemy, but hee mentions under the very same latitude or elevation of the Pole the river Libinus, which must in all rationall conjecture bee the same with our Liffie, but ill transcribed.

Its spring head from whence it riseth is not much more than fifteen miles from his mouth, yet with many turnings and windings hee fetchith about severall circumvolutions, first of all turninge its course into the South by Saint Patrick’s lands, then Westward, afterwards towards the North, watering the Countie of Kildare and at length into the East by Castle Knock, three miles distant from the Cittie.

The Cittie is placed in a most pleasant and healthfull situation, for on the South att four miles distance, stately hills mount up aloft; Westward & Northward a champion ground presents itself to the Cittie’s view, but on the North one may clearly discern the mountaines of Carlinford, though fiftie miles distant. Its prospect Eastward into so large a bay is very delightfull, especially when it abounds with shipping.

This Cittie was anciently famous and noble, but suffered very much by the Norwegians, before the arrivall of English armes; but ever from the settlement thereof under the dominion of Henry the Second, it hath flourished every day more and more, saving the time of warre and usurpation, but never was its increase soe considerable for convenient and stately edifices, and ornaments publique and private, and merchandize, as it hath been since his Majestie’s most happy restauration, by means chiefly of the indulgence and favour of the Duke of Ormond and other Governours of this Kingdome under his Majestie. So that this Royall Cittie and chief seat of Ireland may now more justly than ever before, claim the commendation of Joceleinus of Fernes, who calls it a Cittie in regard of the people noble, of the situation most pleasant, by reason of the sea and river meeting together, rich and plentifull in fish, for traffique famous. I wish I could truly in reference to this time recite the following words of Jocelin in its commendation: Right beset with woods of mast bearing trees, for that ornament is now most wanting of all others. Hee then commends this Cittie also as being invironed about with parks harbouring deer and for a delightful green in both which it was then inferior to those of these times, having now on the Northwest of this City a Park Royall incompassed with the inclosure of a spacious wall of stone, at the Phoenix, being in its surround about 9 miles & an other in the South side of the City at Rathfarnham, anciently and now the possession of the Loftus’s, a very pleasant and commodious park, shut up within a strong wall of lime and stone, within two miles both of the

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25 [Originally part of Glendalough, the Preceptory of Wicklow was added to the lands of St Patrick’s Cathedral in the 15th century.]
26 [Jocelin of Furness was a monk of the 12th /13th century, from Furness Abbey in Cambria]
27 [built around 1583 for Adam Loftus, Lord Chancellor of Ireland and Archbishop of Dublin.]
Cittie well furnished at this time with deer, besides others within the space 20, 12 and 9 miles of the Cittie. And as for greenes, besides a fair and beautiful bowling greene in Oxfantowne on the North part of the Cittie, thought to be one of the fairest in Christendom, being nobly embellished with walkes and walls sett round with choice fruit bearing trees. There is Saint Stephen’s Green on the east of Dublin, and within the Liberties thereof, which is not onely superior to Moor Fields att London, but also not inferior to the Prato in Florence, nor to the Prato della Valle in Padua which is there accompted a wonderfull object of beauty & place of ravishing delight insomuch that [four lines erased in MS. In P001948241 “which is accounted one of the beautifulest greens in the world.]

But to returne from the sweet digression of this contemplation, I shall bring the reader to consider with mee the pleasant seats near this Cittie; as in particular the Phoenix, Chappell-Isod, Maikstown28, Palmerstowne, Lutterelstowne, Saint Catherine’s, Lucan, Leixlip, Laughlanstowne, Ould Baun, Bellamont29 and Rathfarnham, inferiour to none of them, besides many other well improved seates for profitt and delight in generall, whereof though considerable I shall say noe more, as being without my subject, which calls mee back to discourse of the Cittie. And in the first place concerning the Castle of Dublin, which though it be placed in the [20] Parish of Rathfarnham, is not forrane nor an alien from the Citty of Dublin, by reason of the Cittie’s contiguity thereunto, and the old relation the Parish of Saint Mary de les Dames in this Cittie had unto it.

[On a slip in Harris’ writing inserted between pages 20 and 21.]

Grant30 to John Conyngham of a waste parcell of land at present of no value lying under the Castle of Dublin called the Castle Ditch estending in breath between the said Castle towards the East to a certaine parcell of land commonly called the Shepeslands which the said John & one Rich. Bernard possess towards the East & in length between the same Castle to the South to the high street called Castle Street to the North, and from the bridge of the said Castle to the wall of the said Citty adjacentem cuidam turri dicti Castris vocat Bermingham’s tower. Rot tur. Birm. 8 Feb 13 H431

28 [Meakstown or Meekstown, near Finglas]
29 [Belmont, near Raheny]
30 [in 1436]
31 [1412]
Chapter 2

Concerning the castle of Dublin.

The Castle of Dublin is a fortress and citadell of the greatest importance in the Kingdome of Ireland; and hath bene so happy in the late rebellion of Ireland to bee almost the onely conservatory of the English and English interest. It is fortified with strong and high raised walls, containing within the compasse of its ancient circumallation. You enter the great Gate from the Cittie by a draw bridge between two towers of each side joyneing to the bridge.

The gate is furnished with portcullis, it is also attended by the Constable, Gentleman Porter and Guardsers, besides a strong guard of the Royall Regiment. Before the gate is always placed a great piece of artillerie, of a dreadfull aspect, to such as should attempt to force an entrance into that fort. The wall extends itself equally on all sides in height, except the surrounding of the two Gate Towers and Bermingham’s Tower. From the Gate Tower on the right hand reacheth a curtain parallel to Castle Street unto the tower of late called the Corck Tower [21] upon this occasion (vizt). This tower on the first of May 1624 about nine of the clock in the forenoon suddenly fell to the ground, the which being rebuilt so high as to the place where the Boyle’s armes are now fixed. Richard the Opulent, first Earl of that name anno 1629 undertook the finishing thereof at his owne proper cost and charge, in the accomplishment thereof hee disbursed 408.

From this tower the wall of the said Cittie is continued in one curtaine so farre as to joyne unto the tower called Bermingham’s Tower, which is the stateliest, highest and strongest tower in this fortress. This tower is celebrated not onely by the name of its noble founder, but also by the custody of the ancient records of the kingdome, there being an established maintenance for the keeping of them in this place. The right honourable the Lord Viscount Lanesborough being the present patentee for the keeping of them there.

There be two other towers, but of less dimension, between this and the Guardrobe Tower, where the King’s royale robe, the Capp of Maintenenace and other furniture are kept, and preserved by a Patent Officer who had a competent salary for that imployment.

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1 [the word ‘Chapter’ and the number, in all subsequent chapters, are in Harris’s hand.]
2 See interleaved Cox p 156 a concordance for repairing the Castle. What Sidney did to it Ch p 326
3 [in P001948241: It was enclosed with a deep trench filled with water.]
4 [in P001948241: two pieces of artillerie.]
5 [A ceremonial cap of crimson velvet lined with ermine, worn or carried by certain persons as a sign of nobility or special honour]
Another curtaine reacheth from the last mentioned tower to the North Tower near Dame’s Gate (in this tower until now of late was kept the ammunition belonging to his Majestie’s store) the wall is continued hence unto the tower on the left hand as you enter into the great gate of the Castle.

I have now finished the towers and curtaines of the Castle, & as you enter thereinto you may be pleased to notice that the Constable of the Castle holds the tower on each side of the Castle gate for the custody of his Majestie’s prisoners.[22]

This Castle was built (at least the most part thereof) in the time of Henry Loundres Archbishop of Dublin his Government. It is furnished with great ordinances planted on the platformes of the several Towers thereof.

Thus you see this Cittadel well fortifiied against all emergencies, being as commodious for its own defences, as it is convenient to succour the Cittie, though it was somewhat stronger when it was encompassed and fortifiedy by the flowing of the sea round about it.

Let us now look upon it as it is the King’s Court and Pallace, as you make your entrance into the Court, you may behould the beautiful forme of a fair building, unto which you ascend by a noble staycase lately erected in the time of the Duke of Ormond’s government under our Royall sovereign Charles the second since his most happy restauration.

The next thing considerable is the dining room lately re-edified and raised to a stately height, together with all the upper parts of the building proportionately thereunto by the Earl of Essex.

The next part of the Pallace contiguous hereunto is the Chamber of Presence, the Lobbies, and the Chambers thereunto appertaining, which being an ancient structure, is thought to want reparation or rebuilding, and no doubt therefore, but the Earl of Essex, his noble designe to have repaired it, had hee continued longer, will be accomplished by his Grace who now happily governs this Kingdome, if he shall see it necessary and conducing to his Majestie’s honour.

From this building towards the gate, extends itself a statelie structure on your left hand as you pass from the gate to the pallace door, erected in the time of the Lord Deputy Falkland, borne upon
pillars in the nature of a piazza, a stately long gallerie\textsuperscript{10} and many other places of conveniences for the Chief Governour and his family.\textsuperscript{[23]}

Contiguous unto this structure is another ancient piece of building, wherein upon the ground is a chappell\textsuperscript{11}, over which is a stately drawing room built in the time of Sir Henry Sidney\textsuperscript{12} his government whose armes are placed thereon.

Hereunto on the place of an old decayed building was lately raised a stately and convenient structure\textsuperscript{13}, contained within these walls by the Earl of Essex, whereon are fixed the King’s armes, and underneath his own coat of armes, in memory of his name. In this appartment are the Lord Lieutenant’s private lodgings and the rooms thereunto appertaineing, made more noble and convenient than formerly they have been.

I have now described the front with such other buildings as are contiguus thereunto on the left hand of the entrance into the Pallace, and on the right hand are the Hall, on the ground, the kitchen and other places belonging to the offices below staires, reaching as farre as Bermingham’s Tower.

Now hereunto on the right hand was an ancient structure built after the forme of a Church, raised upon severall stately pillars, in the lower part whereof was kept his Majestie’s store\textsuperscript{14}, but the powder by God’s admired providence was removed thence by order of that circumspect Governour of Ireland the Lord Roberts\textsuperscript{15} a very short time before the fire which happened in the time of the Lord Berkeley\textsuperscript{16}, his government, the occasion and original thereof is yet unknown, destroyed the said storehouse and upper loft of the famous building wherein was anciently kept his Majestie’s Courts of Justice, and also were held both houses of Parliament until the wisdome of the State thought fitt to free the castle from so great a concourse of people as usually frequented that great assembly, and to hold the last Parliament att Chichester house. The roof and loftes of this building being burnt as aforesaid, the most part of the walls with the arches were demolished \textsuperscript{[24]} in the time of the Earl of Essex, his Lieutenantcy and the stones thereof disposed of by him towards the building of Saint Andrew’s Church.

\textsuperscript{10} The Gallery built anno 1624
\textsuperscript{11} The Chappel built by Sir Henry Sidney anno 1567
\textsuperscript{12} [Sir Henry Sidney (1529 – 1586), Lord Deputy of Ireland 1567-1578. Pictured by John Derrick in a plate in his work The Image of Irelande. (London, 1581)]
\textsuperscript{13} The late addition that was built by Arthur Earl of Essex anno 1674
\textsuperscript{14} A description of the late storehouse in the Castle of Dublin which was burned in 1671.
\textsuperscript{15} [John Robartes, 1st Earl of Radnor and Viscount Bodmin PC (1606 – 17 July 1685), known as The Lord Robartes (or John, Lord Roberts), offered the post of Lord Deputy of Ireland in 1660 but was unwilling to serve, but served as Lord Lieutenant 1669–1670]
\textsuperscript{16} [John Berkeley, 1st Baron Berkeley of Stratton (1602 – 1678), Lord Lieutenant 1670-1. Considered pro-Catholic]
This great structure, though built in the form of a church, was anciently called the hall of the Castle, and had aisles thereunto covered with lead, until the time of King Edward the 4th who caused the same to be sold by the Treasurer of Ireland for repair of the said structure as appeareth by the statute anno secundi Edwari quatri, wherein are these words “whereas the castle of the King our Soveraigne Lord of his Cittie of Dublin in which the courts of our said Soveraigne are kept, is ruinous and like to fall, to the great dishonour of our said Soveraign Lord, whereupon the premises considered, it is ordained by authoritie of the said Parliament that Forty shillings yearly to be taken and received of the issues and profits of the Hamper\(^\text{18}\) of our Soveraigne Lord of his Chauncerie of Ireland, and fortie shillings yearly to be received of the issues and profits of the Chief Place, and fortie shillings yearly to be received of the issues and profits of the Common Place, and three pounds yearly to be received of the the issues and profits of his Exchequer in his said land; and twenty shillings yearly to be received of the the issues and profits of the Masters of the Mint for the time being and the same to be delivered to the Clerk of the Works of the said Castle for the time being, and that he shall accompt yearly before the Barons of the Exchequer of the King in Ireland according to the ancient forme, and that all the Leads of the Iles of the hall of the said Castle be sould by the Treasurer of Ireland to make and repair the said hall”.

If the Reader shall doubt of the keeping of the Courts of Justice in the said Castle to the later days of Queen Elizabeth hee may be confirmed in the truth hereof by the story which I am now to relate.[25]

“Adam Loftus Archbishop of Ireland and Lord Chancellor of Ireland in the time of Sir John Perrott’s government\(^\text{19}\) sitting publiquely in the high Court of Chancery in the Castle of Dublin whilst there were publique animosities between the Deputy and him. The Chancellor’s secretary being then a suitor unto the daughter of the Lord Deputie’s secretary, and having thereby opportunitie and permission to resort to their lodgings, he found the clossett door of the Lord Deputie’s secretary lying wide open. The Deputie’s secretary being att that time suddenly called to answere some occasions of business that his Lord and Master had for him, he espied, spread upon the secretarie’s desk a large sheet of paper fairly written. Whereupon his curiousitie tempting him to acquaint himself with the contents thereof, he drew neer for a closer view, and there read in capittall letters the title of an accusation in the name of articles against his Lord, the Lord Chancellor of Ireland. Hee thereupon

\(^{17}\) [Aisles]
\(^{18}\) [Profits of the Hanaper: a duty arising to the Crown for sealing patents, and for original writs. So called from the hamper or basket, in which original writs were kept.]
\(^{19}\) [John Perrot (1528-1592) President of Munster in 1570, Lord Deputy 1584 – 1588. Died in disgrace in the Tower of London]
wraps up the said articles, and immediately repaires to his Maister the Lord Chancellor then sitting within the Chauncerie within the Castle, presenting them unto him folded up in the forme of a petition, beseeching his Grace to take the same into immediate consideration, or that otherwise the intended ruin of the petitioner would hardly be avoided. The Chancellor at first reproved him for his unseasonable address in the solemne hearing of a cause. Notwithstanding he had received a check hee continued his instance with greater importunitie, and thereby his Grace concieving it to be a matter of extraordinary importance, received the paper, and by the title informed of the scope thereof, he read the same seriously over, once or twice, and thereupon he returned it to his secretary directing him to return it back againe, assuring him that the partie who was concerned should receive a suitable and seasonable answere, hee returned with the paper to the lodgings of the Lord Deputie’s secretary, [26] who being still detained in business with his Lord was not yet returned. Soe that the Chancellor’s secretary left these articles of pretended treason in the place where hee found them without any notice that he had either taken or seen them. The Lord Chancellor being a person of great sagacitie & wisdome soon takes occasion to arise, and repaired to his own house where having imprinted in his memory the whole matter suggested in the before specified articles, hee forthwith drew a letter to Queen Elizabeth a full satisfactorie and distinct answere to every of them. Hee also wrote concerning the same to the Lord Cecil and other ministers of State then most prevalent at Court, which hee sent that very afternoon by his said secretary into England. The wind as if it had been bribed to serve the turne of the one and to disappoint the other, just serving to convey him over, immediately chopt about to the contrary, so that the Lord Deputie’s pacquet[20] having not been in readiness to take the opportunite which the Lord Chancellor’s secretary made use of, was stopt on this side so long before a passage could be gained into England, that before its departure letters of approbation were returned to the Chancellor, too large to be inserted here and also a sharp letter from the Queen to the Deputie reproving him for so groundless an attempt against her Chancellor, and thus the matter of accusation ceased.]

I have proceeded perhaps too farre in digression upon this point, shall therefore desire the reader to turne his face with mee to that side of the buildings which are on the same side as the great gate, where hee may behold on the right hand as hee goes out of the Palace of the Councell Chamber, and what other rooms belonged thereunto, of late converted into an appartment for the lodging of such persons [27] of the Chief Governour’s household as are consigned thereunto. And on the other side of the Gate hee may place his eye on the Constable’s lodgings, very much beautifayed and reduced to the better accomodation of modern contrivance in the time of the Duke of Ormond’s first Government

20 [a small vessel for mail, passengers, and goods]
after his Majesties happy restauration, as also the appartment built of brick in the time of the Earl of Strafford for the accomodation of Sir George Radcliff21, Knight, who was then not only a member of the Privy Council but also received a salary of 500\$ per annum for his assistance to the Earl of Strafford in matters of law, hee being as eminently knowing in the affairs of state, as hee was learned in the lawes; having bene Attorney Generall of the Presidency of Yorck before his coming into Ireland, which office hee managed with great applause and dexterity.

Next to this appartment are other more ancient brick buildings in the same range under the Castle wall, which were built in the time of King James, and are now within a portall adjoining the Cork Tower.

There were untill of late two sally ports or posterne gates lying open, the one towards Sheep Street, the other towards the Castle yard, but that towards Sheep Street was closed up by order of the Duke of Ormond, upon occasion of the conspiracie of Warren and Jephson22, who designed to make their treasonable entrance into the Castle by the surprize of that port, since which time it hath bene stopt against all passage out or in to the Castle. The other posterne gate is still open, but secured by a constant guard, which will permitt you to descend thence into the stable yard, where you may take delight in seeing the great horse ridden and managed by the rules of the best horsemanship, and of martail skill. There also you may behold large stately stables of an elegant contrivance, built in the time of the Earl of Strafford23 as also a place designed for a mint, and other offices for the forgeing of armes [28]; and other uses appertaining to the stores there, also were built in the time of that vast minded Governour, a great store house for the keeping of all furniture belonging to warre, the Office for the Ordnance is now kept att the issueing out of the said last mentioned postern gate; and I have now no more to say concerneing the Castle in this place, or what appertains thereunto, then that there passeth through the stable yard a full stream of water, issueing out of the Castle gardens which plentifully serves to all uses belonging unto the horse there kept, and to the severall artificers, and persons who minister to publique uses in that place. And to tell the reader as I pass from the Castle to the Cittie by authoritie of Parliament 18 Ed 4 Cap 11 that the Prior of Kilmainham was to build the Castle bridge.

21 [Sir George Radcliffe (1593-1657), English politician & barrister.]
22 [Colonel Edward Warren and Colonel Alexander Jephson, executed (together with Major Richard Thompson) for treason in 1663.]
23 [Thomas Wentworth, 1st Earl of Strafford, Lord Deputy from January 1632. Executed 12 May 1641]
Chapter 3

Concerning the Walles and Bridges of the City of Dublin and Oxmantowne.

I having fully surrounded the Castle of Dublin in the termes of a brief description, I shall now proceed from the Store Tower thereof to describe the walls of the Cittie.

The Walls of the Cittie, first built in the time of the Danes, were raised from a deep and sure foundation, and are now of a considerable height, and sufficiently strong against our ordinary enemy, being furnished with towers and bullworkes¹, complying with beauty but not so formidable in any respect as to create a distrust or jealousy of being able to oppose, or stand against his Majestie’s Castle, countenanced with his Royall authority, through the power of the Cittie of late years in conjunction with Sir Charles Coot afterwards made Earl of Mountrath and Sir Theophilus Jones² in order to his Majestie’s happy restitution, contributed very much assistance to the recovery of it out of opposite hands when his Majestie’s affairs were sickly and reduced to the point of a grand Crisis, at which time the courage of Sir Theophilus Jones, & those worthy persons who first engaged themselves [29] in the hazard of that glorious act in Dublin was much enhanced and seconded by the fidelity of the citizens.

The Citty wall is therefore deduced from the tower called the Store-Tower by the garden of Cork House formerly the churchyard of St. Mary de les Dames unto Dame’s Gate, not so called as some have thought upon misgrounded surmise from the neighbouring mill damme without, but on the warranty of a more reasonable conjecture from the monastery of the dames contiguous thereunto on the inside of the wall, which is yet more probable for that the image of the Virgin Mary formerly stood in a nich of stonework over the said gate, the sign whereof is yet remarkable³. This gate is built Castle ways and armed with a portcullis, it is one of the narrowest entrances into the Citty, and stands upon hath an ascent; for which reason it been for a long time much incumbered with coaches, carts and carres, for remedy whereof the Earl of Strafford designed the enlargement of that passage, but neighbouring property was so obstinate to yield thereunto upon the termes proposed, but that incumbrance increasing by the growth of trade, and the number of coaches augmented, of late a remedy hath been found out in the time of Arthur Earl of Essex, by another aperture made in the Citty Wall (hard by where Isod’s Tower stood) over which is erected a gate leading into a large new street called by many names, some calling it by one way, some another. But if I were to impose the name it

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¹ Orovicius Mediei regulus, castra ad Dubhlinj muros locauit. Vid Stamhtarst de Rebus in Hib. Gest. p 123.
² [They seized Dublin Castle, December 1659. Coote was made Earl of Mountrath by Charles. Jones had been Cromwell’s Scoutmaster General in Ireland].
³ [in P001948241: the sign whereof remained until 1679, when this gate was standing.]
should be called King Street, together with the said Gate, and the new bridge yet unfinished being all so near the King’s Custome house, the King’s Council Chamber and the King’s Castle; and the rather for that there is not yet [30] any gate or street within or adjoyning to the Walls of the Cittie called King’s Street; as also for that his gracious Majestie is founder of that Bridge, and proprietor of that gate, as also of the land where the street is now laid out.

Moreover it hath not been the custome of Dublin to call the gates of the Cittie by the name of any man who was not a prince or saint, and if the monument of a saint, such as was Isod, be demolished, why may not the monument of so gracious a prince, and the sonne of a Saint be erected in the place thereof, or else of that Royall Saint himself by opposing the name of “King” or “Charles” to that Gate, Bridge, and Street, and by setting up their Royall Statues on the Gate which are not yet erected anywhere that I know off in this Kingdome.

Isod’s Tower, though now it hath lost itself by demolition, and lifted out of the world by a new structure substituted in its room, yet is its name preserved in the frequent mention thereof made in History, as also of Chappell Isod, and of Isod’s Font in his Majestie’s Park being one of the boundaries of the Cittie liberties.⁴

There is another tower between the too last mentioned Gates, the proprietor whereof, for reasons rather to bee guessed att, than fitt here to be mentioned, will not communicate its proper name to mine, or the reader’s notice; yet it should not pass without this animadversion, that though it be now [31] covered over with a private edifice, it ought not by any commerce to have been transferred unto particular uses, for the walls and bulwarkes of Citties by the lawes of nations are prohibited by sanction to be translated into private possession.

The next tower, unto Isod’s Tower towards the Bridge called Buttevant’s Tower, but by Rich named Newman’s Tower, is farre greater than that of Isod’s for although Stanyhurst magnifieth Isod’s Tower with the reputation of a place fitt for the entertainment and recreation of Kings; yet Rich in his description of Ireland makes it much inferior to Buttivant’s Tower, comparing it to a place of meaner imploymont; for which reason, and for that ancient writings make Isod’s tower the boundarie of sundry lands and tenements, which never reached so farre as Buttivant’s Tower, I cannot allow of the opinion of those who would place Buttivant’s Tower in the room where the other once stood.

⁴It was soe called from La Beal Isod, daughter of Anguish, King of Ireland. It served as a Palace of Pleasure as one sayeth for an Irish single sole King.
⁵[Barnabe Rich (also Barnaby Riche) (c. 1540 – 1617), an English author and soldier, active in the Tudor wars in Ulster. Retired to Dublin, where he lived the rest of his life.]
The next tower in your way towards the Bridge is a small tower properly called Case’s Tower but hath also been knowne by the name of Baker’s Tower by reason of a long time held as the Bakers’ Hall.

As you proceed towards the Bridge, you come to Proudfoot’s Castle, at the end of Fishamble Street whereunto was drawne a wall continued from the inside of Gormond Gate, along by the South side of Cook Street [32] unto Saint Audeon’s Arch and from thence to Winetaverne Gate, and thence continued on the North side of Saint Toolock’s⁶ Church in Fishamble Street unto this Castle by reason of which wall both the keyes were reputed as the Suburbs of the Cittie; and the rates of carriage from thence into the several parts of the Cittie are yet accordingly made, though most of the said walls be demolished.

There is a Castle between both the keyes, called the Ould Crane, which I concieve was not built att the same time with the walls or towers of the Cittie and therefore I shall passe it by as I go to the Bridg Gate, which without doubt is as ancient as the bridg itself, though by reason considerable reaparations made thereof in the time of Queen Elizabeth, it beares on the North side thereof fronted towards Oxmantowne the Armes of that Queen with an inscription bearing date Anno 1598.

This gate is placed between two turrets and furnished with a portcullis. It had also in ancient times a clock which by its index gave notice of the time of day to such as entered in or departed from the Cittie. The which was a matter of great convenience for the regulation of market people in their motions homeward.

From the Bridg Gate the wall of the Cittie is continued unto a gate called Ormond Gate, or Gormond Gate, and properly termed Gormond Gate from Gormandus, a Danish Saint. [33] this Gate supports with an arch a castle without turret.

From Gormond Gate the wall passeth on to a square tower called Brown’s Castle, being within the Verge of the Martialsey of the Four Courts, commonly called the Black Dogg, from the sign of the Talbot’ there hang up.

This Tower is now called Browne’s Castle, not in respect of an ancient founder, but in regard of a late proprietor thereof Sir Richard Browne, who was Maior of this Cittie⁸, and there kept his Maioraltie, as also did Alderman Malone⁹.

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⁶ St Tooloch’s Church – now demolished and converted into a brewhouse
⁷ [A white hunting dog, reputedly an ancestor of the modern beagle. The term may also refer to any hunting dog. However a “Dublin humour” explanation is not impossible]
A small distance of the Wall of the Cittie interposes between this Tower and that of New Gate, which is part of the aforesaid Martial, and made use of for the custody of criminall persons that are most notorious. This gate was formerly built in the form of a square with a tower at each corner, but upon the late reparation thereof in the time of the usurpation, the two towers that looked towards the Cittie were taken down, and the other two yet remaine.

Why called New Gate?

How this gate took the name of New Gate, or of what antiquity it is, or of what antiquity the denomination, I must leave uncertaine, as a thing not appearing by ancient Records; but I suppose either being the last of the gates built, or in imitation of New Gate in London, it is so called by Citty Records above 400 years.

In the tendency or extension of the wall from New Gate to Saint Nicholas Gate there are three towers, the first is called the Watch Tower situate near to New Gate where ordinarily a centry was placed in former times to watch the prisoners of New Gate. [34]

Next thereunto is situate the second tower in shape octangular called the Hanging Tower, so termed by reason of its propension or leaning posture towards the suburbs. Between the Hanging Tower and Saint Nicholas Gate is placed the third of the three last mentioned towers, being of a round figure, over against the garden of the Franciscans.

The next opening in the Citty Wall is at St Nicholas Gate whence the wall runneth unto Pole Gate also St Paule’s Gate having in an equidistancy between those two gates one turret onely, anciently called Genivell’s Tower from the proprietor or possessor of the place near adjoining names Genivell’s Inn. It is supposed that this Tower was called Genivell’s Tower from Sir Jeffrey Genevill, who espoused the daughter of Sir John Mountfort and whose daughter was marreyd to Sir John Mortimer, or else from Sir Jeffrey Genevill whose wife Maud Lacy dyed in Dublin Anno 1302.***

The wall of the Citty proceeds from St Paule’s Gate, and now terminates with the Wall of his Majestie’s Castle at Bermingham’s Tower, a little beyond a small tower on the Town Wall, whereon is erected a little building jetting out of Hoye’s Alley. And hereabouts the reader may take notice that there was anciently a small gate leading out of Sheep Street into Castle Street called St Austin’s Gate, by reason that it opened a passage to a monastery of Fryars of that name and order, founded by the

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8 [1614-15,1620]
9 [Richard Malone was elected Mayor 1613, Richard Foster took his place]
10 Newgate a Prison for criminall persons (vizt) Murtherers, Robbers, Thieves
11 [now Hoey’s Court]
Bristolines. Here also it is observed that, before the building of the Castle of Dublin, the wall of the City ran up short of the same from Sheep Street by the said Monastery, being in Castle Street where Sir James Ware’s house now stands, unto Dame’s Gate, as appeareth by much of the foundations of that wall yet remaining under ground. [35]

[On a slip in Harris’ writing between pages 34 and 35.]

1385 Pat 9 Rich 2 facie:
The King in consideration of the damage and inaccommodation received by the subject the late breaking down of the great bridge of the City of Dublin at the petition of the Maior, Bailiffs and Commons of said City granted to them the ferriage of the said City beyond the water of the Aven Liffey, to hold soth all the profits and customs thereto appertaining for 4 years, they to receive the ferriage following, viz: for every man or woman ¼ , for ox, cow, horse, mare or horse load of the value of 12s or above and for every carcase of beef ½d, for every other load of less value, and every hog, mutton or carcase thereof ¼d and for other things a reasonable ferriage according to the quantity of them at the discretion of the Maior and Bailiffs, without yielding any rent to the King, on condition that all the profits thereof be employed on the reparation and building under direction of Commissioners in said grant received and subject to an acct to them. Teste Ph Courtney Locum tenente

I haveing thus deliniated the walls, towers and bullworkes of Dublin on the South side of the Liffy, the forreign reader may expect that somewhat may be said of the circumambient defence of the like, and for that part which lyeth on the other side of the river called Oxmantowne. I shall therefore transfer my discourse unto that part of the Cittie, but previous thereunto I cannot but take notice of the Old Bridge, by which I am to pass thither, and which uniteth both sides in a free and easy communication. It is not of equal antiquity with the Cittie, though ancient, for I find that the intercourse between both sides were att first held only by boates.

This bridge is not the foundation of so many houses as were anciently erected, or yet remaine on London Bridge, nor is it scituated upon so many arches, nor raised so many foot from the foundation, it having but six arches, and therefore required not the paines of thirtie three yeares spent
in the building thereof as did that of London, according to Jones\textsuperscript{12}’s survey thereof. Yet if that Messingham\textsuperscript{13} relates upon better authoritie then his owne be true, Dublin had a bridge ancieneter than the Bridge of London, which stood in the days of Laurence O’Toole, Archbishop of Dublin who governed that See before and after the conquest of Ireland: for Messingham in the recitall of miracles and wonderfull things wrought by the Archbishop hath these words: [36]

A certaine minister of the Archbishop’s being drawn and perhapps deservedly to the Gallowes of Dublin to be executed, the news thereof was brought to the Archbishop, who presently arose and hastened to the place of execution. But one of the hangmen seeing the Bishop coming and fearing least the wretch should be taken out of their hands, cutt off his head, which the Archbishop perceiving, and being very much affected with griefe, that his Minister had in that manner bene snatched from him, he thundred out malediction against the executioner, who, returning with his crew, fell on the Bridge of Dublin, and brake his hip, and by that accident lost his life. \textit{Vide Messingham, de Vitae St Laurentii, Cap 26.}

Whence it appeares that there was a bridge over the river att Dublin in the days of that Prelate, if any credit bee to be given to that miracle.

This bridge fell down in the year of our Lord 1385 according to the relation thereof made in the Annalls of Ireland published by the learned Cambden, and soon after there was another bridge built in Dublin, which yet standeth, now called the Old Bridge, as senior to the other lately erected, which yet standeth.

There was a later bridge of stone erected in the time of the Lord Berkley\textsuperscript{14}’s government which seemed to be founded in the muddy dissatisfaction of the people upon the same river, over against the new Bowling Green, which being not so firmly established as it might have been was soon overthrowne by the impetuousity of floods, or some other more latent cause. After the ruin of this bridge, another of timber was raised whilst the Earl of Essex was in Government, built [37] geometrically, but within a short time grew so feeble, that it was in a condition to want the support of two crutches, which with other help of sustenation, are not able to so to uphold it as to make it safe or secure for passangers, but is like suddenly to fall into total ruine\textsuperscript{15}.

\textsuperscript{12} [probably referring to Inigo Jones (1573 –1652), the first modern English architect. Although Jones’ official title was “surveyor”, there’s no evidence that he carried out such a survey.]
\textsuperscript{13} [Thomas Messingham (c. 1575-1638) scholar, cleric & rector of the Irish College in Paris]
\textsuperscript{14} [John Berkeley, 1st Baron Berkeley of Stratton (1602 –78), Lord Lieutenant 1670 – 2.]
\textsuperscript{15} [Rory O’Moore Bridge, built 1670.]
Another bridge likewise hath been with very great cost and art placed on the said River of Liffey between Saint Mary Abbey and the New Crane, which hath been in a great part ruined of late, whether by the violence of floods, or a kind of tottering instability of Abbey stones unwilling to joine in a firm league with secular buildings\(^\text{(16)}\), I leave to be disputed by those who have some time to study that contraversie than I have, who am now to hasten to that part of the Cittie, or rather the suburbs which lie on the northside of the Liffey called Oxmantowne, properly from the Ostmans who were there seated before the coming over of the gallant Englishmen who conquered Ireland,

[addition in Harris’ hand:]

... but before I proceed I shall give the reader notice of four lesser bridges. The Castle Bridge, St Nicholas his Bridge, the Poulegate Bridge, repayred in the yeare 1544 by Nicholas Stanhurst, and St James his Bridge, lost in the memory of man, whereof Hollinshed makes mention, without pointing at the place where it stood.

The River of Thames att London divides the jurisdiction of London and Southwark, as did anciently the River of Boyn the Town of Droghedagh not onely into two parts, but also into two severall jurisdictions. For the government of Droghedagh was divided anciently under two Maiors, one limited to Uriel side, the other to that side which lyeth in the County of Meath. In token whereof, though a long time since they have been united under the governement of one Maior, both Tholsells do yet remaine, the one lately repaired and beautified on the North side of the river, the other on the South side of the same being of later times called the Castle of Comfort, in reference to the too kind entertainment of young folkes of different sexes in that place, but might have more properly been called the Dungeon of Repentence.

Length of time frequently buries in oblivion the originall, and [38] reasons of usages and customes, yet it is with much probability of conjecture supposed, that the emulation between these two so nearly neighbouring governments in that towne was the reason and originall of the custome yet continued whereby the election and swearing the Maior of Drogheda on Michlemass-day, hath been, and is still certified to his Majestie’s Exchequer before the swearing of the Lord Maior of Dublin, according to their ancient endeavouring for preheminency amongst themselves by their prioritie of certificate, though neither of them aymed thereby to impair the honour of Dublin; yet it is to be wondered to a high degree, that this so hastie a way of certifying the Maior of Drogheda’s election by the post, who stayeth the whole time of the said election on horseback at the Tholsel door, expecting the event, should be continued so long after the the ceasing of the cause thereof by consolidating both

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\(^{16}\) [Grattan Bridge (Capel Street bridge), built 1676, repaired 1687.]
these governements into one, but this is to be attributed unto the tenaciousness of old custome held usually in corporations without examination or consideration of the causes or originall of them, or the reasonableness of continuing them.

But to return from this digression unto the course of my history. Though other cittyes and townes have divided their jurisdictions by the intercurrences of rivers, yet the parts of this Cittie of Dublin were never divided in jurisdiction, though separated by several scituations on different sides of the river. It was strange that there should have bene too distinct jurisdictions att Drogheda within the same walls, and it is more to be admired that both sides of Dublin being under the pollicy of one government, were never inclosed within one [39] Wall, though encompassed upon occasion of warre with the same circumvallation of earth, as it was in the time of the late rebellion, when Sir William Parsons and Sir John Barlace\textsuperscript{17} were Lords Justices of this Kingdome. It was for want of fortified walls on that side of the river that in the infancy of the Government of the English in Ireland, it was prohibited to erect new buildings in Oxmantowne, laying them too open to the incursions of Irish, and other enemies, until the seaventh year of King John permission was granted so to doe.

\textsuperscript{17} [Sir William Parsons, 1st Baronet of Bellamont, Surveyor General of Ireland and Sir John Borlace, Master of the Ordnance, appointed Lord Justices in 1640.]
Chapter 4

A Description of the Streets, Alleys and Lanes of Dublin

I have now spoken as much as I conceive is needful concerning the outward deliniation of the Castle and Walls of the Cittie of Dublin.

It may now be expected that I should write particularly of the Streets thereof, but Sir William Petty having described them with most artificiall exactness in the preceeding sculpture as they now are, I am therein superseded; yet I hold myself obliged

I shall now therefore briefly set forth for the reader’s satisfaction, some animadversions on the Streets that either have bene lost, or changed their names, in the immutable course of time.

But before I proceed, the reader may take notice that such streets as are set forth by the mapp in the distiction of lines are additionall to the state and condition of the Cittie as was described by the performeances of John Speed Anno 1610

That street within the walls wherein St John’s Church now stands was anciently called Bough Street as is supposed from the wattles or boughs of trees wherewith the houses were at first built, which conjecture may perhaps seem probably to those who have observed in history that the Church of Durham, where now the Cathedral stands, was called Bough Church by reason it was first built of boughs and branches. Others think it was so called from the custome of the country butchers, for whose use this street was first designed, to set off their shambles with the boughes of trees. This street hath since changed its name into Fishamble Street, the contrary butchers having been removed thence within the memory of man, and the Fish Market there established.

There was another street adjoyneing to this of Bough Street, leading into Castle Street and ending where Sir Daniel Bellingham the first Lord Maior of Dublin kept his Maioraltie, called in former times Cow Lane, but this is now wholly obstructed by buildings erected on that passage, the said Sir Daniel’s house being built of late across att the end of that Lane. This Lane was sett to farm[1] anno 1598 by the City to John Weston, Nicholas Weston being then Maior. There are now many

[1] [leased out]
houses built upon that Lane, and almost as many contests for the propriety of them in his Majestie’s Courts of Justice.

There was another lane called Sutor’s Lane which anciently ran on the back side of Skinner Row, by the south side of St Nicholas Church, which began att Saint Nicholas Street and ended at Saint Werbournagh’s Street where now stands a fair house² lately built, and now inhabited by Master Crofts, Deputy Clerk of the Tholsel³.

There is a large piece of ground which anciently went by the name of Preston’s Lane, bounded on the Castle Ditch on the East, on the North with the Cittie Wall, extending from Dame’s Gate to Isod’s Tower; on the South side with Scarlet Alley; and on the North West with Smoke Alley. This parcel of ground is taken into severall and devided considerations. Part of it is now reputed a piece of Castle Street as rangeing therewith; part of it called Copper Alley by reason of the Copper money wherewith the Lady Fenton wife of Sir Jeffrey Fenton⁴ concerned in the making and distribution thereof did build it; and the rest being now the propriety of the Lord Chief Baron Byss⁵ and Sir Dudley Loftus⁶, properly [41] remains under the denomination of Preston’s Inns, and is now a part of the Blind Key, as it is vulgarly called, the which reacheth no further than Isods Tower.

The Lane which leadeth from Saint Nicholas Street to the Corne Market was in ancieneter times called Rochel Lane, but now better known by the moderne name of Back Lane.

There was another lane which reached from St Austin’s Gate formerly described into Castle Street called Saint Austins Lane. Part of the place now called Corn Markett was anciently known by the name Newgate Street and reached from the Newgate to St Audeon’s Church.

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² [in P001948241: This house was formerly made a prison & called the Four Courts Prison.]
³ [Philip Crofts, appointed Deputy Clerk of the Tholsel 1664, promoted to Clerk 1677. CARD 1 p265.]
⁴ [Sir Geoffrey Fenton – 1539-1608. Principal Secretary of State in Ireland from about 1585.]
⁵ [John Byss (~1602 – 80). Recorder of Dublin before and during the Commonwealth. At the Restoration was appointed Chief Baron of the Irish Exchequer, an office he held until his death]
⁶ [(1619 – 95) great-grandson of Adam Loftus, 1st Provost of Trinity College. His books and manuscripts formed a key element in Narcissus Marsh’s new library]
Chapter 5

King John’s letter for the building of the Castle of Dublin.

I having now described the situation and topography of the castle and citie of Dublin and said so much of the streets as is needful, I shall thereunto add a letter of King John’s directed to Fitz Henry1 Lord Justice of Ireland wherein is set forth the occasion, authority and reasons for the building of the Castle of Dublin, and an intimation of a strict command to the Citizens for strengthening of Dublin.

Rex dilecto et fidelí Meillerio, filio Henrici, justiciario Hibernie salutem. Mandastis nobis quod non habuistis locum ubi thesaurus noster reponi possit apud vos. Et quia tam ad hoc quam ad alia multa necessaria estet nobis fortalstia apud Dublin, vobis mandamus, quod ibidem castellum fieri faciatis in loco competenti, ubi melius esse videritis ad urbem justiciandam et, si opus fuerit, defendendam, quam fortissimum poteritis, cum bonis fossatis et fortibus muris; turrim autem primum faciatis nisi poste competitius castellum et pallatium at alia percunctoria fieri possint, et vobis hoc mandavimus. Ad hoc autem capiatis voluntatem nostram sicut nos mandastes et ad praesens ad hoc capiatis ccc marcas de G filio Roberti quos nobis debet; mandavimus etiam civibus meus Dubliensibus per has litteras patentes, quod civitatem suam firencient, et vos illos si nolueriunt compellates ad hoc, volumus etiam, quod una feria sit apud Dublin singulis annis per 8 dies durantura in Inventione sanctae crucis; aliam apud pontem die Beati Johannis Baptistae simuliter per 8 dies, [42] tallia eis tallagia et theolonia; alia apud Waterford ad vincula sancti Petri per octo dies; alia apud Limerick in festoi Sancti Martini per octo dies, et ideo vobis mandamus quod ita fieri et annunciantari facientes ut mercatores illuc venire debeat. Testibus Dom. Norvicensis: Episcopo aput Geitinton 31 die Augusti, Anno Domini 1204.


You have intimated to us that you have no place about you where our treasure can be laid up; and inasmuch as for that purpose as well as many others a fortalice might be necessary for us at Dublin, we give you mandate to have a castle made there in a suitable place where you shall see best so as to justice and, if need be, to defend the city, making it as strong as you can with good ditches

1 [Meiler Fitzhenry, grandson of Henry I, builder of Dublin Castle for John, Lord Chief Justice of Ireland from about 1200 until about 1208. He died in 1220.]
and strong walls. And you shall first make a tower where at a later time the castle and baily and other requirements may suitably be made, provided we shall give you mandate for that.

The said letter of King John in English:

The King to his wellbeloved and faithfull subject Fitz Henry Justice of Ireland, Greeting. You have signified unto us that you have not a convenient palace there to keep our Treasure, and forasmuch as for that use, and many others, a fortress at Dublin would be very necessary, We command you that you there cause to be made a castle in such competent place as you shall conceive most expedient, as well as to awe the Cittie as to defend it if occasion shall require; and that it may be as strong as you can make it, consisting of good and strong walls. But you are first to finish one tower, unless a castle and palace, and other workes that require longer time may be more conveniently done. For the doing whereof you have here our command, authority and pleasure, and at present you may take to this use three hundred marks from George Fitz Robert which hee oweth us. Wee command also our citizens of Dublin by these our Letters Patents that they strengthen the Cittie and that you compel them thereunto, in case they shall refuse so to doe, and it is our pleasure that there shall be a fare att Dublin every year to continue for eight dayes on the Invention of the Holy Cross\(^2\). And that there shall bee another att the Bridge on the Feast of Saint John the Baptist\(^3\) to continue likewise for eight dayes, with toll and duties thereunto belonging, and that there shall be a fare at Waterford on the [43] day of Saint Peter ad Vincula\(^4\) for eight dayes, and another at Limerick for the same space of time on the Feast of Saint Martin\(^5\). And wee command you that you make proclamation hereof accordingly that merchants may repair thereunto. Witness hereunto the Lord Bishop of Norwich the thirtie first day of August 1204.

We now returne from the description of Dublin to the history thereof from the time of King Henry the Second’s arrivall in Ireland.

\(^2\) [May 3\(^{rd}\), the Feast of the Finding of the Holy Cross]
\(^3\) [June 24\(^{st}\)]
\(^4\) [August 1\(^{st}\), the Feast of St Peter in Chains, or the Liberation of St Peter - Acts 12:3-19 ]
\(^5\) [November 11\(^{st}\)]
Chapter 6

A short history of the City from the time of King Henry’s the Second’s arrival in Ireland.

King Henry upon supplication made unto him from the Irish princes and lords, setting forth as well their complaints against the British commanders in their invitation of him, with promise of advantage unto Ireland for redresse of disorders, being also invited by the Earle Strongbow of the other side to receive the actuall surrender of all his acquisitions either by sword, or the right of marriage, resolves to come in person into Ireland, and being hastened by motive of another nature; first that hee might by withdrawing himself out of England hither, the better shift off the Pope’s censure of excommunication for the death of Thomas Beckett, or at least bear the same with less shame and scandal at a more remote distance, hee therefore putt himself upon his voyage, and in the year one thousand one hundred seventie one, having landed at Waterford, with about four hundred knights, and four thousand veterane soldiers on the eleventh of October was received with the best expressions of joy and the highest entertainments that the place could afford him, where the King of Cork[^1] [44] swore fealtie, gave hostages and yielded tribute unto him. Thence he made a progress to Lismore, and returned to Waterford by the way of Cashell, where Donald (or Donatus) O Briën[^2], King of Limerick, Donald Lord of Ossory[^3], the Lord of Decies[^4], and others of the southerne Lords were grately received by King Henry; they att the same time subjecting themselves and all their territories to him, and securing their fealtie unto him by oath. Gervasius[^5] names as well the lay Princes as the Ecclesiasticall Princes and Lords who there submitted in manner or order following:

The King of Cork
The King of Limerick
The King of Ossory
The King of Meath

The Archbishops and bishops submitted at the same time in order following:

The Archbishop of Armagh, primat of Ireland & with him his suffragans:
The Bishop of Clogher
The Bishop of Louth
The Bishop of Kells

[^1]: Diarmait Mór na Cill Baghain Mac Cáirthaigh
[^2]: Domhnall Mór Ó Briain.
[^3]: Domnall Mac Gilla Pátraic.
[^4]: [called Ó Faeláin, king (ríg) of the Déise in part 17 of The Annals of Tigernach.]
[^5]: Gervase of Canterbury (Gervasius Cantuariensis or Gervasius Dorobornensis) (c. 1141 – c. 1210). An English chronicler]
The Bishop of Derry
The Bishop of Ardagh
The Bishop of Connor
The Bishop of Downe
The Bishop of Raphoe

The Archbishop of Cashell & his suffragans:
The Bishop of Lismore
The Bishop of Cork
The Bishop of Killalow
The Bishop of Emely
The Bishop of Waterford
The Bishop of Clone
The Bishop of Ardfert
The Bishop of Artmore
The Bishop of Ross
The Bishop of Limerick
The Bishop of Killfenora

Here it is to be observed that the Archbishop of Dublin succeeded the Arch bishop of Cashell in taking the oath of fealtie and that duty was performed in the Archbishop of Cashell’s Diocese but the Archbishop of Armagh preceded the Archbishop of Cashell, he then being Primat of all Ireland.

The Archbishop of Dublin and his suffragans [45]

Province Glendalox
The Bishop of Ferns
The Bishop of Lechlin
The Bishop of Kildare
The Bishop of Ossory

The Archbishop of Tuam & his suffragans:
The Bishop of Clonfert
The Bishop of Killala
The Bishop of Mayo
The Bishop of Elphin
The Bishop of Achony

King Henry the second being thus secured of the fealtie as well as the spirituality of the laitie, after a short stay att Waterford, departs thence with great satisfaction of minde towards Dublin by Ossory. Hee arrived at Dublin of the eleventh of November, where he was received with evidence of joy, greater than ordinary transports of rejoicing could express. Here O’Carroll of Uriel, O’Rork, O’Tool with many others were royally feasted by the King in a pallace or pavilion suddenly erected to that purpose & composed of wattles near St Andrew’s Church without the walls of the Cittie, where hee kept the festivitie of Christmas, att which time all, or most, of the Irish Lordes swore fealtie unto him.
King Henry, after a most tempestuous Winter, about the beginning of March, having received intimations from two Cardinalls (vizt) Theodinus & Albertus, that they expected his coming into Normandy, to purge himself of the murder of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, together with a comminatory sentence of excommunication if hee [46] should fail therein, hee in much perturbation of mind and the rather that hee was then advertised of his sonnes’ conspiracy against him, hastened his departure from Ireland, after hee had made about four months stay in Dublin. Hee therefore takes his journey to Wexford, from thence to passe into England, but before hee departed, hee committed the governement of Dublin to Hugh de Lacy, Robert Fitz Stephens and Maurice Fitz Gerald, having first granted to the City by Charter to the Bristollians in these words following


Henry, by the Grace of God King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, to the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbotts, Earls, Barons, Justices, Ministres, and [47] all his faithfull French, English and Irish of his Land, greeting. Know ye that I have given and granted, and by my letters patent have confirmed, to my people of Bristow my City of Dublin to inhabite. Wherefore I will, and firmly command that they doe inhabit it, and hold it of mee, and of my heires, well and in peace, freely and quietly, wholly and fully and honorably with all its liberties and free customs, which the men of Bristow doe now injoy att Bristow and through my whole land. Teste: Will. De Braosa, Reg. De Curtenay &c. Apud Duvelinam,

This Charter was confirmed by King John, Hugh de Lacy, Constable, and several other persons attending the same. It received its confirmation att the town of Kildare, and hath bene againe received

6 [Teodino degli Atti, O.S.B, cardinal priest of S. Vitale and Alberto de Morra, cardinal priest of S. Lorenzo and later Pope Gregory VIII]
and confirmed in the third year\(^7\) of King Richard the First, with the Teste of Stephen Ridell then Lord Chancellor of England\(^8\).

Att this time, and from the beginning of the Reign of Henry the Second, the rule and Government of this Citye was managed by Senechalls, under which denomination that administration continued untill the Reign of King John, who gave them the title of Provost, having a seal with the Inscription of Signum Praepositurae. And thus the forme of government remained untill the time of Henry the 3\(^{rd}\). But then the Office of Maior began in the thirteenth year of his reign, by vertue of his Royall grant for the electing of Maiors and Bayliffs, who for a long time afterwards were promiscuousely called Bayliffs or Provosts, for it appears on Record in Edward the 2\(^{nd}\)’s raigne that one John Sergeant was then Maior, and Richard de Sancto Ollavo and John Lester were Provosts, and by severall grants in Henry the Fourth’s time, those very officers were called Provosts, the said grant of Henry the Third followeth in these words:

Henricus dei gratia Rex Anglie, Dominus Hibernie, Dux Normannie, Aquitanie, et Comes Andegavie ; Archipiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Prioribus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Justiciariis, Vice-comitibus, Prepositis, Ministris et omnibus Ballivis et fidelibus suis — Salutem.

Sciatis nos concessisse, et hac carta nostra confirmasse, pro nobis et heredibus nostris Civibus nostris Dublin et heredibus suis quod eligant sibi inperpetuum Majorem de se ipsis singulis annis, qui nobis sit fideles, discretus et idoneus ad regimen Civitatis nostre Dublin, ita quod electus fuerit nobis vel Justiciario nostro Hibernie si presentes non fuerimus presentetus et nobis juret fidelitatem. Et quod liceat eis in fine anni amovere et alium substituere si voluerint vel eundem retinere. Ita tamen quod idem ostentatur nobis vel Justiciario nostro Hybernie si presentes non fuerimus.

Quare volumus et firmiter presipimus, quod predicti Cives et heredes eorum, eligant sibi in perpetuum singulis annis de se ipsis Majorem qui nobis sit fideles, discretus et idoneus ad regimen Civitatis nostre Dublin, ita quod cum electus fuerit nobis vel Justiciario nostro Hibernie si presentes non fuerimus presentetus et nobis juret fidelitatem. Et quod liceat eis in fine anni amovere et alium substituere si voluerint vel eundem retinere. Ita tamen quod idem ostentatur nobis vel Justiciario nostro Hibernia si presentes non fuerimus, sicut predictum est. His Testibus, Hugone de Burgo,

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\(^7\) [1191/2]

\(^8\) [Stephen Ridell was in fact Lord Chancellor of Ireland at this time - appointed by Henry II. while he held his Court at Rouen, in Normandy. "Of this Chancellor nothing is known further than his name, and that he held the seals of office during the long term of thirty-three years, commencing in 1186 and terminating in 1219" - The History of the Lord Chancellors of Ireland, from A.D. 1186 to A. D. 1874. By Oliver J. Burke, A.B.T.C.D. Dublin & London, 1879]
Comite Cantie; Justiciane Anglie; Henrice de Alditheley; Hugone Dispenser; Johanne Filio Philippi; Roberte Agvillum; Raduepho Tirell, cum multis alis.

Henry, by the Grace of God King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, to the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbotts, Earls, Barons, Justices, Sheriffs, Provosts, Ministers, and to all Bayliffs and to all his faithfull subjects, greeting. Know yee that we have given, and by this our Charter have confirmed for us and for our heirs to our Cittizens of Dublin, and to their heires that they elect amongst themselves for ever hereafter a Maior every year who shall be faithfull to us, discreet and sufficient to governe our Cittie of Dublin. Provided also when hee is elected to be presented unto us, or to our Justices of Ireland in our absence, and to swear fidelity to us. And it shall be lawfull for them att the end of the year to remove, to substitute or to continue the same Maior as they please. So that the Maior elected be presented unto us, or to our Justices of Ireland in our absence. Wherefore wee will and command, that the said Cittizens and their heires elect ever hereafter among themselves every year, one who is faithfull to us, discreet and sufficient to governe our Cittie of Dublin. Provided that when hee is elected hee be approved of by us, or by our Justices of Ireland in our absence, and to swear fidelitie to us [50] and that it shall be lawfull for them att the end of the yeare, ether to remove the same, or to substitute another, or to continue the same Maior as they please. Provided that the said Maior elected be presented to us or to our Justices in our absence as aforesaid with the above. Witnesses H. De Burgo.

By the date of this Charter it appears that the Maiors of Dublin are within twenty yeares as ancient as the Maiors of London, for Fabian in his Chronicle saith that on the day of Saint Michael the Archangel and the tenth year of King John, Henry Fitz Alwyn was sworne and charge as first Maior of London, who also affords us this observation from what hee reports of the said Fitz Alwyn, that in the first institution of officers, it is convenient they should be administered for some time by one person, rather than by the charge of many, for which reason the first Maior of Dublin continued in office seven yeares, according as the first Maior of London continued five yeares, and for some time after for three, four or five and seven more or less.

After this Henry the Fourth bestowed a sword on the Cittie of Dublin, and conferred on the Maior, and his successors, Maiors of the Cittie of Dublin, the priviledge and dignitie of having the same carried before them, and his grant thereof was directed to the Maiors, Bayliffs and Commonalitie of the Cittie of Dublin as appears in the words of the following:

9 [Hubert de Burgo, 1st Earl of Kent, Henry de Alditheley or Audley, Sheriff of Shropshire and Staffordshire, Hugh le Despenser, Sheriff of Berkshire, John Fitzphilip Lord of Bobbington and Barlaston, Sir Robert Aguillon of Boxgrove, Ralph Tirel, constable of Pevensey Castle]
10 The second volume Folio 32
Henry by the Grace of God King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland. To all to whom these our Letters shall come, Greetings. Know ye that wee of our espetiall Grace, have and doe give licence for us, and our heires for ever, to our faithfull and true subjects, the Maior, Bayliffs and Commons of our Cittie of Dublin, in our Kingdome of Ireland, to their heires and successours for ever, that the said Maior of our Cittie that now is, have and his successours of the same Cittie for the time being for ever, have and may have a certain Sword of Gold born before them for the honour of us, and our heires, and of our faithfull subjects of our Cittie aforesaid, to them in the same manner and forme as our Maiors of London have a sword carried before them. In Witness whereof, these our Letters wee cause to be made Patents (teste me ipso) att Westminster the fifth day of March in the ninth year of our Raigne.\footnote{[1223]}

The next change of name, or title, wherein the government of this Cittie was concerned was derived from Edward the Sixth of blessed memory, who in the second year of his raigne changed the name of Bayliffs into Sheriffs, which name they still bear.

It is here to be observed that this famous Cittie of Dublin hath in all times since the time of Henry the Second, bene worthily reputed a perfect example of fidelitie, and exact obedience to the Crowne of England. As appeares by the constant stile of their charters, and their famous actions in that kind hereinafter represented, and the frequent and the Royall testimonies thereof, more than can well in this place be enumerated. One whereof was from Richard the Second who wrote unto the Cittie a letter of thanks for their carefull manngerie of their Government, and preserve of this Cittie, wherein he styled them his faithfull citizens. The honour of which repute they have hitherto held without rub or interruption. In consideration whereof his Majestie that now is hath bene pleased since
his happy restauration to amplifie, and dignifie the stile of the Chiefe Magistrate of this Cittie with the nobler title of Lord Maior, conferring on the Cittie for the better maintenance of their government a pension of five hundred pounds per annum in perpetutie [53] and to increase the splendour of their Government in representation of his Royall authority, hath conferred on them a Capp of Maintenance and a great Mace\textsuperscript{12} to be carried before them, as also a Collar of S.S\textsuperscript{13}, to adorne the person of the Lord Maior, and his successours, in the most solemn acts of their administration, and as a particular mark of favour to Robert Dee, Maior of Dublin in the year of that happy restauration, in regard of his personall merit in that service, his Majestie was pleased to conferre upon him a massy chaine of gold.

I am now to present the reader with an exact and compleat table of all the Maiors, Bayliffs and Sheriffs of this Cittie since the year one thousand two hundred twenty nine, so farre forth as may be collected from the memorialls of the Citie, wherein Richard Mutton was constituted the first Maior thereof, comprehending John Smith the present Lord Maior, who in a lower station, imitating the hospitalitie of Sir Edward Bellingham, sometimes Lord Deputie\textsuperscript{14} of this Kingdome, who hath bene termed an excellent governour for spending his whole allowance in hospitalitie, deserves to be commemorated under that motion.

And wee may presume that Richard Mutton who built the Tholsell of the Cittie of Dublin, was noe less to be commended for his hospitalitie, in regard hee had the honour to be chosen first Maior, and continued in that office for seven yeares together. If soe it is worthy of observation, that the builder of the Tholsell, and hee in whose [54] time it was totally demolished, should agree soe well in one commendable qualification. And some perhaps may conjecture that the aged\textsuperscript{15} Tholsell expected a dissolution when it could noe longer be subservient to the ancient rules and constitutions of the Cittie.

But of Richard Mutton, and the building of the Tholsell more hereafter, whilst with lingering expectation wee may too long look for the erection of a new one, by so beneficient a founder, without the contribution of the whole Cittie.[55]

\begin{footnotes}
  \item[12] The mace was made in 11665 by and for Daniel Bellingham, first Lord Mayor. He sold it to the corporation in 1667.
  \item[13] The Collar of Esses is a Livery Collar worn by Officers of State since the 14th century, made up of links in the form of the letter ‘s’.
  \item[14] [1548/9] Ordered to be demolished in the year 1676, and in the year 1677 totally pulled downe.
\end{footnotes}
Chapter 7

Concerning the Maiorality of the City.

An account of those things the Maior of Dublin was obliged by oath to observe att his inauguration when hee was admitted by the Capitall or Chief Baron of the Exchequer in the year 1388, Thomas Cusack being Maior, and one Thomas Cusack and William Wade being Bayliffs. Ex albo libro.\(^1\)

It is to be observed in these dayes the Prior of Christ Church gave an oath to the Maior elect, according to the Chief Baron’s directions, which was after this manner and forme.

You are here chosen the Chief Officer of this Cittie of Dublin, under our Soveraigne Lord King Richard. Therefore you doe promise to observe and performe all things committed to your predecessors.

You acknowledge the holy and blessed Trinitie in unitie, to be three persons and one God.

You acknowledge your self to be of the Mother Church, now professed by all Catholiques.

You acknowledge your Soveraign Lord, Richard, King of England, to be the true Governour of this Realm, and to observe all his lawes, as hee is lord and ruler of the same.

You are to observe the commandments of his Chief Governours ruleing here under him, and to assist him upon all occasions against his rebells of the Kingdome rising against his power.

You are to defend this his Majestie’s Cittie of Dublin against all forraigners, or Irish rebells, to the best of your power and your brethren the cittizens when ever required or occasion serve. [56]

You are to doe justice to all that come before you, to assist them, and to doe them right according to your conscience, punishing the offender, and doing right to the innocent.

You are to see the Market of this Cittie kept decent and in order. That there no carrion, or stinking meat sold, nor false weight, or measures kept among the sellars, whereby the buyers may be dammaged, but to take all such away, and to be given to the poor of that parish in which the same be forfeited.

\(^1\) [The White Book of Dublin]
You are to punish all straglers, idlers and lazy people that be able to work, and to banish all country beggars from this Cittie, who come severall times onely for spies, and not forget Rotherick’s deceipt by sending them before hand, when hee besieged the Cittie.

You are not to suffer any cattle to be slaughtered within your walls, neither to suffer any swine to run about the streets and to banish all beggars in the time of any sickness or plague.

You are to deal justly with all Corporations, not suffering another to exercise the trade contrary to the Corporation of which hee is free, unless it be for his owne particular use for the present.

You are too look that all thinges be sold according to the quantity and season of the year as the increase is, that the inhabitants be not in any way prejudiced thereby.

You are to observe according to the Charter, the times to ride your franchises, and not to suffer the Liberties to be intruded upon by rebells or foreigners, but to defend the same with all the might and power that you, [57] and your brethren the rest of the citizens can.

You are to observe all the feasts of the Church, and the customes of the same, according to the ceremonies thereunto belonging, to be courteous, and civil to all strangers, keeping hospitality, charitie and good workes, whereby others following your example may glorifie God, and merit the Kingdom of Heaven.

Note that to every one of these proposalls the Maior kist the book, the Chief Baron saying the wordes, and the Prior of Christ Church giving the oath. The White Book out of which this was copyed by the said Sir James Ware was destroyed by fire in the house of the White Fryars in the dayes of the old Lord Francis Aungier, sometimes Master of the Rolls2, amongst other bookes and papers in the said late Lord’s closett.

I shall not inlarge by way of observation on the particular articles of the oath administered to the Maior as above, onlie I desire the reader to take notice, that I did not think the word Rome, which in some copies are mentioned in the second Article to agree with the present constitution of this Cittie, nor doe I think that the word (meritt) in the last Article exprest, can upon any motive of reason give scandall to any one who understands the use of the word in ancieneter times, it signifying no more than to obtaine without relation to a necessary deserved compensation ex debito. For Saint Bernard complaining of the abuse of his age in admitting boyes to bishopricks saith vel pueri merentur.

2 [1609-32]
episcopatum, which in no rational construction can bear any other sense than that children obtained bishoprics, for no man can [58] say that they deserved them or could require them as due.

In these times the Mayor before the taking of his oath was to repair unto the Dominicans (the Fryars Preachers) who then lived where the Kinge’s Inns 1 are now seated, attended by the Aldermen, Bayliffs and Commons, where the duty of his magistracy was laid open unto him in a sermon to that purpose. This usage remains as yet so farre in practice, as that the Mayor attended as aforesaid (but with the Sheriffs instead of the Bayliffs) passes through the place where the church or quire of the said monastery then stood. Every year since the dissolution of Abbeys the Mayor hath bene sworne by the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, either in the Presence Chamber 4 of the Castle of Dublin, before the Chief Governour of Ireland, or in the Court of Exchequer, but not while a certificate first had out of the Remembrancer’s office, that the election of the Mayor of Tredagh 5 was there entered. The reason whereof I am not able to resolve further than according to my former conjecture. The charge given to the Mayor of Dublin commonly proceeds from the mouth of the Chief Baron, but sometime it hath bene given by the Chief Governour himself. For I read in a roll of this City 6 in the year 1573 being the fourteenth of Queen Elizabeth, these words: James Bedlow Mayor received his oath before the Lord Deputy Sir William Fitz Williams in the Chamber of Presence the last of October. Then after his honour made good narration unto the Mayor, upon which day the place where the clock is builded att the Bridge-End giving over the water to Oxmantowne was finished. And in the same year died the Worshipfull Master Usher 7, on Thursday the last of Aprill, a father of this City, and Burgess aftertimes of the Parliament[59].

Having now spoken concerning the introduction of the Mayor of Dublin into his Government, I cannot easily forget, or forbear to speak a word or two concerning another ancient and useful officer of the City, called the Mayor of the Bullring.

Hee was an officer first elected by the citizens, to be captain of all the bachelors and unmarried young men of the City, who had for that year authority to punish and to chastise such as frequented evill house and unchaste places.

This Mayor of the Bullring holds his name from the iron ring that is in the Corn Market (so formerly called) the Corne till of late being sold there, but now removed to St Thomas Street. To this

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1 [the present Four Courts, on Inn’s Quay.]
2 [the room in which guests were received – as opposed to the Privy Chamber where those of real influence in the Court met.]
3 [Drogheda]
4 [That probably copied by Gilbert in CARD 2, page 76]
5 [Robert Usher, Sheriff 1553/4, Mayor 1561/2. See CARD 1 page 433, CARD 2, page 19]
ring they tye the bulls which are to be baited against Christmass, and it was held in such esteeme by the Maior thereof and his company, that when any Citizen being a bachelor hapned to marry, the Maior of this Bullring and his crew conduced the partie that was to be marryed, upon his returne from Church to the place where this ring lyeth. And there with a solemne kisse hee was to doe homage for his Ultimum Vale⁸, and take the Maior thereof, and the Sheriffs to dinner with him, unless hee were poor, in which case the Maior of the Bullring and his batchelors made a collection for him, and gave it to him att the ring, as hee did homage.

The time, place and manner of choosing the Maior and Sheriffs of the Bullring shall be described hereafter in the chapter which treats of the Masters’ discipline of this Cittie.

⁸ [final farewell]
Chapter 8

Concerning the Tholsell

Having now spoken of the Maioraltie of the Cittie, I shall pass to the place where the administration of justice, and all the principal functions of the Maior, Sheriffs and Commons of the Cittie of Dublin were exercised (viz.) the Tholsell. [60]

Here were held their Quarter Sessions, Generall Assemblies and other courts for the administration of justice, and here also were kept the records of this Cittie. The founder of that structure had regard in the erection thereof as well to strength as accommodation for other designes, it being the greatest place of strength in the Cittie, the walls thereof being of stately structure of stone, and of great thickness, being covered with a platforme of lead.

This structure was founded by Richard Mutton, first Maior of Dublin, and last Provost thereof. History reporteth of him that John Heath, Provost of Dublin, going from the Priory of the Blessed Trinitie to the Abbey of Our Lady, found a basket in the way, wherein this Richard lay wrapt up in a mutton skin, from which consideration he was surnamed Mutton. The Provost out of motives of Christian charitie, had him brought to the same Abbey, where hee caused him to be Christened, and thereupon raised a sufficient allowance for his maintenance. The Prior also of the Holy Trinitie, so soon as hee was capable of letters, taught him and instructed him according to his capacitie. Hee coming to some measure of learning, the Cittie bound him an apprentice, and hEE being a thrifty young man, he did so thrive in the progress of a few yeares that the said John Heath, who first took care of him from his infancy, continuing his indulgence towards him, bestowed his daughter on him (though his onely child), which made him with credit [61] and riches begin to flourish in the world, insomuch that by the favour of fortune, and his own meritt he became one of the Provosts of the Cittie, and afterwards, pursuant to the grant of Henry the Third, King of England, hee was elected Maior, and in that office continued seven yeares together, which was during the remainder of his life, and it is probable that hee might longer have continued that administration, had not death prevented him.

About half a year before his death hee began to build the Tholsell. But before hee had half finished that work, leaving his onely daughter Margery behind him, hee charged her on his death bed to see it finished, saying that all hee had gotten was by the Cittie, and that in memory thereof hee built

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1 [The Tholsell (‘Toll booth’) stood at the site of the present Jury’s Inn, opposite Christchurch Cathedral.]
2 [from P001948241 – blank in MS]
the same as a monument of his gratitude, and his affection to the Cittie for an assembly or meeting place.

This work shee performed according to his Will. Others say that Margery herself founded it, but in an old registry of Saint Mary Abbey of Dublin, I find authority for what I have written, though both had to doe in the structure thereof.

I find by a memorandum taken out of Bermingham’s Tower that Henry the Fourth’s Armes were putt upon the walls of the Tholsell, when hee gave them a sword, in memory of that and other signall acts of beneficience towards the Cittie.
Chapter 9

Several famous Acts done by the City in former days.

The next thing I shall recommend to the reader’s observation is to show some particular instances, of many that might have been given, of the fidelity, and valorous acts performed by the citizens of Dublin, over and above what we have [62] already related.

First it appears out of a French certificate that in the year 1317, upon information given, that Richard Earl of Ulster was an instrument for bringing in of Le Bruce, with the Scotts, into Ireland. Robert Nottingham being then Maior, & assisted with the Commons of this Cittie, arrested the said Richard, and brought him from Saint Mary Abbey (where hee lay), though hee resisted to the loss of many of his men, to the Castle of Dublin, where hee lay in prison untill hee cleared himself of the imputation hee then lay under.

About this time the Lacies¹ came to Dublin, whereupon Inquisition was taken, whether the Scotts came into Ireland, by their procurement, by which Inquisition the Lacies innocence being vindicated, they were acquitt, but were sworne upon the Holy Evangelists to the utmost of their power to banish and expell the Scotts. After this the Scotts came privilie to Slane, and with twenty eight Knights and an armie of Ulstermen with them. They preyed the whole countrey before them, and the Monday before the Feast of Saint Matthew the Apostle², the Earl of Ulster being taken prisoner as before hath bene said, in our Ladies Abbey by the men of the Cittie of Dublin, (where he long remained prisoner), the same week Bruce advanced with his hoast to Dublin, and so soon as hee heard of the apprehension of the said Earl, hee took his journey to Castle Knock, and there entered the house, and took the Lord Hugh Tirrell, Baron of the same, and his wife (who were afterwardsransomed). This night the Commons of Dublin, being apprehensive of their danger, by so near an approach by so powerfull an enemy, for prevention thereof caused St Thomas [63] Street to be burned, from the flames whereof Saint John’s Church (without Newgate) took fire, as also Saint Mary Magdalene Chappell³, together with all the suburbs. Saint Mary’s Abbey also was burned, and Saint Patrick’s Church was spoyled by the enemie. At this time Saint Saviour’s Church⁴ also, belonging to the Friars Preachers, was burned, the stones of their Abbey having bene taken to make up the Walls of

¹ [the de Lacs or Lacies of Rathwire, County Westmeath, primarily Hugh and Walter]
² [21 September]
⁴ [on the site of the present Four Courts.]
the North side of the key; as also Wine Taverne Gate, and a wall from thence to Saint Audeon’s Church, and the building called Saint Audeon’s Arch, but upon removall of the danger, the Maior and citizens made up the Abbey and its church, some say of their own accord, others att the King’s command.

After the return of Bruce towards Ulster, two messengers from the Cittie of Dublin repaired to the King of England, who, after they had declared unto him the state of Ireland, they conferred with him thereof, and concerning the enlargement of the Earl of Ulster. About this time (being soon after the feast of Philipp and Jacob), Roger Mortimer, Lord Justice of Ireland, came to Dublin, and held a Parliament with all the nobilitie of the land att Kilmainham, where they did nothing but treat of the delivery of the Earl of Ulster. But on the Sunday before Ascention day, the nobilitie of the land assembled againe att Dublin, whereupon securitie taken by hostages, maineprize, and others for the fidelity of the said Earl, and upon his oath, that neither hee, nor any of his, would doe any hurt or prejudice to the Cittie of Dublin for apprehending him, hee was discharged.[64]

About this time the messengers sent from the Cittie to the King obtained their business to the full effecting of what they desired, and soe returned, though the Earl of Ulster was discharged before their arrivall. But in the same year the nobilitie of Ireland being againe assembled in Parliament att Dublin, hee was forced to undertake, swear and finde sureties to answer the lawes, as also ingaged to make discoverie of the King’s enemies to his power. This was an act very much pleasing to the citizens, and the rather for that it was concurrant with the newes then brought by Nicholas de Balcott to Dublin that the Pope had sent his Bulls for the excommunication of all those who should disturb the King’s peace in Ireland, which Bulls of excommunication were so effectuall that thereupon Murragh O’Birne made his peace with the states, and came in for himself and his people into the Castle of Dublin to give assurance for the keeping thereof and that the Archbolds concluded a peace upon the Earl of Kildare his suretie.

Againe in the year 1398 the cittizens of Dublin made a road into the Birne’s country, where they took and slew above 100 persons. King Richard the Second, being then in Ireland, came soon after to the Cittie where the Maior and cittizens entertained him nobly, Ralph Ebb being the Maior, Richard Bacon and Richard Bow Bailiffs.

5 [quay]
6 [May 1st]
7 [de Balcott’s name appears in the Book of Howth, f77, but in no other chronicle ]
8 County Wicklow
Also about the year of our Lord 1402 John Drake, being a Maior of great courage and valour, with a band of the citizens of Dublin near Bray slew of the Irish rebels [65] the number of 493 men of warre, some say a great many more, for the merit of which valorous act the Cittie elected him Maior four years successively.

In the year 1405 the citizens of Dublin entered Scotland and valiantly behaved themselves against the enemy there. From whence sayling along Saint George’s Channell, went into Wales, where they did much hurt, and amongst other spoyles brought from there a shrine of one of their holy saintes, which, when they returned home, was planted in the Church of the Holy Trinitie amongst their reliques.

Anno 1406 in the seventh year of the Reign of Henry the Fourth, the citizens of Dublin, with the Countie about them, fought a great battle with the Irish, and took several of their colours, and brought many of their heads to Dublin, which were putt upon several of the Cittie gates.

In the year 1410 Robert Gallen Maior of the Cittie went out with the Prior of Kilmainham (who was then Lord Justice of the Nation) unto the Birne’s Country with an army of 1500 men of which number 800 of them revolted to the Irish, soe that if the power of Dublin had not been there it might have happened ill on the Lord Justice his side, to the dishonour of the government if not the loss of the Kingsome.

Anno Domini 1480 John West Maior, James Markes and Richard Arland Bayliffs, went with a company to the O’More’s countie, with the Lord Grey Lord Deputie [66]

Anno 1492 Thomas Bennett being Maior, Richard Tirrell and Thomas Newman Bayliffs, assisted James Earl of Ormond when hee came to Thomas Court Wood, and incamped there in defence of the City against the Earl of Kildare.

In the year 1504 Gerald Fitz Gerald Earl of Kildare (then Deputy under Henry Duke of York, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland) accompanied with John Blake, Maior of Dublin, gave the famous overthrow of William le Burgh, O Brien, Macnamara, O Carroll att the field of Knocktowe[12], called by the English the Hill of the Axes, not farre from Galway, where was overthrown the greatest power of the Irish that had bene together since the Conquest.

9 [Thomas Le Botiller, prior of Kilmainham, 1403 – 1419.]
10 [Laois]
11 [beside Thomas ]
12 [The Battle of Knockdoe (Lackagh, Co. Galway), on 19th August 1504, between the de Burghs and the Fitzgeralds and their respective Irish allies.]
Anno 1505 Thomas Newman Maior of Dublin, Walter Pippard and Morriess Colton Bayliffs, with the commons of the Cittie, marched under the command of Gerald Earl of Kildare to Ballaghaspord against O’Carroll and all his followers whom they burned and destroyed.

Anno 1520 Patrick Boyse, Maior, with the commons of Dublin, attended the Earl of Surrey in his march against O’Neal.

In the year 1521 the Cittie of Dublin joyned with the Earl Surrey’s companies, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and served against the O’Mores, in which fight one Patrick Fitz Symons made good proof of his manhood, for which good service the Earl of Surrey knighted him.

In the year 1534 was the revolt of Thomas Fitz Gerald, eldest sonne to the Earl of Kildare, in which, though they of Dublin were att first somewhat discouraged with the strength of the enemy and especially with their evill success at Kilmainham Ridge, where four score of them were slaine. Yet at the last they played their parts well. And amongst the rest, memorabel was the fait of John Fitz Symons, one of the Aldermen of Dublin, who was said to have sent into the Castle of Dublin for provision of the same twentie tunne of wine, twentie tunne of beer, two thousand dry Ling, sixteen hoggsheds of powdered beef, twenty Chambers and an Iron Chaine for the drawbridge that was newly forged in his owne house.

In the year 1539, when O’Neal and most of the Chieftans of Ulster joyning together had wasted and spoied upon the Pale as farre as the Hill of Taragh, the Lord Leonard Grey, then Lord Deputy, making head against them (amongst other officers) omitted not the help of the cittizens of Dublin, who behaved themselves soe well under the heading of their Maior James Fitz Symons, that after the overthrow of the rebells, hee was advanced to the degree of knighthood, together with the then Maior of Drogheda, for the good service they performed in that action.

Anno 1552 the Maior of Dublin, named Michael Ponto, marched with a goodly company against O’Reyly, in which march a great contest happened between the Maior of Dublin and the Maior of Drogheda about the foreward. But the debate ended in an order which confirmed the Maior of Dublins’s right to have the forward goinge out, and the rereward cominge homeward.

Anno 1557 the then Lord Deputie made a great expedition into Ulster with the cittizens of Dublin.[68]

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13 [?? citation needed]
14 [the Memorial Park, Kilmainham. The ridge was, before quarying, over 20 metres high.]
15 [feat]
In the year 1566 were 300 citizens of Dublin lead by William Sarsfield, the Maior of the Cittie, to Dundalk for the better defence of that town, then besieged by the arch traytor Shane O’Neal, whilst Sir Henry Sydney, then Lord Deputy was in the field with her Majestie’s armie, from which service they returned with much credit. Having raised the siege, the said Sir William Sarsfield was knighted for his good service therein, especially for the honour of delivering the Lady Sydney from the straights and dangers of that siege. By which severall relations you may see the fidelity and the readinesse att all times, that this Cittie of Dublin hath shewed to their princes and his governors of Ireland governing this realm.
Chapter 10

A vindication of the loyalty of the City in the cases of Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck

Though these acts and many more of the same nature which I could rehearse (were I not opposed with the fear of being tedious), will for ever remaine to posteretie as an illustratious memoriall of this Cittie’s fidelitie to the crown of England, yet it will not be impertinent to vindicate their honour from an objection which some have raised from the politique composition of a letter directed by King Henry the Seventh (a prince of great prudence and subtlety in the managery of affaires) to the citizens of Waterford, wherein the inhabitants of the Cittie of Dublin are said to have bene assistants and a supportation to the Earl of Kildare in the time of setting up the imposter, or once pretended sonne of Edward the Fourth, and afterwards pretended to be Edward, the sonne of the Duke of Clarence, att Dublin against the possession of the said Henry. I shall therefore in the first place sett down the tenor of the said letter, and then offer a word or two of annimadversion thereon to the reader’s consideration. And so shall avoid the [69] reproach which Socrates Scholasticus, in the beginning of his history, cast upon Eusebius¹, saying that hee sought rather highly to command than diligently to describe the actions of his time, for so much as he wrote so little of the Arians. I shall also adde unto the said letter another of Henry the 8th to the citizens of Waterford, whereby hee conferred on them, as a spetiall mark of his favour, a Cap of Maintenance, which was not granted to the Cittie of Dublin untill the happy restitution of King Charles the Second, who bestowed the same upon them as a spetiall token of his grace and favour:

Henry by the Grace of God King of England, and of France and Lord of Ireland. To our trusty and well beloved the Maior, Bayliffs and commonaltie of our Cittie of Waterford in our land of Ireland, greetings.

Whereas it is evidently knowne that our rebell, the Earl of Kildare, not long agoe confedered with certaine other our rebells and traytours, through the aid and assistance of the inhabitants of this Cittie of Dublin, in our said land, and others of their sect, made great rebellion against us, intending as much as was in their way the destruction of our person, and the utter subjection of this our realm. If they might have attained unto their malitious purpose, through the grace of God and the aid of the loveing subjects wee withstood to the finall destruction and confusion of many of them.

¹ Socrates of Constantinople, also known as Socrates Scholasticus, in his Historia Ecclesiastica (early 5th century) criticising his mentor Eusebius of Caesarea.
And forasmuch as the said Earl, with the supportation of the inhabitants of our said Cittie of
Dublin, and others there, to the high displeasure of Almighty God, and contrary to the duty of their
allegiance, will not yet know their seditious opinions, but unto this day uphold: and maintain, the
same presumptuously, as we certainly understand.

We therefore, for the good obeysance and loving disposition that ye, to our singular comfort
and pleasure, have borne always towards us (wherefore we heartily thank you) and trusting firmly in
the same, will and charge you, and by these our letters, give unto you and every of you, full authority
and power, to arrest, seize and take, all such, and as many of our said rebels, as ye shall now attain
unto by sea and land, with all manner of their ships, goods and merchandizes, as ye shall find to be
carried or conveyed from any other place to our said cittie of Dublin, , and to the parts thereabouts,
and to employ the same unto the behoof and commonweal of our said city of Waterford. And that ye
fail not daily and diligently to endeavours of this commandment, until the
said earl, and the inhabitants of our said city of Dublin, with the parties thereabouts of the sequel,
utterly and clearly leave and forsake the said rebellion and contemptuous demeaning, and shall be of
good and due obeysance unto us, and stand in the favour of our grace.

Charging over this all manner of our officers, true liege-men and subjects, that unto you and
every of you, in executing the premises, they be aiding, helping and assisting, in every behalf, as it
shall appertain, as they and every of them will be recommended of good and true obeysance unto us.

Given under our privy seal at our castle of Warwick the 20th day of October, the third year of
our reign.²

Henry Rex[70]

Here followeth the the above mentioned letter of King Henry the Eight whereby hee conferred
on them the Cap of Maintenance

I know that the cittizens of Dublin cannot be wronged with any thing of a more sensible touch
than that which grates upon their credit, and reputation, and that nothing can grate more thereupon,
than the imputation of infidelitie to their rightfull prince, and therefore presume it will be as gratefull
to them as it will be satisfactory to the equall, and indifferent reader and offensive to no man that is
just, to putt a right gloss upon so much of the said letter, as seems to concern them in point of loyalte.

By the King Henry Rex

² [1511]
Trusty and well-beloved, wee greet you well. And having received your letters with credence to be referred unto this bearer, William Wise, Esq\(^3\), for our body, which thoroughly declared your benevolence and loving acquitals to us in all your proceedings there concerning us and our army, according to your natural duty, and the expectation we have always conceived of you, whose credence with the circumstance of your pursuits we have at length heard and well perceived, and for the same your demeanours, we render you our most hearty thanks, letting you to wit, that we have, at this time, by the advice of our council, so concluded and ordered, that at this next parliament within that our land to be holden, that ye shall not be endamaged, or hindered in any of your liberties and grants of our progenitors made unto you, but always containing and persisting in your accustomed service and well approved fidelitie, we shall as matter and occasion shall require, from time to time, provide, for your publick weal, and that our cittie.

And now at this time, as a remembrance and evident token of our favours, we have sent you, by the bearer, a Cap of Maintenance, to be borne at times thought fit by you, and necessary before you our maior, being our officer of that our said cittie and our successors officers of the same.

Given under our signet at our manor of Greenwich, the last day of April in the 20th year of our reign.\(^4\)

To our right trusty and well-beloved the major and comminality of our cittie of Waterford, in the land of Ireland.

The above recited letter was directed to the cittizens of Waterford, from whose honour and laudable behaviour in opposing Perkin Warbeck, or Lambert Simnel, imposters and pretenders to the Crowne, though imposed on the people by the then Lord Deputie, and State, noe man can derogate from with the advice of treason, or warrant of authorities. Nay I hold myself obliged to pay as a tribute to the honour of that Cittie, what I shall now recount concerning their fidelitie, prudence and courage, manifested in an affair of so great hazard as they then managed with soe triumphant success in opposing the often repeated mandates of an apostate state, injoyned with the terrour of direfull menaces – denounced with the solemnnetie of a ceremonious herauld, in all the accoutrements of a Royall Officer of Armes.

For most true it is that after the coronation of Lambert Simnell (an organ maker’s sonne, as some say, but more probably the sonne of a baker, as I finde it in Sir Francis Bacon’s History of

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\(^3\) [Mayor of Waterford, 1533. As a token of gratitude for the city officials opposing Simnel and Warbeck, Henry VII had sent for the young William to be raised and educated in England with his own son, the future Henry VIII.]

\(^4\) [1529]
Henry the Seventh) in the Castle of Dublin, with the crown which adorned the image of Our Lady de les Dames, which the Earl of Kildare, then Lord Deputie, assisted with the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Archbishop of Dublin, and the rest of the State then residing in Dublin, put on his head, as the highest ensigne [73] of sovereignitie, then proclaiming him King of England and Lord of Ireland. The said Earl sent, under the motion of his tutor, and keeper, unto Mr John Butler, then Maior of the Citie of Waterford, and much addicted to the loyaltie which hee had learned from the constant practice of the House of Ormond (of which hee was an obsequious dependent) and to all the citizens of the said Citie, a strait injunction to be in readiness, with all things fitting for the reception of their King, and his lords. As also to assist him with a guard of all their forces. Unto which message hee answered that hee would returne his mind in writing by a messenger of his owne, dismissing the Earl’s minister without further answer. Yet after mature deliberation, with the advice of his Common Council, hee gave this answere. That they were resolved not to owne any person taking upon him the imperiall crowne, or name of King of England, though crowned in Dublin, and that by so disloyall a subject as was the Earl of Kildare, and his adherents, but deemed and took all such as did imbrace or further any such coronation, and proclamation to be mere enemies, and rebells to their rightfull prince Henry the Seventh, King of England. The Earl of Kildare being highly moved with this message, and thereby precipitated to violence and temeritie, commanded the messenger to be immediately hanged. An act wherewith the Archishop of Dublin, and others of the apostate councell, more wise than the rest, were offended. Soone after the said Earl of Kildare sent his Herald, vested in his Coat of Armes, to Waterford, who, being arrived at the Ferrybrink⁵, and the said Maior advertised thereof, immediately commanded one of the King’s boats to bring him over the water, near the great key of the Citie, where the Herald, endeavouring to land, the Maior told him [74] that hee would not but bear a good reverence to the Armes of Engand which hee bore on his coat, but commanded him not to land, but to doe his message from the place where hee then stood, saying that noe traytor to the crowne of England, whilst the citie of Waterford continued, should ever enter, or land there. Then the herald in open wordes, and a majestick extension of voice, & in the name of the said Earl, as tutor and governour to the new King, commanded the said Maior and all the inhabitants of Waterford, upon paine of hanging at their doores, to proclame the said King forthwith and to accept of him as the right prince and King of England and Lord of Ireland.

Whereunto the Maior, with a courage agreeable to the trust of his charge, and suitable to the dignity of his magistracy, said unto him:

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⁵ [Ferrybank]
“Thou Herald declare unto all them which sent thee hither that they need not put themselves to
the trouble of coming to hang me att my door for denying their trayterous and unlawfull desire. But
God willing I as Maior of this Cittie of Waterford, intrusted with the King’s royall sword, assisted by
all the citizeens of the same, in whose fidelitie and true subjection to the right King of England (under
the protection of God Almightye) I firmly rest upon, will encounter thy false King, and all his
adherents as traytors to the crowne of England, thirty miles from Waterford in the field where I mean
(with the blessing of God) to give them the overthrow as much to their dishonour and infamiy as to
the praise and renowne of the famous Cittie of Waterford and our posteritie for ever.”

And having thus said, hee commanded the King’s boat to transpose the Herald to the other side
of the water. Here it is observed that the courage of the Maior and citizeens was much hightened [75]
in regard that many of the Butlers were either drawne into the citie by order of the Earl of Ormond or
approached near the citty in large numbers to their assistance. Besides the correspondence with all the
good townes circumjacent, such as were Kilkenny, Carrick, Callan, Clonmel, Fitherd, and divers
others within the patrimonie and command of the Earl of Ormond, who were all in full readiness, and
most willing to encounter the Earl of Kildare, and his suborned prince in that quarrell, which they had
undoubtably done, had not the wind, soon after the departing of the said herald, come up att East, and
transported the forces and power of King Henry from England, which landed at the Skerries, Clontarf,
Dalkey and other places near Dublin. Wherupon the apostate Earl and his suppositious king were
putt from their attempts designed against Waterford.

I need not say any more to advance the honour and praiseworthy actions and noble carriage of
the Maior of Waterford in this affaire. Yet something I am able to add in vindication of the Cittie of
Dublin in that matter. For what they were, or might have been charged withall in the coronation of
that imposter proceeded from ignorance and a seduced understanding, and what they did was
occasioned by the command and authoritie of the Lord Deputie and Councell, and countenanced with
the religious ceremonie of a procession of the clergie, regular and secular. Besides they could not
have so great and clear a perspective into the truth of the matter as the Waterfordians, who were
illuminated in their understandings by the instructions of the Earl of Ormond, wholly addicted to the
House of Lancaster, and guided by his directions in his actions, but, on the contrary the Cittie of
Dublin was acted by the forces of the Earl of Kildare and the state, who had a string bent [76] to the
House of York, in whose favour this imposter was raised. So that King Henry the Seventh hath been
as much blamed for improvidence in the matters of Ireland in not removing suspected officers in the
state, and putting others into their roome, or at least not intermingling with them others of better
assurance, as the citizeens of Dublin, as have been condemned having proceeded from a premeditated
malice or inclination to the partialitie of a too strong affection to faction.
Moreover whatsoever fault might have been laid to some persons of the Cittie ought not to be attributed to all the inhabitants, for it is the common councell and general assembly which is termed the pulse of a politique body, whereby the true state and temper thereof may but be discovered.

Now for as much as it doth not appear in history that the coronation of the said imposter was admitted or confirmed by any Act of common councell or general assembly, they are not to bee reputed as culpably involved in the misdoings, nor to be charged with the failings of particular persons. And I doubt not that if these persons of Dublin had then bene under the command of the Earl of Ormond, as they were under the Earl of Kildare, and as well informed by him of the truth, as were the citizens of Waterford, they would have bene as resolutely bent against the then imposter as they were ever addicted before and since to the royall succession of the crown of England. Such is the difference between men deluded and rightly informed, that the later are as much to be condemned when they do amiss and the other as much to be pittied when they innocently swerve from that which is right.

If they who mistook our Saviour for the gardener, and therefore did not honour him as they should, be not condemned as culpable irreverence to his person. And if they had mistaken the gardener for our Saviour, should have with obsequious affection adored him, should not have been guiltie of formall idolatry, then there is the less reason too severely to condemn the whole Cittie of Dublin as guilty of formall rebellion upon the accomplt of one or more Citizens, assisting the Lord Deputie and State in that mock coronation. Whereas they cold not safely have resisted the force which compelled some of them thereunto, had they bene rightly informed, whereas they were led onlie by error and misguidance of their governours and not drawn by hatred, malice or any more sinister respect into that misty affaire.

And were it as agreeable to my resolution of not entering into the time of the late rebellion and usurpation, as it is pertinent in this place to assert the unwillingness and aversion of this Cittie to submit themselves to any undue autoritie. I might here mention that when the affaires of King Charles the First were soe much declined in England and Ireland to the state of extremitie, as that hee then saw cause to command the departure of his Vice Roy from the helm of government in Ireland. Alderman Smith being then Maior of Dublin, and the Parliament forces being, pursuant to the King’s order or agreement admitted into the towne, as also the Parliament Commissioners, the said Alderman as Maior and his brethren and Common Councell would not submitt unto their authoritie without a particular order from the King or his Vice Roy. Which being sent unto them, hee submitted rather for

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6 [Mary Magdalene – John[20:15].]
7 [July 28th, 1647]
the authoritie of the one, though declined, then the feare of the other then in force. And were it not to
labour too much in a clear business and to anticipate a seperate and intire discourse at large, which is
intended hereafter to be set forth [78] concerning the forward readiness of this Cittie in preparing
matters to facilitate his Majestie’s restauration and then cheerfull concurrance with Sir Charles Coot
and Sir Theophylus Jones in preventing and beating downe all opposition against him. I might here
aptly relate how tractable they were, as well of choyce as of duty, to the ready performance of what
was required of them as conducing to the happy designe of bringing in his Majestie with honour.
Alderman Robert Dee being then Maior, a man aged in their service, and having with esteem of
honestie and integretie, notwithstanding old controversys were continued, countenanced, nourished
and supported with promises of aid on the better side, hee then to celebrate his memory as a worthy
ornament of this Cittie, being, as it were, the splendour of example, shineing in the luminancy of his
office, infused such regular motions into the true affections of the Cittie that they, guided thereby,
declared themselves for an absolute restitution of his Majestie without limitation, restriction or
exceptions, not as if their duty were att their owne devotion, but desired it without any tearmes or
condition. Protesting against the flagitious impitie of that usurpation, which endeavoured to blott
kingly government out of the memory of mankinde. And by that declaration and many others of that
kind, they have sufficiently shown that their affections to the crowne have been alwayes so placed as
duty and obedience on their part required. If therefore neither the predominancy of Governours
stamped with the signature of usurpation, neither the promises of reward nor menaces could alienate
their loyall affections. If neither by baites or netts they cold be drawn into that faction, whereof the
plenty of matter would afford many examples. If they stood so firm and unshaken in these boysterous
blasts of tumultuous government, if they be convinced of his Majesties care of them, and his
esteem of their loyaltie, by the fruits of his favour bountifully bestowed upon them, which are most
apparent. It may then from these premises be firmly inferred that there is no corporation within his
Majestic’s Dominions more firmly settled in obedience and duty to his Crowne, conformable to their
constant and uniform proceeding in the way of their ancient government, so well approved of by an
interrupted series of a long derived succession.

On a slip in Harris’ writing between pages 78 & 79:

The Maior then & Commons of Dublin laid claim to have a jurisdiction and
Libertie within St. Thomas Court & that the inhabitants of the same were subject
to Scott and Lott, with the inhabitants of the City. But upon a suit thereof in
Chancery before Sir William Gerrard Lord Chancellor by the City against
Edward Brabazon Esquire and Stephen Monterin it was decreed on the 18th of
October 1579 the Plaintiffs failed to prove the contents of their bill that the
Defendants were dismissed with costs of £40 – Rot Cane virot De anno 26
Elizabeth dorso
But to recurre to the objection raised from their supposed demeanour and behavious under the
apostacy of the Earl of Kildare and the State in that time of that muddy revolution, I cannot but
observe to the reader that which is obvious to common apprehensions, which is that a man may upon
probable, nay upon improbable and even upon false groundes sometimes light upon a right
judgement. So, on the other side, upon probable surmises and the artifice of policie, men may be
innocently led into errors, when Governours, Statesmen, Lawyers and great Judges of the Land, the
learned, the religuous Prelates of the Church, Temporall Peers and those who are presumed to have
the key of knowledge, set up in government over them, are willing to obtrude false propositions on
men meanly learned, having not skill to guide their judgements by principles of policie. For it is easie
to bewitch the credulitie of such persons with the concurrence of so many faire probabilities as were
then raised, and to make them act that of obedience which they would not doe of choyce. For which
reason Henry the Seventh thought it not wisdome to be severe in such causes countenanced, and
proceeding from those who were intrusted with his authoritie, whose defection in conjunction with the
rebellion of the people, is many times as fatall as prodigious. For the offence of a Chief Governour
and State in a subordinate Kingdome is complicated with the horrid and pernitious crime of trecheary.
And therefore that wise King thought fitt to temper his severetie [80] (at least as to the deluded
people) with a prudent indulgence, mittigating the rigour of justice with such moderation as then
stood best with the reason of State, and the mutuall welfare of England and Ireland, pardoning the said
Earl and all the members of the State, though they practiced and negociated with foreign Princes.

And as for the citizens of Dublin, had they bene guilty of what was objected against them, they
might seeme excusable in this: that they could not have suspected that that the Earl of Kildare, then
Deputie, no wayes disgraced, no wayes discontented, no wayes putt in fear, should oppose the
sovereignty which hee represented by setting up in his stead a fictitious person. Yet though I
endeavour to free them from severitie of censure, hee must be a more subtle causist than I who can
either justify them or altogether excuse them from doing amisse in such or the like concurrencie, to a
misapplied observance and veneration of that idoll though persuaded thereunto as aforesaid by the
State, who proved to be firebrands of disturbance in that affaire. For, saith a noble authour, if to
counterfeit the dead image of a king in his coyne is a high offence, how much more doth the
counterfeiting of his living image in his person exceed all falsifications, as being the most criminally
personation that may bee.

Wherefore I must conclude that whatsoever subordinate magistrate shall offend to so high a
degree, though commanded by the generall governour of a kingdome, is so farre from being
mistified, and is so much without excuse that he cannot expect extenuation of censure unless hee
appeal from the barre of rigour to the board of favour, where history and good policy tell us, that it is
not without reason nor contrary to (sometimes as the case may bee) to afforde a royal extension of
mercy as did King Henry the Seventh in the present case, pardoning not onely inferior magistrates
deluded, but also the common people seduced by their chief Governour, the [81] State and most of the nobilitie, together with the Deputie and Councell, by whose seduction and countenance so many were led into deviation from their duty and allegiance, so prodigally professed to an imposter. Wherefore though as well magistrates as people be tyed in duty to obey their Chief Governour representing their Prince without too nice a disquisition to the reasonableness of their rules and commands, yet if they make their strict allegiance to their Prince rightly possessed, the rule of their obedience in all things concerning his title, they cannot erre against him, nor be guilty of neglect to their governour by him placed over them, for the reasonableness of that rule in Philosophy Subordinata non pugnant will be their justification in the behalf of the one, and their excuse as to the other.

I having thus endeavoured to free this Cittie of Dublin from the imputation relating to Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck, I may now safely conclude that the Citty of Dublin hath been in all times deemed a perfect pattern of fidelitie to the Crowne as appears by the constant style of their Royall Charters always directed unto them in these words *Dilectis fidelibus Ligeis Nostris* and many more espetiall royall testimonies thereof, than can well be here ennumerated. One whereof I shall not omit, being very signall, from Richard the Second, anno 1412, who wrote unto the Cittie in acknowledgement of their carefulness of his concernes a latter of thanks, wherein he styled them his faithfull Citizens of Dublin, the honour of which they shall maintaine so long as they shall have a being. For though some men have wrought late discontents amongst them, upon the factions and emulations of a late divided Corporation in the dispute of altered constitutions, yet noe man ever did, or can divide them in their affections to the Crowne, the confidence whereof his Majestie hath been upon severall occasions pleased to declare to their honour, and the confirmation of them in their duty.[82]
Chapter 11

Concerning the Forces, Musters and Martiall discipline of the Cittie of Dublin according to their ancient constitutions, customs and usages.

The forces of this Cittie consist of twenty Corporations, commanded in chief by the Lord Maior, every company being under the leading of their severall and respective maisters as captains, under whom are appointed his lieutenan’t and other officers requisite for the regular conduct and discipline of each company. They have every year four musters for their foot and one for their horse. The foot were mustered on Easter Monday, commonly called Black Monday, by reason of a disastrous accident which happened to the cittizens of Dublin on that day, secondly on May-Day, thirdly on Midsommer Day, fourthly on St Peter’s Day. On Black Monday the Lord Maior commanded the forces, and they were mustered before him, as also on Midsommer Eve, but on May-Day and St Peter’s Eve the Maior of the Bullring was chief in command over the Bachelours, who were then mustered before him. The Horse were mustered on Shrove Tuesday and then commanded in chief by the Sheriffs of the Cittie. The charges of their muster was borne and defrayed by fines imposed on and levyed from such freemen as had been married the foregoing year. The Maior and Aldermen at that muster sate in decent manner in a pavilion sett up on the top of a but, where every one so married, being below the estate of paying a fine in money, presented the Maior with an orange.

On Black Monday whilst the Maior and Aldermen sate in Damask Street, to take a view of the Cittie forces martialled under the leading of their severall companies and their Armes, the Maior and the Sheriffs of the Bullring were chosen in Saint Andrew’s Church yard, scituated in that street, by such Bachelors of the Cittie as were invested with the power of that Election.

The occasion of the muster in Black Monday proceeded from the above-mentioned disastrous accident which I shall here relate: The Bristolines of this Cittie, and other English inhabitants of the same, had by ancient custome a sport which they called hurleing of balls, and which they exercised upon Festivall Dayes. These Bristolines challenged another partie of the Cittie to hurle with them on Easter Monday. The place appointed was near Cullinswood. Thither they resorted thinking all things secure on every hand, haveing att that time, as they thought, so subdued the Irish enemie as that they feared nothing less than an assault from them, and therefore left their armes behind them. But it was

1 [correctly given as twenty four in P001948241]
2 [in P001948241 “the Wardens act as Lieutenants”.
3 [29th June]
4 [Dame Street – see Casey., Buildings of Ireland: Dublin, p. 414:]
that a false brother inclined to the enemies partie, dwelling in Dublin, gave notice to the rebells then lurking in the obscure places of the neighbouring mountaines of what was intended. The Irish rebells therefore prepare themselves to take advantage of that meeting, and as the citizens were making merry after so laborious an exercise, and sate down to refresh their wearyd limbs, and began to take repast, the Irish, being secretly drawn downe from the mountaines in Cullinswood, suddenly rushed thereout, and by surprize slew the English of the Cittie to the number of above five hundred. Whereupon the remainder of the citizens, deeming it an unfortunate day, gave it the name of Black [84] Monday, which epithet it retaines to this day. The English of the Cittie, being soon after increased by fresh supplyes of their owne countrymen from England, and thereby secured with forces as well as better caution (the product of the last disaster) agree amongst themselves and by a perpetual constitution ordered that the forces of this Cittie should march well armed to the place of their former misfortune, and there in the securitie of their armes, and the courage of their mindes, bid defiance to all their Irish enemies, and in this place they banquett and make merry.

It is now the custome of this Cittie that the Lord Maior doth make a great feast and thereunto invites the Chiefe Governour of the Kingdome.

The citizens formerly were accustomed whensoever they marched towards the Irish enemy in generall hostings or otherwise, to have a black standard born before them. Which proved a great terror to the Irish whensoever they beheld it, as well knowing by woefull experience that it was always well attended by the courage of well disciplined and souldier-like Citizens.
Chapter 12

Concerning the Hospitallitie of the Cittie of Dublin.

The cittizens of Dublin, having bene hitherto represented in relation to their noble and warlike actions, and martiall discipline, their noble acts of another nature, which have hitherto for the most part slumbered in the deep midnight of forgetfulness, are now to bee awakened and revived.

And first as to their Hospitalitie. The Maiors, Bayliffs and Sheriffes of the Cittie of Dublin, respectively, have been anciently highly applauded [85] for their great hospitalitie in ancient times, insomuch that they have been preferred by historians to the Lord Maior of London for noble housekeeping and feasting. They kept a constant table, free and plentifully furnished for all the nobilitie and Gentry who were pleased to resort thereunto. Their feasts, which were then so great (as saith Vowell the Historian) that no officers under the Crown of England exceeded them therein, either for bountie or choyce of victualls, though needless. Their ordinary meales were so sumptuous that the needed neither stacionary now extraordinary Feasts. The said Vowell doth further testifie that the meanest of the ancient Maiors did, besides the publique allowance, expend out of his owne estate onely for the support of his table, five hundred poundes sterling in the year of his mayorality, which summe of money, considered with the then rate of provisions for housekeeping, declares the abundant magnificence of this Cittie’s hospitalitie.

It was the ancient custome of the Maiors of this Cittie to invite all of the English nobilitie to their houses whenever they arrived at Dublin, desiring them to cohabit with them during their abode. King Henry the Eighth sent over three commissioners into this Kingdome, with instructions and orders concerning the generall affaires of the Kingdome, and the Earl of Kildare, then Deputie, in particular. When they arrived at Dublin the Maior entertained them in his owne house during their stay, which was for the space of two months. When they returned to the Kink, his Majesty amongst other questions demanded of them hoe they fared during their stay in Dublin. Whereon they replied: “Your Majestie doth not fare at Court than wee did in Ireland”. The King then replied “How so?”. They said “not to flatter your Majesty, the Maior of your Majestie’s Cittie of Dublin hath a constant table sett for the entertainment of Kings”, and they more particularly related how well they fared, and how nobly they were entertained, wherewith the King was very well pleased.

And who hath not heard of the famous hospitality of Patrick Sarsfield who was Maior of Dublin in Queen Maryes dayes, in the year one thousand five hundred fiftie four. In that year he spent in

1 [Hooker, John (1525-1601) otherwise Vowell, historian and author]
hospitalitie three large barnes richly filled with wheat and beer corne, and yet was forced for the further support of his housekeeping to buy large quantities of wheat and mault. If therefore three barnes, so well filled and stored, was spent in that year merely on bread and drink, besides a superadded supply expended, I shall leave it to the consideration of the reader, what expenses he was att for all other things suitable, and in proportion thereunto. One of his friends, before the year was runne out, asked of him what was become of all his corne, which was stored in three barnes. Hee replied, “I thank my God and my good friends who have kindly and frequently visited mee and my house. It is all very well spent, and I cold have been content if conveniently it might so have been that I had the opportunity of another year in that capacity to bid my friends as welcome as I have done this year for the honour of her Majesty, whom I represent, and the grace of the Cittie I have had the happiness to govern with their satisfaction.”

It appeared, by the accounts of his servants, that hee spent that year twenty tunns of Claret, whitewine, Sack, Malmesey, Muscadell, keeping open house for all commers and goers. Where some were questioned who they were, untill they had eaten and drunk sufficient, and then were dismissed with a desire of being no strangers for the future. At the end of the year, hee was once troubled with a sharp animadversion of his friends, chiding him for the profuseness [87] (as they termed it) of his expenses. But hee replied “thanks be to God, I have not brought one farthing into debt for my hospitality.” It happened the next day after his Maiorality was expired, a ship of his, was loaden, arrived in the harbour of Dublin, which hee had given up for lost, having heard that it was cast away a month before. The news of the safe arrival of this ship came to him at his successour’s table, whereupon hee said “I rejoyce that my ship and my goods are preserved, but am sorry that it came no sooner, that I might have spent the value of its charge amongst my good friends, whilst I had the honour to serve as Maior.”
Chapter 13

The good deeds of the City of Dublin

The citizens of Dublin, out of their fidelity and forwardness to supply the occasions of the Crowne, bought munitions to the value of two thousand, six hundred and eleven poundes, in the time of Sir John Perrot, Governour. In consideration whereof, a letter was sent from the Lords of the Council in England, directed to Sir Henry Wallop, requiring him to allow the citizens of Dublin a Concordatum for the like summe.

Againe, the citizens of Dublin lent to Henry the Third in the ninth year of his raigne three hundred sixty six markes, a summe more considerable in those times then now, in maintenance of an expedition against Hugh de Lacy, which was repayed to them by the then Lord Justice, by vertue of a Warrant directed unto him in these wordes:

*Mandatum est Justiciario Hiberniae, quod de Thesauro Domini Hibernia, reddi faciat civibus Dublin 366 marcas, quas ipsi Domino [88] Regi accomodaverunt ad sustenandam gentem suam in guerra contra Hugonem de Lacy.*

It was att this time that two hundred poundes in money were taken from the monkes of Saint Marye’s in Dublin out of their Church, the which was repayed by vertue of a warrant to the effect following:

*Mandatum est Justiciario Hiberniae quod de Thesauro Regis reddi faciat Monacheis Sanctae Mariae Dublin 200 Libras, quae captae fuerunt ad justenendam gentem Domini Regis in guerra contra Hugonem de Lacy.*

Whence it appears, that through the affection of the Cittie to the King and his service were more free, affording a voluntary loan, whereas the supply from the Monks seems to have been obtained by some kind of force. Yet the Justice of the King was equall to both, hee having recompensed the one, and given restitution to the other, as is evident from the foregoing warrants.

I shall not need in this place to mention the vast supplie of money lent by the citizens in the time of the late warre (which though the Law of a great necessity required it of them, in the time of a low condition. Yet they parted with the same as cheerfully for his Majesties service, as their own preservation) by reason that I intend in a distinct treatise to deliver the History of Ireland, since the

1 [agreement]
2 [marked *sic* in Gilbert]
late rebellion, unto posteritie, unless I shall be prevented by an abler pen. And in the mean time shall
sett forth severall instances of their deeds of pietie. Yet it is not the purpose of my pen in this place to
make a new fancy in commendation of the citizens of Dublin, nor to draw a copy at length of their
worthy deeds, but to represent a few instances of them. For I should be too tedious to enumerate the
ten part of what undoubted History and authentick records exhibit to the excess of plenitude or
waste of redundancy in that behalf. Besides, many of them will more opportunely and with less show
[89] of ostentation fall intermixedly into the series of succession hereafter in the following Annalls of
Dublin, then if they were mustered in a full body, by too close a connexion of partes. And therefore
will (I hope) in their digestion turn more to the delight and satisfaction of the Reader, then into the
nourishment of vaine glory in those who enjoy the honour of enfranchisement in this Cittie, it being as
easy to reverse the instincts of nature, as to make them esteem less that they ought to do of their
predecessours. Though I am confident many of them will rejoyce in recitall of their noble deeds
without deriving thence either vanitie or presumption.

Moreover many of their worthy actions are appropriated to severall and distinct Corporations,
and are therefore respectivlie to be handled hereafter, as I shall treat of them particularly.
Chapter 14

Pious deeds of the Cittie of Dublin.

Kenrick Shermon sometimes Maior of Dublin (of whom I have occasion to speak hereafter) was not only a benefactor unto the Monastery of the Preaching Friars of Dublin during his life but also att his death bequeathed to the Priests of the Diocess of Dublin, both religious and secular, being within twenty miles of the Cittie, many large legacies, which, brought into computation with what hee left to the poor, ammounted to the summe of three thousand markes.

Mons¹ Creff bestowed on the brotherhood of the Fryars Preachers forty poundes, towards the glazeing of the Church. Hee was buryed in the Church yard of the same, on the sixth day of January, one thousand, three hundred, sixty one.[90]

The Citty of Dublin being burned, and therewith the Church of the Holy Trinitie, such was then the piety of the cittizens, as that they would not endeavour the reparation of their own houses, untill they had largely contributed to the restoration thereof.

The Church of the Holy Trinitie, vulgarly called Christ’s Church, being in great decay, was repaired by one Crite, a merchant of Dublin, and thence called Crite Church.

Patrick Sarsfield Maior, and the rest of the cittizens and Commons of Dublin, began to build the head of the water that cometh to the Cittie, with lime and stone, upon their owne costs and charges, in the year of our Lord 1555.

John Fitz Simmons, one of the Aldermen of the Cittie of Dublin, sent into the Castle of the Cittie of Dublin in the year 1534, when Thomas Fitz Gerald, eldest sonne of the Earl of Kildare, came with his forces against Dublin, for provision of the same, twenty tunnes of wine, as many of beer, two thousand dryed lings², sixteen hoggsheds of powdered beef, twenty chambers, and an iron chaine for the drawbridge, for the better security of the Castle of Dublin.

It appears out of the Registry of the Dominican Fryars in this Citty that there having been great scarcity of corne in Dublin, as well as in the rest of the Kingdome of Ireland in the time of Alexander Bicknor Lord Archbishop of Dublin, and Justice of Ireland, by reason of the great spoyle which happened in all sorts of graine by extraordinary and continued raine, and the great inundations that ensued thereupon, John Decer, then Maior of Dublin, raised a vast summe of money, and therewith

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¹ [marked *sic* in Gilbert]
² [a dried fish]
furnished out three shipps into France, which, by God’s blessing being returned safe and well, loaden
with corne before the end of two monethes, he bestowed one of the said ship’s loading on the then
Lord Justice [91] and the militia, another on the Dominican and Augustin orders, and the third hee
reserved for the exercise of his own hospitality, bounty and charity. Wherein hee so exceeded, that
wee cannot finde by the Records of the Cittie, that any of his predecessours went beyond him, or any
of his successors have come neare unto him, hee being so illustrious a starre in the firmament of
hospitalitie, that hee did not twincle as a luminary of mean magnitude, but radiate in the glory of so
high a vertue as the unclouded sunne in his meridionall altitude.

Hee was not like the poor alchymists, qui spondent quas non exhibent divitias, who make show
of more than they doe performe, but performed much more than hee was willing to make show off,
ever boasting of what hee did, or spetiously representing his actions in the figures of vainglorious
circumstances, but rather supressing them. Yet his silence could not cover them, not oblivion (a fatall
graue maker in this Cittie) take away the memory of their meritt.

About the same time the Prior of the Blessed Trinitie, being in want of money, and destitute of
corne, sent unto him, the said worthy Maior, a pawn of plate to the value of forty poundes to secure
his credit for corne, which occasioned the proof of his civility in returning back the pledge, and his
bounty in bestowing twenty barrells of corne upon the said Prior and his convent.

The same year the same worthy mayor sent forth off the Bay of Dublin vessells for France and
Spaine, to bring thence a supply of the scarcity of corne, wherewith the whole Kingdome then
laboured even to famine, by reason whereof Alexander Bicknor, then Lord Justice, as well as Lord
Archbishop of Dublin, ordered all the religious houses about Dublin to pray for the safe returne of [92]
these vessells, and to keep a solemnne fast in relation thereunto which was devoutly and strictly
observed for ten or eleven weeks upon every Wednesday, that being the day whereon the said four
vessells sett sail. At length they returned with their designed success to the great reliefe of this Cittie
and the places adjacent. And thereupon the said John Decer, out of the profit that accrued by so happy
a returne, and in recognition of God’s goodness to him, and the nation therein appearing, hee built the
high Pipe of Dublin, which was an act of public benefit. By reason of the beneficence of this Maior,
and of this Cittie, in his time to the Dominicans they inserted the following prayer into their Littany
for the prosperity of the Cittie:

Ora pro salute Maioris Balivorum et Communitatis de hac Civitate Dublintensi, optinorum
benefactorum huic ordini tuo, nunc et in hora mortis.
Chapter 15

A perfect note of the Charters of this Cittie of Dublin,

appearing in the Treasure House of this said Cittie, particularly of the branches and pointes of the same Charters, observed, collected, and gathered thereout, wherein are expressed the rights and priviledges belonging to the said Cittie by awardes, compositions, releases.

Collected & gathered the 10 of August 1588\(^1\).

A Patent granted by King Henry the Second without date upon the conquest, whereby hee granted the Cittie of Dublin to his people of Bristow, to dwell and inhabit, and to have like liberties, customs and usages as the citizens of Bristow had.

A patent of King John, being Lord of Ireland, *decimo die Maij, Anno 3 Ricardi Primi Regis Anglia*, wherein is inserted the [93] markes and meares of the perambulation of the Liberties of this Cittie. And further granted, that no citizen should be impleaded out of the Cittie, except it be for foraign pleas.

That the citizens be quit of murther\(^3\) within the Cittie.

That no citizen wage bale\(^4\) in any appeal brought against them, but shall purge themselves by the order of fortie honest citizens.

And that they be quit of the tole, lastage\(^5\), passage, pontage, and of all other customes throughout all his land and power.

And that none be amersed\(^6\) by money, but according to the Law of the Hundred, that is to say, by the forfeiture of forty shillings whereof hee that is amersed shall be quitt of the half, and the other half hee shall pay, except three amerciements, *vizt* of bread, drink and watch, which shall be two shillings sixpence.

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\(^1\) Note in manuscript – This line inserted by Harris.

\(^2\) [1192]

\(^3\) [murder-fine: a penalty imposed on the entire community when a murder could not be solved]

\(^4\) [no citizen need undertake trial by combat]

\(^5\) [lastage. A toll on the volume of a cargo]

\(^6\) [to be punished by an arbitrary penalty]
That they shall have their Hundred once every week, and that none shall be impleaded by miskenanngam⁷.

That they shall have their landes, tenures, suretiships and debts throughout the land, where the same is due unto them.

That they may arrest their debtors by their goodes found in this Cittie and Liberties.

And that right be done unto them of their lands and tenements according to the custome of the same.

And if any doe take tole of the cittizens, and will not render the same upon request, the Chief Officer of the Cittie shall take order thereabout, and cause the partie to restore the same.

And that no stranger-merchant shall buy within the Cittie of another stranger-merchant corne, hydes or wool, but of the citizens.[94]

And that no stranger shall have a tavern of wine except in his shipp.

This liberty always reserved to the said Prince, that hee by his officers might choose two tunnes of wine wheresoever hee would in the shipp. That is to say, one before the mast, and another behind the mast, paying forty shillings for both the tunnes, and no more to be taken without the good will of the merchant.

And that no stranger-merchant shall sell cloath by retayle within this Cittie, nor no stranger-merchant shall abide in this Cittie with his goodes to be sold but for forty dayes.

And that no Citizenshall be taken as a wetherbody⁸ or distrayned for any debt, except hee be debtor or suretie.

And that of debts and suretiships plea be houlden in the said Cittie according to the custome of the same.

And that they may marry their children and widdowes without licence of their Lords.

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⁷ [the fine paid for changing or amending a plea or count, often because of a mistake]
⁸ [The original: Et quod nullus civis Dubin alicui in terra vel potestate mea namietur vel distringatur pro aliquot debito, nisi sit debitor vel plegius. No citizen of Dublin anywhere within my land or dominion shall be distrained [namietur and distringatur are synonyms] for debt, unless he be the debtor or surety. The wording is as in the charter of Bristol (1188)]
And that none of their Lords shall have their wardships, quitt of their sonnes, daughters or widdowes for any their forreign lands houlden, but only the wardship of their lands so long as they be within age.

And that they shall have their reasonable yields as the Burgesses of Bristow have, or in best wise were accustomed to have.

Further hee granted to the said Citizens al their lands within the Walls, and without, unto the aforesaid boundes, to be disposed att their wills by the common consent of the cittizens in messuages and buildings upon the Water, and in all other places to be builded in free burgage, that is to say, by the service of Landgable9 not formerly granted by the Prince. [95]

Hee granted further that every of them may repair as much as hee shall think good in buildings upon the river, without hinderance of the Citty, and that they shall have and possess all lands and said places within the boundes of the said Cittie att their wills to build.

Further hee granted that neither Templar nor house of religion shall have any mannor or house quit from the Custome of the said Cittie.

A patent of John, sonne of the King of England and Lord of Ireland, being Henry the Second without date, whereby hee granted to his people of Bristow the guift which his father gave unto them, that is to say the Citty of Dublin to dwell in, to be holden of him and his heires.

A patent of John, King of England, bearing date the seventh of November in the second year of his raigne10, whereby hee granted as much as before in his former grant, being Lord of Ireland. And further granted unto them the moyety of the water of Auliffee to fish in, with all that thereunto appertained.

A generall pardon to the cittizens granted by King Henry the third, bearing date the fifth of May, the third year of hie reigne11.

A pattent of Henry the third, bearing date the fifteenth of June, anno Regni sio decimo12, of an inspeximus13 of a grant of King Henry the second, to be free of tole, passage and pontage and other customes throughout all England, Normandy, Wales and Ireland.

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9 [A payment, normally made to the king or other lord at a standard amount, from each house in a town].
10 [1200]
11 [1219]
12 [1218]
A patent of Edward the first, bearing date the fifteenth day of October anno Regni sui decimo quarto\(^{12}\), of an inspeximus of a grant of King Henry the third, and a confirmation of the same [96] whereby it appeareth that hee gave to the citizens licence to build a bridg over the water of Avenliffe when they thought good, and a grant of the Citty cum praepositum et alis pertinentiis.

A patent of Edward the first of an inspeximus of a grant whereby Henry the second did grant to the Citizens to be quitt of toll, passage and pontage and all other customes throughout the land of England, Normandy, Wales and Ireland, wheresoever they or their goods shall come. Which patent beareth date decimo quinto die Octobris, Anno regno sui decimo tertio\(^{13}\).

A patent of Edward the second bearing date the Eleventh of July, anno regni sui decimo\(^{16}\), of an inspeximus of King John his grant, and a confirmation of the same.

One other patent of the same being an inspeximus of the same effect.

One other patent of Edward the second under the seal of Ireland, dated the eighteenth day of June, anno Regni sui quinti\(^{17}\), being an inspeximus of the said King John’s grant, as before.

A patent of Edward the second, bearing date the seventeenth of September, anno regni sui undecimo\(^{18}\), concerning certaine customes to be taken for a time long sithence expired, to be dispended upon the buildings of the Tholsell and pavage of this Cittie.

One other of the same effect bearing date the Twenty first of October, anno regni sui decimo\(^{19}\).

A writ of Edward the second bearing date Vicesimo secundo Aprilis anno Regni sui decimo\(^{20}\). Whereby the said King did injoyne his Deputy of Ireland that hee shold not grant pardon to any that did steal the goods [97] of any of the cittizens of the Cittie, or the town of Drogheda.

A patent of the said King bearing date tricesimo Junii anno regni sui decimo\(^{21}\), of an inspeximus of a former grant.

\(^{12}\) The first word of ancient charters in England, confirming a grant made by a former king

\(^{13}\) [1276]

\(^{14}\) [1275]

\(^{15}\) [1316]

\(^{16}\) [1312]

\(^{17}\) [1317]

\(^{18}\) [1316]

\(^{19}\) [1317]

\(^{20}\) [1316]

\(^{21}\) [1316]
A pardon granted to the citizens for bringing Victualls from the part adjoyneing in time of incursion of the Scotts, by Edward the second the twentieth day of July, in the twelfth year of his Raigne.

A Pardon granted by the said King to the citizens for the arrearages of the Feefarme bearing date the eight day of September in the eleventh year of his raigne.

A pardon granted by the said King to the citizens for the arrearages of the Feefarme, bearing date the sixth day of June in the ninth year of his raigne.

A generall pardon granted by the said King to the citizens bearing date the first day of November in the sixth year of his Raigne.

Another pardon bearing date the same day and year.

A pardon granted by the said King to the citizens for the pulling down the Suburbs against the invasion of the Scotts, bearing date the twentieth of July, anno regni sui duodecimo.

A patent of Edward the third, bearing date the second of November anno Regni sui tricesimo septimo, wherein is an inspeximus of divers former grants.

And by the same hee did grant unto the said Cittizens all such and the like liberties as the citizens of Waterford and Cork, and Burgesses of the town of Drogheda hath. And that the Maior elected every year shall take his oath before him that was in that office the year before him, before the Commonalties of the said Cittie, except the Justice of Ireland, or any of the Barons of the Exchequer att the time of that election be present in the Cittie, before whom then the said oath shall be taken.

And that the citizens shall have returne of writts, and attachments of all thinges growing in the said Cittie. And that his other ministers shall not enter into the execution of the said writts.

And that they be not putt in Assises, Juries or recognignances for any their forraign lands, or other lands within the Cittie, so long as they dwell in the same.

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22 [1318]
23 [1316]
24 [1316]
25 [1312]
26 [1318]
27 [1363]
And that no Citizen shall implead an other out of the said Cittie, but in the Tholsell or court house of the said Cittie.

And that the Maior and Bayliffs shall have recognaignances of all pleas within the said Cittie, and shall grant judgement, and execution of the same.

And that no Citizen be impleaded out of the said Cittie for any lands, trespasses, debts, covenants or other contracts, except it touch the King or Comminaltie.

And that the Maior and Bayliffs may give their accompt in the Exchequer by sufficient attorneys.

And that none of the King’s ministers or any other shall take any Citizen, or imprison him, so long as hee may find pledges or sureties, except it be for felony or other offence, for which hee is not bailable.

And that no Sheriff or Bayliff shall enter or intromitt unto the said Cittie for the execution of any writts, attachments or summons, but the Maior, Bayliffs and Coroners of the said Citty.

And if any Citizen be arrested out of the said Cittie, the Maior and Citizens shall have of him his court and shall do him Justice as Earls, Barons and other great men of the Land ought to have.

And further, that every stranger or merchant remayning in the Cittie, and selling commodities in the same, shall be subject to contribute to all cesses and ordinary charges growing in the same according to the quantity of the things bought by him and sold.

And further it is granted that the Merchants of the Staple of the said Cittie shall lawfully transport their commodities to any port beyond the seas, notwithstanding the Statute Staple that appointed the same to be carried to Callys.

A patent of the said King Edward the third, bearing date the fourteenth of August, Anno regni sui duodecimo, that none shall take Lodging or hostery within this Cittie by a brief, or Livery of the Marshall, nether take any of their goodes or chattels against their will.

A patent of the said King bearing date the Twentie fifth day of Aprill, Anno regni sui decimo septimo, purporting the receipts of the Petty Customes.

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28 [introduce]  
29 [Calais]  
30 [1338]
A writ or direction sent by Edward the third bearing date the tenth of July, in the thirtie first year of his Raigne, whereby hee commanded James, Earl of Ormond to forbear the taking of Prise Wines of merchants, that being driven into Wales or Cornwall, did pay Prise Wines there. [100]

A patent of Edward the third, bearing date the fifteenth of December anno regni sui decimo octavo, of an inspeximus of a statute whereby the Prior of Allhallows was made Admirall of Baldowill. [34]

A patent of Edward the third, bearing date the twentieth day of September, anno Regni sui tricesimo septimo, of an inspeximus of former grants.

A patent of Edward the third, bearing date the fourth of January in the forty eight year of his raigne, of an inspeximus of former grants.

A patent of Edward the third, bearing date the sixteenth day of July, anno regni sui tricesimo secundo, whereby hee gave licence considering the badness of the river, that the masters and marinners anchoring within the Port of the said Citty, may put their merchandize to sale to the cittizens, notwithstanding any thing in the Statute of the Staple to the contrary, so as the same be not done by way of forstalling.

An inspeximus under the Seal of Office of this Cittie, wherein is exemplified that King Edward the third did grant unto the cittizens the custome of the said Citty and port thereof, and all other ports between Skerrish and Alcon’s Head, called the Great New Custome.

And also that they might use and exercise the style, name and seal of Cocket, which patent beareth date the twenty fifth of May in the forty ninth year of his Raigne.

A patent of King Edward the third, dated the fourteenth of October anno Regni sui Octavo, whereby hee granted that the cittizens shold not be putt in assises, juries, recognignances or inquisitions by reason of their foreign lands and tenements, trespasses, contracts and covenants, or
other foraigne matters which should happen to rise before the justices, so long as they dwelled in the said Cittie.

And that foraigne men shall not be put with them in assises, juries or inquisitions, by reason of any their lands in the said Cittie, except it touch the King or Commonalties of the said Cittie.

And that no foraigners shall be joyned with the cittizens upon causes arising in the Citty, betwixt Citizen and Citizen, except it touch the King or Commonalties of the said Cittie.

And that their heires or successours shall not be inforced in any plea per Miskeman, which is to be acquited of merchandize, and complaints in any court whatsoever, without certifying the cause to the Citty.

And that the cittizens shall not be compelled to be Sherriffs, Coroners, Bayliffs, Ministers or Receivers of the King’s revenues out of the said Cittie against their wills, soe long as they dwell within the Citty.

And that no Justice, Baylif or Minister of the King shall take any goods or merchandize of the cittizens comeing to the Citty against the wills of those who be owners of the same, except upon necessity for defence of the land.

And that the Maior shall have, doe and exercise the assise of bread and drink, and Assise of Measures and Weights, and all other things to the office of the Clark of the Market appertaining, and the offenders of the assise of bread and drink hee shall punnish, and the default of measures and weight hee shall correct and amend, and that noe other officer or clerk of the market shall enter therein but onely to see the standard.[102]

And further that all the profits of the breach of assise shall go towards the help of the payment of the Feefarm of the said Cittie with a caveat, that the Maior for the time shall bee carefull for the exercising hereof.

Further hee granted that the cittizens shall be free and quit of murage, pavage, pontage, passage and keyage and all other like customes to their merchandizes, things and goods whatsoever throughout this Kingdome and Land of Ireland and his power.

A Patent of an inspeximus of Edward the third, bearing date the fifth day of July, anno regni sui tricesimo quinto, whereby resolution is certifyed from the King against the Prior of Kilmainham

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41 [Dues payable when a ship had docked at a quay.]
upon these words: That hee and his men be quit of pontage, paveage, murage and tole, and that the same doe not extend to his free tenants, but his meniall servants and villens.

A grant made unto the Cittie of divers customes formerly granted whereof there remained twelve years att the time of this grant. After which twelve years the same was granted to the Cittie for twentie one yeares to be bestowed in murage, paveing and other necessaries bearing date decimo septimo Novembris, anno quadragessimo quinto Eduardi tertii.

One grant of the said King in the seventeenth year of his raigne, wherein the certaine custome of each thing comeing to bee sold is laid downe.

A grant made unto the ciudadens by Edward the third whereby he granted unto the ciudadens that they might carry all their corne, fishes and other victualls from this land into the parts of England there to be sold which bearth date octavo die Augusti, anno regni sui quinquagesima\[41].

An inhibition of Edward the third to the Archbishop of Dublin and his officers, not to draw any Citizenn in plea before them, except the same be for matrimoniall or testamentary causes, bearing date vicesimo septimo die Junii, in the fifteenth year of his raigne\[44].

Look for a Statute made att Westminster on the Friday in the octave of Saint Michael in the twenty seventh year of Edward the third, which appeareth in a grant made by the said king bearing date the thirteenth of May, in the thirtie eight year of his raigne\[45].

A grant by Edward the third to enable the ciudadens to buy and discharge wines, irones and salt, and other commodities in Dalkey, and other places within six leagues of the Cittie, out of great shippes there arrivinge, bearing date the fifth day of July anno regni sui trecisimo secundo\[46].

A writt under the great seal of England, granted by Edward the third, bearing date the seventeenth day of November in the thirteene seaveneth year of his raigne\[47], upon the complainte of the ciudadens, that certaine his ministers and others takeing liverie in their houses, and also their goods and merchandizes, paying sometimes little or nothing, contrary to their former grants and immunities, and therefore hee did injoyne his Chancellor and Treasurer of Ireland that they shold not be otherwise changed against the forme of the former grant.

\[42]\[1361\] \[43]\[1341\] \[44]\[1341\] \[45]\[1374\] \[46]\[1358\] \[47]\[1333\]
And withall that upon the hearing of the complaints, the Chancellor [104] shall correct and reforme that which is done to their prejudice and that they shall enjoy and use the benefit of the said grants and liberties.

A patent of Richard the second, bearing date the eight day of March, anno regni sui secundo⁴⁸, of an inspeximus of former grants and confirmation of the same.

A patent of the said King Richard bearing date the twelfth of August, anno regni sui quinto⁴⁹, of an inspeximus of a Record whereby Recognizances of Plea was allowed, and granted in a plea holden att Dublin before Edmund Domten⁵⁰, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland wherein also the whole proceeding of the action is laid downe, and a writt from the King to the said Lord Lieutenant to grant allowance to the cittizens according to the purpose of their grant.

A patent of the said King Richard the second, dated the eighteenth of March, anno regni sui quarto⁵¹, of an inspeximus of a Plea holden before the Justices of the Common Pleas, wherein also recognizances was granted unto the Cittie.

A patent of Richard the second, dated the fourth of Aprill anno regni sui decimo octavo⁵² of an inspeximus of former grants and confirmation of the same.

A patent of the said King of an inspeximus concerning the Staple, dated the eight of Aprill, anno regni sui primo⁵³.

A pattent of Henry the fourth, bearing date the sixth day of February, anno regni sui septimo⁵⁴, whereby hee granted to the Maior and Comminality, that the Maior and Bayliffs of the said Cittie, and their successours, Maiors and Bayliffs for the time being be Justices [105] of the Peace and Justices of Labourers, and that they shall have recognizances, and full corrections of all and singular the labourers, artificers and victuallers.

And that they doe all and everything that to the office of Justice of the Peace and Justice of Labourers appertaineth, according to the form of law and Statutes of the Realm.

⁴⁸ [1379]
⁴⁹ [1381]
⁵⁰ [the Lieutenant in 1381 was Edmund [de] Mortimer]
⁵¹ [1380]
⁵² [1385]
⁵³ [1378]
⁵⁴ [1407]
And further that they shall have all amercements, forfeitures, fines and issues, growing on that offence, with an inhibition to others to deal therein.

And also granted that the Maior of the said Cittie, and his successours, Maiors of the same, be Escheators and Clarks of the Market of the said Cittie, and exercise and execute all and everything and things, which to the office of Escheator, or Clark of the Market shall appertaine and belong, and that no other Escheator or Clark of the Market shall enter.

And that the Maior for the time being shall take his oath before the Bayliffs truly to execute the said office.

Moreover, hee granted to the said Maior and Comminaltie for ever that they shall have freely and quietly in supportation of their Feearme, all lands, tenements, rents, services and possessions, and all fines, amercements, forfeitures and profits within the said Cittie, and franchises thereof, to be escheated or otherwise forfeited or grown, without any accompt thereof to be given.

And further granted to the said Maior and Comminalties, that they should have all goods and chattels, called wayfes, strayes, and Wrack of the Sea, and all the goods and chattels of felons and fugitives, damptned and convicted within the said Cittie, and also offices and amercements of escapes, and all other frofeitures there rising.[106] And that they be quitt of the said fines, amercements and escapes against the King and his heires.

And further he granted unto them that they may merchandize and sell wines and other victuall whatsoever in gross by retaile notwithstanding any ordinances or law to the contrary.

A pattent of Henry the fifth55, bearing date quinti die Martii, anno regno sui quarto56, by which hee granted unto the Maior of Dublin that hee should have a gilden sword carried before him in the Street, as the Maior of London hath a sword carried before him.

A pardon granted to the cittizens by King Henry the fifth, bearing date the fifteenth of November, of all debts, acompts and arrearages, and escapes of fellons.

A statute made for the erection of Saint George’s Gild, to be governed by the names of two maisters, and to make ordinances and lawes for the good government of the said gild, and to have one chaplin, or more, to say divine service in the Chappell of Saint George, and withall, that they might

55 Henry the fourth altered by Harris to Henry the fifth.
56 [1417]
purchase a certaine quantitie of and. Which grant beareth date the twentieth of June, in the fourth year
of King Henry the Sixth57.

A grant made to the citizens, that all such as doe lade or discharge any wares or commodities
at Hoath, Mallahide, Portarative58, Rogerston, Russ or Skerryes, should pay unto them such and the
same customes as for the like commodities are received and taken in Dublin, bearing date the sixth of
March in the sixteenth year of King Henry the sixth59. This grant was to continue for forty years.

An inspeximus of Henry the sixth charter in the fifth year of his raigne of divers other grants
formerly granted, with conformation of the same. Bearing date the fourteenth day of July. Anno
praedicto60.[107]

A patent of King Henry the sixth, bearing date the thirteenth of February, anno regni sui
quarto61, wherein hee did found and ordaine the Gild or Fraternitie of Saint George, with capacitie of
mortmaine62 to purchase lands and tenements to the value of one hundred markes.

A patent of King Henry the sixth, bearing date vicisimo Maii, anno regni sui vicisimo63,
wherein there are Inspeccimus of divers former grants confirmed by the said grant.

A patent of King Henry the sixth, bearing date vicisimo octavo die Januarii, anno regni sui
octavo64, wherein there is an inspeximus of former grants, and confirmation of the same.

A grant of King Edward the fourth unto the Prior and Friers Preachers of Dublin of ten markes,
to be received of the Feefarm of this Cittie, bearing date decimo tercio die Octobris, anno regni sui
primo65.

A writt sent to the Lord Justice of Ireland, willing him to grant an inspeximus unto the cittizens
of their former grants, with a generall confirmation of the same, bearing date duodecimi die Julii,
anno regni Edwardi decimo66.

57 [1426]
58 [Portraine, Port Reachrann in Irish]
59 [1438]
60 [in the above year – 1427]
61 [1426]
62 [ownership of real estate by a corporation or legal institution that can be transferred or sold in perpetuity]
63 [1442]
64 [1430]
65 [1461]
66 [1470]
A writt sent to his bayliffs and ministers of Ireland, inhibing them, and any of them, that they, nor any of them, should take any merchandize or victualls coming to the Cittie against owners thereof, which writt beareth date the twentie eight of June, in the twelfth year of Edward the fourth his raigne. A patent of King Edward the fourth bearing date quinto die Junii, anno regni sui secundo, purporting an inspeximus of divers former grants.

A patent of Edward the fourth, bearing date the twentie sixth day of August, anno regni sui quarto, whereby hee granted to certaine [108] Citizens thirtie pounds for twelve years of the Feefarme, to be bestowed upon the walls and ditches and gates of the Cittie.

An inspeximus of a statute made the Friday next after the feast of St. Margaret the Virgin, in the fifteenth year of the raigne of King Edward the fourth the fourth, whereby there was granted unto the Cittie forty nine pounds six shillings eight pence of the fee farme for forty yeares, to be employed upon murage and pavage, which forty yeares has long since ended.

A patent of King Edward the fourth quinto die Novembris, anno regni sui vicissimo, of an inspeximus of a statute, whereby it is granted that all manner of freemen dwelling within the franchises of the said Cittie after the death of their ancestors shall not be in ward to any person by reason of their forraign lands that they hould of any other person, or of the King himself.

And withall in the same it is provided that all rents and services due unto the Cittie shall be paid unto the said Cittie, notwithstanding the heires of the said lands whereout the said rent issueth bee in the ward.

By which it also appeareth that Baggotra is holden of the Cittie by the service of twenty markes per annum.

An inspeximus of a statute bearing date the twentie fifth of October anno regni Edwardi quarti decimo sexto, in which statute it is ordained that if any citizen or freeman of the said Cittie be impleaded or appealed for any felony or treason by any person or persons, by surmise or suggestion to

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67 [1472]
68 [1462]
69 [1464]
70 [July 20th]
71 [1475]
72 [1480 – 2nd reign. Edward IV (28th April 1442 – 9th April 1483) was King of England from 4th March 1461 until 3rd October 1470 when he was replaced by Henry VI, and again from 11th April 1471 until his death.]
73 [1476 – 2nd reign]
the King, or his Lieutenant Deputy or Governour of this Realme, or otherwise by summons made to
the person of the King himself in England, upon any felony or treason charged upon any freeman or
citizen so impeached or appealed [109] are committed to the Goal of the King, to be delivered out of
Goal upon mainprize, and to be admitted to their acquittall and purgation upon their oath, and the
oath of twenty honest neighbours, freemen and residents of the said Cittie. And the same to be done
before the Maior for the time being and one of the King’s judges.

An inspeximus of King Richard the third nono die Februarii, anno regni sui secundo74, of the
statute that restraineth the loading of corne.

A patent of King Richard the third, bearing date the fifteenth of June, anno Regni sui secundo75,
whereby its granted that the Maior of the said Cittie and the Recorder76 of the same, for the time
being, and their successours, should be his Justices to enquire as often as they thought good, of all
felonies, trespasses, conspirations, rebellions, misprisons and other offences recited in the said patent,
within the said Cittie and Franchises thereof, as well by land as by sea and sweet water, done or
committed against the peace and Common Law, or against the statutes, acts and ordinances of the said
land, to hear and determine the same, as other justices may. With an inhibition that no other justices
shall enter into the said Cittie to execute the said office.

And that all and singular inquisitions, recognizances, verdicts and juries concerning the same
shall be taken before the Maior and Recorder, and their successours within the said Cittie, and not
otherwise by the citizens of the said Cittie.

And the said citizens to have the keeping of the goal77 of the same Cittie, safely to keep all
felons and other malefactors to the same committed, and that the said Maior and Recorder and their
successours [110] for ever be Justices of the said King and his successours, to deliver to the goal of
the said Cittie, as often as to them shall be thought fitt, of all prisoners remaining in the same, of all
and singular felonies and evil deeds, whereof the prisoners, or any of them, are indicted, arraigned,
attained, appealed or committed.

And all and singular the prisoners in the said goal, detained by supposition of felony, or other
causes contained in this authority to deliver.

74 [1485]
75 [1485]
76 [A magistrate or judge having criminal and civil jurisdiction in a city or borough.]
77 [Jail]
A grant of King Henry the seventh of the remittal unto the Cittie of one hundred markes, every second year, of the two hundred markes which was then due unto the King out of the Feefarme.

A statute made at Drogheda the Friday next after the feast of St. Hillary in the third year of King Henry the seventh, whereby it is ordained that the Prior and Convent of All Saints shall be quit and discharged of all manner of taxes, subsedies, tallages and impositions for their Landes.

There appeareth also, in the exemplification of the said statute, two other statutes. The exemplification beareth date the twentieth day of May in the sixth year of his Raigne.

A pardon granted by King Henry the seventh of all offences committed by the citizens, bearing date at Croydon the twentieth of May in the third year of his raigne. Ratified and confirmed by a parliament holden at Drogheda, die veneris proxime post festis Epiphanii domini, anno quarto of his raigne, by which act there is large confirmation of their former liberties.

A grant made to the guardians of St. George’s Gild and to the four Petty Cannons of Saint Patrick’s, of an annuity of eight marks, that is to say forty shillings, thereof the said maister and wardens of the said Gild, to buy bowes and arrowes to be distributed every year amongst the citizens for the defence of the King’s liege people against rebells, and other five markes to be yearly paid to the Petty Cannons for saying divine service twice in the week yearly every Sunday in St. Patrick’s Church, and Wednesday att the Altar of St. John the Evangelist in St. Patrick’s, bearing date the fourth of September, in the ninth year of Henry the seventh, and is to be received of the Feefarme of this City.

A patent of Henry the seventh, the twenty eight of November anno secundo of his raigne. Wherein is an inspeximus of divers former grants, and a confirmation of the same.

A commission granted by King Henry the seventh to Sir Richard Egerton [Edgecumbe erased in manuscript], Knight, bearing date the twenty sixth of May in the third year of his raigne, granting him authoritie to take his oath of loyalty of such people of Ireland as should trade or traffic into the

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79 [January 13th]
79 [1488]
80 [An arbitrary tax levied upon the towns and the demesne lands of the Crown; hence, a tax levied upon feudal dependants by their superiors; also, by extension, a municipal rate]
81 [1491]
82 [1488]
83 [1493]
84 [Sir Richard Edgecumbe was sent to Ireland in June 1488]
85 [1488]
part of England, and to permit them to pass and repass without interruption of themselves or their goods.

An exemplification of King Henry the seventh, date the fifth day of January, anno regni sui secundo, of an Act of Parliament, whereby it is ordained upon certaine spoyles and disputes committed upon certaine the citizens then in the next part of England. That it should be lawful for the Maior, citizens and inhabitants to attach and arrest any person or persons of the realm of England, and all other places under the King's obedience, as well for the time coming as for the time of any of the offences done, or to be done, and their bodies and goods likewose to arrest, wheresoever they might be found, within the said franchises or without, and them to keep under the said arrest, untill the said Maior, citizens and inhabitants, and every of them, shall have full restitution of their goods with their losses, with a paine laid upon any that shall support, help or cover their bodies or their goods.

An inspeximus of the grant of King Richard the third whereby hee granted that the Maior and Recorder, by Justices of the Peace and goal delivery. Which inspeximus beareth date the thirtieth day of June in the thirtieth year of king Henry the eight.

A surender made by Walter Hancock, Prior of All Hallows and the Convent of the same unto King Henry the eight of the said houses and all the possessions, spirituall and temporall of the same appertaining, bearing date the tenth of November in theyear of our Lord 1538 and in the thirtieth year of his Raigne.

An exemplification of the surrender of Allhallows aforesaid bearing date the eight day of November in the thirtieth year of King Henry the eight.

A generall pardon granted to the citizens by the said king, bearing date the tenth of October in the twenty first year of his Raigne.

An other generall pardon granted by the said King, bearing date the fourteenth of November in the second year of his raigne.

86 [1487]
87 Amended by Harris to the third.
88 [1538]
89 [1538]
90 [1529]
91 [1510]
An other generall pardon granted by the said King, bearing date the 30th of December in the thirteenth year of his raigne.\textsuperscript{92}

A pattent of King Henry the eight, \textit{vicesimus Aprilis anno primo} of his raign. Wherein is an inspeximus of divers former grants and a confirmation of the same.\textsuperscript{93}

The following in Harris' writing is inserted on a slip at page 113:-

4 Feb 30 Henry the 8\textsuperscript{th} the King granted to the citizens of Dublin in consideration of their services and sufferings in the rebellion of Thomas Fitzgerald all the seite\textsuperscript{94}, ambit and possessions of the Monastery of All Hallows, lying in the counties of Dublin, Meath, Kildare, Louth, Tipperary, Kilkenny and elsewhere, and all other lands, tenements and hereditaments of which Thomas Hancock, late Prior or any of his predecessors were possessed of in right of said house, yielding and paying the rent of 4\textfrac{4}{12} at the Exchequer \textit{nomine vicesime partis annualis valoris} in lieu of all demands and whereas King Richard the 3\textsuperscript{rd} had by Letters Patent dated at Westminister the 14 day of June in the 2\textsuperscript{nd} year\textsuperscript{95} of his reign for the increase and relief of the said City remised & released for him and his successors for the term of 60 years following to the Mayor, Bayliffs, citizens and Commons of the said City and their successors the sum of 49\textfrac{6}{8} parcell of 200 yearly being the fee farme of the said City payable to the Crown, and whereas King Henry the 8 had by letters patent dated at Westminister the 5\textsuperscript{th} day of November in the 2\textsuperscript{nd} year of his reign granted to the said City 20\textfrac{6}{8} annually out of the said fee farme for 40 years next to come now considering the weakness and ruines of the great fortresses and towers of the said City at present and for the emendation, fortification & support of the said City, and the King granted, remised and released by the said patent for him and his successors to the Maior & their successors the said 49\textfrac{6}{8} granted by the said king Richard for years, and the said 20\textfrac{6}{8} granted by himself to hold to the Maior & the successors for ever. Letter patent in Canc. 4 February the 30 of Henry 8\textsuperscript{th}.

A pattent of King Henry the eight, the fourth of February, in the 30\textsuperscript{th} year of his raign\textsuperscript{97}, where he granted to the City the monasteries [113] and possessions of Allhallows in Fee farme, yielding four

\textsuperscript{92} [1521]  
\textsuperscript{93} [1510 – the last day of the 1\textsuperscript{st} year of his reign]  
\textsuperscript{94} [site]  
\textsuperscript{95} [1485]  
\textsuperscript{96} [1539]  
\textsuperscript{97} [1539]
pounds, four shillings halfpenny, and also did remit and release to the citizens sixty nine pounds, six shillings, eight pence & parcel of the feefarme.

[in Harris's hand]

also 20\textsuperscript{98} a year formerly granted to them by himself, The consideration for this grant is expressed in it to be the great services, burthen and expenses the City bore against the rebel Thomas Fitzgerald & their sufferings by famine and watchings their effusion of blood and miserable slaughter.

Also a Patent of Exemplification of the same, bearing date the twentieth of Aprill, 
\textit{Anno tricesimo}.

A patent of King Henry the eight bearing date \textit{quarto die Martii, anno regni sui tricesimo}\textsuperscript{99}, of an inspeximus, where it is ordained that the Maior and Bayliffs of this City for the time being, going out of the said office\textsuperscript{100} on the King’s service, or for any other cause reasonable, that the said Maior an Bayliffs may make their Deputy of the citizens to continue all manner of pleas, as if the Maior and Bayliffs were present, as they be in the King’s service.

A patent of King Henry the eight, bearing date the sixteenth of June, in the twenty four year\textsuperscript{101} of his raigne, of an inspeximus of an inrollement of certaine ordinances of the Staple, made in the seventeenth year of King Edward the third.

A patent of King Edward the sixth of an inspeximus, bearing date the eight day of July, \textit{anno regni sui secundi}\textsuperscript{102}, of his own Grant, by which hee altered the name of the Corporation and made the Cittie a County.

A patent of the said King, bearing date the last day of February, \textit{anno regni sui primo}\textsuperscript{103}, of an inspeximus of former grants.

A patent of King Edward the sixth, in the second year of his raigne\textsuperscript{104}, wherein is an inspeximus of divers former grants, and a confirmation of the same.

\textsuperscript{98} [1539 – the last day of his regnal year]
\textsuperscript{99} [1539]
\textsuperscript{100} ‘office’ changed by Harris to ‘City’
\textsuperscript{101} [1532]
\textsuperscript{102} [1548]
\textsuperscript{103} [1547]
\textsuperscript{104} [1548]
A patent of King Edward the sixth, the first of April, in the second year [114] of his reign, whereby he did alter the Incorporation, and did incorporate them by the name of Maior, Sheriffs, Communalities & Citizens, and also made the said City, and the Liberties thereof, and Counties by the name of the Countie of the City of Dublin, and withall did grant unto them that they should enjoy and have the benefits of all the former immunities.

A general pardon granted to sundry the citizens by Queen Mary the twentieth eight day of January, the first year of her reign.

A patent of King Phillip and Queen Mary, vicesimo octavo die Novembris, anno primo et secundo, wherein are two charters exemplified, the one from King Edward the sixth, and the other from Henry the sixth, with a further grant, that the citizens shall have all escheats, fines, amercements, forfeitures and profits whatsoever, falling or happening within the Liberties of the said City, and adjudged in any of the King’s Courts.

A patent of Queen Elizabeth, octavo die Martii, anno regni sui undecimus, whereby she granted divers tenements, parcel of the possessions of Saint Mary Abbey, and Thomas Court, in Feafarme to the City, rendering yearly forty pounds Irish, and doubling the rent every one and twenty years.

A patent of Inspximus of Queen Elizabeth of a statute concerning Farquolon bearing date December the first, anno regni sui vicesimo secundo.

A patent of Queen Elizabeth bearing date the eighteenth day of August, in the twenty seventh year of her reign of an inspximus of former grants.

And where also her highness did grant that the Maior, Sheriffs, commoners and citizens should have the office of Admiralty, and all things to the Admiralty appertaineing from Arklow to Nannie Water, and that the Admirall of England, nor his minister, shall enter or intermeddle with any thing appertaineing to the Admirall within the said counties, but that the authority and execution of

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105 [1548]  
106 [1554]  
107 [1554]  
108 changed by Harris to fifth  
109 [1569]  
110 [Fercullen – O’Toole territory on Dublin/Wicklow border, around Powerscourt]  
111 [1579]  
112 changed by Harris to thirteenth  
113 [1583]  
114 [The River Nanny flows into the Irish Sea at Laytown, Co. Meath]
the said office betwixt the limits aforesaid, as well as by land as by water, shall appertaine to the Maior of the said Citty for the time being.

And that all fines, amerceaments, profits, and issues, growing within the said limitts, and appertaining to the said office, shall be and remaine to the said Maior, Sheriffs, comminalities and citizens and their successours.

Moreover her highness granted that all free citizens should be quiet and discharged of all subsidies for all her goods and merchandizes coming from the Port of Chester and the Town of Leverpoole, notwithstanding a statute made in England anno primo of her raigne.\textsuperscript{115}

Also her highness granted all such customes as were due unto her, and remitted all penalties as were growing upon the transportation of sheepskinnes by the lawes made in this land.

An inspeximus of the tennor of a record bearing date the twenty eight of November, anno regni Elizabethe tricessimo\textsuperscript{116}, of a plea holden in the Queen’s Chief Place, betwixt Edward Brabazon of Thomas Court, Esq, plaintiff, and Phillip Conran of Dublin, Alderman, defendant, whereby appeareth that the place called the Pipes, then supposed to be in the Countie of Dublin, is in the Countie of the Cittie of Dublin.

An exemplification of the Statute of Pondage whereby the King is to have of every twenty shillings worth of commodities brought or carryed into or out of this Realm by any persons, Wine or oyl, twelve pence in the pound, and if any do carry or discharge any commodities or break bulk before the same be entered, the same to be forfeited [116] with a proviso that this Act shall not extend or be prejudiciall to any freeman of the Cittie of Dublin, Waterford, or the Towne of Drogheda, which Statute was made the first day of March in the fourteenth year of Henry the seventh his raigne\textsuperscript{117}, and exemplified under the great seal the eighteenth of Aprill in the twentieth year of the raing of Queen Elizabeth.\textsuperscript{118}

An order taken betwixt the Cittie and Abbot of Thomas Court for the Toll-Boll\textsuperscript{119}, by which order is laid downe that the said Abbot, should have out of every brewing, one gallon and a half of the best ale, or mead, and soe much of the second, and for all brewers that have under the number of sixteen bushells, the Maior for the time being...

\textsuperscript{115}[November 1558-9]
\textsuperscript{116}[1587]
\textsuperscript{117}[1499]
\textsuperscript{118}[1578]
\textsuperscript{119}[A “boll” is a measure of 6 bushels or about 63kg]
An order taken whereby it appeareth that the Walshes, the Harrolds and Archbolds did bind themselves by oath and otherwise to behave themselves in one dutifull subjection, and not to harbour or maintaine any rebells, enemies or other bad disposed persons, whereby any perill or hurt might grow into that Citie, which beareth date the last of October, in the year one thousand, four hundred, sixty five.

A Land Gable roll made in the third year of Edward the third wherein is laid the particulars of every parish within the Citie and suburbs that ought to pay Land-Gable.

A submission by the Abbott of Saint Mary Abbey to stand to the arbitrement of Justice Bermingham and Robert Barnewall, Recorder of Dublin, as concerning five pounds claymed out of the Crenans, a bote to fish upon the river of Anliff for a custome fish called the Prizemease, and for a provision of stake nets upon the Strand, on the north side of the river, and for all other causes of controversy betwixt the said Abbott and the Citie. Which submission beareth date the tenth day of January in the eight year of King Henry the eight his raigne which arbitrators did arbitrate that the said five pounds should be extinct for ever and that the citizens should release all their right in the said five pounds unto the said Abbot for ever.

And further they did order that the said Abbot and his Convent should grant unto the said citizens in recompense of the said five pounds, forty shillings of yearly rent to be levyed on all their lands and tenements in Dublin. And also did order that the said Abbott and Convent and their successours shall have and enjoy her boat upon the River Anliff, and also should have and enjoy the custome fish called the Prize-mease in time of herring fishing for allowance, and permission of the nets, and stakes upon the Land and strand aforesaid.

And further did order that the citizens ahould levy and receive yearly out of their land in the said Citty, forty foure shillings for Land-gable, over and above the forty shillings aforesaid, which order beareth date the fourth of March, in the eight year of King Henry the eight.

120 [January 1330]
121 [John Burges, Abbot, 1511-31].
122 [Patrick Bermingham (c.1460-1532), Lord Chief Justice of Ireland and Chancellor of the Exchequer of Ireland]
123 [Robert Barnewall, 1st Baron Trimlestown (d. 1470)]
124 [Crinan – the foreshore between Amiens Street and the North Strand in Dublin]
125 [A ‘mease’ - measure for herrings, equal to five ‘hundreds’. A ‘hundred’ could be either 105 or 123]
126 [1517]
127 marked ‘[sic]’ in Gilbert
128 [1517]
A grant made from John\textsuperscript{129}, Abbot of Saint Mary Abbey to the citizens, of six markes and forty\textsuperscript{130} shillings, (\textit{vizt}), forty shillings for the Crenans, and forty shillings for Land-Gable, to be levyed of all their lands in Dublin, according to this former order, which grant beareth date twelfth\textsuperscript{131} of May in the ninth year of King Henry the eight\textsuperscript{132}.

An agreement betwixt the Cittie and Drogheda for meeting every three years att Killkenny, to treat with other Citizens of other cities and Corporate townes of such things a shall be benefitfull for their incorporations, bearing date the Friday next after the feast of the Holy Trinitie\textsuperscript{133}, the fourteenth year of King Edward the third.

A testimoniall of the Archbishop of Dublin\textsuperscript{134}, the Abbott of Saint [118] Thomas Court\textsuperscript{135} and the Prior of Christ Church\textsuperscript{136}, the Prior of All Saints\textsuperscript{137}, St. John of Hierusalem\textsuperscript{138}, under their Common Seales, by which they testify that the Maior and Citizens of Dublin have houlden the same Cittie of the King in Feefarm for two hundred markes yearly to be paid, and that they for certaine know that the said Maior and Commons enjoyed the customes of Mallahide all their dayes peacably. And that they understood by relation of their predecessors’ ancestours, the said Cittie always enjoyed the same. Which testimoniall beareth date the twentieth of December in the first year of King Henry the eight\textsuperscript{139}.

An Instrument bearing date the year of our Lord God 1425 purporting a remission of the Lord Archbishop\textsuperscript{140} of Dublin unto the Prior of Allhallowes\textsuperscript{141} of four nobles, parcel\textsuperscript{142} of six markes formerly paid for visitation, and certaine laying down in the said deed that the said Prior should pay but four markes for visitation from thence forward, which deed inserted in the same instrument beareth date the fourth of February, Anno Domini 1423.

\begin{footnotes}
\item[129] [John Burges, Abbot 1511-1531]
\item[130] corrected by Harris to \textit{four}
\item[131] changed by Harris to 22d
\item[132] \[1518. The date given in the Chartularies of St Mary’s Abbey is 12th May 1517\]
\item[133] \[the Sunday following Pentecost (the 50th day after Easter)\]
\item[134] [Walter Fitzsimon, Archbishop 1484-1511 and Lord 1496-98]
\item[135] [Walter Walsh, Abbot 1505-1514]
\item[136] [Richard Skyrrett, Prior 1499-1519]
\item[137] [Nicholas, prior from 1506]
\item[138] [Robert Evers, prior from 1498]
\item[139] [1509]
\item[140] [Richard Talbot, Archbishop 1417-49, Lord Chancellor 1423-41.]
\item[141] [Thomas ]
\item[142] [parcel, meaning ‘part’]
\end{footnotes}
### Chapter 16

**The establishment of disbursements made out of the Cittie Treasury in the time of King Henry the Eight.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>li</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>ob</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To the King’s Majesty att his receipt of his Exchequer for the rent of Saint Mary Abbey and Thomas Court and All Saints alias All Hallowes</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To M[ster] Recorder for his fee granted him by assembly, payable upon warrant 11½ 13-4 quarterly, is, per annum,</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the Treasurer his fee per annum</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the sword bearer for his fee quarterly 3½ 6’ 8½, is, per annum</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the Water Bayliffs allowed in the Chain Book per annum</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[119] To the Marshall for overseeing the Shambles yearly</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the Clerk of the Tholsell for his fee per annum</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the Master of the Works for his fee per annum</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Sir William Usher² for his fee per annum</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the Schoolmaster for his fee payable warrant quarterly 3 6 8 sterling, is per annum¹</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the Gunner for his fee per annum</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the Trumpeter for his livry by warrant</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the Drummer for his fee per annum</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To him for Livery, granted by assembly three yards of cloath</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Note by Harris – query if this should not be the rent of All Hallows & the quantitie 4 4 4½ - ½ see p112.  
² [William Usher was not born until 1561. Henry died in 1547. He was clerk of the Privy-Council – hence presumably the stipend.]  
³ Note by Harris – Either the gross per annum should be 13½ or the quarterly payment 4½ 6½ 8½ instead of 3½ 6’ 8½.
To the Belman for his fee per annum 02 06 08
To Richard Smith for keeping of the Clock per annum 02 13 04
To the Beadle for the poor. Per annum 02 13 04
To them both for their liveries, twelve yards, red, white and waihete\textsuperscript{4} Jersie
   att 3\textsuperscript{v} 4\textsuperscript{e} per yard sterling 02 00 00
To the Musicians 12 yards cloth per annum 08 00 00
To the Plummer for his fee per annum 06 13 08
To the Maior for Hippocras\textsuperscript{5} at Midsummer
   For bringing in the Balls at Shrovetide per annum 00 03 04
   For his fee per annum 01 00 00
To the Water Bayliffs for providing a fire and coasl to be spent in the
   Common hall and Tholsell every winter as acustomed for the Maior for the time’s
   pleasure 02 00 00
To the Gunner for Livery, four yards of cloath 02 00 00
To James Bellew\textsuperscript{6} for his fee per annum 03 00 00
To Richard Darby for bringing in the Balls att Shrovetide 00 13 4
   [120]To him for his feed per annum 01 06 8
More of increase to the Schoolmaster the Easter assembly 1616
   – 33\textsuperscript{v} 4\textsuperscript{e} sterling for his \textit{quod faciat} 02 04 05

\textsuperscript{4} [light blue]
\textsuperscript{5} [A cordial drink made of wine flavoured with spices]
\textsuperscript{6} [James Bellew was the mayor in 1572 and 1598.]
Chapter 17

Favours granted to the City of Dublin by Acts of Parliament

An abridgement of several such acts and statutes as were established in Parliament houlden at Dublin in the reign of King Henry the fourth, concerning the affairs of Dublin. As also in King Henry the sixth’s raigne and in King Edward the fourth’s reign. That the Cittie of Dublin, and all other citties and burrowghes of this land may have and enjoy their franchises.

The bill requireth that a statute made at Dublin, in the time of Thomas of Lancaster¹, in the third yeare of King Henry the fourth², which statute doth rehearse an other statute, made in England in the time of King Richard the second, touching the office of the Clerk of the Market, to be confirmed the one and the other. And that the Clerk of the Market shall from henceforth use his office in person, and not by deputy, and that hee shall not summon before him a whole inquest out of the small burrowghes that have no market, nor great number of people. And that the Clerks of the Market shall not amerce³ any commnialitie, countie, barony, cittie, burrow or towne in common, but shall amerce every offender according to his fault particularly. And that the amercement shall forthwith be affirmed by oath of the honest men of the barony where the offender dwell, and they shall be estreated⁴ unto the Exchequer, and thereby paines limited to the clerk that shall offend this ordinance.

Anno sextimo Henrici Septimi:³

That the Cittie of Dublin, the Town of Drogheda and all other citties and burrowghs of Ireland have and enjoiy their customes [121], franchises and liberties. This after confirmed in the eighteenth year of the first King Henry⁶, chapter the third. Also confirmed in the twenty-ninth year⁷ of the said King Henry, chapter the second.

Anno tricessimo secundo Henrici Sexti:⁸

That the Maior of Dublin, and bayliffs thereof, shall have the searches of all the merchants within the franchises of Dublin, and shall give leave to the merchants to break bulk as they have done

¹ [Thomas of Lancaster, 1st Duke of Clarence, (<1387 –1421), the second son of Henry IV]
² [1401/2]
³ [fine]
⁴ [the record given to the Exchequer so the matter might be pursued.]
⁵ [1490/01]
⁶ [11178]
⁷ [112859]
⁸ [1453/4]
before this time. And that they shall not be vexed or troubled by any the Key Officers, saving the King’s prerogative.

Anno tricesimo 3° Henrici sexti:9

An act that no Knight or Esquire shall be Maior in Dublin or Drogheda, but Merchants. And that the Maior for the year shall not be Maior for the year following, but this Act by the petition of the citizens, pleading their charter, was recalled in the year following.

An order for the making of towers with two gates, one upon the Bridge of Kilmainham, the other upon the Bridg of Lucan, and one tower with a wall of twenty perches in length and six feet in height by the wall of Saint Mary Abbey by Dublin.

Anno secundo Edwardi quarti:10

A Confirmation of all the franchises and liberties that have been granted to Dublin.

Anno tertio Edwardi quarti:11

Att the request of the Commons it was agreed, and also given by the authority of Parliament, certaine lands and possessions in the County if Dublin, called Fercullen12, to the Maior and Commons of the Cittie of Dublin, to have and to hold unto the said Maior and Commons of the Cittie of Dublin and there successours for ever, and that the Letters Patents thereof shall be made in due forme to the intent that the said Maior and Commons and their [122] successours may be the better encouraged with their bodies and goods to resist and expell the Irish enemies and English rebells, save the right of the Church.

The Act followeth in these words:

An act of Parliament made the fifteenth year of King Edward the fourth13, att Dublin.

Item, att the supplication of the Maior and Commons of the Cittie of Dublin, that if any citizen or freeman of the said Cittie, for any felony or treason, be by any person or persons impeached or appealed, or by surmise or suggestion in any manner of meanes made by any manner of person or persons, unto the King, our Soveraign Lord, his Lieutenant or Governour of this his Land of Ireland,

9 [1454/5]
10 [1462/3]
11 [1463/4]
12 [O'Toole territory on Dublin/Wicklow border, around Powerscourt.]
13 [1475/6]
for the time being or otherwise by surmise made unto the person of our Soveraign Lord the King himself in England, or any such felony or treason putt any freeman or citizen of the said Cittie, on which by the authority of writing or comment of our Soveraign Lord our King, such freemen or citizens of the said Cittie being impeached or appealed, be committed unto the Goaler of our Soveraign Lord the King. Upon which the premises considereth it is ordered inacted and establishd by the authority of the said Parliament that all such freemen or citizens of the said Cittie so impeached or called upon, or to be called upon or impeached, be delivered out of the Goal upon mainprize¹⁴, and to be admitted to their acquittall and purgation upon the holy evangelists, with twenty four of their neighbours, lawfull freemen & dwellers of the said Cittie, and to be done before the Maior of the said Cittie for the time being, and one of the King’s Judges.

Be it accepted that this do no extend nor be it beneficall to Fryar James Keating, Prior of the Hospital of Saint John of Hierusalem in Ireland¹⁵ [123]

¹⁴ [Mainprize: “The taking or receiving of a person into friendly custody who might otherwise be committed to prison, upon security given that he shall be forthcoming at a time and place assigned.”]
¹⁵ [Keating was a major thorn in the establishment’s side, and was finally excommunicated 1482]
Chapter 18

Concerning the severall Courts of Justice belonging to the Cittie of Dublin.

Though the generall affection I bear to the Cittie of Dublin, and my unconcerne in their governement, and the late disputes which have arisen amongst the citizens touching the alterations which have latelie been made therein, may secure the reader from the fear of any partiall inclination on mee to ether partie in treating thereof. Yet for as much as it would be thought forwardness beyond discretion to adventure further than reason persuades in a matter of so nice and delicate consideration as are changes of government in Corporations, I shall forbear to endeavoure the satisfaction of their quarie, who demand wherein the present Constitution of government and administration of Justice, as now exercised in this Cittie, differeth from ould Constitutions. Nor shall I take upon mee to judge by force of intellectual motives, much less shall I determine by the passions of complaineants, or the applause of others who approve the present state of the Cittie, which is best. Nor doe I think my self obliged to set forth to what purpose or advantage, or by whose meanes, or to whose satisfaction or dissatisfaction, honour or dishonour, such alteration hath been produced, for such inquisitions and resolutions are as impertinant as they might be offensive, but shall leave matters of that nature to be treated by those who have the Key of Knowledge in their own custody, and submitt to what applause the future event or practice shall afford, untill all discontents thereabouts shall be drowned, unkindness buryed and grudges forgotten, though presumption of Law stands with the resolution of authority. I shall not therefore begin with Constitutions of that kinde, as they stand in the seniority of introduction, but set forth the Constitution of Government and Administration of Justice as they now stand, whether upon ould or new constitutions.

The Cittie is incorporated in the name of Maior, or Lord Maior, Sheriffs and citizeens, though the process of time, together with the new [124] rules and the countenance of considerable persons.

The Aldermen have gotten a greater stroak in the Government than at first, to the increase of the aristocracy, under a monarchiall government which is not so agreeable to the policie of former times, when a considerable democracy in corporations was the balance of ease, and security for the Magistrate in Chief against the aspiring propensions of wrangling, or obstinate optimacy.

The Lord Maior keeps a Court of of Pleas twice every week, vîzt. on Mondayes and Thursdays. This Court was formerly held in the Town Hall or Toulseil, but since the demolition thereof his Lordship houlds that Court at the New Hall.

The Lord Maior and the Recorder, together with the quorum of six grave aldermen, sworne Justices of the Peace are a Court of Oyer and Terminer. They hould four ordinary sessions in the yeare, besides what are held upon extraordinary occasions.

95
The present Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer are John Smith, the Lord Maior, Sir William Davyes Knight, his Majestie’s Prime Serjeant at Law and Recorder of Dublin, Alderman William Smith, who hath very laudably served as Maior and Lord Maior eight times, Sir George Gilbert, Knight and Alderman, Alderman Peter Weybrant, Alderman Ryder, Lewis Desmineer and Sir Joshua Allen.

The Lord Maior holds an other Court on Wednesdayes and Saturdayes. His business there is, and so anciently hath been, att the New Hall in Corn Market, chiefly in regulating the Market trade and commerce, weights and measures, hee being (during the time of his Maioralty) Clark of the Market.

The place is called Newhall by reson of a new fabrick there erected having being brought ready framed from Bristow where it was contrived and wrought Anno 15 [blank in ms.]

There are two Coroners belonging to the Citie. There is also a Maior and Constables of the Staple.

Their Sherriffs hould twelve Courts in the year, six in the Winter time in the Tholsell, and six in the Summer season in the remotest bounds of the Cittie Liberties.

My Lord Archbishop of Dublin holdeth two Courts of Pleas in the year in the Townhall, or Toulseell, the one on Saint Bennet’s Day, the other on Saint Agnes’ day, where is then used not only a subtilty of pleadings, but also his officers assume a libertie of practising with more freely than is usuall at other times in that place, yet the bounty and expenses of his officers is not recompensed by that profit that is made thereby. Nevertheless they rest satisfied in the dispensation of Justice, and the tribute of applause which they receive for the ingenious as well as just distribution of right.

The Common Councill of the Citty consists of the Lord Maior and twenty four aldermen, forty eight Sherriffs-peere, besides ninety six persons elected out of several corporations, being twenty in number, and governed by maisters and wardens, eight whereof are of ancient standing, the other

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1 [Mayor 1677/8]
2 [William Davyes, Chief Justice in 1681. Died 1687.]
3 [1642-6,1663-4,1675]
4 [Sheriff 1650/1, Mayor 1661/2.]
5 [or Wybrants. Mayor 1658/9.]
6 [Enoch Ryder, Reader or Rider. Elected Alderman December 1662. Mayor 1670/1.]]
7 [or Desmynieres. Mayor 1669/70.]
9 [St. Benedict - July 11]
10 [January 21]
11 [men who had served earlier as sheriffs]
twelve are of later election, who, whilst they adhered to the said eight ancient corporations, were called metaphorically their wings, in regard they bore them up by their assistance and contributions in expences, but having since then seperated themselves, they go under the distinct denominations of their several charters and incorporations.

There is also another Court of Justice in Dublin where one of the King’s judges is to be joyned with the Lord Maior. It is founded on an Act of Parliament passed in the fifteenth year of the raigne[12] of King Edward the fourth for bayl of citizens in case of High Treason. By vertue of which act, citizens upon an accusation of treason are to be acquitted by purgation by twentie four of their neighbours to be made before the Maior and one of the King’s Judges. In which Act it is to be noted, that John Keating, then Prior of Saint John of Hierusalem, was to have no benefit thereby[13].

Here it is not to be forgotten what ought to have been before mentioned concerning the ancient correspondency between the Archbishop and citizens of Dublin, vizt, it was covenanted, consented and agreed upon between them, in the forty ninth yeare of King Henry the third[14], that clergy men attached within the Cittie Liberties should not be impleaded within foure days, and that no citizen of Dublin attached to the Bishop’s Libertie shold be impleaded within the like space of time.

Againe, anno 1267, it was ordered before John Ufford[15], Lord Justice of Ireland, and many others of the King’s Councell, for the ending of the controversie between Fulck[16], Archbishop of Dublin, John Sanford[17], then Archbishop’s Proctor or Attorney, Thomas de Chadswords[18] his officiall and William de Chaddesworth[19] his Seneschall being present, besides many others of the Bishop’s Councell, that if any should committ a scandalews or publique offence, hee should satisfy for the same by a pecuniary commutation, and if he should offend the second time, and his offence be enormous and publique, he was to be beaten with a cudgell about the church.

12 [1475/6]
13 [recte James Keating, Prior of Kilmainham – see above ]
14 [1264/5]
15 [The Justiciar of Ireland in 1267 was Robert de Ufford.]
16 [Fulk Basset or de Stanford. Archbishop 1256 – 71.]
17 [Fulk’s brother, Archbishop 1286 – 94.]
18 [Thomas de Chadworth, later twice (1294 and 1299) elected Archbishop of Dublin; never consecrated, but may have served.]
19 [possible a relative of Thomas.]
Chapter 19

Concerning the King’s Courts in Dublin.

Though the monuments of clear history do not afford us sufficient matter to furnish out a perfect relation of what passed in the space of time from the first entrance of the English into Dublin as to the [127] administration of justice, by reason that many things touching the same more than circumstantiall have been swallowed up in the gulph of obscurity for want of exact writers. Yet I shall relate the matter as fully as ancient records shall informe me.

It appears, therefore, that justice was administered at the first establishment of Henry the second’s interest in the dominion of Ireland by his chief Governours and Seneschalls, soon after the King’s Bench and Exchequer were erected, but there were no other Generall Courts of the King’s set up in this nation until about the sixteenth of King Henry the third, when the Court of Conscience and of the Common Pleas were likewise established as twinnes of the same birth, though some say the Court of Chancery began in Ireland the year before King Henry the third commenced his raign. But I conceive, though I have not presumption enough positively to affirme, that it was instituted in the raign of King Henry the third, by reason that there was not so much need of the Court of Chancery until the institution of the Common Pleas, the end of the jurisdiction of Chancery being to abate the rigour of the Common Law in civill matters between party and party, which are chiefly or most properly agitated in the Court of Common Pleas.

The first person who exercised the office of Chancellour under that name was Ralph Neville, Bishop of Chichester, made Chancellor by King Henry the third the twenty eight of September 1234. Hee was constituted during life and supplyed his place by Jeffrey Turvill, then Archbishop of Dublin and afterwards consecrated Bishop of Ossory in the year 1244. The said Ralph Nevill having in his patent or commissiion a clause of substitution, nor is this the only example of a Lord Chancellour constituted with power to execute his place by deputy, for anno 38th of Henry the 6th, Edmund, Earl of Rutland was made Lord Chancellor of Ireland by patent at the age of 11, by his father, Richard, 3rd Duke of York, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.
John Talbot also was made Chancellor with a clause of *quam diu se bene gesserint* in the time of Henry the sixth, and made a deputy in that office.

There were before the time of the late usurpation five general Courts of Civill Justice settled in Dublin, the which were discontinued by the demise of King Charles the first, *vizt*, the Chancery, the King’s Bench, the Common Pleas, the Exchequer and the Starre Chamber. The four first were set up in effigie by the usurper’s pretended authority, but upon the happy restauration of King Charles the second constituted upon their reall and just foundation of regall authoitie. The later was discontinued, or at least little exercised in the time of usurpation, and hath not yet bene revived, though made more requisite, as I humbly conceive in point of justice, then now. But the best of the matter is, our gratious King may att his pleasure inspire life and vigour into it, it being not abolished by law here, as in England they have been.

The Starre Chamber in England was erected in the reign of King Henry the seaventh, who (as one said of him) had a double end in making lawes – to collect money as well as to correct manners. But the authoritie of the Starre Chamber was not established in Ireland untill the year 1570, when it was set up in the name of the Court of Castle-Chamber, by reason it was first held in the Castle of Dublin.

There were also three Ecclesiasticall Courts settled in Dublin, the High Commission Court, the Prerogative Court and the Court of Faculties.

The High Commission Court sett up in the time of the Earl of Strafford in many very honorable persons, made the Church of Ireland flourish more in the exact forme of discipline and regulation of behaviour than ever before, or will ever untill the authoritie of that Commission be renewed, which is now soe much wanting, and never more needfull, disorders being growne above the redress of ordinary jurisdiction unless assisted by that branch of the Royall authority.

The authoritie of the High Commission Court was founded in the Statute of the second of Elizabeth, in those wordes:

“established, and enacted by the authority aforesaid, that such jurisdiction, priviledges, superiorities and preheminences spirituall and ecclesiasticall, as by any spirituall and ecclesiasticall

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9 [John Talbot, 2nd Earl of Shrewsbury, 2nd Earl of Waterford, 8th Baron Talbot, KG (c. 1417 – 1460).]
10 [while of good behaviour]
11 [Edmund Oldhall was deputy during Edmund’s minority from 1451 – 54]
12 [and Talbott was deputy for the remainder - 1454 – 60.]
13 [Lord Deputy 1632-9]
power or authority, hath heretofore been, or may lawfully be, exercised or used for the visitation of the Ecclesiastical State and persons, and for reformation, order and correction of the same, and of all manner of errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts and enormities that shall for ever by authority of this present parliament be united and annexed to the Imperiall Crowne of this Realme, and that your Highness, your heires and successors, Kings or Queens of this Realm, shall have full power and authoritie by vertue of this Act by Letters Pattents under the great seal of England, or of this realm, and the Lord Deputie and other Governour or Governours of this Realm for the time being, shall have likewise full power and authoritie by vertue of this Act by Letters Pattents to be made by his or their warrants under the great seal of this Realm, to assigne, [130] name and authorize when and as often as your Highness, your heires and successors, or the Lord Deputie, Governour or Governours of this Realm for the time being shall think meet and convenient, and for such and soe long time as shall please your Highness, your heires and successors or the Lord Deputie, Governour or Governours of this Realm for the time being, such person or persons being naturall born subjects to your Highness, your heires and successors, as your Majestie, your heires and successors, or the Lord Deputie, Governour or Governours of this Realm for the time being, shall think meet to exercise, use, occupie and execute under your Highness, your heires and successors, all manner of jurisdiction, priviledges and preheminences in any wise touching or concerning any spirituall or ecclesiasticall jurisdiction within your realm of Ireland, and visit, reforme, redresse, order, correct and amend all such errours, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts and enormities whatsoever which, by any manner of spirituall or ecclesiasticall power, authoritie or jurisdiction can, or may be, lawfully reformed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained or amended to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of vertue, and the conservation of the peace and unitie of this realm.”

As to the Court of Prerogative and Faculties, they are established by Act of Parliament in that behalf made in the time of Henry the Eight. But I find that about the year 1528, Cardinal Wolsey, being the Pope’s Legate, used the ministry of Allen14, Archbishop of Dublin, for the granting of faculties through the Kingdome. [131]

I may add also in affirmeance of the Regall authoritie in ecclesiasticall affaires, what I find in a certaine roul belonging to the Registry of the Bishops of Laghlin, having date 1374, which followeth in these wordes:

Nos, Johannes, permissione divina, Lechlenensis Antistes, literas venerabilium verarum Gulielmi de Vindsor et Johannes de Wrothley Cane in Hibernia, aeternum aliarum

Commissionariorum invitiissimae et venerissimae Regice Majestatis in spirituibus legitime constitutis com omni reverentia et honore recefimus.

Enquorum tenore intelleximus eos nobis mandasse de singulis Ecclesiis nostri Diccessis, una cum omnibus capellis et decimis ac quibus affiafinatae sint, neanon qui sunt rectores, vicarii et firmarii dictarum ecclesiarum et decimarum inquire. Et quomodos inspiritualibus et temporalibus habet, et qualiter animarum cura in eisdem regitur, et quas libras indumenta et alia necessaria ad officia dicta habent, deinde super praemissas eosdem Commissarias sub sigilli nostri testimonio in scriptis, congnvo temporare certificare nobis igitur procedentibus secundum vim, formam et effectum mandati predicti certificamus Imprimos Ecclesia de Cloneynagh, cum sui capellis de Boghlone, Disertbreagh, Cloneada”

I omitt the rest of this certificate, consisting of many particulars, referring the reader for further satisfaction to the record its self, which is now in my custody, and may be published hereafter in another treatise and in the mean time shall bee ready to be exhibited to the view of any learned inquirer. [132]
Chapter 20

The names\textsuperscript{1} of the Lords Chancellors of Ireland from the sixteenth year of the reign of King Henry the third\textsuperscript{2}, anno 16\textsuperscript{a} Henrici tertii.

Radulphuo Nevill Bishop of Chichester was made Chancellor anno 1233, and Galfridus Turnvill, Archdeacon of Dublin, established as his Vice-Chancellor.

\begin{itemize}
\item Alanus de Sancta fide 1235
\item Robert Lord Lutterill\textsuperscript{3} – anno 1236
\item Galfridus Turnvill Bishop of Ossory 1237
\item Radulphus de Norwich iterum 1239
\item Fround le Brunne 1259
\end{itemize}

\textbf{Eduardo Primus}

\begin{itemize}
\item Fround le Brunn 1272
\item Walter de Fulburn 1282
\item William de Beverlaco 1288
\item Adam Woolington 1294
\item Thomas Cantack 1295
\end{itemize}

\textbf{Eduardis Secundo}

\begin{itemize}
\item Thomas Cantock 1307
\item Hee dyed February the 14\textsuperscript{th}, and then the great seal was given to the Chancellour of the Exchequer, anno 1308
\item Walter de Thornberry was constituted Chancellour the 4\textsuperscript{th} of March 1308
\item William Fitz John Archbishop of Cashill made Chancellour anno 1318
\item Roger Outlaw Prior of St John’s of Hierusalem 1321
\item Alexander Bignor alias Bicknor 1325
\item Roger Outlaw 1326
\end{itemize}

\textbf{Eduardis Tertiis}

\begin{itemize}
\item Roger Outlaw 1327
\item Adam de Limberegh anno 1330 & 1331
\item Roger Outlaw, iterum 1332
\item Adam de Limberegh 1334
\item John de la Bataile, \textit{custos sigilli magni, pro tempore}, then Roger Outlaw againe Chancellor 1339
\item Thomas, Bishop of Hereford, Chancellor 1340
\item John le Archer, Prior of St. John’s of Hierusalem 1341
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{1} [There are differences in both names and dates between Ware and the standard work on the Chancellors, Oliver J. Burke, \textit{The History of the Lord Chancellors of Ireland}, Dublin, 1879.]

\textsuperscript{2} [Stephen de Riddell was Lord Chancellor 1186 - 1219. John de Worcley 1219 – 34.]

\textsuperscript{3} [Treasurer of St. Patrick’s Cathedral]
John de Frowick, Prior of St. John’s of Hierusalem 1343
John de Sancto Paulo, Archbishop of Dublin 1350
John de Frowick 1356
Thomas de Burley, Prior of St. John’s of Hierusalem 1357
Thomas de Beuerly 1362
Robert de Ashtop 1363
Thomas, Bishop of Lismore, anno 1368
John de Rothoby 1374
[133] Robert Wickford, Archbishop of Dublin 1366

Ricardus secundo
Robert Wickford aforesaid 1377
Alexander Bishop of Ossory 1377
John de Cotton, Dean of Saint Patrick’s in Dublin 1379
William Tany 1381
Radulphus Cheney 1383
Robert Wickford 1385
Alexander Bishop of Ossory, eadem anno
John White, Prior of Saint John’s of Hierusalem 1387
Robert de Preston 1388
Robert Walby, Archbishop of Dublin 1392
Alexander, Bishop of Meath 1394
Robert, Bishop of London, and, in his stead, was
Robert de Sutton, Custos Sigilli 1397
Thomas Minute, Archbishop of Dublin 1398

Henry 4th
The same Thomas Minute
Alexander de Ballscot, Bishop of Meath 1400
Thomas Crawly, Archbishop of Dublin 1401
Patrick Barret, Bishop of Ferns 1410
Thomas Crawly, Archbishop of Dublin 1413

Henry the 5th
The same Thomas who dyed in the year 1416
William le Thomas, Prior of Kilmainham
succeeded in the same year 1416
Sir Laurence Metsbury, Knight 1419

Henricus sextus
William Tinbeagh constituted 1423
Richard Talbot, Archbishop of Dublin 1427
Thomas Chase, Doctor of Divinity 1433

4 Comment by Harris – not Minot but Cranley
5 Harris again amends – Thomas Cranly [this agrees with Burke.]
he was Chancellor about 8 years
Richard Wogan, Chancellor 1444
His deputy was one William Chever 1445
Sir John Talbot, Knight, sonne to John, Earl of Salop 1447
Was made Chancellor quam diu se bene gesserit 6
Thomas fitz Gerrald, Prior of Thomas Court 1448
Hee constituted Thomas Talbot, Prior of Kilmainham his Deputy
Sir Edward fitz Eustace, Knight, Chancellor. Deputy to Richard, Duke of York, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland 1453
Edward Earl of Rutland 1458
John Dinham 1459

Edwardo quartuo
Sir William Wells constituted Chancellor 1460
Johannes Comes Wigorniae 1463
The Earl of Kildare 1464
Robert Alamerton 1468
Sir Edward Dudley, Knight 1469
Sir Robert fitz Eustace, Knight 1472
Gilbert de Venham 1474
[134]
William Sherwood, Bishop of Meath 1474
Laurence de St. Laurence 1481
Walter Champflow, Abbot of St. Mary’s iuxta Dublin, custos sigilli 1482

Edward 5th
The same Keeper continued 7

Richard 3rd
Sir Robert St. Lawrence, Lord of Howth, July the 10th 1483
Sir Thomas fitz Gerald, Knight 1485

Henry 7th
The same Thomas 1486
Sir Alexander Plunket, Knight 1492
Henry Dean, Bishop of Bangor 8 1494
Walter fitz Simmons, Archbishop of Dublin, August the 6th 1496
William Rookby, Bishop of Meath 1498

6 [Quamdiu se bene gesserit - As long as he shall behave himself well. A clause inserted in commissions to signify the tenure by which the officer held his office.]
7 [Keeper is synonymoun with Chancellor.]
8 [Bangor in Wales]
Henricus Octavus  
Walter fitz Simmons, Archbishop of Dublin 1509  
Sir William Compton during life, November 6 1513  
William Rookby when hee was made Archbishop of Dublin 1515  
Hugh Inge, Archbishop of Dublin 1527  
John Allen 1529  
Hee was removed by King Henry the 8th and  
George Cromer, Archbishop of Armagh was put in his place 1533  
John Barnwall Lord Baron of Trimleston constituted Chancellour August 16 1535  
And died anno 1539  
John Allen a Franciscan constituted eadem anno 1538  
Sir Thomas Cusack, Lord Keeper9 1546  
Sir Richard Read, Knight, constituted 1546  

Edwardus 6th  
Sir Richard Read, Knight 1546  
John Alen againe constituted 1548  
Note that this was not the same Allen, Archbishop of Dublin  
Sir Thomas Cusack Knight constituted 1550  

Queen Mary  
Sir Thomas Cusack 1555  
Sir William Fitz William, Keeper10 1555  
Hugh Currin, Archbishop of Dublin, Chancellour 1555  

Queen Elizabeth  
Hugh Currin, Archbishop of Dublin, resigned his place 1567  
Robert Weston, Doctor of the Law in London constituted 1567  
Sir William Gerrard, Knight 1576  
Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin, who was twice Keeper of the great Seal and afterwards Lord Chancellor of Ireland, June the 22 1578 and was thrice Lord Justice of this Realme, vizt in the years 1582, 1597, 1599. He died at his Pallace of Saint Sepulchre’s the 5th of April 1605 and continued Chancellor to his death.  

King James 

9 [Inserted in Harris’s hand – not in Burke]  
10 [again an insert in Harris’ hand – not in Burke]
The same Adam then liveing held office untill the day
of his death, being the 5th of Aprill 1605. 1603
Thomas Jones, Archbishop of Dublin 1605

Charles the first
Adam Lord Loftus, Viscount Ely, Lord Chancellor 1619
Sir Richard Bolton, Knight, qui obiit Anno 1648 1640

From this time until his Majestie’s Restauration
things ran in another Channell.

King Charles the 2nd
Sir Maurice Eustace Knight, Lord Chancellour 1661

Michael Boyl formerly Lord Archbishop of Dublin,
now Lord Archbishop of Ardmagh, Primat and
Metropolitan of all Ireland\textsuperscript{11} present Lord Chancellour.\textsuperscript{12}

I may not omit to observe in this place what I finde in the Rolls 18 Edwardi Tertii – MXX,
dorso, \textit{vizt.} That seales were first made for, and given to the King’s Bench and Common Pleas in
Ireland for judiciall writts in the time of Edward the third before whose Raigne all such writts were
sealed in Chancery.

In the rolls 18 Edwardi tertii MXX dorso, \textit{vizt} that seales were first made law and given to the
King’s Bench and Common Pleas in Ireland, for judiciall writts in the time of Edward the third, before
whose raigne all such writts were sealed in Chancery.\textsuperscript{13} [136]

\textsuperscript{11} the underlined text in Harris’ hand
\textsuperscript{12} [Lord Chancellor 1665 – 86.]
\textsuperscript{13} in Harris’ hand
Chapter 21

The manner how the citizens of Dublin rode their franchises in ancient times.

The riding of the franchises by the Maior, as it hath bene an ancient custome, so have they as little varied in the circumstances of performing the same, as in any thing they have bene used to doe, they being there in prescribed to the boundes of their Charter, without infringeing the right of others, or suffering their own to be invaded by exorbitant incroachments. I shall therefore set down the manner of Riding the Franchises by the Lord Maior and Citizens, as I find them often repeated in such records as we may rely upon with a secure belief. And I shall instance in a relation of the same as they rode in the year MCCCCLXXXVIII on the fourth day of September in the fourth yeare of the raigne of King Henry the Seventh, Thomas Myler then being Maior of this Cittie, William English and Robert Boys Bayliffs, with the aldermen and Commons of this Cittie, who rode their franchises after this manner.

They proceeded well horsed, armed and in good array, taking their way out of Dame’s-gate, turning on the left hand to the Strond, and from thence straight forward to the long stone of the Stayne which yet standeth on the west end of Lazy Hill leaving All-Hallowes on the right hand, keeping the Liffey side, until they came unto the Ring’s-end, and from thence they kept forward to Clare-road, alias Cleer-robe, for the shipping, which is now Pollibeg, and from thence to Remelin, now called the Barrfoot, and so eastward upon the Strond on the south side as farre as a man might ride, and there cast a spear into the sea at low-water, thereby to shew the extent of the city franchises eastward.

Then they rode backward till they came to the Black-stone by east Myrion, and leaving Myrion [137] on the right hand, thence rode on a meer westward, until they came to our Ladie’s well, and so continued their course till they came by the gate of Smothi’s-court; then surrounded the green, and passing the fords of Donnybrook, they left the town and the church on the left hand, and so kept on in

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1 [1488]
2 [Townsend Street]
3 Here the Colledg now standeth
4 [a safe channel – the channel for Dublin Bay was renowned to be difficult.]
5 [variants are Ramynelan and Remmolan and Rennielain - to far to the east to be Ringsend, and Rinn Oileán – the island off the point (Ringsend) suggests itself.]
6 [The bar joining the North & South Bulls, clearly seen on Greenville Collins’s 1693 Chart of Dublin Bay.]
7 [Blackrock]
8 [Merrion]
9 [Simmonscourt]
the high way until they came to Kilmackargan on the west of Donnybrook; and thence continuing their march by the high-way side, until they arrived at St. Keivin’s-gate, and from thence northward unto the lane wherein a cross of stone was then fixed; but the ditch of the lane being a strong fence, they broke their way through to the high-way by east St. Sepulchre’s, and so leaving St. Sepulchre’s and St. Patrick’s-close on the left hand, until they came to an old lane, adjoying to the north side of the Chancellor’s orchard, or Huggar-Place; and so passed though an orchard, which sometimes belonged to Thomas Swetickby, and also through the gardens until they came to the house of Ann Ahohone, on the north side, where John Arthur sometimes dwelled, making their way through the same into the street; through which they marched southward as far as William English his house, which they passed through, mounting over the roof of another house, and passing also through several gardens until they came to the Comb, and from the Comb-gate they proceeded to Cow Lane, and so forward to Carnaclogh-Imathe, which is now Dolphin’s-barne, and thence returning backward, left it on the right hand as you ride to the Cross Ditch in the lane deading from Dublin to Kilmainham, and so downward to Bobridge, passing under an arch of the same through the water of Cammock, unless for their more ease they sometimes rode through the prior of Christ Church’s lands, which they left on the south, whence they rode over the water of Cammock westward, to the place whereunto the water of the Liffey sometimes reached, and so forwards towards the west, leaving the tilling land of Kilmainham on the left hand, and part of the meadow on the right hand, where is the narrowest place of the meadow, there being there a ditch of small thorns by the tilling land, whence they rode northward through the water of the Liffey as far as to the west end of Ellen Hore's meadow, called the Ford of Killmahennock, for a hill on the west end of Ellen Hore’s meadow, by the high-way, they made an halt, and there drew up together, and took counsel. On the north side of this place there was an arch said to be common, on the which the prior of Kilmainham received the rent. Some of them rode over the north side of the arch, and some over the south-side, meeting together in Gibbet’s Slade, leaving Knocknecoack (so named in their charter, and now called Hennockmacknack) on the right hand; and so continued a straight course to the prior of Christ Church his lessowe on the north side of the gallows; and so through the lessow, leaving part of the tilling land on the right hand, and so proceeded through a part of Sharpe’s park into the high-way, whence they turned northward as far as

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10 [Identified in the 1920s with Leeson Street, “based on an imagined association of the street with a defunct placename, the location of which can only be identified very inexact and the linguistic evidence for which is very unclear. http://www.logainm.ie/Article.aspx?ArticleID=6576. 29 May 2012]
11 [Le Haggard Place is also given as Bertreme’s Court in Alen’s Register.]
12 [at Hanover Street]
13 [Ardee Street]
14 [at Bow Bridge]
15 [or Kilmahalloch, or Kilmohaloc (or Tyrrell’s Ford) - Islandbridge]
16 [the bottom of Infirmary Road]
17 [pasturago or meadow land]
to the prior of Christ’s Church barn, and so over Russell’s Park until they came to Barnes-End, where
the Prior made a way for them into the same, and caused a ladder to be put up unto a window,
wherein John Savage citizen, and Richard White, one of the mace-bearers to the Maior, were sent by
him and his brethren to observe how the franchises went. They also put a man through the window by
a ladder to the barn floore, where there lay a stone, as a mark of distinction betwixt the Liberties of
the Cittie and the Prior, and so they proceeded from that stone eastward, over the Ould-Kill18, and so
eastward through the orchard belonging to the church of the Holy Trinitie, leaving the gardens of the
Green on the right hand, [139] and the tilling land on the left; and so continued their course to the
high-way which leadeth to Glassen Even19; and so to the place where the gallows stood in old time
betwixt the abbot of Saint Mary Abbey his lands on the east side, and the Prior of Christ Church on
the west, where the Abbot of Saint Mary’s Abbey, and his convent20 met with them, and prayed them,
that they would do them no wrong; they then replying, that they would do nothing, but even as their
predecessors informed and taught them how they should ride the franchises.

Thence they rode northward upon the marches to Glaskeynock21, and so forth on the high-way
which goeth to Dryshock22, and leaving the Stonewell23 on the left hand, they proceeded southward
until they came into the highway going to Ballyboght, and from the gate of Ballyboght they came to
the water of Tulcan by the bridge of Ballyboght, there passing over the water, keeping by the
waterside southward, as farre as they might ride, until they came unto Saint Mary Abbey, leaving the
abbey on the right hand. On the west of the abbey, on the water-side, there lyeth a stone, where the
Abbot and his monks met them again, where the Abbot told them, that they should have ridden be
west the Abbey, and so forth to the sea: But the Maior and his brethren said, “nay, for by our book
when we did returne back from the Tulcan, we should have rid to our Lady church of Osmaneb24.”
And so they departed, every man repairing homeward to his lodging.

And thus the Maior and his brethren made an end of the riding of their franchises, the day and
year aforesaid.”[140]
Chapter 22

Concerning plays and interludes, acted and represented on the stage, by the severall Corporations of the Cittie of Dublin.

Thomas Fitz Gerald, Earl of Kildare, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, anno one thousand, five hundred, twenty eight, was invited to a new play every day in Christmas time, Alexander Usher being then Maior, and Francis Herbert and John Squire Bayliffs, wherein the Taylors acted the part of Adam and Eve, the Shoemakers represented the story of Crispin and Crispianus. The Vintners acted Bacchus and his story. The Carpenters presented the story of Joseph and Mary. Vulcan and what related to him was acted by the Smiths. The Comedy of Ceres, the Goddess of Corne, was acted by the Bakers. Their stage was putt up in Hoggin Green, now called the Colledg Green. On this stage the Priors of Saint John’s of Hierusalem, of the Blessed Trinity and of All Hallowes caused two plays to be acted. The one representing the Passion of our Saviour, the other the several deaths which the Apostles suffered.

Againe it was the custome of the Cittie of Dublin alwayes against great feasts to invite the Lord Deputy, the nobility and other persons of quality, entertaineing them always by stage playes, attended afterwards by a banquet. So also did all the Corporations, upon their severall Patrons’ dayes, hold themselves obliged thereunto untill later dayes. For those ould ceremonies and observences were very strictly observed and practiced, besides many other laudable customes, untill towards the later end of Queen Elizabeth’s raing, from which time they began to fall more and more every day into neglect then other, espetialy since the late warrs and time of usurpation. Amongst other dayes the [141] Feast of St George was observed with very great ceremony, and celebrated with high veneration. For I find in the Chaine Book of Dublin that it was ordered in maintenance of the pagent of that day, that the Maior of the foregoing year should find the Emperour and Empress with their traine and followers well apparelld and accoutred. That is to say, the Emperour attended with two Doctors and the Empress with two Knights, and two maidens richly apparelld to bear the traine of their gownes.

Item, The mayor for the time being was to finde St. George a horse, and the wardens to pay three shillings four pence for his wages that day. The Bayliffs for the time being were to find four horses, with men mounted on them well apparelld to bear the pole-axe, the standard, and the several swords of the emperor, and St. George.

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1 Harris note: See Cox interleaved p 268, Nine Worthies plaied. Ibid p305
2 [23rd April]
Item. The elder maister of the Guild was to finde a maiden well attired to lead the dragon, and the Clark of the Market was to finde a golden line for the dragon.

Item. The elder warden was to finde for Saint George with four trumpets; but Saint George himself was to pay their wages.

Item. The younger warden was obliged to finde the king of Dele and the queen of Dele, as also two knights to lead the queen of Deale, and two maidens to bear the traine of her gowne, all being intirely clad in black apparell.

Moreover, he was to cause Saint George's chapel well hanged, apparelled to every purpose, and also provided with cushions, rushes, and other necessaries for the festivity of that day.[142]

No less was the preparation of pageants for the procession of Corpus Christi day, when the glovers were to represent Adam and Eve, with an angel bearing a sword.

The Corisnees Cain and Abel, with an altar, and their offering.

Mariners and vintners, Noah, and eight persons in his ark, appareled in the habit of carpenters and salmon-takers.

The weavers personated Abraham and Isaac, with their offering and altar.

The smiths Pharaoh, with his hosts.

The skinners, the camel with the children of Israel.

The goldsmiths to finde the king of Cullen.

The hoopers to finde the shepherds, with an angel singing Gloria in excelsis deo.

Corpus Christi gild to finde Christ in his passion, with the Marys and angels.

The tailors, Pylate with his fellowship, and his wife cloathed accordingly.

The barbers, Anna and Caiaphas.

The fishers, the apostles.

3 [the fictional towns associated with St. George and the Dragon were Silene “in Libya” or Lasia “in Cappadocia” (where the emperor was Silenus.).]

4 [badly amended by Harris. Gilbert and others suggest curriers. Coriarii in Latin]
The merchants, the prophets
and the butchers, the tormenters.

Though these interludes have been long intermitted, yet I conceive that the neglect thereof hath not proceeded from a general aversion to such kinds of pleas and sportes, or a covetous desire to imprison in their coffers the money which they were obliged to spend upon these occasions, but to the improved excellency of those whose more peculiar profession it is to act upon the stage. Yet I conceive that the Maior and aldermen ought to compensate so great a neglect of duty by resorting in those days and festivals [143] to the King’s Theatre in their own persons, and the causing a general resort of freemen on those times to that place, besides an allowance to every of their apprentices of twelve pence a piece to recreate themselves at these times at the theatre, in lieu of those sports this City was bound to entertaine them with.

Moreover, I conceive that, in congruitie of reason, it may be thought equall in regard those sportes were intended for all the inhabitants of this City, that they who were obliged to defray them should give a convenient consideration to those of the theatre to admitt as many as can well and orderly repair thereunto upon certaine dayes, on freecost.[144]

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[143] John Ogilby’s Theatre Royal in Smock Alley, opened in 1662.
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Chapter 23

Concerning the ornaments and habit of the Lord Maior and Citizens of Dublin.

This chapter, basically a harangue on the Dublin mores of the 1680s, cannot have been written by James Ware, who died in 1666. It seems that it was all the work of Robert.

Though man in the state of his first creation, being no less glorious in the ornaments of beautie, than in the majestie and soveraigne power over all sublunary creatures, needed noe outward vestments or accoutraments of externall ceremonie, yet when curiositie made him guilty of transgressing God’s commandments in eating the forbidden fruit, shame, the fruit of that transgression, became the first composer of vestments. But the distinction of apparell in order to the differenceing of men’s qualities or degrees hath bene the effect of a later institution, though as ancient as policy it self. And therefore the nature thereof hath allyance enough to this subject to instify mee in the consideration of the same.

And, in the first place, reason persuades mee to suppose that the ancient citizens of Dublin, in the institution of their habits, imposed no forme without an end suitable and worthy of their prudence. And the rather for that the same is so agreeable with ancient custome and observence of London and the chief cities of England in that kinde. For the difference between the habit of the Lord Maior of London and of Dublin is so little that it would hardly be thought pertinent to take notice of.

The Lord Maior of Dublin is a magistrate whose hand upon all occasions of publick appearance is armed with the rod of authoritie, and his person always vested with a grave robe of purple or black, but on solemnne dayes with the splendour of scarlet.

Hee hath a sword borne before him, as the emblem of Justice, by a proper officer, yet the rod which he beareth in his owne hand, as the emblem of lenitie and mercy, showeth that it is his [145] office to allay and moderate the severitie of Justice with the sweetness of mercy. Hee hath also a Cap of Maintenance, and a large mace borne before him by an officer assigned to that purpose. Hee is ordinarily attended by a compotent number of officers, but on the Lord’s day and festivities hee is attended with a train of aldermen, clad in purple gownes, and accompanied withe the Recorder, in a barrister’s gown. Hee is also then waited on by a compotent number of Maisters and Wardens of Companies. But on dayes of greater solemnnitie hee is vested in scarlet, as also the Recorder and as many of the aldermen as have had the honour of the office of Maioraltie, the rest of the the aldermen
being but in purple.¹ Then also hee is waited upon by the Sheriffs, Maisters, Wardens and numbers of each company of the Cittie in their formalities. In which manner attended his waites² for the State, to Church, and from Church, in Castle Street, untill they pass by, and then follow the traine of the State towards Christ’s Church, where the Chief Governour usually repaires, so farre as near the end of Skinner’s Row, and so turne off into the church through a lane kept open to that purpose into the South door.

This I write according to the duty of ancient custome, though in, or since, the time of usurpation they have taken up a new course, I know not how justifiable, to proceed with the State through the west door of Christ’s Church, and so into the quire, in the semblance of one body. This I relate as what is now done without any censure, knowing not whether or how they are authorized or allowed to vary from their former way of attendance. Nor shall I here repeat what hath been said concerning this innovation, or who were the first introducers of the same, no more than I shall set down the reason wherefore of late the Generall Governour of Ireland is deprived of the attendance of the Lord Maior, or when his Lordship is pleased rather to receive the Sacrement att a parochiall church, even upon dayes of great solemnitie [146] , than att Christ’s Church, where it is duly administered, for I cannot conjecture the reason thereof, though it may seeme to some a neglect either of the civill authority or Cathedrall administration.

The Maiors of Dublin were not that I can finde adorned with scarlet gownes untill the fifth of Henry the fourth³, for those are the wordes of record: concessum est Maiori et Baliius ad eisdem vetanter vestimenties, quibus Maior et Balii civitatis Londoniensis.

I have ben longer setting forth the pomp of the Maior in regard it is a maxim almost as old as policy it self that magistracy cannot well be maintained to the height of its dignity without solemnity of decorum and ceremony.

I am in the next place to represent unto the reader the Maior’s wife of Dublin, in her ordinary habit, according to ancient custome continued untill the time of usurpation (the common enemy of distinction, order and decency, by them apprehended then under the notion of superstition) are suffered up as an offensive savour of royaltie, whose attire was the very frontispiece of a modest and vertuous behaviour, then which no character was, and is, held more suitable in the wife of an alderman.

¹ Note by Harris: Now formerly the Layor of Dublin waited on the Lords Lieutenants and Deputies of this Nation.
² [A small body of wind instrumentalists maintained by a city or town at the public charge.]
³ [September 1402-3]
I shall represent the Maior’s wife of Dublin pourtraited as lively as I can draw a copie from the habit of the late Lord Baron of Santry his mother who had bene wife of Alderman Barry when he was Maior of this Cittie, which she wore untill her dying day and esteemed as the ornament of her degree and quality, and noe less a note of matronlike gravitie. Shee was clothed in a loose garment with hanging sleeves, having under her gown and kertle a rich petticoat. [147] Her naked breasts and neck were not exposed to view, though adorned with chains of gold, and a set ruff of Tiffany. Nor was her head set forth with vaine fading garniture, nor shee nor her eares bob’d with the faint glittering of glass or counterfeit gemms, but adorned herself with earrings set with true and pretious stones. Her coif was wrought with gold, att the expense of her own labour and not her husband’s purse, and the outward covering of her head was a Beaver hatt. Her wrists were incompassed with golden braceletts, being a lasting ornament, and not ruffles made of point de venee, now worn, and purchased at great expense, and perhaps turned out of fashion by the first blast of an easterly wind, in these times importing the least alteration of fashion. Her loynes were also girded with a decent girdle, and she wore, according to the ancient custome of this Cittie, the time her husband was Maior, a short cloak of rich silk, which was accounted as sure a signe of chastity and gravity in this Corporation as the vail of a cloystered votary—a priviledge granted onely unto such as had bene the wives of Maiors, and used as anciantly as the Maiors have worn their scarlett. That priviledge being granted to them att same time the scarlett was granted unto their husbands, for these are the wordes: Concessum estetiam, ut Maiorum uxores, distinctionis causa, brevibus utantur penulis, ad normam Maiorum Londiniensum uxorum. That is to say, it was also granted that the wives of Maiors, to maintain the distinction of their dignity from others, may use short cloakes according to the manner of the Maiores of London. And as the modesty of the above mentioned alderman’s wife, as well in attire as in conversation and manners, was undoubted, so I may say that anciantly, not onely the Aldermen’s wives, but even most of the citizens’ wives of Dublin, have been always reputed of an excellent conversation, as well in their behaviour as in the decency and gravitie of their apparell, which untill now of late was reputed a great ornament of women. The said alderman’s wife, though of a plentiful estate, chose rather to follow the example of her predecessours with a grave paced humility on foot, rather than to ramble about in coaches too frequently, according to the present manner of the meanest citizens’ wives, who, if they observed one of their companions ride in a coach above once, plead it as an obliging custome to the rest, [in which respect it is well that none of these ever rode my carts. If any should it is to be feared it would too soon become a custome.] But by these examples, in

4 [Richard Barry, Mayor 1610]
5 ['Epiphany' silk or muslin]
6 Gilbert annotates with "(sic)". ‘Ware probably intended Point de Venise’. [However, “Pa[id] for a Point de Vene Gorget for my Wife 10”; Expense-book of James Master, May 23rd 1674. Archaeologia Cantiana XVIII, London 1889 p150]
striving to out rank the other, they undoe each other and impoveriseth the nation and looseth the reputations of their husbands, when they break, which is hardly ever againe to be regained.  

Having thus described the ordinary and more private habits of the Maior’s wives of Dublin, I shall now for the reader’s satisfaction set forth the habit wherein they appeared upon solenne occasions, whether ordinary or more extraordinary, which I shall not avouch by the president of modern example, but by what appeareth by tradition and search made into the bowells of more grave antiquitie, which represents them in vests of fine cloath, varying in colour and severally used according to the various occasions wherein their husbands differenced the colour of their gowns. For sometimes they wear black gowns, sometimes purple, and at other times and seasons more solemn, scarlett gowns, with a traine decently and officiously borne upp by a well cloathed maiden citizen, or at least one of her owne sex. Whence it appeareth how high in secular glory Mistres Majoress, and such as had bene Maiors’ wives, lived anciently above the state of the now Lady Majoress. Which I wish shee and her successours would do in conformitie with so laudable and ancient a custome, for they keeping strictly to those laudable, grave and well becoming habitts, would not onely the better support their owne dignitie and esteem, but also suppress in their inferiors the late vaine gazes and expensive mutability of those fashions which have made them no less ridiculous than concieted of themselves, thereby arming the tongues of most men, as [149] also of all women their superiors in quality, to censure their behaviour as less agreeable to their condition, expecially such as are not content onely with the vain glory of too rich apparell, but also give artificiell colour to that inconsiderable toy, or small spot of beauty and sometimes deformitie which they call the face, improved, before they have learned the sophisticall mistery of artificiall hypocrisie, or more subtle way of skin plaistering, which the thicker it is, the greater the discovery of the complexion concealed.

No man can justly blame the aldermen’s wives, or the better and richer sort of citizens’ wives, in complying somewhat with the generally affected bravery of this age, so farre as their husbands’ abilitie may comport therewith, or as their example may not draw those of lesser abilitie and quality to excess and imitation. Yet I could wish that all sorts of people would be more constant, and less excessive in their apparel, not changeing them so oft as the arrogance of vaine novelists please. And that they would moderate their imitation by the consideration of their distinct qualities and degrees. Nor shall I think that all women of any degree whatsoever who exceed in apparell, or by the extravagance of exposing their bodies too much to sight in the outward showness of attire, are infallibly dishonest in their bodies, or give occasion to men to think they let loose their consciences to
the stewes. Let Ruffians say tis pittie these beauties should be vailed, that women themselves desire to show, and most men desire to see. Yet I shall ever think it modesty to withdraw such objects so far from public exposure as decency shall command and vertue commend.

As to the gayety and vanitie of apparell, I like well the proviso of an ancient Act of Parliament made to debarre all sorts of people, as well men as women, from the wearing of any garish or too light coloured apparell, by which players or curtizans were excepted, liberty being given to them to wear what colours or fashions they pleased. For this saith one: did not onely incite those who were honest to live within the compass of modest and comely attire, but it was also a forcible inducement to noted strumpets to put themselves under the covertute of a modest habit, thereby to avoid the repute of infamy.

Againe as to the meanest sort of citizens, who would advise them to permitt their wives to be excessively gay, unless they will resolve patiently to endure the common accident of being counted without reproch or offence against their wives, which some will conceive may be as singular a commendation of their owne vertue as it wil be prudence in them to conceale it from the world. And herein they will imitate the prudence of Caesar, Lucullus, Pompey, Anthony and Cato cum multis aliis, and will not be deemed more Coxcomical than Lepidus, who dyed for griefe that his wife had cuckold him.8

I will therefore advise all degrees of men in this Cittie to consider that, that share of increasing stock and fortune which formerly was expended in decent hospitality, is now, with twice as much more, employed to feed the needless expences of their wives generally, and in some particular their misses, whose cloathing, garniture and house furniture (I will not say housekeeping, for that is not in any sense so much as it was wont to be) is raised five times the rate as it was before the warres, but would be more fitly, prudently and poiusly applyed to the provision of posteritie, the relief of the poor, and the more noble support of rich men’s tables.

Thereby more credit would redound, not onely to the praise of their husbands, but also to the glory of this Cittie.

Lastly it were to be considered with a serious designe of reformation, how much the Cittie hath suffered in their extraordinary expences, occasioned by the too frequent alteration of fashion in apparell and house furniture, since the custome of this Cittie, which was wont to be permanent, is now

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8 [brothels]
9 [quoting Montaigne’s Essays, Book 3, Chapter 5, ‘Sur des vers de Virgile’. Lepidus, however did not die for grief at being cuckolded]
so much abridged and flexible, as if it were made of mettall, to be bent which way and as often as the fashion of vaine fashionists do vary, not regarding whether furniture or apparell be the worse for the wearing, or less servicable to the ends for which they were designed, then what are usually subtituted by a new change in their place. If a due consideration may work a thorough reformation hereof, men would abound more in the fulness of their purses, more stock would be imployed to the advance of trade, the riches of the kingdome would be increased, return of trade would be made in more solid exchange of commodities than French trifles which cost much and last little, and perhaps more instant accounts and punctuall payments would be made to their correspondence at London, most of the tradesmen of Dublin being in the nature of factors to the Londoners and foreigners, for which reason they cannot live prudently at the rate of a Cape merchant.

I having said this much concerning the habits of the citizens, I cannot depart this subject without taking notice of a greater and perhaps more injurious licentiousness in some who are appertaining to the Law, and therefore should know their duty better, have assumed (as if they had been authorised by a Fia che vuole10 – usuall in the time of usurpation) and libertie of placing on the backs of clarks such gownes as were appropriated to the Judges of the Bench in the court where they are admitted as attorneys.

This assumption, I will not say presumption, is supposed to have taken its rise from an attorney, who, having marrying the widdow of one who hade the honour to sitt upon an emminent bench, and therefore thinking himslef intitled to his predecessour’s gowne, thought fitt at the persuasion of arrogancy to vest himself therewith, and thereby made a president for those who were equall in office with him, though farre below the bench.

And though that practice hath hitherto bene patiently tolerated, yet it is fitt to be reformed, at least in favour of the practisioners who remaine thereby too subject to ridicule, if not for the honour of the Court, and reparation of these persons who have the honour to sitt upon the bench.

And in the last place I shall recommend to the whole Kingdome of Ireland, as well as to the Cittie of Dublin, the example of Holland’s ordinary cloathing, whilst they were in the improving of their estates, and their Commonwealth flourished in the increase of riches, though they were the greatest masters of Persian silkes and the richest furniture for cloathing. Yet they wore but plain wollen, and that not of the finest nap, or stuffs of their own manufacture, though they furnished other nations with rich abundance both of silkes and the finest of their own cloath, contented with that of a coarse web purchased out of England for their owne cloathing, never changeing the fashions of their

10 [do what you wish]
habits in compliance with the mutable modes of their neighbours, for, as Sir William Temple\textsuperscript{11} hath observed of them, the whole body of the civil magistrate, the merchants, the rich traders and citizens in general as well as seamen and bores\textsuperscript{12} continue so constant in the same fashion that they leave off the clothes only because they are worn out, and not because they are of fashion\textsuperscript{13}.

He saith also that parsimony in this kind did not much conduce to the growth of that state, being there esteemed honourable – whether of necessity, or no. Even so that he who was forced by his\textsuperscript{153} fortune to live low might there live in fashion, and upon equal terms (in appearance abroad) with the chiefest of their ministers. If this principle were admitted into credit and reputation in this Cittie, how great an effect might it have upon the increase of wealth in private persons, and the improvement of trade in general, for if the many changes of rich clothing conduce nothing in repute as a \textit{re vera}\textsuperscript{14}, it doth not to those men who wear them. Now the meanest of clothing breeds contempt, but, on the contrary, mediocrity of clothing is honourable, whether proceeding from necessity or not, and he that is forced by the condition of his fortune to live low might here live in fashion with the richest of his neighbours. What need were there of so many troublesome and chargeable changes of habit to the expense of that treasure which might be better employed to the improvement of trade and manufacture or the beautifying and inlarging of this Cittie with elegance of private buildings or magnificence of publick structures, which would be a means to multiply inhabitants, the best means to raise industry and necessitate a commendable parsimony. For as the same author saith, a great multitude of people crowded into a small compass of land, whereby all things necessary to life become dear, are necessarily induced to parsimony, the mother of wealth, which may, by the help of industry (and God’s blessings in our endeavours) be easily obtained, whilst wee have not onely safety in the time of peace amongst ourselves under the laws from injustice and oppression, but are likewise protected under the good conduct of a wise and settled government from the violence of foreign invasion, and the fears of civill commotion. So that wee may now stand firme upon the two pillars of wealth, industry and parsimonie. For it is industry which increaseth the commodity as well in the product of the soyl, as in the manufacture of the Country, which\textsuperscript{154} raiseth the stock for exportation. And it is parsimony which lessenth the consumption of their owne as well as of foreign commodities, the chiefest means of acquiring wealth, either in abating importation or in increasing exportation.

\textsuperscript{11} [Sir William Temple, 1st Baronet (1628 –1699)]
\textsuperscript{12} [farmers]
\textsuperscript{13} [Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands, London, 1673. Chapter 3 especially]
\textsuperscript{14} [In truth]
I shall conclude this point with this observation, who saith amongst the rest of the reasons which he renders for the decay of the trade and state of Holland, sensibly enough perceived by the wisest of the statesmen, even before the warres seized upon them, _vizt_ that their seemed to have been growing up for several yeares before they were involved in those warres, a greater rage of luxury and expense amongst many of the merchants than was formerly knowne. Against which regulations by sumptuary lawes were designed by their statesmen, as knowing that the very foundation of their trade would soon be undermined, if the habituall industry, parsimony and simplicity of the people came soon to bee overcom by luxury, idleness and excess. And Sir William Temple by diligent and circumspect inquiry into the state of Holland hath found that in the year 1669 and in the year 1670 there was hardly any forraign trade amongst them besides that of the Indies, by which the traders made return of their money without loss, and none by which the gaine was above two in the hundred. Soe great is the effect of luxury and excess, for though the example thereof ariseth many times from a few idle persons, yet the imitation thereof will infuse itself into all degrees, in proof whereof, I shall offer to this Cittie an observation of my own, which I will wish may be consider*ed by them with as much prudence of reflexion as it is tendered with affection of mine towards them. Which is, that since the numbers of merchants and traders in England and Ireland hath increased by the coming in of the sons of gentlemen amongst [155] them, fewer of them have been made rich thereby than formerly, which must undoubtably be attributed to the luxury of those whose descent and higher way of breeding incline them to greater propensions of luxury and excess, imitated too much by the rest with whom they have commerce and correspondence.

The same may be said of attorneys and other callings, for since the sonnes of gentlemen have so frequently interposed themselves into that and such callings, luxury hath very much abounded amongst them, and expetially in the excess of apparell. But many of them have bene ruined and corrupted in their conversation in being brought up thereunto. Wherefore I could wish, as well for the advantage of gentlemen as for the good of trade, that they will bring up their children rather in the honourable way of souldiers, or in the more profitable and higher course of studying the Law att the Inns of Court or University studies, than thrust them into the more abu*sing imployments of trade and the lowest ministry to the Law.

It is also worthy a higher consideration that if gentlemen and noblemen shall continue to apply the industry and profession of their children to any lower or ignoble imployments, the King may in time want the ministeriall courage, learning and ingenuitie which persons of their birth might afford to his and the Kingdome’s service, either in the warres when hee shall have occasion to rase them, or elsewhere when and where they may prove usefull to his Majestie, or the common weal of these nations. For nothing effeminates a nation more than the bending of persons in their growth to low ministereyes [156] in whom naturally resides the courage, honour and ingenuity of the English nation. And as certain it is that the honour, learning and courage of the English nation will be of greater
advantage to his Majestie than the increase of trade, as it is most probable that the generalitie of trade is not much to be advanced by the traffique of such worthy persons.
The King's Letter granting 500£ per annum to the Cittie of Dublin.

Signed Charles Rex

Right trusty and right entirely beloved Cousin, and Counsellors, and right trusty and well-beloved Counsell wee greet you well. Wee have taken into our Princely consideration the letters from you our Deputy and Counsell #.##.##.##

There directed to you our Lieutenant Generall of that our Kingdome bearing date the 15th day of February 1664, and the humble desires of the Maior, Sheriffs, Commons and Citizens of the Cittie of Dublin in that our Kingdome, which by their petition to you our said Deputy and Counsell, they humbly besought you to recommend to us the answers of you our Deputy and Counsell to those their desires. And considering the eminent merits and services of the said Cittie, not only in the time of the raigne of our royall father of glorious memory, by which hee vouchsafed to take particular notice by his letters dated att his court at Oxford the 23rd day of February in the year 1643 directed to the them Maior, Recorder and Sheriffs and Comminality of the said Cittie. In which his letters hee was graciously pleased to assure them in the word of a King hee would in due time remember their services for their honour and advantage [157] and considering also the løyal and successfull endeavours and services of the said Cittie, and their early appearing for us in order to our happ restauration to our rightfull Crownes and Kingdomes, which their duty and services wee do very grately accept, and wee being carefull not onely to presume what our royall father in his goodness thought fitt to promise, but also to reward the Loyalties of these our subjects that have faithfully served him or our self, and in contemplation of the great povertie to which the said Cittie was reduced for their loyalty, and under which they have laboured many years, have resolved in our Royall Judgement to conferre such markes of favour in our said ancient and loyall Cittie as may deliver over to posteritie for their honour, the gratious sense wee have of their services, merits and sufferings. And therefore, as a testimony thereof, wee have judged it fitt to declare the resolutions by us taken upon these their honorable desires, and here unterwritten by way of --- to their desire and do hereby require and authorize you to cause the contents thereof to be from time to time duly observed and performed, that soe the Maior, Sheriffs, Commons and Citizens of our said Cittie and their successours, may from time gather for fruits of our Royall favour and bounty in that fulness which wee gratiously intend. And particularly that, by advice of some our Learned Councell there, you cause Letters Patents in due forme of Law to be made and passed under our great Seal of that our Kingdome, containing an effectuall grant from us, our heires and successours to the Maior, Sheriffs, Commons and Citizens of the said Cittie of Dublin and their sucessours, of the ferry boat over the River Annalify, and also of an annuitie or pension of five hundred poundses sterling, good, current and lawfull money [158] of and in England yearly, to have, hould, enjoy and receive the same from time to time from Easter next ensuing the date of these our letters to them and their successours for ever to be paid by our Vice-
Treasurer and generall Receiver of our Revenues of that our Kingdome now being, or that hereafter 
shall be, from time to time by equall portions half yearly at Michaelmas and Easter to the Treasurer 
of our said Cittie now being, and that hereafter shall be, to the use of the use of the said Maior, 
Sheriffs, Commons and Citizens and their successours, out of the revenues certaine and casuall of us, 
our heires and successours, in that our Kingdome. And the first half yearly payment of this said five 
hundred pounds yearly, being two hundred and fifty poundes, to be made and paid to the Treasurer 
of the said Cittie at Michaelmass next ensuing the date of these our letters. And so from thence forward 
half yearly as aforesaid for ever. And for the better performance of this our gratious bounty and 
faavour to the said Cittie, it is our Royall will and pleasure that the said yearly pension of five hundred 
pounds be invested in our establishment of our civill list now in preparing for that our Kingdome. And 
that in all future establishments to be hereafter made for that our Kingdome, the same to be likewise 
inserted, whereof wee require all officers and ministers whom it may concerne to take speciall notice, 
and to take care that this our Royall will and pleasure in favour of the said Cittie be duly observed. 
And wee require and authorize you our Lieutenant and Deputy of that our Kingdome now being, and 
our Lieutenant Deputy Justice, Justices and other chiefe Governour or Governours of that our 
Kingdome, which hereafter shall bee, to give all such warrants, orders and directions from time to 
time as shall be necessary to our Auditor there for the making out Debetour, and to our Vice 
Treasurer and Receiver General there for the payment of the same [159] five hundred pounds a year, 
as aforesaid, from time to time, to the Treasurer of the said Cittie, which for the time shall bee. And 
wee also require you to give all such orders as shall bee needful to our Court of Exchequer there for 
remitting to the said Maior, Sheriffs, Commons and Citizens, all the arreares of rents due by them 
unto us, and which are mentioned in our answere to the seventh article of their said humble desires, 
and for putting the same out of charge. As also for reduceing the said rent in future to twenty poundes 
payment, and for putting the residue of the said rent out of charge for the future. And for soe doing 
these our Letters shall be as well to you our Lieutenant Deputy of that our Kingdome now being and 
to every of you, as to our Lieutenant Deputy, Justice, Justices or other chief Governour or Governours 
there, that hereafter shall be, and to our Chancellour there now being, and to our Chancellour or 
Keeper or Keepers of our courts for the custody of the great Seal there, which hereafter for the time 
shall be, and to our Vice Treasurer and Generall Receiver of our Revenues of that our Kingdome now 
being, or that hereafter shall be, Commissioners of the Acompts of our Vice Treasurer and Receiver 
Generall of our Revenues. And to our Court of Exchequer and to all other our officers and Ministers 
there whom it may concerne, and to every of them sufficient Warrant and discharges in that behalf. 
And lastly our will and pleasure is that you cause these our Letters to be inrolled in our High Court of 
Chancery of that our Kingdome. Given at our Court att Whitehall, the fourteenth day of March 1664, 
in the seventeenth year of our raign.
To our trusty and right entirely beloved cozin and councillor, James, Duke of Ormond, our Lieutenant Generall and Generall Governour of our Kingdome of Ireland, and our right trusty and right well beloved cozin and counsellor, [160] Thomas, Earl of Ossory, Lord Deputy of that our and our Kingdome, and our trusty and well beloved our Privy Councell of our said Kingdome now being, and to any other our Chief Governour or Governours and Councell of our said Kingdome, which hereafter for the time shall be, and to all other our officers and Ministers there whom it may concerne.

By his Majestie’s command – Arlington.

Entered at the Signet Office15 the 22nd of Aprill 1665. Signed William Turnbull Esq. & Matthew Barry

This agreeeth with the entry thereof remaining in the Office of his Majestie’s Auditor Generall. Richard Chapell, Deputy Auditor.

15 [When a king's bill was submitted to the sovereign for signature, it was accompanied by a summary of its contents, known as a docquet, which was signed by the law officer or clerk of the signet responsible for preparing the bill. The clerks of the signet kept registers of these docquets for the purpose of calculating the fees that were due to them.]
Chapter 24

Concerning the waters belonging and appertaining to the Cittie of Dublin.

The waters of the Cittie of Dublin are either such as were anciently regarded with religious veneration, or such as were always, and are yet, commonly used for necessary and convenient common occasions. And they consist either if fountaine or of river running water. The City of Dublin is so scituated that is hardly any place therein but doth, or may, afford well-water and well conditioned and usefull to most common purposes. But the veneration of antiquity hath raised four above the rest to an esteemed of higher regard than all the rest, which are dignified and distinguished by their several dedications to Saints, having not onely the repute of holy places and also the attributes ascribed unto them by the Roman Catholiques of wonders and miracles, which they say have been wrought there, in which, as in sanctified places (as they say) the blind are made to see, the lame are made to walk, and all diseases whatsoever, never so strange, never so inveterate, are to be cured.

But this [161] is somewhat to be doubted by reason that the Colledge of Physitians in Dublin doth not complain of less practice than is usual in other places. And further, I who have lived many years in Dublin, and have had communication with many who have often, at least anniversarily, resorted to most of them, was never convince[d] of any cure, much less a wonder or a miracle there wrought.

The said wells so stand in scitation relating to this Cittie, East, West, North and South. That it hath bene aptly said that a Papist may go from the High Cross with a Flowne\(^1\) sheat always to one or other of them right before the wind within the town, or without the town, and certainly if there were but one third part of the vertue in them that the simplest of the Irish Papists do believe, the good people of Dublin would need no other physick or chirurgery to cure and heal all manner of diseases and infirmities.

The first of these wells is called Saint Patrick’s Well\(^2\), and is seated without the Cittie on the East part thereof. The greatest recourse thereunto is on the 17\(^{th}\) of March, being Saint Patrick’s day, upon which day, saith one, the water is more holy than it is all the year after, or else the Popish inhabitants of Dublin are more foolish upon that day. However, upon this day they run thither so soon, as before it is day, in troopes, men, women, and children. Where being arrived, after the performance of some ceremonies, which they are unwilling to allow to be superstitions, they drink off the water,
and being returned to their owne houses, they will (for nine days after, as my author reports, though I believe no more than reason suggests) they sit down and declare what wonderfull things have been wrought by the operation of the water of Saint Patrick’s Well.

The water of this well is generally reputed very hott, yet it is in the scales much heavier than that of Saint Sundaye’s or Saint James’s Well.

Saint James’s Well is a very clear fountaine, seated on the West part of the Cittie, at Saint James’s Gate, whose feast is celebrated the twenty fifth of July, upon which day there is a great mart or fare, whereunto resort not onely the citizens of Dublin, but also many forraigners, especitally the inhabitants of the citty of Kilkenny, amongst whom many beautiful women usually appear. For no citty in this KIngdome will stand in competition with them for the beauty of that sex, except the cittizens of Waterford. The chiefest commodities exposed to sale in this mart or market were Kilkenny-balls⁴, frizes, ale and cakes, always excepted and most vendable in Irish Faeres, the best fringed mantles and ruggs for bedding.

The ceremonies ancietly performed at that well were to cast the water backward and forward on the right side and on the left, and over their heads. And then having drank of the water they gravely proceeded into the fare, and there installing themselves in some booth, they sate and drank all the day after.

The well seated in the South of the Cittie is called Saint Sundaye’s Well, or the Well of the Holy Trinity, being of more precious estimation upon Trinity Sunday with Roman Catholiques then the most part of the year besides⁴⁴. For on Trinity Sunday⁴ and some dayes after, all those of that persuasion out of town and countrey runne thither in great troopes to performe their anniversary devotions. Except cripples and other impotent [163] persons, who are all carryed thither, and back again, save those who die there, which are more in number than these which have pretended to have been cured.

This well is seated under the brow of a hill near the Dodder Water, and is more commendable for the purity and lightness of its water than for any other quality or efficacy I ever found therein. So great was the resort unto this well in the time of Queen Elizabeth that the state if Ireland saw cause (as I am informed) out of the memorials of a grave author, to order the restaint of such meetings in that place, under the penalty and commination of death. Yet, I do believe, that that penalty took no effect, or at least, soon taken off, or suspended by reason of an animadversion, I have read, thereupon made,

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¹ [Possibly either woven hair ornaments, such as found in Dunmore Cave, or sliotars for hurling]
² [the first Sunday after Pentecost.]
which was thus written: “it had bene better that this order hath never bene made in regard of the consequences thereof”. But whether these words doe relate to the unpunished contemt of that order, or the severe execution thereof, I am not so fully informed as to make a particular report thereof.

The fourth well lyeth on the North side of the Cittie, called Doolocks or Saint Toolock’s Well. Which Saint hath bene celebrated with much praise and honour in the histories and menologies of Irish hagiologists, unto whom was dedicated a church formerly standing in Fishamble Street, since converted into a dwelling house, and now inhabited by John Bolton, a brewer. This well is ceremoniously frequented at certaine seasons of the year, and is beautified with an arch erected over it, painted in the concave thereof with a Scheme of Heaven, representing the sunne and moon amongst the starres of that celestial fabrick.

I might speak of other wells in and near the Cittie of Dublin, were it not to swell my discourse beyond the limitts of its designed dimensions. But I shall mention none of them save another well of Saint Patrick’s, which, though formerly reputed of great holyness, is now altogether lost, or its place att least so incertaine, that it is very hard to finde where it is certainly seated. Yet probability of conjecture limits it to Saint Patrick’s Close, and the late Lord Primate Usher seemed to be of the opinion that it is seated upon the north side of Saint Marye’s chappell, adjoyning to the east end of Saint Patrick’s church, for in the yard of one of the prebend’s houses, too near adjoyning to the church, is a well of limpid or clear water, which affords a liberall and perpetuall stream for the use of the inhabitants. And it is thought that the ancient veneration had to that well was a great persuasion to the founding of the cathedrall in so low a scituation, the incommodity whereof, of late times, hath bene greater than perhaps was at the laying of the first stone thereof. Which being so large, beautifull and stately a structure, much pitty it is it was not raised upon a higher levell, for had it bene built ether where the Archbishop’s house or pallace now standeth, or on the Treasurer’s mans lands, it would not onely have appeared more conspicually to the grace of the Cittie, but also would have been freed from the annoyances of frequent inundations which have (untill of late) bene occasioned by the overfloowing of the Pottle, notwithstanding the diligent provisions of the Dean and Chapter, to their great charge and cost, for the safeguard of the said Church, and the free avoidance of suddain floods, as well within the close as the church, and notwithstanding also and Act of Parliament, made in the

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5 [a listing of saints, with brief biographies, arranged in calendar order]
6 [Hagiology: literature dealing with the lives of saints]
7 [location F15 on Clarke’s map - facing Essex Street.]
8 [the suggestion that St Olaf’s Hiberno-Norse church on Fislamble Street was an early dedication to St Dulough is both common and unsubstantiated]
9 [in P001948241 – with a prospect of clouds.]
eight year of King Henry the seventh\textsuperscript{10}, as also many Acts of State, against the stopping and disturbance of the watercourse, by means whereof the overflowing of the puddle, called the Pottle, so often happened. But it is now [165] hoped that this Puddle, upon late advice and contrivement of the Lord Archbishop, with the Dean and Chapter, being buried underground in subterraneall cavernes, it will be so confined and connived to its hidden course, that it will no more appear in unreasonable eruptions to the prejudice of the said Church, or drowning the sepulchres therein.

Thus much of the wells of greatest note in or about the Cittie. I shall now speak of the rivers which supply this Cittie with water, and should treat of the Liffy, which is the most famous of them, as dividing this Citty into its two most principall parts. But having already discoursed thereof, I shall add no more to what I have already said, than that it dischargeth itself into a large bay, where shippes of the greatest burthen may safely anchor, there being also secure harbour between that and the Cittie in Polebegg and the pool of Clantaffe\textsuperscript{11} for the greatest vessells usually imploied in the trade of Dublin, or for the use of the State in ordinarie intercourse between Dublin and England.

There is another river, called the Dodder, which at the sollicitation of some art and industry, officiously affords a commodious help to the service and watering of this Cittie, for by a channell, long since cutt, is derived from that river (att four miles distance) a rivulet which conveyes a clear, full and chearfull stream of water in one intire course, untill it arrives att a place called the Tong\textsuperscript{12}. At the invitation of common equitie it divide\textsuperscript{s} itself in a proportionable distribution, adequated to the necessity and accomodation of the inhabitants residing in severall parts of this Cittie. First of all into two parts, Western and Eastern. The Western part of that division is contained in a full course so farre as Dolphin’s Barne, and there is subdivided into two parts, one wherof is conveyed thence upon an artificell bed raised in the time of the Maioralty of John Decer in or about 1310, unto the Pipe of Saint James’s Gate, which conveyes it through the middle of Thomas Street, under ground to Corn Market, whence it is distributed into all oarts of this Cittie, and even into the Castle of Dublin.

The other stream of this subdivision, made as aforesaid att Dolphin’s Barn, holds its course through Dunore and the Liberties of Thomas Court, through which it passes, and then glides on the south side of Saint Thomas Street, and is then carried under the Cittie pipe cross the street into Saint John’s Lane, whence in its descent, with a swift course, drives three mills, and then, near Ormond’s Gate, enters the Cittie walls, by which it runnes along the Citty wall on the back side of Bridg Street,

\textsuperscript{10} [1492/3]
\textsuperscript{11} [Clontarf]
\textsuperscript{12} [the Tongue, aka ‘the Stone Boat’, in Harolds’ Cross, beside Mount Argus monastery]
untill crossing the street, it comes into Coleman’s Brook and thence dischargeth itself into the River Liffie.

As to the other stream derived from the Tong13, it proceeds thence by Harold’s Cross and in its passage giving motion to severall mills, arrives at Roper’s Rest, and thence changeth its course so as, att a near distance, it serves to salute one of the subdivided streams of the first division near Thomas Court. Whence it returns eastward and, at length, by the Pottle, is divided through Saint Patrick’s Street into two parts, running on each side the said street, untill, near Saint Nicholas Gate, they meet together in one stream. Whence, by the Cittie Wall, without any more separation, they runn together southward, by Saint Paul’s Gate, to the Castle. Where, on the outside of the Wall, they runn through the Castle Gardens and thence, passing through the Stable Yards, and in their course from thence turning Dame’s Mills, are discharged into the River of Liffie, near unto the Custome House, where I shall leave them. Knowing nothing of remark unspoken off concerning the same sufficient to oblige the reader’s attention, or ingage any further indeavour to describe that part of the Dodder [167] water. But the reader may take notice that this river is sometimes so little that one may make a bridge over it with a stride. Yet it is called from an Irish word which denotes it to be terrible, and is a most dangerous river, which, ariseng14 out of the Monti Vicini15, otherways Monti Bruin16, near Dublin, is a most rapid and violent stream, suddenly raised by the fall of raine and thereby, if any thing extraordinary becomes so impetuous as to be altogether impassable, carrying with it in its obstreperous revolution not onely stones of great magnitude, or any thing almost that lies in its course, but also with its inundations sometimes overthrows bridges, and many times determines the inheritance of land into too large propotions by an unequall division of meres, which it alters ad libitum et pro libitui17, being like a furious judge who desires rather to show the effects of his rage, than to act what is just.[168]

13 [tongue]
14 [the Dodder rises on the northern slopes of Kippure]
15 [simply means “neighbouring mountains”]
16 [perhaps from Bohernabreena – through which the Dodder flows]
17 [wantonly and capriciously]
Chapter 25

A list of the names of the Maiors and Bayliffs of the Cittie of Dublin, as they were in succession from the year 1308, being the first year of King Edward the second.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anno Domini</th>
<th>Maiors</th>
<th>Bayliffs</th>
<th>Anno Regni</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Edward the Second</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1308</td>
<td>Robert de Nottingham</td>
<td>Richard de St Olavo</td>
<td>Hugh de Canbelor 1</td>
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<td>1309</td>
<td>John Decer</td>
<td>John Leicester</td>
<td>Richard de St Olavo 2</td>
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<td>1310</td>
<td>Richard Lawless</td>
<td>William Serjeant</td>
<td>Hugh Silvester 3</td>
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<td>1311</td>
<td>Robert Nottingham</td>
<td>John de Castro Knock</td>
<td>Adam Philpott 4</td>
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<td>1312</td>
<td>Richard Lawless</td>
<td>John Wolvett</td>
<td>Robert Mones 5</td>
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<td>1313</td>
<td>Robert Nottingham</td>
<td>Robert le Wode</td>
<td>Robert Moenes 6</td>
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<td>1314</td>
<td>Robert Nottingham</td>
<td>Robert le Woder</td>
<td>Robert Bournell 7</td>
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<td>1315</td>
<td>Robert Nottingham</td>
<td>Robert le Woder</td>
<td>Robert Burnell 8</td>
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<td>1316</td>
<td>John Moyenes</td>
<td>Gyles de Walsewell</td>
<td>John Crecks 9</td>
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<td>1317</td>
<td>Robert Nottingham</td>
<td>Gyles de Walsewell</td>
<td>John Crecks 10</td>
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<td>1319</td>
<td>Robert Nottingham</td>
<td>Robert le Wode</td>
<td>Robert le Citon 12</td>
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<td>1320</td>
<td>William Douce</td>
<td>William le Marshall</td>
<td>Stephen de la None 13</td>
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<td>1321</td>
<td>John Serjeant</td>
<td>John de Creeks</td>
<td>Walter de Castro Knock 14</td>
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<td>1322</td>
<td>John Dutt</td>
<td>Nicholas Clarke</td>
<td>Richard Lawless 15</td>
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<td>1323</td>
<td>William Douce</td>
<td>Stephen de Mona</td>
<td>John de Moens 16</td>
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<td>1324</td>
<td>John le Daces</td>
<td>William le Marshall</td>
<td>Robert le Tanner 17</td>
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<td>1325</td>
<td>John Serjeaunt</td>
<td>William Walsh</td>
<td>Thomas Ded 18</td>
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<tr>
<td>1326</td>
<td>Robert Tanner</td>
<td>John de Moyenes</td>
<td>Robert Modesould 19</td>
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<td>1327</td>
<td>John de la Mare</td>
<td>Gyles de Galdus</td>
<td>Stephen de More 20</td>
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<tr>
<td>1328</td>
<td>William le Mareschal</td>
<td>Richard de Swerds</td>
<td>John Creeks 1</td>
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<td>Edward Cullen</td>
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<td>Tadie Duff</td>
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<td>Thomas Waterhouse</td>
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[191] Mayor for 8 months
[192] Mayor for 4 months

Carol

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<td>1674</td>
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<td>James Cottingham</td>
<td>William Billington</td>
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[this, the first entry on page 194, is the last in Ware’s hand. The rest of the page, the margins, and even the left hand margin of the following page, have entries in Harris’s hand]
Chapter 25 of Ware is by far the most heavily annotated by Harris. This list of mayors and sherrifs/bailiffs continued not alone after the death of James in 1666, but even after the death of Robert himself in 1696 – those last in Harris’s hand.

Harris’ annotations:

1312: See King’s Collectiana p 332 that Nicholas Golding & Thomas Hunt were Bayliffs.

[169]

1346: [William Walsh] died in 1351

[173]

1380: [Berle] called Brell in Marlurg’s Annals and King’s Collect. p 90.

1384: [Robert Stakebold] – see fiat 26 June 9th Richard 2 that Roger Belford was Maior of Dublin.

1389: On 22 January 13 Richard 2 Thomas Maurward (sic) was Maior in 1389 q.v. He was also Maior 16 Richard 2 see Collect. vol i p 185.

[174]

1406: [Bovine] Bowe in a record of B. T. Pt confirms his election a. 6 Henry IV as Constable of the Staple.

[175]

1409: [Gallan] In alio MS idem Cusack Maior and idem Bowe and Shortall Bayliffs.

1410: [Gallan] vt supra

1411: [Gallan] vt supra

1412: In alio MS Richard Callian Maior, John Walsh & William Heyford Bayliffs.

1413: In alio MS John Calliane Maior, John Walsh & William Heyford Bayliffs.

1414: idem (Calliane) and idem (Walsh & Heyford) Bayliffs ut supra.

1415: Richard Bonne & John White Bayliffs.

1416: In alio MS Lucas Dowdall Maior, Stephen Tailor & Richard Fitz Eustace Bayliffs.

1420

1418: John White & Thomas Shortall Bayliffs.

1419: Thomas Shortall (Maior)

[176]

1420: Thomas Cusack Maior, Nicholas Fitz Eustace & Ralph Pembroke Bayliffs.

1421: Thomas Cusack Maior, John Barret & Robert of Ireland Bayliffs.


1423: John Burnell Maior, John Kilberry & Thomas Shortall Bayliffs.

1424: John Burnwell Maior, John Kilberry & Thomas Shortall Bayliffs.

1425: Thomas Cusack Maior, Stephen Taylor & Thomas Shortall Bayliffs.

1426: John White Maior, Ralph Pembroke & Robert of Ireland Bayliffs.


1429: John Walsh Maior, John Barret & Robert of Ireland Bayliffs.

1430: Thomas Shortall Maior, Thomas Ashe & Thomas Bennet Bayliffs.

1431: Thomas Shortall Maior, Thomas Bennet & John Fitz Rabard Bayliffs.

1432: Thomas Cusack Maior, Thomas Bennet & Robard Chaucer Bayliffs.


1434: John White Maior, John Hadsor & Nicholas Wooder Bayliffs.

1435: John Hadsor Maior, Nicholas Wooder & Robert of Ireland Bayliffs

[177]

1436: Nicholas Wooder Maior, Philip Brayne & Thomas Newberry Bayliffs


1439: Robert Chaucer Maior, John Brayne & Nicholas Clarke Bayliffs.
1440: Thomas Newberry Maior, Nicholas Clark & Robert Clifford Bayliffs.
1441: Robert of Ireland & John Brayne Bayliffs.
1442: John Fitz Robert Maior, Richard Fitz Eustace & David Rowe Bayliffs.
1443: John Brayne & John Suor Bayliffs.
1444: Ralph Pembroke Maior, Thomas Walsh & Richard Halford Bayliffs.
1445: Nicholas Wodar Maior, John Walsh & William Curraght Bayliffs.
1446: Nicholas Wooder the younger Maior, John Walsh & William Curraght Bayliffs.
1447: Nicholas Wooder the younger Maior, Philip Bedlow & John Tankard Bayliffs.
1448: Robert Wooder & Thomas Savage Bayliffs.
1449: Thomas Newberry Maior, Thomas Savage & John Battman Bayliffs.
1450: Nicholas Woder Maior, Richard Burnell & Thgomas Clerk Bayliffs.
1451: John Bynnot Maior, John Batman and John Tankard Bayliffs.
1453: Thomas Newberry Maior, Richard Fitz Eustace & John Tankard Bayliffs.
1457: Philip Bedlow Maior, John Tankard & Thomas Savage Bayliffs.
1458: John Bennet Maior, John Batman & Thomas Wolton Bayliffs.
1459: Thomas Newberry Maior, John Batman & Thomas Wolton Bayliffs.

[179]
1462: Arlandter Usher & William Purcell Bayliffs.

1463: Sir Robert Burnell Maior, John Tankard & Thomas Barke Bayliffs.

1464: John Shynnaghe & Nicholas Bourke Bayliffs.

1465: Sir Thomas Newberry Mayor, John Shynnaghe & Nicholas Bourke Bayliffs.

1466: Sir Thomas Newberry Maior, Nicholas Bourke & John Boland Bayliffs.

1467: Simon Fitz-Bery Maior, Nicholas Bourke & John Boland Bayliffs.

1468: John Boland & John Walshe Bayliffs.

1469: Sir Thomas Newberry Maior, John Burnell & Nicholas Bourke Bayliffs.


1472: Thomas Waulton Maior, Robert Fitz Simons & Robert West Bayliffs.


[180]

1474: John Fyan Maior, Thomas Mulghan & John West Bayliffs.


1476: Nicholas Bourke Maior, John Bowland & Walter Peres Bayliffs.


1478: Thomas Fitz Simons Maior, John Savage & Matthew Fowler Bayliffs.

1479: Patrick Fitz Lenyes Maior, Thomas Collier & Thomas Harbard Bayliffs.

1480: John West Maior, Jenyco Marks & Richard Arland [Bayliffs].

1481: John Fyan Maior, William Crecko & Thomas Mocktor Bayliffs.


1483: Thomas Mulghan Maior, John Russell & James Barley [Bayliffs].
1484: Patrick Fleming Maior, Thomas Miller & Richard Barlie Bayliffs.

1485: John West Maior, Hugh & Henry Moll Bayliffs.

[181]

1487: John Serjant Maior, John Bourke & John Gayden Bayliffs.

1488: Jenico Marks Maior, Thomas Bynnet & Robert Blanchfield Bayliffs.


1490: William Tue Maior, Thomas Bermingham & Nathaniel Mole Bayliffs.

1491: Richard Stanihurst Maior, Robert Foster & Thomas West Bayliffs.


1493: Thomas Bynnot Maior, Richard Tyrrel & Thomas Niewmann Bayliffs.

1494: John Serjiant Maior, John Black & William Browne Bayliffs. Serjant was committed to the Castle & Richard Arland was elected to serve till Michelmass.

1495: John Savage Maior, Nicholas Harbard & Henry Lawless Bayliffs.


1498: Jenkin Gayden Maior, John Becket & Edward Lance Bayliffs.

1499: Thomas Collier Maior, John Dowgane & Bartholomew Russell Bayliffs.

[182]

1500: Raynold Talbot Maior, Thomas Umfer & Richard Peacocke Bayliffs.


1502: Robert Foster Maior, Patrick Boyce & John Staunton Bayliffs.

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³ See Ware’s entry for 1492
1505: John Blake Maior, John Loghane & William Gosden Bayliffs.
1507: Nicholas Harbard Maior, John Blanchfield & Patrick Harbard Bayliffs.
1508: William English Maior, William Talbot & Nicholas Roche Bayliffs.
1511: William Talbot Maior, Nicholas Queytrote & Hames Herbert Bayliffs.
1512: Nicholas Bach Maior, John Fitz-Symons & Robert Faconner Bayliffs.
1513: Thomas Bermingham Maior, Christopher Usher & Thomas Tyer Bayliffs.
183]
1514: Walter Eustace Maior, John Shyrrffe & Stephen Wer Bayliffs.
1515: Walter Pyppard Maior, Nicholas Handock & --- Berry Bayliffs.
1518: Christopher Usher Maior, John Sarswell & Giles Rivers Bayliffs.
1519: Patrick Fell Maior, Walter Kele & Hugh Nugent Bayliffs.
1520: John Loghane Maior, Henry Gaydene & Walter Kelle Bayliffs.
1521: Patrick Boys Maior, Nicholas Godone & Patrick Fitz-Symonds Bayliffs.
1522: Thomas Tyw Maior, Robert Shilliford & Michael Fitz Symons Bayliffs.
1523: Nicholas Harbard Maior, Arland Usher & Thomas Barbe Bayliffs.
1524: John Fitz-Symons Maior, Robert Bayley & James Browne Bayliffs.
1525: Nicholas Queytrot Maior, Bartholomew Blanchfield & John Candell Bayliffs.
1526: Nicholas Hancock Maior, Walter Fitz-Symons & Walter Kellee the Younger Bayliffs.

1527: Richard Talbot Maior, John Shilton & Simon Garden Bayliffs.


1530: Arland Usher Maior, Francis Harbard & John Skewer Bayliffs.

1531: Walter Kelle Maior, Thomas Stephens & Nicholas Umfrey Bayliffs.

1532: Thomas Barby Maior, Nicholas Stanihurst & Nicholas Peppard Bayliffs.

1533: John Sarswell Maior, Walter Tyrrell & William Queytrott Bayliffs.

1534: Nicholas Gaydone MAyor, Symon Luttrell & Brendan Forster Bayliffs.

1535: Walter Fitz-Symons Maior, Walter Foster & John Peppard Bayliffs.


1537: Thomas Stephens Maior, John Money & Christopher Cosgrow Bayliffs.

1538: John Shiltone Maior, Tady Duff & Patrick Burgess Bayliffs.

1539: John Skewer Maior, Michael Pentony & Robert Cusack Bayliffs.


1541: Nicholas Bennet Maior, James Hancho & Robert Tailor Bayliffs.


1543: Nicholas Umfrey Maior, Richard Fraine & Bartholomew Ball Bayliffs.

1544: Nicholas Stanihurst Maior, Richard Fitz-Symons & Barnaby King Bayliffs.

1545: David Sutton Maior, Richard Queytrott & Thomas Rogers Bayliffs.

1547: Fining in at Fleming in al.
1549: Segue [for Sedgrave]
1554: Bartholomew Ball Maior, Robert Ussher & Walter Rochford Sherriffs.
1556: Thomas Rogers Maior, Patrick Bockle & Patrick Giggen Sherriffs.
1557: John Challoner Maior, John Usher & Edward Peppard Sherriffs.
1558: John Spensfell Maior, John Dempsey & Walter Cusack Sherriffs.
1560: Bedlow for Bellew in al.
died 23 8th & Walter Clinton [was] chosen in his place.
1563: Cusack died on the 20th of September and on the 29th Henry Plunket was chosen Maior
for the remaining part of the year. [John] Butler not Lutrell in the Register or
Catalogue of the Maiors of Dublin.
1569: Robert [rather than Walter Cusack] Maior in the 2nd. John [rather than William Fitz-
Symons] and [John] Luttrell [rather than Lenan]
1574: [Thomas] Kane & Cane [rather than Lane] in al.
187]
1576: George Taylor Recorder.


1605: See Collectiana V3 p182 that one Taylor [rather than Brown] was sherriff in 1605.

1607: [Nicholas] Burrane [rather than Barron].

1611: [William] Challerrot [rather than Chalheret].


1615: Simon Barnewall & Nicholas Springham Sherriffs.

1631: [George] Johns [rather than Jones].

1639: [Edward] Lake [rather than Lock].

1648: Ralph Van Den Hoven [Maior].

1649: [Thomas Pemberton] died.

1653: John [rather than Thomas Preston].

1656: Ridgway [rather than Ridgby Hatfield], [Richard] Rice [rather than Phillips].

1666: Joseph Dobson [rather than John].

1668: [John] Linigar [rather than Linacre].

[from 1678 onwards Harris simply added names of Mayors and Sheriffs]

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1682 Sir Humphrey Jervis  William Watts  Edward Hayes
1683 Sir Elias Best  George Kenedy  Michael Mitchell
1684 Sir Abel Ram  Charles Thompson  Thomas Quinn
1685 Sir John Knox  Richard French  Edward Ross
1686 Sir John Castleton  James Howiston  Isaac Holroyd
1687 Sir Thomas Hacket  Thomas Keyran  Edward Kelly
1688 Sir Michael Creagh  Christopher Palles  John Coyne
1689 Sir Terence Dermott  Ignatius Brown  John Moore
Lord Mayor 9 months
1689 Walter Motley  Anthony Piercy  Mark Rainsford
the other 3 months [change of regime. William replaced James]
1690 John Ottrington  Mark Rainsford  Edward Loyd
1691 Sir Michael Mitchell  Thomas Bell  Henry Stephens
1692 Sir Michael Mitchell  Francis Hoyle  William Gibbons
1693 Sir John Rogerson  John Page  Robert Twigg
1694 George Blackhall  Benjamin Burton  Thomas Denham
1695 William Watts  Andrew Brice  William Stowell
1696 Sir William Billington  Robert Constantine  Nathaniel Whitwell
1697 Bartholomew Vonhomrig
1698 Thomas Quinn  Robert Mason  Samuel Cook
1699 Sir Anthony Piercy  Charles Forrest  James Barlow
1700 Sir Mark Ranesford  John Eccles  Ralph Gore
1701 Samuel Walton  John Stoyte  Thomas Bolton
1702 Thomas Bell  Thomas Pleasant  David Cassart
1703 John Page  John Hendrick  William French
1704 Francis Stoyte  Thomas Wilkinson  Robert Cheatham
1705 William Gibbons  Anthony Barkey  Michael Leeds
1706 Benjamin Burton  John Godley  William Quail
1707 John Parson  William Parson  Robert Hendrick
1708 Sir William Fownes  Thomas Kirkwood  Thomas Curtis
1709 Charles Forest  Joseph Kane  Nathaniel Shaw
1710 John Page  Nathaniel Shaw  Joseph Kane
1711 John Eccles  Michael Sampson  William Dobson
1712 Ralph Gore  Humphrey French  Richard Blair
1713 Sir Samuel Cook  Thomas Bradshaw  Edward Surdeville
1714 Sir James Barlow  Robert Verdon  William Aldrich
1715 James Stoyte  John Porter  John Tisdall
1716 Thomas Bolton  William Thompson  David King
1717 Anthony Barkey  John Beyson  Joseph Kiddar
1718 William Quail  Percival Hunt  Charles Hendrick
1719 Thomas Wilkinson  William Milton  Daniel Falkiner
1720 George Forbes  James Somerville  Nathaniel Kane
1721 Thomas Curtis  - Nutley  - Percivall
1722 William Dickson
1723 John Porter
1724 John Reysdon
1725 Joseph Kane
1726 William Empson
1727 Sir Nathaniel Whitwell
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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name</th>
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<tr>
<td>1728</td>
<td>Henry Burrowes</td>
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<td>1728</td>
<td>James Page</td>
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<td>from the middle of June</td>
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<td>1729</td>
<td>Peter Verdoen</td>
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<td>Nathaniel Pearson</td>
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<td>Nathaniel Kane</td>
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<td>Richard Grattan</td>
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<td>George Forbes</td>
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<td>in loco Grattan in June 1736</td>
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<td>1736</td>
<td>James Somerville</td>
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<td>1737</td>
<td>William Walker</td>
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<td>George Frazier</td>
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<td>John Bradshaw</td>
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<td>1743</td>
<td>David Tew</td>
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<td>George Swetenham</td>
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<td>Thomas Broughton</td>
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<td>who died 17th August 1744</td>
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<td>1743</td>
<td>William Aldich</td>
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<td>elected for the remainder of the year</td>
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<td>1745</td>
<td>John Walker</td>
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<td>Daniel Walker</td>
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<td>Patrick Ewing</td>
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\(^4\) recte 1744]
Chapter 26

Concerning a new intended Exchange in this Cittie.

Though the reader by the above title may expect that I should rather apologize for the want of an Exchange hitherto than describe one unless I should play the poet in the description of the chymera. Yet somewhat I shall say in reference to the common place of merchants meeting within this Cittie. Having regard as well to what is past, as designed in relation to a place of that nature.

And in the first place, the reader may take notice that the generall dayly meeting of merchants in this Cittie, though it hath bene in severall places, yet these places have little varyed in distance the one from the other, by reason they were accommodated to the center of trade and commerce, and being in or near adjoyneing to the Custom House where their imployment much lyeth.

The first place where they assembled was in the Custome House it self, but the increase of trade, which augmented the number of merchants, drew them from thence to the Wood Key, a place of somewhat larger capacitie. Thence they removed to Cork House Garden, where they now dayly meet. A place confined within too strict boundes and affording little or no accommodation, by reason whereof they have long meditated to fix an Exchange of more permanence, ornament, use and convenience elsewhere. But the disputes of humour, interest and concerne hath so retarded the execution of that designe that the place is not yet concluded upon. Some men have laboured to fix it on the North side of the water, being not onely without the walles of the Cittie, but also in the extremitie almost of the Cittie Liberties, in order (as is concieved) to promote the designed buildings of private persons, though the inhabitants and traders of that side of the water are few; as bearing no proposition ether with the merchants or multitudes of people residing on the South side of the Cittie.

Others out of friendship to exempted jurisdiction, if not for self advantage, have endeavoured the establishment of an Exchange at the Corn Market, though that place be not onely too strait for that purpose, but also adjoyneing to the nastiness of a common prison at Newgate, whereunto the liberties of Saint Thomas Court reach, being also not onely distant as farre as may be from the center of the Cittie walles, as being seated almost in the circumference thereof, but also very remote from the Eastern, Northern and Southern places of this Cittie, where reside the greatest number of merchants and persons of quality, who naturally considering so partiall a designation for the convention of merchants, and thinking it convenient and necessary to comply rather with the common good and the

1 [now Lord Edward Street.]
more equal conveniency of all persons in the extremities of this Cittie and suburbs, have resolved to keep their meetings within the walles of the Cittie, yet so near as may be to the center of generall concerne and conveniency, which are no where to be had but near the present Custom House and the river, by which their merchandizes are imported and exported, and whereunto merchants must necessarily and frequently resort in order to the adjusting of their duties and accompts with his Majestie’s officers for their customes and excise.

But though the place of the intended Exchange be not yet pitched upon by an universal consent, being onely pointed at by most merchants and cittizens in their desire to have it within the walls of the Cittie, as near as may be unto the Custome House, nevertheless the structure thereof is so farre advanced in designe that the now noble Earl of Strafford⁴, in demonstration of the like affection which his renowned father bore to this Cittie, out of his own bounteous disposition, hath promised to furnish the builders of an Exchange with so much wood as shall be requisite to compose and beautifie the same, tying them to no other condition than the inlargement of his owne bountie in their bestowing it upon an ample structure, commodiously contrivd for the use it is designed for, and to be beautified in such manner as becomes the Cittie of Dublin, and may suit with the King’s honour, who hath with his munificence countenanced and incouraged the undertakers thereof, as also may well compord with the title it is to bear, vizt, of a Royall Exchange, for which reason, and others above mentioned, let such paradox-mongers are are possessed with the spirit of contradiction dispute for the placing of the Exchange att the Cornmarket, being a place of too narrow confines whereon to erect an Exchange suitable to the aforesaid purposes, or at the Tholsell, no way correspondent with the aforesaid ends. It is hoped by the best well-wishers to this Cittie, and its beautie expected by the most considerable merchants and the greatest number of Citizens, that a due regard to the said Earl’s most noble inclinations and to the worthy ends and purposes above mentioned, will so prevail with authoritie that the place of soe great convention as the public Exchange of so famous a Cittie requireth, may be so ample as to afford an agreeable structure within the walls of this Cittie, and a near as may be to the river and Custome House, where those who are to assemble, are, or may be, most concerned⁵.

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2 Note by Harris in margin – this was written in the year 1678.
3 [William Wentworth, restored to the Earldom of Strafford in 1662]
4 [Ware’s page numbers run 196, 197, 198, 197,198, 199 and so on. The duplicate pages here are given as 197(a), 198(a), 197(b) and 198(b).]
5 [over 100 years later, in 1779, the new Royal Exchange, now City Hall, was built beside where Ware’s exchange had stood.]
Chapter 27

Concerning the learning and schooles of Ireland in former ages.

In Harris’ handwriting: Mem. A Mass house in Back Lane, siezed by the Lord Justice and disposed of to the University, who placed a Rector & Scholars in it. When the Earl of Strafford came to the Government the Lecture was put down, the scholars displaced, and the house became a Mass house againe. Rapin, V12, p161.

Though I shall not too positively assert the certaintie of considerable universities in this Kingdome of Ireland before it became Christian, nor press the belief of such an assertion by argument or the testimony of historical tradition, which I have no cause to doubt, yet no man can think it altogether improbable who calls to mind what hath bene pleaded in the behalf of England in that kind, vizt. that the Graecian leaders who came from the siege of Troy brought with them great philosophers into Britaine, who there opened publique nurseries of good literature, and particularly planted one on the brink of Tamesis in Wiltshire, for the teaching the liberall sciences at a place which to this day is called Graectade¹, and that many Graecians came into Ireland as a colony from the siege of Troy is not to be doubted by those who give creditt to the joyn testimoyn of ancient historians.

Besides, it is evident from many words of Greek derivation yet remaining in the Irish language that the Irish were once tyed in a more than ordinary knott of familiaritie with the Graecians.

Againe the antiquity of universities in Ireland in pagan times is not improbable to those who know from the testimony of good historians that Cantaber Prince of Spain, brother to Bartholimus² King of Ireland, sonne-in-law to Gurguntius King of Great Britaine, founded the Universitie of Cambridge 335 years before the nativitie of our Saviour Christ.

Moreover Ollon Fodle Mac Fiana³ of the house of Ulster, from whom the province of Ulster took its name, was so learned and given to the favour of learning, that hee built a faire palace at Taraght, onely for the learned sort of his kingdome to live in att his own charge. It was hee who first kept in Ireland [197(b)] the solemn feast called Fes Termach⁴, which was kept once a year⁵ whereunto all the King’s friends were bound to come and such as did not resort thither were reputed his enemies.

---

¹ [Cricklade, between Swindon and Cirencester.]
² [otherwise Partholóin – see the Lebor Gabála Érenn]
³ [Ollom Fotla, ‘the Learned one of Ireland, later spelled Ollamh Fodhla; son of Fiachu Finscothach, High King, according to the Annals of the Four Masters, from 1318-1278 BC]
⁴ [the Feis Temrach or feast of Tara.]
⁵ [Keating’s History of Ireland says every third year.]
But let men think what they will touching their universities in pagan times, yet sure it is that in the nearer centuries to Saint Patrick’s time, and long before the conquest of Ireland by Henry the second, there were many universities and general schooles of good learning in the kingdome, insomuch that no man can think but that Demsterus⁶ was out of his witts when hee exclaimed against Ireland in these words: “Tanquam omnio inscriptia vel ignorantie antrum unde nec mica eruditionis provenerit nec scintilla virtutis aut probe eruditionis emicuerit”. Whilst many celebrated writers both for vertue and learning are profusely large in the praises thereof in that behalf.

Let envy therefore hearken and be silent, whilst holy and learned Adelnum⁷ speaks thus of Ireland: “Discentiam ofulens vermansque, ut ita dixerim pascuosa numerositate quemadmodum foli cardines astriferis micantium omantur, vibrammibus synderum”.

This author was no Irishman, nor had hee any relation to that nation which could bring so clear a testimony into suspition of praeoccupated affections. The same author relates how Ireland was abundantly frequented with great troupes of such persons from forraign Kingdomes as came thither for the sake of learning.

Albinus also Alcuinus and Flaccus⁸ agree with this testimony in the commendation of Ireland for learning, and it much inhanceth [198(b)] the glory of Ireland and its ancient universities, that their lustre shone forth so clearly whilst (as Doctor Hacquell⁹ saith) the arts through the Christian world in those times lay in a manner buryed in negligence and obscurity. It was att this time that the Saxons did repair into Ireland as to a fair or market of good letters, where wee often read of the holy men of these times in ancient writers: Amandatus, est ad disciplinam in Hibernia, hee was sent into Ireland to study. The said Doctor writes out of Sulgen¹⁰, who lived above six hundred yeares since these verses.

Exemplo patrum commodus amore legendi.
Ivit ad Hybernos sophia mirabili claros.

And for to skill and learning hee aspired.
Treading the steppes of ancestors hee sayled.
To Ireland then for wisdome much admired.¹¹

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⁶ [Thomas Dempster (1579 –1625), Scottish scholar and historian]
⁷ [Aldhelm of Malmesbury, Bishop of Sherborne c. 639–709]
⁸ [Robert may be confused. Alcuin of York (Latin: Alcuinus) or Ealhwine, nicknamed Albinus or Flaccus was a scholar in Charlemagne’s Aachen. In his collected works it’s clear that Ware confuses him with Albin or Albinus, an Irish monk, who about 792.]
⁹ [Hacquell was possibly Henry Chichele (~1364 – 1443), Archbishop of Canterbury]
¹⁰ [Sulien, Sulgen (the old Welsh form), or Sulgenus (1011–1091), bishop of St. David’s]
¹¹ [The quote is from Camden’s Britannia, Hibernia et Insulae minors, ‘Ireland’, p12.]
Hee also argues that the English Saxons borrowed from the Irish the manner of forming their letters, since they use the same character as the Irish use att this day.

It is not my work to reckon up the universities which were in Ireland before the reduction of Ireland under the English government, such as were Cleonard\textsuperscript{12} in the River of Boyn, Beggevi under Saint Iberas\textsuperscript{13}, Clonfert under Saint Brendan, Bangor under Saint Congallus, Rathell in Fercall\textsuperscript{14}, Lismore under Saint Carthage and Leighlin under Saint Lazivecanus\textsuperscript{15} and also those of Cashell and Down, and of Rosscarberry anciently Rosalithri\textsuperscript{16}, erected in the sixth century after Christ, whereby the writer of the life of Saint Moicomogey\textsuperscript{17} saith thus: \textit{“Habitant sanctus Fachtna in australi Hiberniae forte juxta mare in suo monasterio quod ipso fundavit. Ibi crevit civitas in qua semper mansit magnum studium scholarium quae dicitur Ross-alithry”}

Nor is it my intention to cast my proceeding into too great a disarray by enlarging on the ancient and famous Universitie of Ardmagh, which mightily flourished in learning, and was little inferior to any universitie of Christendom for numbers of scholars, untill the Danes and Norwegians at their first breaking the sea of navigation into Ireland, destroyed all academies of letters in the Kingdome, and att the time did not onlie burne all the bookes they could finde, but also led from Ardmagh two thousand students into bondage, though in after times they took with them what bookes or monuments of learning they could lay hold on into their own contrey.

From henceforward the Irish universitie went much into diminution and at length, by the barbarity of such foreigners and the frequent erection of monasteries, lost their names as being converted into monasteries, as was the Universitie of Bangor in Wales, being founded an universitie anno one hundred and sixty by King Lucius\textsuperscript{18}, and about three hundred and fifty yeares after converted into a monastery by Congellus Banchorensis\textsuperscript{19}, the first Abbot thereof. But for a more distinct accompt of the Irish universities I shall observe to the reader that the publique studies of learning instituted or founded by Saint Patrick, did flourish and continue inviolate for about four hundred yeares, \textit{vizt} to the year eight hundred eighteen \textsuperscript{[200]} when the Danes and Norwegians, being infidells, did miserably afflict Ireland, under the conduct of Turghesius\textsuperscript{20}, that after the space of thirty yeares Turghesius and thiose barbarians being destroyed and expelled, the liberall sciences were in

\textsuperscript{12} [Clonard, Meath]
\textsuperscript{13} [Begerin, formerly an island in Wexford harbour before its reclamation. The patron is Ibar mac Lugna]
\textsuperscript{14} [Rahan, Fercall, near Tullamore, Offaly]
\textsuperscript{15} [Lasairian, Laisrén or Lazerian, also known as Molaise – both diminutives of lasair – a flame.]
\textsuperscript{16} [Ross Ailithir, wooded headland of the Pilgrim]
\textsuperscript{17} [Fachtna mac Mongaig, who died about 600]
\textsuperscript{18} [The founder of Bangor is believed to have been Maelgwn Gwynedd, king of Gwynedd.]
\textsuperscript{19} [Ware may be confusing Bangor, Co Down, founded by Comgall.]
\textsuperscript{20} [Turgesius, Viking leader of initial Dublin 'settlement']
some sort restored and thenceforward remained (though in a decaying condition) until after the year one thousand one hundred sixty in such manner (though war raged amongst them) that the nation was not unsupplyed with divines, lawyers, physitians, philosophers, historians, mathematicians, orators, poets and professors of all the Liberall Sciences. For in that time it was generally deemed sacriledg not only to oppugne, but also not to promote, propogate and advance it whilst the victor’s fury ransacked houses, plundered villages, demolished the walls of cities and turned all things into confusion. And we read that in the year one thousand one hundred sixty three the University of Armagh was in so high esteem with the counsell held at Cloonard under the presidency of Gelatius Archbishop of Armagh, that it was then and there deemed ut nullus deinceps ad theologiam public praefit sunt nisi qui Academiae Armachanae fuerit alumnus.

I shall not any longer detain the reader in relation to these ancient universities but lead him within confines of my just subject, and there discourse of universities within Dublin, leaving the rest to be fully treated by the Lord Bishop of Meath, who hath proceeded very farre on that subject.

And first of all concerning the Universitie of Saint Patrick’s, founded at Dublin.

John Leech Archbishop of Dublin proceeded so farre towards the erection of an university in Dublin, that he procured a Bull of Foundation from Clement the fifth dated in July the seventh year of his Popedome, but the reason of the death of this Archbishop which hapened on the tenth of August anno Domini one thousand three hundred thirteene, his pious institution failed without its designed effect. But his next succesour Alexander Bicknor in that See followed him also with the like intention, but more happily reduced into act. For in the year one thousand three hundred twenty founded it anew, and procured authoritie from John the twenty-second for the confirmation thereof, and prescribed rules of government according to the following instrument:


21 [Ware is confused. The synod was at Rath Breasail, near Kanturk in Co. Cork, in 1111. The papal legate was Gilla Espaic, Bishop of Limerick. The same year it is reported that Cellach, Archbishop of Armagh, held a great synod at Fiadh meic Oengusa. The Annals of Inisfallen say that these were the same synod]
in dictis scientiis fuerit aliquis, doctoratum in ejusdem facultatibus aedeptus, in Cancellarium pre
omnibus ceteris per eosdem eligatur: Et si, quod absit, in electione ejusdem Cancellarij fuerit
discordia, quod tunc fiat electio majoris partis dictorum regentium in numero duntaxat. Et Cancellario
dicte Universitatis cedente vel decedente, alius infra quindecim [202] dies eligatur, et idem electus
nobis et successorisibus nostris, presentibus, seu vicariis, nobis vel illis in remotis agentibus, sede
Dublin, plena, et sedevacante Custodi spiritualitatis ejusdem, pro confirmatione obtinenda, infra
quindecim dies a tempore electionis presentetur, pro confirmatione sua petenda et obtinenda.

Volumus ad hec, quod duo Procuratores, actu-regentes, cum fuerit copia magistrorum
regentium, simili modo ut prius eligantur: et quod idem procuratores, cum Universitas predicta
Cancellario caruerit, vices suppleant ejusdem Cancellarij: et si electio Cancellarii infra quindecim dies
celebrata non fuerit, extunc devolvratur jurisdictioni ad Omcalem curie Dublin, sede plena, vel, sede
vacante, ad Custodem spiritualitatis, quousque Cancellarius electus fuerit et confirmatus, vel saltem
aliquis non obstitat canonicerum quominus debeat confirmari.

Concedimusetiam, quoddictus Cancellariushabeat jurisdictionem spiritualis in magistros et
scolares, ubi Actor et Reus sunt de Universitate predicta, etin eorum familiares, et approbationem et
reprobationem testamentorum eorumdem magistrorum, scolariuni et familiarium, ac dispositionem
bonorum eorumdem si intestati descesserint; ita, tamen, quod mulcte ipsis delinquentibus, judicende, et
emolumenta inde et ex quacunque alia causa, de jurisdictione predicta, provenientia, in cista quadem
Universitatis predictae reponantur, convertenda in utilitatem dicte Universitatis communem, seccundum
dispositionem Cancellarii et magistrorum, et quod duas claves ciste habeant Procuratores, et tertius
nominitus per Cancellarium, et inde dicti Procuratores, bis in anno, coram Cancellario et magistris
regentibus, comptum reddere teneantur, vel coram deputatis seu deputandis [203] ab eisdem.

Jurisdictionem vero nostram, et Decani nostri Sti. Patricii predicti, in familiares nostros et Canonicos -
ecclesiarum predictarum et ad eorum familiares, et super glebam Prebendarum existentes, nullatenus a
nobis seub ipso Decano abdicantes: proviso tamen, quod pro officio Cancellarii et ejus oneribus
supportandis, pro loco et tempore, seccundum Universitatis facilitates, honorifice ordinetur.

Si, vero, Cancellarius predictus vices suas aliquibus vel alicui committere voluerit in causis
specialiter et universali cognoscendis, facultatem eidem concedimus per presentes; et si ab eisdem
commisariis appelletur, primo ad eundem Cancellarium et regentes appelletur, qui, per se in dicta
causa appellantionis cognoscent, vel per alias ilia vice: a quibus si secundoappelletur, ad Nosvel
Officialem curienostre, ut premittitur, ipsa appellatio interponatur.

Licenciandi, insuper, Baccalaurei in facultate quacunque presententur Cancellario predictoet
magistris regentibus, qui, sisufficientem numerum, pro tempore per ipsos ordinandum, obtinuerint
magistrorum in eadem facultate literature, ut quoad illos et alias aliarum facultatum, pro moribus
deponentiumquibus credi volumus, si jurati de credulitate deponant (non obstante minoris partis
numero magistrorum contradictione) licentientur; alioquin per gratiam transeant Universitatis; et, si quis contra licenciandum in qua curaque facultate aliquid objecerit, et illud in forma juris non probaverit, eo ipso habeatur pro malicoso opponente, et preter refusionem damnum et expensarum parti faciendarum, Universitatis privilegio privat ad tempus, vel imperpetuum, prout Cancellario et regentibus visum fuerit, habita consideratione ad qualitatem rei objecte, et conditionem utriusque persone.

Concedimus, etiam, pro nobis et successoribus nostris; quod Cancellarius, [204] de consilio magistrorum regentium, et non regentium si necesse fuerit, statuta condere possit ad honorem et pacem Universitatis, et ad scandala dirimenta, que contingere poterint in eventu, et ilia statuta debent nobis et successoribus nostris presentari, et per nos et eisdem successores confirmari.

Ordinamus, etiam, quod Nos et successores nostri eligere possumus secularem in theologiam regentem, vel de quaunque religione, qui in Ecclesia nostra Sti. Patricij prefata actualiter legat in sacra pagina, sine alicujus contradictione vel calumniis, perpetuis temporibus in futuro; ac, nobis vel illis successoribus nostris agentibus in reniotis, quod Cancellarius hoc faciat vice nostra et eorum successorum, eo non obstante, quod scolas fratrum Predicatae et Minorum duximus canonizandas.

Et, quod Cancellarius electus, et a nobis et successoribus nostris conformatus, juramentum nobis et successoribus nostris prestet fidelitatis.

In cujus rei testimonium, sigillum nostrum, una cum Mgillis capitulorum nostrorum St. Trinitatis et Sti. Patricii Dublin, predictorum, presentibus est appensum. Dat. Dublin, decimo die februarii, Anno Domini, millesimo trecentesimo quarto.

The same in English:

In the name of God, amen, wee, Alexander Bickneror, by divine providence, Archbishop of Dublin, will, grant and decree, with consent and assent of our chapters of the Holy Trinity and St. Patrick’s, Dublin, to the masters and scholars of our Universitie of Dublin, that the actuall Regent Masters of the said Universitie may choose a Chancellor, being a Doctor in Divinity or in the Canon Law so that if in ether of our Cathedral Churches of the Holy Trinitie or of Saint Patrick’s there be any one in the said faculties so qualified in that place, hee may bee chosen before any other by them. And if there should happen (which God forbid) any discord in the election of the said Chancellor, then the election of the greater part in numberonely of the said regents shall stand. And if the Chancellor of the said universitie shall give up his office or depart this life, another is to be chosen

20 [A lecturer – one with a Master’s degree and a licence to teach.]
within fifteen days and to be presented to us and our successors, being present, or to our vicars in our or their absence, the See being full, but if vacant, to the guardian of the spiritualities, there to obtain confirmation within fifteen days from the time of the election. It is our pleasure also that two proctors actually regent shall in like manner be chosen, when number of Masters shall be competent and that the said Proctors in the vacancy of the Chancellorship shall supply his office, and if the election of the Chancellor shall not be celebrated within fifteen days, then the jurisdiction shall devolve to the official of the Court Christian at Dublin, if the See be full, but if vacant, to the Guardian of the Spiritualities, until the Chancellor elect shall be confirmed, or at least until all canonical obstacles shall be removed that may hinder such confirmation. Wee grant also that the Chancellor shall have spiritual jurisdiction over the masters and scholars in cases where the plaintiff and defendant are of the said universitie, and over their servants, and that he shall have the approbation and reprobation of testaments of the maisters, scholars and servants, as also the disposition of their goods, if they shall depart this life intestate, yet so that the multcts to be imposed on delinquents, and the emoluments thence from any other cause arising from said jurisdiction shall be deposited in a certaine chest of the said Universitie, to be converted into the common profit of the same, according to the disposal of the Chancellor and maisters: and that the proctors shall have each of them one key of the chest, and a person to be named by the Chancellor to have the third: and the said Proctors shall be bound to render an account thereof twice every year, before the Chancellor and Regent Maisters; or before such as are or shall be deputed by them: yet in no wise renouncing the jurisdiction, which either wee or the Dean of Saint Patrick's aforesaid have over our servants, and the Canons of the aforesaid churches, or their servants residing upon the gleab or prebend. Provided always, that for the support of the Chancellor, and to bear his charge and honourable maintenance as occasion shall require and the ability of the Universitie can afford, be honourably appointed.

And if the aforesaid Chancellor shall think fitt to substitute one or more to take cognizance of causes specially or universally, wee do hereby grant him authoritie in that behalf; and, if an appeal shall be made from those Commissioners, in the first place it is to be made to the Chancellor and the Regents, who may take cognizance of the matter of appeal by themselves or by others; from whom, if in the second place an appeal shall be made, it is to be interposed unto us, or unto the officiall of our court, or to the Guardian aforesaid.

Moreover, such, as are to be licentiated in any facultie, or to be presented to the aforesaid Chancellor and Regent Maisters; who, if they shall obtaine a sufficient number of Maisters in the faculty testifying concerninge their literature, and of other faculties deposing concerninge their

27 [fines]
behaviour, whom we will have believe[207]: if the shall be sworn of their credulity, and they shall be licentiated notwithstanding contradiction of the lesser part in number. Otherwise, they may pass [by] the grace of the Universitie; and whosoever shall object any thing against such as are to be licentiated and shall not prove it in forme of law, let him therefore be reputed as a malitious opponent, and be condemned in costs and dammages and let him be deprived of the priviledge of the Universitie, for a certaine time or perpetually, according as to the Chancellor and Regents shall seem meet, having regard to the qualitie of the matter objected and the condition of each person.

Wee grant, also, for ourselves and our successors that the Chancellor, by the councell of the Masters Regent and Non-Regent, if it shall be needfull, may make statutes for the honor and peace of the universitie and to take away scandal, which may otherwise happen, such statutes must be presented to us and our successors and be confirmed by us and our successors.

We ordaine also, that wee and our successors may chuse a secular Regent in Divinitie, of of any other religion, who may actually read lectures on the Bible in our aforesaid church of Saint Patrick, without any contradiction or calumny for ever hereafter, and, that wee, or our successors being farre remote, that the Chancellor may soe as in the place of us and our successors, notwithstanding that we have thought fitt thet the schools of the Fryares Preachers and Fryares Minor shall be established, and that the Chancellor elected, and to be confirmed by us and our successors shall swear fealty to us and our successors. Our seal, together with the seals of our Chapters of the Holy Trinitie and Saint Patrick’s Dublin aforesaid is put unto these presents. Given at Dublin this tenth day of February, in the fourth year of our consecration and of our Lord one thousand three hundred and twentie. [208]

At the opening of the universitie, degrees in severall faculties were conferred, as for instance, William de Hardiss of the Order of Saint Dominick, Henry Cogry of the Order of Minors and Edmund of Carmarthin of the Order of Saint Dominick were promoted to the degree of Doctor of Divinitie.

Moreover William Rodiard, Dean of Saint Patrick’s, who was constituted the first Chancellor of the Universitie, took the degree of Doctor in the Canon Law.

28 On a slip written by Harris between 206 & 207: See Charter of Incorporation of the Carpenter Heliers granted by King Henry 8 is enrolled in Rot de an 26 Eliz dorso. [this was the Dublin Gild of the Carpenters, Millers, Masons and Heliers (Tilers), which received its charter in 1508] One master was a carpenter, the other a helier
29 [or Hardite]
30 [or Kermerdyn]
31 [William de Rodyard ( died c. 1349 ), also Chief Justice of the Irish Common Pleas]
It appears out of the Registry of John Allen, Archbishop of Dublin\textsuperscript{32}, that Edward the third instituted a Theological lecture in this Universitie.

I find also that in the time of Henry the seventh, that there were granted in a Provincial Synod held in the Church of the Holy Trinitie before Walter Fitz Symons\textsuperscript{33} then Archbishop of Dublin, certain stipends for seven yeares to the Readers of this Universitie to be paid yearly by the Archbishop his suffragans and the clergy and the Province of Dublin. The Archbishop of Dublin, the two chapters aforesaid, and the clergy of the Diocese of Dublin paid forty poundes per annum. The Bishop of Ossory and his clergy five poundes. The Bishop of Fernes and his clergy five poundes. The Bishop of Kildare and his chapter five markes.

But though this Universitie of Saint Patrick’s flourished at first in the commencement of many doctors and was never deprived of its priviledges, yet for want of a sufficient and constant endowment, in the progress of time it declined more and more and at length with the surrender of that Church it had a common period with the dissolution of the monasteries, it quite vanished and never appeared again, though afterwards, as Campion observes in a Parliament held in the eleventh year of Queen Elizabeth, before Sir Henry Sydney, there was a treaty concerning the re-erecting of that Universitie [209] at which time his Lordship promised twenty poundes per annum and one hundred poundes in ready money to the promotion of that undertaking, and many other worthy persons promised their bounty in proportion of their estates. But I doe not finde that those promises came unto effect.

I must not here omit to acquaint the reader that Sir John Perrott Knight, sometimes Lord Deputy of this Kingdome\textsuperscript{35}, observing in the time of his government that learning runn very low in this Kingdome, by reason of the defect of academies of good literature, endeavoured to set up two universities, and to lay their foundation in the dissolution of the Cathedral Church of Saint Patrick, Dublin, it being not his intention to insert a universitie in the said church as formerly, but to convert the revenue thereof into the foundation of two universities, which hee proposed as the readiest beginning for the setting them on foot hee could finde, but the reason which hee proposed for the carrying on of that designe being of little force, and the opposition and interest of Adam Loftus, then Lord Archbishop of Dublin and Lord Chancellor of Ireland being very considerable att Court, the Lord Deputie’s designe was smitten with frustration, and came to noe effect. The chiefest motion that the Deputy urged for the dissolution of the said Cathedrall was that, there being two cathedrals in Dublin, the one dedicated to Saint Patrick and the other in the name of Christ, that of Saint Patrick’s

\textsuperscript{32} [Archbishop from March 1530 until his murder in Artaine July 1534]
\textsuperscript{33} [Walter Fitzsimon, Archbishop from September 1484 to May 1511]
\textsuperscript{34} [the word “the” erased]
\textsuperscript{35} [Lord Deputy 1584 – 1588]
was had in more superstitious reputation than the other, (though indeed it was not, as then erroneously
supposed, dedicated to the name of Christ, but commonly called by mistake soe, for that it being
occasionally called Crite Church (for a reason hereinafter to be showed when I shall treat of this
Church in particular) by reason of the nearness of the sound to the word Christ, was and is stil of later
dayes vulgarly [210] called Christ Church though dedicated to the Holy Trinitie and incorporated
under that title, and goeth under that name in all capitular acts.

The reader being thus acquainte

d with the said deputie’s intention to dissolve the said Church, I
am now to sett forth the matter out of the wordes of his own letter directed unto the then Lord
Treasurer of England, where he saith that it would be converted to these uses following:

First, whereas there is no place for the Law save onlie an old hall in the Castle of Dublin (as I
am sure your Lordships knoweth) and the same very dangerously placed over the munition and
powder, where a desperate fellow by dropping down a match may marr all. This church, which is
spatiouis and large, would sufficiently serve the turne for all the severall courts, though the Law
should bee (as I hope in time by good government it may and shall be) farre better frequented than it is.
Besides the good use of the church, whereas there is here great want for a storehouse for grain and
other provision, and noe place fitt for it, whereby the waste and loss in victualling is the more. The
Cannons’ houses that environ the church about would very aptly serve for an Inns of Court, to bestow
the judges and lawyers in, and that house which they now have for their Inns of Court, lying
commodiusly for loading and unloading over the river, here hard by the Bridge, would as aptly serve
for a store house and granary, the church and buildings annexed being converted to these good uses.

The said Lord Deputie estimates the revenue of this Cathedrall to have been then about the
value of four thousand markes per annum, and saith it would serve to begin the foundation of two
universities, and endow a couple of colledges in these with one thousand pounds per annum a piece,
the rest hee proposed be appointed for the reparation [211] of the said Church and houses, and to be
annexed unto Christ Church by way of augmentation to the quire. It will now be requisite to bring in a
letter of Adam Loftus, Lord Archbishop of Dublin, which he wrote in defence of his opposing the
Lord Deputie in this designe, and directed to the then Lord Treasurer of England 36.

It may please your Lordship your letter of the eighteenth of June last I received this present day,
being the 12 of August 37. For answere whereunto touching my Lord Deputie’s displeasure concieved
towards mee, I am no less sorry and grieved for the same than becometh mee. But for my own part, by

36 [William Cecil, 1st Baron Burghley, Lord High Treasurer 1572 - 98]
37 [1584]
God’s grace, it shall be no cause to draw mee from my duty in the advancement ether of God’s service or her Majestie’s, in both of which I shall be ready most faithfully to join with him, howsoever his present dislike of mee doth increase.

And whereas it appeareth that his Lordship hath by his letters charged mee with dealing underhand and politickly with him touching Saint Patrick’s, alledging that to have bene the cause of this great unkindness. If it may please your Lordship to give mee leave to lay downe unto you the order as well of his Lordship’s dealings with mee, as mine with him, in that manner which I protest I will doe simply and truly. I will then leave it to your Lordship’s good consideration to judg which of us hath dealed more indirectly or underhand, and who simply, directly and plainely.

It pleased your Lordship, with the rest of her Majestie’s Councell there, to write your opinions to his Lordship concerning Saint Patrick’s in a letter, sent out by Sir Lucas Dillon38, wherein hee was willed to have conference with mee in that matter, the letter being delivered him in February. [212] He never acquainted mee with the contents thereof untill the eleventh of June following, I having seaven dayes before delivered unto his Lordship her Majestie’s letter. Onelie hee often took occasion to tell mee, and the like as I understand to others (who dayly made report thereof to mee) that hee would have the Cathedrall Church of Saint Patrick’s converted to a place of the temporall courts, and the revenue to be imployed towards an universitie, whereunto mine answer alwayes was without dissimulation that I would never consent to that alteration, but, reserving my duty to his Lordship, would try my best friends to withstand that purpose to the uttermost of my power, and for the same alleaged such reasons as I thought might have bene available to have dissuaded his Lordship from that determination. And further declared that I had already sent my Archdeacon into England about the same.

The like I answered and alleaged to Sir Lucas Dillon and Sir Edward Waterhouse39, being by his Lordship sent unto me to persuade with mee in that matter and on the other side caused my Lord of Meath40 many times to break with his Lordship in the matter, and to assay by reasons to withdraw him from that purpose. But his Lordship’s answer alwayes was that hee would have his will in accomplishing that hee had purposed. Hee would not be crossed, and that if I continued to withstand

38 [c.1530-92; a leading Irish jurist, Attorney General for Ireland and, from 1570, Chief Baron of the Irish Exchequer]
39 [English-born Chancellor of the Exchequer of Ireland 1586-89]
40 [who was Lord of Meath in 1584???]
him therein, he would be my utter enemie, he would sift mee, disgrace mee and doe I know not what.

Finding his Lordship soe peremptory in his purpose, I saw noe other way to withstand him therein, than ether by procuring her Majestie’s absolute authority to the contrary, or to cross his motion thereof in Parliament. But considering that to oppose myself against the Governour in open Parliament (though in a just cause) might have drawn some inconvenience and have bene hardly construed, I thought good rather to make her [213] Majestie my refuge, in procuring her Highness letter to restrain him. And if this were politique dealing, and underhand (as his Lordship termeth it) and not such as might become an honest man in the maintenance of a just and reasonable cause, I must then acknowledge a fault, and confess his Lordship’s information to have bene true.

Now for that other surmise (which it seemeth his Lordship and some others have advertized against mee) that by my like dealings in the last Parliament I have hindered her Majestie’s service, this toucheth mee nearer than the first, yet altogether as farre from truth, the injury therefore the more to mee, and the less credit I hope to my accusers. For I doubt not but by former good proof that it is well known there, both to your Lordship and the rest, what care and zeal, with great danger to my self, I have always had for the advancement of her Majestie’s service every way, soe farre forth as it hath layn in my power. And now againe I protest before God it hath bene, is, and shall be more dear unto mee than my owne life, howsoever it may please my heavy friends of malice to surmise or informe of mee.

And if their meaning be in this accusation, as I suppose it is, that it was by my meanes or procurement, that the repeal of Poyning’s Act passed not in Parliament, I marvaile much how, without blushing, they can go about to impute any deaefault or blame unto mee in that matter, knowing that the same passed the higher house (where, by vertue of my office, I was Speaker) chiefly and almost onely by my meanes and travaile, and the poor credit I had with the Bishops and Temporall Lords, whom I laboured particularly in that cause, as I doubt not but that the whole house would (if need were) bear mee witness, and especially Sir Henry Wallop, who, from the beginning, knew my opinion and whole purpose unsemedly touching those Parliament matters.[214]

And if my accusers shall alledge that there was some privy intelligence between the lower house and mee (as I protest there was not in any respect towards the hinderance of that Bill) my Lord Deputy himself is able, if it pleased him to doe mee so much right, to acquit mee of that suspition,

41 [to sift in this context – to examine closely
42 [An Act of the Parliament of Ireland initiated by Sir Edward Poyning’s Lord Deputy of Ireland in 1494 declaring that the Parliament of Ireland was to be placed under the authority of the Parliament of England.]
who hath examined almost everie particular man of any accompt of the lower house upon their book oaths, in what sort ether the Earl of Ormond or myself hath dealt with them concerning the causes to pass in Parliament. And I thank God not one of them have avowed (as truly they could not say otherwise) that they never had conference with mee, nor received intelligence from mee. Wherefore how greatly I am wronged in that occasion, I hope your Lordship, upon due consideration hereby, will easily gather.

And the rather if it may please you to understand the true cause indeed of the staying of the aforesaid Bill in the Lower House, which was this. That my Lord Deputy had made his purpose so commonly known, partly by imparting the same to over many and to some base men not meet to have bene made acquainted with the great causes, and partly by vaunting of the good service hee would doe her Majestie in this Parliament, in gaining unto her Highness in certaine revenues XL or L' pounds a year, insomuch as there were very few of the Parliament house but were, in a manner, as well acquainted with his Lordship’s plott as himself.

And besides some of this nation, whom his Lordship putt in spetiall trust to be sollicitors of that matter in the Lower House, concealing their secret in mislike thereof to themselves, wrought privily against him with their friends for the crossing of that plott, which (as I must needs confess) was well devised by his Lordship, but badly handled, as many other matters are which hee taketh in hand. Insomuch as I fear, unless he hould another course, hee shall not bee [215] able to doe her Majestie that service hee maketh shew off, nether in Parliament nor out of Parliament.

Touching my poor Church, which (whatsoever is otherwise pretended) is nostri fundi calamitas, and the onely thing that my Lord Deputy and others shoot att, to whom already large shares out of the same are, by his Lordship’s plott, allotted before the receipt of this your Lordship’s letter. I sent your Lordship a true and prefect note of the state thereof, together with signification of my purpose to reforme all abuses therein so farre forth as my authoritie would stretch, which book I humbly beseech your Lordship at your leasure to peruse, whereby you shall finde that my Lord Deputy hath bene in many pointes misinformed.

And thus much in briefe touching my poor Church, which I referre wholly to your Lordship’s good patronage and protection, beseeching your Lordship to have due and favourable consideration as well thereof as of myself, that wee may not be given over as a prey unto him which seeketh both the defacing of the one and the disgracing of the other.

The hard and violent usage and opprobious tearmes which dayly I receive att his Lordship’s hands, not onely against my person but also against my function and calling, I shame to set down unto your Lordship, who I know would hardly believe that such uncivill and disdainefull speeches should
proceed out of the mouth of a man of his estate. *Sed ferre possum in eptias hominis, et magnifica verba, verba dum sunt.*

And if they were but hasty speeches I could patiently digest [216] them.

But truly my good Lord, such is his malice and outrageous fury, as I can hardly think myself in security from some further violence. Wherefore to God, her Majestie and unto your Lordship I referre myself, beseeching your Lordship to have that regard and care of mee which my long, true and carefull service towards her Majesty hath deserved. And for craving pardon of this my tedious writing, which proceedeth out of the abundance of my grief.

finis

It was this letter, and another from the said Archbishop and Chancellor to the Queen, in behalf of the Church, and her answer thereunto, as also the answer of the Lords of the Councell unto letters of the Chancellor’s, written in that behalf, together with the consideration of the many enemies the Deputy had raised against himself, which made him, with some impatience, desire God to rid him well of his governement, comparing (in these words of his letter to the Earl of Leicester[44], dated the tenth of June, One thousand, five hundred, Eighty five) his unhappy estate unto some massy thing that is falling downe, which shall overthrow with its weight the man that shall labour to hould it up. Concluding with the complement that, if his Lordship would putt his helping hand to rid him from it, hee should binde him more (if more might bee) than ever to bee att his Lordship’s commandment.

You have the effect of the Chancellor’s pathetick and prudent letter in behalf of his Cathedrall in the frustration of Sir John Perrott’s attempts, wherein many considerable persons joyned assistance with him for the subversion thereof, and therefore I shall forbear to insert it here att large, but though hee then as successfully as laudably endeavoured [217] the defence of his Church from being turned into an Universitie and kept the harmonious voice of the dayly solemne service in the Quire, which was designed to have bene justled out by the clamorous voice of secular and obstreperous pleadings. Yet hee will appear in the next scene of this History a most jealous promoter and benefactor of another Universitie, so that he was not onely a preserver of his own Church and God’s service thehein, but also an instrument of pietie in the noble work of erecting an Universitie without sacriledge or prophanation of God’s Church.

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41 ‘upon’ changed by Harris to ‘unto’
44 [Robert Dudley, 1st Earl of Leicester, (1532 or 1533 – 1588), Lord Steward of the Household]
But whatever were at first the intention of Sir John Perrott as to a total dissolution of that Church, or what might have been his purpose to convert the revenues thereof unto, yet after he had received a sharp letter from Queen Elizabeth, upon information given, or rather complaint made, unto her Majesty in that behalf by the Chancellor, aggravated by a suggestion presented unto her by others of his resolution to procure an Act of Parliament for his so doing (there being then a Parliament in Ireland) he declared himself too passionately sensible of her Majesty’s displeasure for that attempt, in terms so offensive as procured him much prejudice thereafter. But he denied that he ever intended that dissolution by Act of Parliament, until her Majesty had been informed of such proceeding and had given her assent thereunto. Nor could he have so done (said he) unless Poyning’s Act of restraint had been repealed. His purpose was, as I finde in the publick letters of these times, to have settled six masters in each of the two Colledges, and an hundred scholars to be instructed by him in learning, civility and loyaltie. The six masters, as aforesaid, to have been chosen out of the most learned residentaries of the said Cathedrall, [218] who were in vicissitudes, three and three of each Colledge to have resided and kept hospitalitie in the several prebendaries whereunto the cure of souls was annexed. These intentions had been good had they been better founded than in the ruin of that famous Cathedrall which in the phrase of ancient history hath been called the greatest lamp of discipline and ecclesiastical regularity in Ireland.

I have now said as much as is requisite concerning the Universitie of Saint Patrick, and am now to proceed to treat of the present Universitie now flourishing near this Citie.  

My father, Sir James Ware, had the honour to be a graduate in this Universitie, and hath served in Parliament as a member chosen in their behalf. Yet I am not in that consideration, or any other, ingagedly byassed to imitate those who in their academick speeches preferre Dublin to Oxford or Cambridge, enlarging her by fancy beyond the dimensions which reality can warrant. For the child is not to be porctraictured greater than the mother. Nor can it be expected that a child in cunabulis should exceed the growth of its parents. Yet I shall not on the other side be led by the envious dispositions of those who desire to cutt out of history with the pen knife of apocraphy or expurgation whatever they find of commendation in this Universitie because it is the younger of the three, for though the Universitie of Dublin will not presume to compare with Oxford or Cambridge for number of colledges and halls and of learned men, for the beauty, elegance and glory of their sumptuous theatre, schools, publick library and Physick Garden, yet for regularity and discipline I think it not

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45 Note in margin: Now as touching Trinity College in Dublin
46 [in swaddling-clothes]
inferior to any community of [219] learning in Chrisendom. For what it hath bene formerly at its first foundation appeareth by the great piety and learning of those who first sprung from thence and are but lately deceased, such as were the late Lord Primate Usher, Doctor Anthony Martin, late Bishop of Meath [48], Doctor Richardson [49], Bishop of Ardagh, Doctor Hoyle [50], sometimes Professor of Divinity in Oxford, and many others I could name for exampla non restringunt. And how comendable it is in its present state under the government of the most Honorable the Duke of Ormond, now Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and Chancellor, and Doctor Margesson [51] the Lord Primate of Ireland and Vice Chancellor, and Doctor Michaell Ward [52], the late Provost of the College, is apparrant in a greater number of students than formerly abounding in learning, and regulated in their conversation by the worthy example of their then learned Provost, who kept himself as strictly as the meanest of those then committted to his charge within the restraint of the statutes belonging to his society.

But to speak more particularly of this University, I shall briefly sett forth its foundation, improvement and present condition, in order whereunto I shall here sett downe a speech of Adam Loftus, Lord Archbishop of [220] Dublin, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, which he made unto the Maior and Aldermen of Dublin, persuading them to grant the lands of All Hallows for the erecting of a Colledg and University.

Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin and Lord Chancellor of Ireland, his speech to the Maior, Aldermen and Comons of the City of Dublin in the Tholsell, soon after the Quarter Sessions [53] of St. John the Baptist, proposing unto them the makeing of a grant from the Cittie of Dublin of the lands of All Hallowes for the building at Trinity Colledge neer Dublin:

M' Maior.

The abundant joy which you and your worthy brethren expressed upon the representation I lately gave of her highness most gratious intention to erect an University of good literature in this kingdome assures mee that what I have now to say unto you will raise a jubilee of rejoysing in every of our affections.

47 [There is a distinct change in the handwriting between pages 218 and 219, and it occurs in mid-sentence. The new hand is not Harris’s.]
48 [died 1650]
49 [John Richardson, died 1654]
50 [Joshua Hoyle, died 1654. He was also Master of University College, Oxford and Professor of Divinity in TCD]
51 [James Margetson 1600-1678]
52 [Appointed Bishop of Ossory in 1678]
53 [Local courts held at four set times each year]
54 [The Midsummer Quarter Sessions, ending June 24th]
What I have represented unto you formerly you apprehended as the happinesse of an equall communicacion in a comon benefitt. But what I am now to impart unto you is that which speaks her highnesse designe to give you a particular advantage in participating much more largely than others of what comon benefitt intended to the nation, by placing the seate of that University within the neighbourhood of this her beloved Citty.

What advantage a University of learnering and other comon societys and generall assemblyes ordinarily bring to the places wherein or nigh whereunto they are scituated is apparent in the growth of prosperity in the Citty of Oxford and towne of Cambridge proporscionable to the augmented number of colleges and multiplicasons of students therein.

And to argue from your own experience, is it not cleer, on the contrary, that the late dissolution of societys hath occasioned a too sensible decay of commerce in this Citty and consequently hath diminished the wealth and growth thereof though fully decompensed in another kinde by the blessing of a happy and glorious reformacion in religion thereupon introduced.

You are alsoe sensible of the greate benefitt you receave by the constant resedency of the chiefe authority and state of this kingdome amongst you, in soe honourable a representation of Majesty and of royall presence maintained by her Highness’ bounty in a port of splendour and magnificence.

You may further consider that the inhabitants of this Citty are in a great measure maintained and relieved by the holding four tearmes in the yeare for the administration of justice in this place, whereunto resort greate multitudes of people for the determination of causes and controversyes. And I know you are so considerative as to apprehend how unhappy this Citty would be were the tribunalls for the generall administration of justice removed hence into the remote partes of this kingdome as it was once for the space of seaven yeares in England from London to Yorke.

Moreover it might serve for an argument to convince you of the benefitt of generall assembleyes and publique societys, if you will consider that the greate and Generall Convencion of all the state of this land and High Court of Parliament doth draw into this Citty, when here assembled an extraordinary accesse of noble persons and others to the enriching of the Citty.

I having thus spread before you the large advantage accrueing to the places where Universities were founded, where the seate of the state is established, the Tribunall of Justice settled, and Parliament held. I hope you will accompte it noe extravanancy, but a branch of naturall amplification, to mind you of a thankfull acknowledgement to her Highness by whose Royall favour you have, or may hope to enjoy, every one of these benefitts. And it is my hearty desire that you would expresse yours and the Citie’s thankfullnesse to her Majestie in an act of soe much piety, as the free granting of a fitting place whereon to found a Colledge, and the conveniencies that necessarily belong
unto such a society neere this Citty. Whereby your memoryes will shine to posterity in the long lasting good worke you will thereby leave behind you. For a monument of this kind erected in parliament may be as durable as an inscription graven in marble. You will thereby receive honour from the world, thanks from your soveraigne Lady the Queene, approbation from your enemies and applause from your friends for that act. Which will be rewarded with far more than proportionable advantages of gaine to yourselves, to your successors in their politike capacities and to your posterity in the line of naturall propogation. Nay, you will in this time of Reformacion dazle the eyes of the Papists with the lustre of well doing.

Mr. Maior

I preached lately in your hearing, against Popish merritt and the presumptious pretencion of the Romanists to works of supererogation. And it is not from the perswasion of an altered man that I now desire to promote good workes. For Charity requires the one, and the holy scriptures condemns the other.[224]

And it is enough to attract benefactors that God is well pleased with our good workes though they be not in them selves meretorious, whereas to ascribe too much to good workes as doe the Papists is to turne the virtue of Charity into the crime of sacryledge. I doe not therefore urge you to this grante as an act of meritt, but of a good acceptance with God Almighty, of great reward hereafter, and of honour and advantage to your selves. And more to your learned offspring in the future, whereas by the healp of learning they may build your familyes some storyes higher than they are by their advancement eyther in the Church or Comonwealth.

It is a true observacion amongst moralists that men will easily bend to those vertues which comport or may be converted into their own complexions. And orators will tell you that assent is easy where the proposall patroniseth the gaine to him to whome it is made. Hence it is, and it is indeed of sad consideracion that some men whoe are most nice in observeing the rules of Scripture, as being stampt with greate impressions of conscience in most men of Christian practice, doe too readily decline it in matters of gaine, in soe much that, for greedy lucre’s sake, they will sinfully putt their moneys to usury, flatly against Scripture, without limitation or consideracon had of the contingency of gaine or loss [225] to the borrower, though such kind of usuriy is placed by St Basill amongst the greatest evills. For it is a hard matter to live a usurer and dye a good Christian. If it then be soe, that men so nice in religion do soe much desperately comply with that deadly sin for worldly advantage, I

55 In margin: The Chancellor’s second speech to Mr. Maior and his brethren of Dublin.
56 [Basil the Great of Caesarea (329 or 330 – 379) in Homilia in psalmum 14]
cannot but hope for the assent of the Citty to what hath bene already proposed soe consonant with
religion and conduceing soe much to your lawfull advantage, in every respect. And the rather for that
the reasons of publique good stands with private emmolument in the matter proposed.

I have not much more to say in further invitation to your favourable attention in Generall. Mr.
Maior you know, and soe doe you all, that I have always held myself tied to the inviolable
maintenance of yours and this Citty’s liberties and priviledges. And now I desire that you will be not
more failing in setting forward this good worke by your assistance, then I have bene wanting, by the
strength of my powers and best endeavours, to promote the wellfaire of the Citty in every respect.
And I shall finally dismisse youwith my blessing.

In the name of the father, of the Son, and of the holy Gost. Praying to God that the prosperity of
this ancient Citty, and now well governed Corporacon, may never be disturbed in the least degree of
infelicity, and that it its constant happynesse may fill [226] up the largest Catalogue of all divine and
human blessings to the length of the world’s duration, which is the period of all successions, naturall
and civill.

Amen, Amen.
Chapter 28

A relation of Trinity Colledge. What it was formerly, and when it was became a nursery for learning, and when it was founded.

This learned man, whose speeches I have already sett forth, who in the pulpit did usually, by his oratory & piety, plant generall affections in the hearts of his hearers, by this speech pronounced with fluent utterance & gracefull delivery, having a noble soule (as my author saith) lodged in a proper and comly body, prevailed soe far with this oration for the kindling of zeale in the affections of the Maior and aldermen to the forwarding of this good works, that they within a very short tyme after convened the citizens into a generall assembly at the Tholsell, where, upon due deliberation had of the proposall, they immediately voted the said grante, and speedilie certified the Lord Chancellor of soe doing, and, within a short tyme after, perfected their grant in due forme of Law, for passing unto the Provost and fellows and schollars of the Colledges [227] founded by the Charter of Queen Elizabeth, by her dedicated to the honour of the holy Trinity, the place, scite and ambit of the late dissolved monastery of All Hallows where the Augustinian Fryers had been settled for above 400 yeares, upon the foundation by Dermott Mac Murragh, King of Leinster, together with the lands adjoyneing thereunto.

Of the old structure there remains no more than the steeple, which belonged to that said monastery, which was lately repayred and beautified onder the government of Thomas Seele, Doctor of Divinity and provost¹ of this Colledge whereof I am now to speak, from its first rise as well under the notion of a university as of a single Colledge.

It was founded ano 1591. Thomas Smyth Maior layd the first stone and dedicated to the honour of the holy and undivided Trinity. Under the title of Collegium Sanctae ac individuae Trinitatis, ex fundatione Reginae Elizabethae.

The first constitution of Government in Trinity Colledge as a Colledge.

Amongst many prudent inducements suitable to policy and reason, which moved the Queene to establish this University and Colledg at All Hallows:

The humble petition of Henry Usher, Archdeacon of Dublin, in the name of the Citty of Dublin, faithfully and most zealously solicited by Doctor Luke Challoner, and as powerfully [228]

¹ [Provost 1661 – 1675]
recomended and promoted by Adam Loftus, then Archbishop of Dublin and Chancellor of Ireland, was not held the least of efficacy as to the extrinsicall impressions with the Queene in that behalf.

Her gratious Majestie therefore on that petition founded by charter, as to the constituence of a Corporacion, thus she constitutes Adam Loftus, by the name of Adam Loftus, Doctor of Divinity, Archbishop of Dublin and Lord Chancellor of Ireland the first Provost.

Her Majestie thereby appoints Henry Usher², Luke Challoner³ and Lancellott Moyne⁴ Masters of Art by the name of the three first Fellowes, nomine plurium.

Likewise her Majestie made Henry Lee, William Daniell⁵ and Stephen White⁶ the three first Schollers, nomine plurium.

The promotion of the first aforesaid officers and Schollers of Dublin Colledge, dedicated to the holy and undivided Trinity.

As to the said Provost, he being the Lord Chancellor of Ireland and Archbishop of Dublin, it cannot be expected that I should write of his promocion to any higher position eyther in Church or State, he haveing [229] before that tymre receaded from the Primacy in exchange of the Archbishoprick of Dublin and Chancellorship of Ireland, being in this tymre as now it is in the Civill State next to the Cheife and Generall Governour of Ireland. Yett he afterwards served the Queene twice as Lord Justice of the Kingdome after he had become Provost, as he had once before; for he was first Lord Justice in the yeare of our Lord 1582, secondly in the yeare 1597, and lastly in the yeare 1599.

This I thought fitt to sett downe for the honour of our University of Dublin, that they may compare though not in antiquity with Oxford or Cambridge. Yett with eyther of them for a Provost, who thought it not beneath him to become the first Provost thereof, notwithstanding he had been (Primas totius Hiberniae), as being Archbishop of Armagh, Primas Hiberniae, as he was then of Dublin, after he had then resigned the Primacy to become Chancellor of Ireland, and after he had bin

2 [(1500s–1613), later Archbishop of Armagh]
³ [1550 – 1613, Prebendary of Mulhuddert, father-in-law of James Ussher. His books formed the initial library of Trinity]
⁴ [or Monie]
⁵ William Daniel (Irish: Uilliam Ó Domhnaill, or Ó Domhnuill) later Archbishop of Tuam from 1609 until his death in 1628. While at Trinity College, he worked with others in translating The New Testament (An Tiomna Nuadh) into Irish, and also translated the Book of Common Prayer.]
⁶ [Became a Jesuit, lectured in Theology in Germany, died in Galway 1644.]
heretofore her Majestie’s Lord Justice of the kingdome. This lett the Universityes of Oxford and Cambridge take into consideracon, if they could ever find out such another Provost of theirs who, before or after they had bin Provosts, came to most honour or favoure with the Crowne, to enjoy soe many high titles at once. Before I proceed further in declaracon of what promocons the Officers of the first foundation attained unto, I shall think fitt here to subjoyn some speeches made by the said Provost, then Lord Chancellor, in [230] relasion to the affairs of that Colledge and University, whilst he was Provost or Vice-Chancellor.

The Speech of Adam Loftus, Lord Chancellor of ireland, and Archbishop of Dublin, upon his resignation of that Provostship of Trinity Colledge.

Socii viri venerabiles, usque Reverendisimi et admodum Reverendi fratres mei preobiles que Domini qui hunc conessu nobili vestra praesentia condecare voluistis paucis vos alloqui mihi liceat priusquam officio praepositione in hoc collegio sponte mea exum per liberam quam facturis sum coram vobis spodvoix seu resignacionem in manus sociorum.

Inter innumera singularia ingentioraque quae mihi (auspice Deo) contulit beneficia munificentissima mea Regina ac beatissima vix fuit ullum quod primo cor meum gaudii per impiectionem adeo afferit ut illud que me ad hujus Collegii praefeturam dignata est promovere, nihilque me tandem fecit laborem quam quo in jam lecta facultate seu licentia Regia mihi resignandi facta et concessa celsitudini suae visum est proprio suo motu testificari, se nihil de hoc Collegio optasse voto aut designasse consilio arduum uteunque et difficile, durant meo regimine quod designato vel optato successii fuerant unquam defraudatum, Conatusque meos prosperos, monstrassit neque minus credulam, neque bonae fidei aquo pleniorem fuisse in concepta sua de nostri reaninimis felice administratione Id enim enim in his Collegi profectum quod tulct mea exilitas divinae permessit voluntas in nuferorum temporum motu et aestu vobis enim omnibus innotescit quem per oppositas difficultatis convendendo eductandoque pertinaci labore tandem me id fecisse invictissima nostrae Regineae grantia et auxilio quod multorum superavit expectationem scilicet ut in agro lagienengi constitueretur haec Academia nolui enim magnatum placibus me accommodare qui summo conatu mio Caeco impetu et consulis dolis operani dedere ut prope civitatem Lymerecensem vel Armaghianumfundatur quasi pradul non fuisset periculis Belli incendii turbacionis et ruinæ exponer Accademia noviter fundamentum (quae sapientes vitanda censent) nulla alia forsan ratione quam uberioris propriae questus gratia – quem et obfeci viro eorumpraecifuo praenobili arteque militari conspicua faciebusque tunc protit non obstante quod nimis substantiae viae impetu saefuis se

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Footnotes:

7 [erased in MS]
8 [erased in MS]

174
monstraverat primum as fuorem et verbera, is enim non semel se rapi sinebat aestuantis animi violentia
in proclivitatem vim hijusmodi inferendi aliis notum enim est saltem fida relatione audirestis quam
sternum et fortem virum sed prodagra laborantem predibusque captum percussit ipse irae
infirmitate percussus magnas enim impetus habet iva in homine auri spi fraudato quippe qui hic
affectus plus quam aliis quicunque transversas agit homines spei plenitudine privatos non defui igitur
mih vel Academice obstanto tando vio quaetenus inter eos nolui recenseri quo timore praepediti
servili mallent patriam vel Collegium damnasi perdors silentio quam libera et genera vate magni
aliciusus vri gratiam perlicitari nec is sum politicce callidatis artifex quo insecretioribus falendi vel
lucrandi praceptis dicitur sed in via Regia publicae utilisatis et honestatis incedit [232] aliqua non
abritur per preposteri divericula quaeus tandem igitur ad egi apud Reginam nostram
munificentissimam ut prope Civitatis Dublin fundaretur Collegium qua Regina munificentissima
primio precibus anneantur ea ex parte supplicibus oblatis postea dictae Civitatis perpensa voluntatis
quae multis nonj egebat argumentis quibus inflecteret us quam concedendam terram amplam in perpetuam
Praeposito et Sociis hujus Collegii eorumque successoribus super quae fundari debuit, sed quam
primum haec res fuit a me Praetori urbis et senatoribus praeposita sine ula cunctationis mora coactis
decadem communibus consciis in pleni consessu conseperunt totum ambitum Monasterii omnium
Sanctorum suer disolui ubi Collegium hebetis non magnum situm grandioribus Cantabrigice et
Oxonice conferatur amplius tamen quam bene fundatae spei circrino circumferri potuit quia ni re Cives
Dublinenses non videntur alter fecisse quam res sua ad harabatur summa ratio suadebat, imo publica
exigebat utilitas vestra que commoditas unde est quod animi mei erga ipsos propensionem et
benevolentiam quod vivam merentur et mihi onnis festinatio mora erit quosque me gratum iis
exhibeam, isque inserviendi mihi detur opportunitas vestrum autem erit socii et scholares Civibus
Dubliniensibus uberrima gratiarum actione refundere et favore. Ibisque quae jam dixi videtis afinar
Audience is fecisse reginam ut hac ni provinci consitueretur Academia et si vobis Academicis
dilectissimis gratum sit ni agro Lagenensi fuisse positas nullus dubito qui a bis gratum sit prope
Civitatem Dublinsenem colleei ubi tot fontes quo Cives habetis, ubi etiam Reginae munificentia
aliorumque charitate [233] confunetis aedes habetis in tuto collocated loco ad comndicatatem satis
instructas amliusque amplitudine spaciose speisasas et speciasas numero scholorium suercscentium magis
quam ni esse constituytorum ad aptatas hortarum et fratorum anecantate ornatis et saluberrimas
Collegium habetis non solum perfectissimae disciplinae regulis ad normam Cantabrigientum
compositis gubernandum sed et redetibus annuis suo fundaticis vestra munificentia liberaliter
dodatum et minime dubitantum est qui tantae Reginae claro in posteritatem exemplo alii inimturator ad
ubieram, dotationem. Tagus enim non tantum fluit auro quantum munificentia esus in doctas et
doctrinae promotionem vellet impendere imo effundere nisi obstantem magnae quibus gravata est diu
expensae pro salute publica.
Liberner insuper enarro vobis quod a tempore quo solemnis husus Academicae investitura celebratur huiusque expertus non fuistis exercitiorum scolasticoram et deanno in annum Alma mater Academia liberis suis distentius porrexit ubi quique in acta florentius dotibus floruerunt quique non minus suavitate loquendi quam uertate ingenii ad apte dicendi fuerunt praedicti quique artium divitiis abunde fuerunt dotati.

Socios habetis aliorque virtute et doctrina jam conspicuas juvenes aptiae spei non paucos qui scolastice Theoligiae sublititae laudem merentur non modicum, habetisque nonnullus qui concionatorum functione cum nominis sui fama et auditorum fructu obeunt, utinam tamen quod dixi frequentur in rebus fidei et concionibis ad plebem plures facerent Apostolorum simplicitatem piscatoriam quam argutias in humane rationis cerebro natas. [234]

Nunc meus ad vos socios venerabiles proprius convertitur sermo, quo sentietis mihi in animo esse ut breviter potius et ad rem propositam, quam prolixe et ornate videor in hac praeposit meae executione ne ultra modum Auditorum laedatur patientia nec non quia legi brevitatis nihimet in limine praefixae erit obsequentium.

Exposito jam statu et ortu hujus Academicae restat ut nunc sciatis primo me hoc officium non depositorum ut otio teruar (vir enim bonus non quiesat ignaviae causa) sed ut alii gravitoribus et concatenatis incumbam munis remissione non sum erga vos affecti quam antea in me expertis, studebo enim semper pro modo facultatum mearum is semper agerent auctis beneficiis pateat animi mei erga vos benevolentia et quopost depositum hunc titulum ante alios omnes vobis inveniendi occasiones cordi meo ferein viciniores sciatis secund' me ceparum ut alter succedat doctior, prudentior et negotiorum privatorum vacuus publicisque rebus minus occupatus imprinmis igitur monitas vos esse vellem in genere (Justicia mediante) ne quem portuleatis in Praeporitum ab extra si dignior habeatur ex gremio congelendus hujusmodi enim electio vel postulatu spectat ad Justitiam distributiam quae videatur magis necessaria in republica quam commutative quatenus in hac priviit fit injuria dum alteri quod suum srat adjucatur in illa bene mereti omnes affenduntur diem dignitas immerto tribuitur nam certissimum es magnus esse discrimen unum inter quaeratur et multos bene meritos quaeribundas, attamen sive procedendum vobis visum fuerit via electionis vel postualionis praefacatis [235] cum calculis justice qui afflic cio credendo satisfacere poterit virum aetatis legitimae et maturae moribus priscis gravem antiquarum virtutum exemplar omnigena doctrina praeditum et ornatum pietate tamen magis quam doctrina commendatum qui patiorem saltem magnam vitae suae

9 [marked [sic] in Gilbert]
10 [marked [sic] in Gilbert]
11 [marked [sic] in Gilbert]
partem in regimine transegit Academiae quique reformatam Catholico Anglicanam vel primaevam Britannicam religionem Christianam suavissimo omnium virtute et sanctimonicae odore complevit quique mulatrum excellentiarum velut gemmarum varietate emicans quasi arcus inter nebulas efulgeat.

Cavendum est vobis in super ne quis eligatur in proposito qui infirmam et langindam hujusque praebuit innocius exslesiae Anglicanae ritibus et ceremoniis prestandis voluntatem etiamsi iisdem non plane sese opposuit ne praepositus vice constitutatur quoquo modo oppositus sed quousque talis eligatur qualem vobis proposui eligentum commendo vobis caeterisque scholaribus capillitii circumsisionem et decurtationem aurium tenus oront maris et Cantabrigiae haec enim aetate fert ut Cleria in seculo vel scholares in bene institutis Academiis compareant lacinios cincinis jubisque militaribus et fusis curandum autem est vobis ut expurgetur in hoc Collagio colloqui Romani barbaries, et ut utantur vestri Discipuli in librigua latina genere orationis Classicco et suave Politianicum et in genere epistolam, illo quo usus est Erasmus Roterodamus deindeque preces Deo omnipotenti flexit genibus orando, ut prospero statu semper conservetur haec Academia, ita ut nec rubigine vitiorum obtegatur nec sideratione haeresis nec ignorantiae deliquio delabatur nec doctrinae arrogantia vel contumacia prorumpat in schismata sed ut orthodoxae Christianae doctrinae et Morales [236] disciplinae regulis semper viride vigentiae successione ut continuo, velut ad rivos aquarum iter florem non sine semine et fructu ad maximam pinguidine proventuris ad Dei gloriaem et honorum semper, et in secual seculorum. Amen.

Hisce jam peractis restat ut vobis porrigam in panus instrumentum resignationis meae rite juriscae forma confectum cujus tenore et ejusdem traditione praepositoriae lucingii Collegii spontaneam facio in manus vestras resignationem.

12 [marked [sic] in Gilbert]
13 [marked [sic] in Gilbert]
The Speech made by Adam Loftus, Lord Archbishop of Dublin, Lord Chancellor Of Ireland, on the choyce of Provost Travers.

Silence is not inculpable where a just occasion and opportunity invite to speake, I shall therefore without the florish of any other preamble or apology choose rather to burthen your patience (though upon warning too short for a competent preparacon) with the freedom of a few plaine words, then incurre your censure for not complying with the faire invitation I have to speake upon soe solemn occasion as is the publication of the choyce you have now made of soe learned a person as is master Travers to be your Provost and my imediate successor, whoe is now to be established in so conspicuous a station of government.

Gentlemen, I told you when I resigned that charge that I could willingly have continued the honour thereof in my selle to the period of my days in this temporary life, had I not been too heavily surcharged by the weight of other more publique administrations inconsistent with the duty of that office, which in its selle is sufficient to imploy the whole industry and assiduous attendance of any one person though endowed with greater abilities and freed from the incumbrances of all other imployments. Wherefore if you be perswaded of the sincerity of my minde, in what I lately said vnto you, you may easily believe that my resignation was noe unkind departure from you in affection but an act of selfe abnegation in behalfe of you, necessarily preparative for the introduction of a more usefull governor to be sett over you.

Gentlemen, as to the Provost elect I shall appropriate my discourse of him to his person and office, and though I shall never be soe much converted into a flatterer as to commend any person beyond my reall apprehensions of his worth, yett thus much I shall say of him, that besides the good regard I have for him ariseing from the motives of your electing him, and the obliged respects I owe to the Lord Treasurer of England whoe hath soe warmly commended him, I am further moved to think well of him, as knowing him to be a person of many solid excellencyes and to be much approved of for the generally well deserving quallifications of his minde, and particularly for the laboriouse search he hath made into the depth of such learning as may make him usefull to your society, insoe much that I cannott but very highly commend this your election as proceeding from the prudent deliberacion of reason and good policie, having chosen him to that important imployment whoe is soe well fitted with abilities to fill up and exercise the dignity and function thereof, and therefore I must say thus much in declaration of his deserts and your prudence, that for promotion of learning the most criticall choyce could not have fixed on a fitter person in the Kingdome as to his abilities for that employment which necessarily requires both a wise and learned man.

I need say noe more in approbation of the electors’ choyce nor in comendation of the worth in the person elected, for in matters of this kinde the best measure is enough, and it wore to noe purpose to stirr up the power of fancie to expresse at large the full imagery of his worth whome [I] know
to have been soe worthy of the office ye have elected and presented him unto. Moreover I should seem to renounce my discretion in enlarging on his commendations beyond what you have soe largely said of him. I shall therefore turne the streame of my discourse concerning him into words of admonition unto him, and that briefly.

Mr. Provost elect, to instruct you of your duty in this administration may seeme noe more necessary than τὸ φῶς ἠλἰω δανεἱξειν to lend light to illuminate the same, for what can be said to enlarge your understanding herein, you being already soe well acquainted with and versed in University government and discipline. Yet somewhat I have to hint by way of admonition, to make you at this tyme seriously to reflect on your duty and obligacon upon the accompt of your ...

You are to remember that this place requires a person of an exemplary conformity to the doctrine and discipline of this Church as they are established by law, and as you have hitherto lived in a venerable esteeme above the corruption of bad examples, soe it is expected that your good examples shall now have the greatest influence on the regulation of their behaviour whom you are to governe both in doctrine, discipline, and morall course of life, for your actions are to be the transcript of your doctrine. You are therefore to hold out the lamp of a godly and holy profession to the eye of the world, and to ... in it your conversation as well at home as abroad, by the sincerity of a suitable practice; for profession without practise is but the superficial glittering of hipocrisy, and may little to your praise, but much to your comendation. And certaine it is that many whoe have the spiritt of illumination for the instruction of others may want the spirit of sanctification in themselves, as I have not long since said in the visitation of my Diocesse. It’s the care of a Bishop that the sheep may not be among the goates, and it ought to be your care that no goate may be among the sheep. Take heed therefore how you admitt into your societie those whoe in their bloomeing youth have been precontracted to vitiouse habits. You must not suffer any person corrupted in manners, or a scandelouse truant to continue within your walls, for an ill member in a Colledge is like a perished tooth which is apt to corrupt its fellowes. And as those who are neglectfull of their studies and other duties are not to be tollerated, so they who conforme thereunto are not to want suitable encouragement.

The next thing you are to reflect upon is that part of your duty which requires you to promote learning in this University. Sir, you know how unhappy this nation was of latter times in its great declination from that ancient learning and piety (which made it famiouse in former ages), having been for a long tyme and until the illustration of a late and godly Reformation overshadowed

14 [blank in MS. Gilbert suggests ‘order’]
with a palpable veil of ignorance and obscurity, which, as we have good ground to hope is now to be
revived with greater perfection then ever before.

It is your office whoe are to preside over this royall and onely fountaine of learning in this
Kingdome from whence the dry and barren places thereof are to be refreshed. In the first place to pray
dayly in the fervour of devotion to Almighty God that he will be pleased, out of the treasury of his
aboundant goodnesse to water the mindes of the students with the dew of knowledge and the rich
infusions of grace; for prayer is a very helpfull meanes for a governour to procure the blessing of
learning as well as the increase of grace in those he governs.

My confidence tells me that you will not suffer your scholars to trifle away their tymes in
idlenesse. But this is not all, you must take heed lest they should study learned extravagancies which
rather taint their owne affections with contagious profanesse then improve their understandings eyther
to their owne good or the salvation of others; for prevention of which evill you are to see that the
younger sort be well catechysed and that you prescribe to the rest a catalogue of approved bookes to
be read of them as foundationall learning both human and devine, especially divine, by reason [242]
that the want of a well rooted solidity in the principles of Divinity makes men more lyable eyther
absolutely to start from, or ambiguously to flagger in an indifferency of religeon. For youth is like
water, or other fluid bodies, which [with] difficulty keep within their own boundes unless restrained
by the discipline and direction of their superiours prescriptions.

Be not neglectfull of this duty, as you know how heavy the sinne of omission in a governour is
when God chargeth it whome15 upon the conscience. This I urge and presse as a duty lying upon you,
in regard that your demeanor in Cambridge (as I have been informed) shewed that you have alwayes
been more governed by the sense of duty, then incited by interest or any other motive to a care of your
charge, thence rightly and forceably inferring your practise as the result of obligacion.

In the next place, as it is not doubted but that your prudence will regulate the course of your
schollars’ studies in the use of good orthodox and usefull authors, soe it is be hoped that you will
bring them up in an universall good agreement with one another upon the just pius and solid
foundation of the English Reformation, to the end that when they shall be sent into the Lord's harvest
they may maintaine the sure interest of peace and true religion without blemishing our Reformation
with the reproachfull blotts of innovation and dissenti
on, which you and all good men ought
industriously to prevent, for I dread the hostility of innovation as a thing laboured [243] by too many
in England already, or at least countenanced by those who thinke to serve themselves of domestick

15 [to charge it home – to accuse]
schisme against popery, whereas both Papists and Schismaticks are, though in different degrees of enmity, equally our implacable enemies; whereas I foresee that if schisme shall be tolerated or connived at here by authority for a while, it will probably in one age endanger the overthrow of this Church. I do not so much fear a relapse into Romish doctrine as I do the contagious infection of u[p]start novelty amongst our selves, both in doctrine and discipline, to the overthrow both of Church and State. Rome will never prevail against the doctrine of the Church of England, so long as it is purely maintained as now it is. But let it be once blended with novelty, or overawed with innovators of what sect soever, I fear it will be in a short time either totally overwhelmed with the one or utterly ruined by the other, unless God shall vouchsafe of his infinite mercy to preserve it by miracle. Let us therefore, as I lately said in another place, take heed how we unadvisedly draw in amongst us, or be persuaded to take into the same denomination of religion with our selves, those who preach doctrine repugnant to ours, or set up discipline inconsistent with Episcopall Government, which is the only form antiquity hath approved off. Let us provide therefore against Sectaries as well as Papists, and let us not neglect the one, whilst we make head against the other; for though they may be said to issue from several fountains, yet at last they may meet in one channel of opposition against us. Again Mr. Provost elect, as you and your Fellowes are to govern your schollars by prudence, and to advance and regulate them in their studies by instruction, so you are to cooperate in a strict combination and the greatest vigour of endeavour for the leading of them by your good example in a conformable regularity of behavior, as well in matters of ecclesiastical discipline as in the exercise of civility, virtue, and piety. And herein you are to proceed by the rule of our Church, and are not to think that those private doctrines and opinions are always the best whose upholders are most demurely precise.

Moreover you and the Fellowes are to consider that it was not long since the cloyster folly of recluse lives in monasteries, and the vanity of Popish postilars in their sermons to tickle the ear with empty speculative notions. But I hope it will be your endeavor so to traine up those who are or shall be designed to the ministry of God's word in your college, that they may be disposed rather to study solid and profitable doctrines than the curiosities of fancy smooth elocution, rather than the elaborate elegancies of high flying expressions: for though preachers are to be highly honoured for their office's sake, yet sermons are to be valued according to the degree of your usefulness to the end of the ministry, which is, to save souls by sincerely publishing the plain doctrine of faith, and by regulating the consciences of men with the practical rules of a godly life. [245]

[Those in other Protestant denominations]
[From 'to postil' – to comment upon, to annotate]
Againe, to avoid the vain jangling of contests in sermons, let controversyes in the pulpit be totally exterminated from amongst us, especially such as have been raised since the date of our Reformation, for though the studyes of controversyes are mainly profitable to such as are imploied in the ministry yett it is better to preach δοχματιχως than ἄγονισιχεος.

Furthermore you and your Fellowes are most frugally to manage the revenue of the Colledge according to your present income, which is to be your rule of expences untill you shall be furnished with larger and more settled endowments. For if you shall once bring yourselves behinde hand by the overcharge of too liberall allowances before you have the sap of maintenance to nurrishe every branch growing from the roote of your foundation, you will not only bring trouble upon your selves, and the incommodities of a straite condicon, but alsoe much discourage the liberty of benefactors, if they shall observe that you faile in the right management of former bounties. For you have not the Colledge revenues ἐν περι κτήσεως ἰδιος as in your proper possession to dispose of as you please, but you must manage them with regard to publique advantage and τὰ κοινὴ ὁμορίφειντα ζητεῖν.

You and every member of the Colledge that are or shall be therein ought to beare in minde that its structure is raised out of the bowells of the Cittye’s bounty, and therefore I hope you will soe bring them up as to make them perpetually mindefull of their obligacon to pray for the good Citty of Dublin, and of their duty to exprise the gratitude in performing all acts of good respect, civill behavour [246] and reall kindnesse unto them, and for a more durable impression of soe greate a benefit in schollars' mindes to recount the Citty of Dublin upon all occasions amongst your principle benefactors.

Permitt not your schollars to ramble abroad, especially lett them not soe much as peepe into a tavern or tipleing house, or any of those places which Seneca termes ὅλη Ἄδημη μετεντια.

In the next place I shall, as in duty and conscience bound, enjoune you and the Fellowes as you shall answere the just expectation of those who recommended you to this office and high degree of trust wherein you are placed, to principle all your schollars soe as that the Queene may be secured not onely of their loyalty but alsoe of their serviceableness to her in all the due interests of wisdom, power, peace, religion, and honour: and if this you shall thus doe, you will receive applause agreeable to the confidence the Lord Treasurer of England and your other friends there have your well-fitted abilities to this administration which I pray God to prosper in your hands.

[Gilbert has δοχματιχως and ανιονισις.]
[Gilbert has ἐν περι κτήσεως ἰδιος.]  
[Gilbert has τὰ κοινὴ ὁμορίφειντα ζητεῖν.]  
[places afraid of the magistrate]
Lastly, you must not forgett carefully to transferr inviolate to your successors whatsoever right, dignity, priviledge or preheminency belongs to your respective offices, especially such as are for the advancement of religeon, or the Crowne's just advantage. If you doe not carefully minde and zealously endeavour this, you will be liable to answear for a very greate neglect of duty whereunto you are obliged to the price of your reputation.

Finis. [247]

There is an observation made of a late writer out of Bishop B... of soe great affinity with that parte of the foregoing speech which concerns the tolleration of innovators that I hope it will neyther seeme impertinant in me to insert it in this place, nor tedioue to the reader to peruse. Which is that he long since plainly foretould the innovators would never give over their clamour for reformation till they had ruined the whole Kingdome and Church. And yett said he, there are divers (meaning men in greate places) that would gladly have these things smothered up, being willing to thinke that Puritans were not such dangerous men as we and others did take them to be, but onely scruplouse and peevish perhaps about ceremonies and therefore were willing to forbeare them, and not to censure them sharply. Wisely declaring that if any such mischiefs should happen thereafter they were sufficiently warned that both should and might have been prevented. And withall it would bee then found true, which Livy sayes, urgentibus rempubliciam satis, dei et hominum salutares admonitiones speruntur. When the Lord for the sins of a people is purposed to punish any country he blindeth the eyes of the wise soe as they shall eyther neglect or not perceive the ordinary meanes for the safety thereof. [248]

But it is now time to recurve into the path of our proposed method which diverts a procedure to the handling of what concernes the officers of Trinity Colledg in Dublin, nominated & appointed at its first Constitution, of whome the Chancellor of that University challengeth precedency.

The first Chancellor of that University hath bin ever chosen by the Provost and Fellowes of Trinity Colledg, and hath allwaies bin hitherto an eminent prelate or of the prince nobility, and highly countenenced with the favourable aspect of the soveraigne princes.

His office is during life, and unto him it appertaineth to protect and take care of the regular government of the whole University, to maintaine the liberties, privileges and prehencinencies

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22 [Richard Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, in Dangerous Positions and Proceedings (1593), Book 4]
23 [here the hand changes again.]
24 In margin: A description of the Chancellor of Trinity Colledg nere Dublin. Ex diversis collectionebus Jacobi Parry Esq. Ar-[possibly John (rather than James) Parry, Bishop of Ossory 1672-7 or his father Edward (~1599-1650, Bishop of Killaloe;)]
thereof, to give orders for the calling of Convocations, soe often as unto him shall seem meet, to direct
and punish delinquents.

The first Chancellor of this University was the Lord Treasurer Burleigh\textsuperscript{25}, after whose death in
the month of August 1612\textsuperscript{26} the Provost and Fellows in a full Congregation did elect & constitute
for the Chancellor of this University his son\textsuperscript{27}, unto whom succeeded Georg Abbot\textsuperscript{28}, the Lord Bishop of
Canterbury, after whose death William Lawd\textsuperscript{29}, his successor in the See of Canterbury did also
succeed him in the dignity of Chancellorship in this University by free election of the Provost and
fellows. Upon whose much lamented death, by the like free election, James then Lord Marques of
Ormond\textsuperscript{30} became his successour, and that dignity & office yet the same illustrious person, under the
since accrued titles and dignities, of James, Duke of Ormond, Lord Steward of the King’s house,
Chancellor of the University of Oxford and Lord of the Regalities of the Principality of Tipperary in
this Kingdome of Ireland.

The first\textsuperscript{31} Vice Chancellor of this University was Lucas Challoner\textsuperscript{32}, Doctor of Divinity, who
in the year 1601 going into England, appointed for Pro-Vice Chancellour Charles Dunn\textsuperscript{33}, Doctor of
the Civill Law, a man of sufficient literature, and discharged that function laudably & afterwards
became Vice Chancellor and acted his part in that capacity with great applaus at a solemn
commencement Anno 1614\textsuperscript{34}. [249]

The next Vice Chancellor was Doctor James Usher\textsuperscript{35}, late Lord Primate of all Ireland, who on
the second of March 1614 was chosen by the Provost and Fellows, he being the next day confirmed,
approved of and admitted by the whole Senate of this University. He was afterwards on the 3\textsuperscript{rd} of July
1617 chosen the second time Vice Chancellor by the said Provost and Fellowes, holding the said
office dureing his life. He often performed that function with great credit and applaus, espetially in
publique Commencements.

\textsuperscript{25} [William Cecil, 1st Baron Burghley (1521 – 98 Lord High Treasurer from 1572.]
\textsuperscript{26} [Burleigh actually died in August 1598. He was succeeded by Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, (1565 –
1601), Chancellor 1598 - 1601]
\textsuperscript{27} [Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of Salisbury (1542 – 1623) Chancellor 1601 - 12]
\textsuperscript{28} [Chancellor 1612 – 33]
\textsuperscript{29} [Chancellor 1633 – 45]
\textsuperscript{30} [James Butler, Chancellor 1645 – 53]
\textsuperscript{31} [The first Vice-Chancellor was Henry Alvey, Provost 1601- 09, Vice Chancellor 1609-12]
\textsuperscript{32} [Luke Chalonner was Vice-Chancellor 1612-13]
\textsuperscript{33} [Vice Chancellor 1614-1615]
\textsuperscript{34} Aug 8 1614
\textsuperscript{35} [Vice-Chancellor 1615-46]
The next Vice Chancellor was Jeremiah Taylor, Doctor of Divinity, late Lord Bishop of Downe, Connor and Drumore, constituted by commission from the now Chancellor of this University. He took the oath appertaining to that office before Sir Maurice Eustace, Knt, late Lord Chancellor of this Kingdome, according as the new statutes doe now require, & soon after made an elegant speech in Lattin at his inaururation before the University.

After the deceas of this Vice Chancellor, James Margetson, Doctor of Divinity & Lord Primate of All Ireland, was constituted by the like authority, & with great gravity and wisdome exercised that Imployment to the satisfaction of the said University. He dyed on the 28th August 1678, and lyeth interred in the Cathedrall Church of the Holy Trinity in Dublin, within the railes of the alter, near the South Wall.

The death of this Reverend Father made roome for Doctor Michaell Ward, since made Bishop of Ossory, & from thence newley translated to the Episcopacy of Derry. He is a person of good Literature, having bin not onely Provost of this University but alsoe Professor of Theology in the same.

By what hath bin now said of the Vice Chancellours it appeareth that he is not Annually chosen as in Oxford, nor doth he hold his place \textit{(durante vita)}, but is appointed by the Lord Chancellor \textit{(durante bene placito)}.

Wee come now in order to the Proctors of this University, who are chosen every year by the Provost & Senior Fellows, whose office is chiefly to assist in the government of this University, more particularly in the right ordering of scholasticall exercises and taking of Degrees, whose [250] office is likewise to search after straglers and night-walkers out of the said Colledg.

It is not agreeable unto my designe of brevity to sett down the names and succession of all the Proctors, but shall refer the Reader to the Registrie of this University for the satisfaction of his curiosity, if he shall desire to be instructed therein.

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36 [Henry Jones was Vice-Chancellor 1646-60. Also Head of the 1641 Depositions Committee, Bishop of Meath and played a major part in acquiring the Bokk of Kells for the college.]
37 [Vice Chancellor 1660-67]
38 [Lord Chancellor or Ireland 1660-65. Fellow of Trinity, former lecturer in Hebrew in the college.]
39 [Vice Chancellor 1667-78]
40 [Vice Chancellor 1678-81. This would imply that this manuscript was written after August 1678, although dated that year.]

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I shall not say much of the several Professors of Divinity of this University. I shall only exhibit their names without much enlargement of the same to the Reader’s observation, their Qualifications and abilities being of greater fame in the world than to need particular narratives thereof.

James Ussher, Dr of Divinity, having been made Bishop of Meath, surrendered that office about the ninth of May 1621. Whereupon Dr Preston\(^1\) of Queen’s College in Cambridge was chosen into that employment, but never came over hither to execute the same, and therefore I shall dismiss him without any further mention of him.

Joshua Hoyle, Doctor of Divinity having been born in Yorkshire, was afterwards chosen Professor, who very learnedly and gainfully discharged that office until the 23\(^{rd}\) of October 1641. The horridness of the Irish Rebellion averted him (& Mr Richard Washington, Batchelor in Divinity, the then Provost of Trinity College) into England where they died, they having never after their departure since returned into Ireland. As for the said Doctor Hoyle, he continued constant preacher in England in the Parish of Stepney near London as Minister thereof, until he was made Master of University College in Oxenford, and afterwards became Professor of Divinity in that University, and in the same college in Oxenford lies buried.

The next Professor of Divinity was Dr Caesar Williamson, of whom I might forbear to say anything by a warranted silence in regard he was not regularly chosen & admitted into that office. Yet I must say he was a person of great integrity, and did usually express himself very fluently as well in the Latin as English tongue, being able \((\text{pro re nata})\) to power forth extemporary orations with great elegance\(^2\). He was also a quick disputant and as solid in determining, as subtle in distinguishing in the Chair, and, moreover, in the pulpit an eloquent preacher.[257]

Mr Richard Lingard\(^3\), Dr of Divinity, upon the preferment of Dr Williamson, was made Professor of Divinity in this College, and tho he was not to be compared in depth of learning with his predecessors James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh and Dr Hoyle, who shined as stars of the greatest magnitude in the firmament of that Function, nor was he of so extended a fame as they were in the world, nor could put forth his excellent parts in so great an explication of circumstance as did his immediate predecessor, Dr Williamson, who abounded in the flourish of oratory. Yet he left to the memory of posterity a noble testimony of a sound judgement and competent learning, wherewith he

\(^1\) [John Preston D.D. (1587–1628)]
\(^2\) [Williamson accepted the College living of Ardstraw in February 1660/1, and became Dean of Cashel in 1671. He died in 1676.]
\(^3\) [1633/4 – 70, Dean of Lismore]
discharged that employment. But alas, for that he had purchased the acclamations of a good fame with the price of virtue & labour, like poor Patroclus he dyed in a greater progress of his Glory, about St Andrew’s day in the year 1670, of a malignant feavour. And if it be true, that our life hath noe more desirable terme, then to dye in the exercise of the virtuous actions of his functions, and to perish in the contest of his Duty, is to live Eternally, in regard that Posteritie cannot gratifie the excess of virtue but by a continuall remberance, he dyed commendably & shall live eternally (that is to say) for ever here and hereafter.

Doctor Michaell Ward, fellow of Trinity Colledg, who was chosen into that imployment by the generally approved rule of the greatest merits amongst his Associates, & it is apparent in the many and great steps of preferment he has since made by the favour of His Grace James the Duke of Ormond.

Hee who now fills that place of Divinitie Professor is Dr William Palliser, a man of scientificall speculation, well read, and able to express himself clearly, and is thought to be furnisht with most if not all the Accomplishments of his last Predecessor.

Wee are now come to treat of the Provosts of Trinity Colledg, in this University, with intention to say something of every one of them in particular, and first:

Dr Adam Loftus constituted the first Provost by the Charter of Queen Elizabeth Anno Domini 1591. He was borne in Swineshead in Yorkshire, where his ancestors continued inhabitants and propietors beyond any memoriall to the contrary. His repute and fortune was settled in the world chiefly on the foundation of learning and integretie, and his advancement much forwarded by a more than ordinary allowance for his support & education in the Universitie of Cambrigd (which his father, tho in the declinacon of his ancient patrimoniall estate, which had formerly bin much more considerable then was at that time) afforded him, whereby he had the advantage tho a younger brother of an early and acceptable appearance to Queen Elizabeth at a publique solemn Act of Commencement in Cambrigd, wherein he performed his part, both as a florid orator and a subtle disputant. Which qualification, together with the comliness of his person and behavious, recommended him with a more than ordinary remark unto the notice of Queen Elizabeth, who then encouraged him to proceed in the course of his studies, with her gratious promise suddenly to promote

44 [He was Vice-Provost 1662-66]
45 [While wearing the armour of Achilles (who refused to fight) he was killed by Hector at Troy.]
46 [Born 1673/4, elected Fellow at 19, Professor of Divinity and Dean of Lismore at 27, Provost at 31, Bishop of Ossory at 35, died at 38.]
47 In margin: Adam Loftus of Trinity Colledg, the first Provost & chiepest Instrument to promote the erection thereof. Jacobum Wareum, Equid Auxd de praesulis Hiberniae, fol 27 p 120
him. And then admitted him to be her Chaplin & soon after sent him into Ireland with Thomas Earl of Sussex 48, then Lord Lieutenant of this Kingdome, where he was consecrated in the 28th year of his age Archbishop of Armagh, by Hugh Corvine 49, then Archbishop of Dublin & others his Associates. The said Corvin having bin consecrated in England the third year of Queen Mary, from whome by Archbishop Loftus the succession of our Irish Archbishops and Bishops hath without any interruption or defect hither unto proceeded, for tho, if as some maintain, the Irish Bishops may validly draw their successions from an higher derivation springing from George Brown 50, Archbishop of Dublin, consecrated in the time of Henry the Eight, who consecrated Hugh Goodacre Archbishop of Ardmagh 51, and John Ball Bishop of Ossory 52 in the Raigne of Edward the sixth. Yet in regard 253 they were not consecrated either according to the Plea Pontificall or any other administration then in force by the lawes of this Kingdome, and for that Deane Lockwood 53 at St Patrick’s Church where they were consecrated did then protest against the form of their consecration tho the same was then used in England, for that office was not enacted here by Act of Parliament and until the second of Queen Elizabeth. For this reason it is that our Bishops of Ireland rather derive from Archbishop Corvine by Archbishop Loftus and other intervenient Bishops to Doctor Michael Boyle, now Lord Primate of All Ireland, and those who have bin consecrated together with him or by him, and the authority of his predecessors soe derived by reason as well of correspondency with humaine laws now & then in force in this Kingdome, as in conformity to the certaine collation of that sacred Office. But to return 55 from this digression to speak more particularly of our Provost who held it, a learned man said in an honorary title, not so much to receive credit thereby as to conferr lustre on the place. He was soe happy as to be borne at a time which served for the preservation and separation of his elder brother’s family, when the far greater part of their estate was pared of, tho not soe diminished. But that he tho a younger brother, enjoyed for his share soe much thereof at and about Lodington 56 in Kent as his grandson, Sir Adam Loftus of Rathfarnham, Knt, afterwards Vice Treasurer and Treasurer at Warres of Ireland, sold for about 3,000 57 which was more than by ordinary lott fell to younger brothers in those dayes. His coming into Ireland, tho it removed him from the Queen’s eye, yet it begat no alienation of her favour towards him. For he wanted not the light of her countenance nor the influence of her Grace, tho at a distance, she making the merit of his servicable

48 [Thomas Radclyffe, 3rd Earl of Sussex, c. 1525 – 83, lord lieutenant 1559 – 64.]
49 [Hugh Curwen, Archbishop 1555 (Catholic) – 1567 (Protestant)]
50 In margin: Vide Jas Ware, Eq Aux de pruesulibus Hiberniae, pag 26 f 148
51 [Archbishop 1552-3.]
52 [John Bale, Bishop of Ossory 1552-3.]
53 [Thomas Lockwood, Dean 1543-65.]
54 [human]
55 In Margin: Vide Thomas Fuller, his Eclesiasticall
56 [near Loose, about 6 km south of Maidstone]
actions appeare in the honour of reward. For in his great Employment he dayly met opportunities to show his zeal in her service and to improve them by his prudent managery of affairs to her great advantage & likeing in matters as well civill as ecclesiasticall. He was remooved from the See of Ardmagh to that of Dublin for severall reasons [254] and perhaps those which Mr Fuller in his ecclesiasticall story conjectureth at was somewhat forceably ingredient in the consideration of his invocation to the See of Dublin (vizt) safety and perchance profit as that learned historian saith in the way of a wagery peradventure. Yet it most certainly appears in the memorials of that time that noe argument was of greater prevalency with the Queen or himself as to that removall, then that thereby his great abilities being placed on a more usefull theatre of action, where the publique affaires both civill and ecclesiasticall were to be transacted in order to the settlement of the Kingdome (then much out of order) and the thorough reformation of religion, which untill then had a very slow progress, he might become more servicable in both, as the event of his effectuall endeavour proved. He laboured zealously in the Reformation, not only for that he thought the Protestant religion established by law in the Church of England the best of all professions in the world, but as being persuaded alsoe that the Popish doctrine was advers not only to the dignitie & securitie, but also to the authoritie & lawes of princes, and for that as appeareth in some of his foregoing speeches he had early apprehensions that the Sectaries and Papists would at length (junctis Viribus57) meet in some stream of opposition to beat down the noble fabrick of the English Reformation, unless by God’s mercy prevented. And therein as his wisdome hath bin approved of hitherunto, soe it is in the carriage of late affaire now much more justified. For undoubtebly he was wise as well as pious. The sincerity of the first appeared in the severe practice of virtue and Religion, his assiduous preaching and carefull and impartiall exercise if his jurisdiction, for the punishment of sinn and wickedness, and the promotion of godliness and virtue; the latter was eminently manifested in the temperament of his behaviour, and correspondency all along betweene his friends of different Court factions.[255]

I could enlarge very much for for his honour out of history, his last will and testament & many publique memorials, besides what remaineth in the manuscripts of Sir James Ware, Knight, were it agreeable to my intended brevity, which I could not but transgress in some sort, treating upon soe plentifull a subject. I shall conclude with one testimony of his abilities in point of learning, which is that, after he was made Primate of all Ireland, he went to Cambridg and there performed his acts for his degree of Doctor of Divinity with Doctor Whitguift58 Archbishop of Canterbury, which redounded to the great appaus of them both. But of this more in Sir James Ware’s book de Praesulibus

57 [by united efforts]
58 [John Whitgift (c. 1530–1604) Archbishop of Canterbury from 1583]
Hiberniae[^59], from whence as Doctor Burlace saith the dimentions of that Prelate may best be taken. See Burlace in his *Reduction of Ireland*[^60] pages 147 et 148.

As to the next Provost, who he was, appeareth by what hath bin formerly releated concerning the former Provost, his resignation, and his speech afterwards upon the admission afterwards of his successor, Mr Walter Travers, of whome I am now to speak. He was bred up in Trinity Colledg in Cambrig, and became a person of great abilities, and particularly was singularly knowing in the oriental tongues. He was chosen Provost and soe admitted in the year 1594, but not sworne in till the sixth of December 1595. He met whilst he remained at Cambrig with some discontents in the Colledg after the death of Doctor Beaumont[^61], and thence took occasions to travel beyond seas, and there contracted familiarity with Mr Beza[^62] and other forraigne divines, with whome as Mr Fuller says, he held a correspondency to the day of his death. He returned from Geneva afterwards to Cambrid where he commenced Batchellor of Divinity and some time afterwards went beyond sea againe, & at Antwerp was ordained Minister of the Presbetry there, the testimoniall whereof is faithfully transcribed in Fuller’s *Church History of Britany*[^63], see the said *History Anno* 1591. Afterwards soe made Presbiter he preached unto the English Factory[^64] of Merchants there untill he came over into England [256] where he continued for seven yeares Lecturer in the Temple. He was by the advice of Mr Andrew Melvin[^65] solemnly invited to be one of the Divinitie professors in the University of St Andrew’s in Scotland in the year 1591. Whilst he remained at the Temple he had alwaies a very great and attentive auditory, amongst whome Sir Edward Cook was most attentive to his doctrine. He was at last syscallen by Archbishop Whitguift being prohibited to preach in the Temple or any where else, upon the account that he was not lawfully ordained minister, and because it was thought dangerous for one soe opposed to the discipline of the Church of England to have the libertie of preaching, especialy at the Inns of Court, would have bin noe less in effect then to retaine most of the lawyers of England to have him councell against the Ecclesiastical Government thereof.

With this prohibition he was served as he was goinge into the pulpit, in obedience whereunto he mildly signified the contents thereof to the congregation and requested them quietly to depart thence. Soon after he was sent over into Ireland to be Provost of Trinity Colledg near Dublin, not, as Fuller reports, at the invitation of the then Lord Chancellor of Ireland, but at the instance of the Lord

[^59]: [Dublin, 1665]
[^61]: [Robert Beaumont (died 1567), Master of Trinity College Cambridge from 1561 to 1567, and follower of John Calvin]
[^62]: [Théodore de Bèze or de Besze, Calvin’s successor in Geneva.]
[^63]: [Church-History of Britain (1655)]
[^64]: [Factory – a trading station maintained by factors in a foreign country.]
[^65]: [Andrew Melville, 1545 – 1622.]
Burleigh and other of the Privy Councell of England of his party, and enemies to Whitquift. And as was the thought with the consent, or rather the advice, of the said Archbishop of Canterbury, that the Church of England might be freed from the fear or trouble of soe dangerous a person, and himself less molested with suitors in his behalf for a libertie to preach. He comes therefore into Ireland, and (as I said before) was chosen and admitted Provost in the year 1594, where he soon obtained a free and generall acknowledgement of his significancie for that place, tho his fittness for the same was much decryed by the then Lord Chancellor, upon the account of his Puritan principles, tho his Lordship’s speech at the admission of him is of another complection, is not of a virulent stile, making indications of his unfitness, without express terms of reproach. I have not the time to enlarge upon his good and great parts which were undoubtebly many. I shall therefore say the less what he was reproveable for, and certainly he had that notable qualification, to wit learning, without which none can be best or worst. Yet what I find noted of him, if true, may give me reason to think that prudence tempor’d his opinions in some things with moderation, for this had bin observed of him infirman et languidam praebuit ceremoniis praestandis voluntatem quibus non plene se opposuit. He held, together with the Provostshipp of the Colledg, the pastorall charg of a parish church in Dublin for some years, but at length, because of the troubles of the times or some other causes of discontent, perhaps also because he could not have the libertie quietly to enjoy his place & his opinions, he returned into England and there retired himself to the obscuritie of a more prival life, tho wheresoever he was, his learneing, as saies Dr Borlase, was a shining light. Finally it was conceived better for the Colledg to have wanted the help of his learning than to have him endangered by the heterodoxie of his discipline. And if it be true what Fuller reports of him, his estate was so small that his braines seemed not to be too much troubled in the gaining of it, and his heart as little affected with the fear of loosing it. And lastly it was conceived that his departure from the colledg of Dublin was the best expedient to keep faction out of the house of unity, and to prevent the rude noises of strife and debate touching Presbiterian ordination and Geneva Discipline as also to prevent the infection of foreraigne novelties, tho my faith is not soe valiant as on the belief of the worst reported of him.

Henry Alvey (or, as others call him, Alva) brought up in St John’s Colledg in Cambridg and fellow of the same was next successor unto Mr Walter Travers and was chosen on the 8th of October [1601]. I shall be bold to temerity and presumption should I presume to set downe his character at large, wherefore, instead of a particular rehearsall of his acts and vertues, I shall imitate the scripture in the declination of Noah & [258] say little more of him than that he was (for ought I know) vir

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66 [??? Which church? DIB merely says that Loftus "paid him to preach in Dublin".]
67 [As laid down in the Consistory of Geneva, 1568-1582.]
just et prefectus\textsuperscript{68}, saveing the blemish of promoting usury by a book he wrote in defence thereof and the severe reproach he had from him who made an answer thereunto. And tho history hath not made much mention of his vertues, yet for as much as historicall testimonies are of noe illation in the negative, I shall not be soe uncharitable as to conclude that hee wanted what history hath not attributed to him. For it hath bin well observed that it is noo reasonable inference that there is noo such place as Rome, because Herodutus makes no mention thereof, and perhaps many of his good deeds have been smothered by the want or negligence of writers. And as I have given the worst instance I could pick out of his actions, soe I will be as ready to set down in more ample terms the best I shall be able to gaine notice of, desireing in the mean time all those who have more knowledg of his character then I to impart unto me what they know of him, to the end I can make a more ample iconograpy of him.

Hee who succeeded Provost Alvy was Mr William Temple\textsuperscript{69} and the ample character which Doctor Burlace gives of him shall not onely be an introduction to my discourse of him, but will also disenable me to add much thereunto.

Mr William Temple, 4\textsuperscript{th} Provost, after he had executed that place for the space of eleaven years or thereabouts, he was knighted by the Lord Viscount Grandison\textsuperscript{70}, then being Lord Deputy of this nation being upon the 4\textsuperscript{th} of May 1622. He was alsoe made one of the Masters of the Chancery in Ireland. A person of great pietie & learning, bred up in King’s Colledg in Cambridg, from whence he was made choice of by Sir Phillip Sydney (the glory of the English Nation) to attend him in the Low Countries during his Government there. \textit{De quo quid et quantum sibi augurabitur Britannia non facile dixerem} sayeth Camden\textsuperscript{71}. After whose unfortunate deceas a noble person engaged him in his service in England and Ireland, which proveing a [259] rough and unhappy scene, he retired to his private\textsuperscript{72} … till by the importunate solicitations of Doctor Usher, late Lord Primate of all Ireland (one who well knew how to judg of the merits of others by the immensity of worth in himself) prevailed with him to accept of the Provostship, which he did anno 1609 as an easie retreat out of the noise and trouble of the world. He lived seventeen yeares in the provostshipp and finished his daies there in the 72 year of his age and lies buried under a fair stone in the chapple belonging to the Colledg (where his sonne, Sir John Temple\textsuperscript{73}, Master of the Rolls in this Kingdome, hath bin interred with him \textit{e latere})

\textsuperscript{68} [Genesis 6:8. Noah vir justus, perfectus fuit in generationibus suis.]
\textsuperscript{69} [c. 1555–1627, the first lay Provost, and the first to die in office.]
\textsuperscript{70} [Oliver St John, 1st Viscount Grandison, 1559-1630, Lord Deputy 1616-22. May 4\textsuperscript{th} was his last day in Ireland.]
\textsuperscript{71} [Britannia, Frankfurt am Main, 1616, at the end of his chapter on Shropshire.]
\textsuperscript{72} [elipses in MS.]
\textsuperscript{73} [(1600 – 77). Appointed Master of the Rolls 1640. Suspended 1643. Reappointed 1655]
before the Provost’s seate, leaving behind him many children. In his life time he gained more honour by the mirrour of his virtue than estate by favour of fortune. However he left his posterity sufficiently provided for, and afforded them a pious and generous education. His sonne Sir John Temple was a pious discreet man and who by his reading and great observacions of publique transactions and practice in state affaires was held very considerable in the station of Privie Councillor of this Kingdome, whose prudent advice in the beginning of the Irish Rebellion,in his stedfast adherencce to the Crowne of England and to the English interest, together with the endeavours of some few of the Counsell that did not start from the helme of Government and management of affaires here, in the time of soe great danger, was the security of both. This Sir John Temple educated his children in the course of pietie, learning & worthy behaviour, agreeable to the breeding he received from his father. Who by their their virtue, learneing & a liberall endowment of their naturall parts, together with what estate & assistances they had from their father, are become very considerable in their imployments and fortunes.

Sir William Temple was the elder son of the said Sir John, having bin for his encouragement & the reward of his industriue, integritie and ability in his Majestie’s service, after he had discharged the office of Ambassador to the states of Holland for many yeares with great proof of his prudent managery of that trust, made successor to his father in the Office of Master of the Rolls.[260]

The second brother, Sir John Temple, being now as he hath bin ever since his Majesties restoration, his Majestie’s Solicitor Generall of this Kingdome. The third and youngest brother as well as they having attained to a considerable fortune in lands, soe that our Provost Sir William Temple hath bin as happy to posterity in the issue of his body as he will be for ever famous for those of his braine. To wit his commentary upon Ramus his Logick etc. All which putt together have raised a monument for him of great honour, sufficient to continue his Memory with glory to all succeeding Ages. After the death of Sir William Temple there arose great contentions about a successor which continued for severall months.

First Mr Sybs of Gray’s Inn London was chosen Provost by the Fellowes, but he refuseing that office, they chose Mr Joseph Mead, who likewise refused the same. Whereupon they fixed upon William Beadle, Doctor of Divinity, then in England, who Anno 1627 on the 12th of August landed at Dublin, and within few daies after was sworne Provost as Sir James Ware observed, and as others say

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74 [In fact two sons and three daughters.]
75 [Petrus Ramus (or Pierre de la Ramée) (Anglicized to Peter Ramus) (1515 –1572): a Protestant convert, he was killed during the St. Bartholomew’s Day Massacre.]
76 [Richard Sibbes (or Sibbs) (1577–1635)]
77 [Joseph Mede (or Meade or Mead) (1586 –1639).]
more precisely, on the 16th of the same month. He was borne in Suffolk in England, bred up in Emmanuell Colledg in Cambridg, where he attained to the reputation of a great schollar, and erected high expectations of his future advancement in the minds of his friends and of the whole University when he came to be Provost. He was a most eminent schollar & most skillfull in Greek and Hebrew learning, and his parts were much polished by his travalls, espetially in Italy and the forraigne intercourse he afterwards held with judicious and learned persons, as he had contracted acquaintance with abroad for the advantage of religion, more than his regards either at home or abroad (for what he needed he make riches his scope or glory, who excelled in soe many things else). His chiefest acquaintance abroad was Padre Paulo[78] whome (as Doctor Burlace[79] says) he took into his very soul for his courage and constancy in maintaineing orthodox principles. Sir Henry Wotton[80], Knight, a person of great litterature, and as well able to judge of men’s abilities as any other in his time, gives him this commendation [261] in a letter he wrote to King Charles the first that hee hardly thought that a fitter man for the charg of that Provostship would have bin proposed in that Kingdome for singular education, Piety, conformitie to the Rights of the Church of England and zeal to advance the cause of God, wherein (as hee said) all his travells abroad were not obscure in the time of the Venetian excommunication, insinuating further that which is the apprehension of many to this day, to wit that his Letters of Controversy (in the hightest points betwixt us and Rome) with Wadsworth[81] the Jesuite shows him profoundly versed in the Fathers and scholemen. Dureing his government of the Colledg he thought he could not do better than to imitate the actions of his worthy predecessor. At his first entrance his chiefest business was to compose sedition amongst the fellowes, to recrifie disorders and restore the discipline of the Colledg, much decayed in the interspace of Government between him and his predecessor. And dureing the whole time of his aboad in the Colledg he endeavoured by the examples of a strict behaviour and a most regular administration of his authoritie to settle that society in a more orderly course of life, as well as in a more painfull prosecution of their studies, and thereby sett a period to their former exorbitances. And within the space of two years redeemed the credit of that Colledg, which done he was promoted by King Charles the first to the Bishopprick of Killmore and Ardagh, and was consecrated at Droghedagh in St Peter’s Church on the 13th of September 1629.

Those two Bishoppricks he held untill the year 1633, which he thought too long as being more sensible of soe weighty and extended a charg then desirous to continue the injoyment of the revenue of both with the defect of his care, which could not, as his tender conscience perswaded him, reach to the full discharg of his duty in both. He therefore in the said year 1633 made resignation of the

78 [Fra (Brother) Paolo Sarpi (1552–1623), a Venetian, scholar, scientist and church reformer.]
79 In margin: Vide Burlace his reduction of Ireland, pa 152
80 [Sir Henry Wotton (1568–1639), English diplomat, often quoted as saying, “An ambassador is an honest gentleman sent to lie abroad for the good of his country.”]
81 [James Wadsworth (1572–1623).]
Bishopprick of Ardagh, the last example of that kind in Ireland, tho on the contrary a very learned bishopp and very well versed in cases of conscience industriously laboured for, and obtained the addition of a very good bishopprick unto two others good bishoppricks he held before, thinking perhaps that the third bishopprick [262] being but of small dimension of ground, would not weigh soe much as a scruple in point of conscience, or have made any considerable difference between the practice of both Bishopps. This our late Provost and moderne Bishopp of Killmore, being intent wholly to the discharg of his functions, finding that he was altogether unable to converse with the far greater part of his diocess, most of them being Roman Catholiques and not understanding the English tongue, and that they could not by ordinary means of preaching be converted to the Protestant religion by such as were ignorant of the Irish language, he did not onely labour to bring into his dioceses such of the Protestant native ministers as were able to preach, administer the sacraments and read the Common Prayer in English82, ordaining severall of them, tho of less learning then others, and he himself, as well for his own satisfaction as for the example of the rest of his clergie, in his older daies painfully laboured in the studie of the Irish language untill he gained the perfection thereof in such manner as that he was able and did most skilfully interpret the Old Testament out of Hebrew into the Irish tongue, which, to his great honour and not small advantage, to the propagation of the Protestant Religion in this Kingdome, would have bin made publique in print, had not the troubles & confusion of the latter times and his death, occasioned by the Irish rebellion, prevented soe great a benefitt. Further it is not to be forgotten that he was very well learned in the Civill and Cannon Law, and not altogether unacquainted with the practice thereof, whereof he gave good proof in his Consistoriall Court, unassisted for the most part with his chancellor, in soe much that he did most artificially draw up formall acts and instruments for the dispatch of business and law suites, to which I never could hear any exceptions were taken, save the too nice elegance & propriety of the Lattin tongue. He was wonderfully well versed in History & in the methods of most sorts of negotiations. Yet not onely out of a natural moderation, but also out of a prudent caution, abstained from interesting himself in other’s transactions and concerns, but kept himself wholly within his own precincts, endeavouring the Reformation of [263] disorders, establishment of discipline, punishment of irregularitie and amendment of life. And with the prudence of a moderate severity in the administration of justice, made both spiritually and layly tractable to the due performance of their respective duties, being soe irreproveable in his life and conversation that he did not forbear with old Ely83 sharply to correct those under his charg when occasion required. He was carefull to maintain Episcopall authority, with as little popular envy or discontent as might be, and therefore used

82 [sic]
83 [The judge Eli in the two Old Testament Books of Samuel.]
moderation in his comonport of living. Yet was heedfull that under pretence of moderation, he might not fall to a mean course of housekeeping, for he was wise and knew it would draw on the contempt of the people, which is more prejudiciall then their envy.

The misfortune of this grave, learned & most reverend prelate fell on him most heavily towards the end of his daies, in the comon calamity of the English nation, occasioned by the Irish rebellion, which brake forth on the 23rd October 1641. He, upon the first notice of that horrid and bloody insurrection, charitably intertained such of the English as fled to his house for a succour, and as courageously defended them in his house against many violent assaults of the Irish rebells, who had for a long time besieged it, and therein showed as much personall valour and art of warr as if he had bin trained up to that discipline, being neither venturous beyond reason nor forward beyond discretion, but at last the rebells setting fire to his hall dore, with too great a power irresistably forced an entrance into the lower parts of the house, whereupon to prevent immediate death by smoak as well as by rageing flames of fire which had taken hold of the house unquenchably, he was forced to descend and render himself to their mercy, they then killing most of his family and guests, and threatening him with immediate death, and at the same time presented their fire weapons to his brest, when he with an undaunted courage and having a resolution which could not be frighted with the dreadfull vizzar of death’s menaces opened and exposed it unto their view, telling them that tho their fury did outrageously prompt them thererunto, yet God would not permitt them to execute their rage upon his person, he being a faithfull servant of Christ Jesus and a bishop of his holy Church. And therefore, in the name and authority of a bishop, required and commanded them to forbear soe prodigious an act, which words being gravely spoken, and with episcopall authority uttered, they fell into a fit of trembling, their weapons fell out of their hands, and they forbore to murder him. Yet being soe fallen into their hands, he was imprisoned in Cloghouter Castle84, in the County of Cavan (nere Kilmore85) where he died about the midst of March 1641. Ob fenestra ea tempora et miserias quas perturberat. And (according to his opinion against his buriall in churches, being an admirer of Sir Henry Spelman86 De non temerandis ecclesiis87, hee was interred in the church yard at Killmore, in a tomb which he had formerly prepared for that purpose. I had allmost forgot to mention that flower which most adorned the glory of his great name, and that was his abundant charity. I shall therefore beg leave of the reader patiently to give one instance thereof. his barnes and granary were usually wel stored with corne, out of which he did not onely afford great relief every year unto the poor (besides what was spent in hospitality) but also whensoever a scarcity of corne made a dear year,
he then embraceing the fittest opportunity to exert his charity, sent to his neighbours to take out of his store such quantities thereof as were necessary to supply their use without money, upon their promise to returne the next year either the like quantity in specie or what should be then the ordinary price, at their election, whereby (as some of these who communicated of that kind have informed me) all his neighbours were supplyed at half the market rate. Certainly what he lost hereby that commerce was given unto the Lord. If therefore in our gift to God our owne heart is the appraisor, and if as a father saith, according to the value set thereupon by our own heart we have a retribution, he undoubtably is most happie.[265]

He who came next in succession to the Provost was Dr Robert Usher, Doctor of Divinity & Archdeacon of Meath, bred up in this Colledg. He was son to Henry Usher the first Fellow of this Colledg, who was afterwards Archbishop of Ardmagh and Primate of all Ireland. This our Provost was chosen the 16th of October 1629, tho he was not admitted untill January the 4th following. He was an orthodox man, and unblameable in his conversation, sufficiently learned and commendable for a modest and civil behaviour, which appeared in the gentleness of his speech and the meekness of his actions. Yet not so lowly minded as that he would suffer any one to sett his foot on the privilidges of that society.

Petaviu (who hath been noted for an easie censurer of his betters) saith to the dispraise of Scaliger’s book de emandatione temporum, that there is not one thing in it not lyable to just reproof (that of the periods excepted). What his calumny ascerted with one exception I shall speak absolutely, & in contrary terms, to the honour of this just man’s conversations, to wit, that there was not any one thing therein reproveable that ever I could hear of, and am confident that whosoever would labour to finde a spott or blemish in his morall conversation, had need of a greater help then the Fryzian or Prutenick Tables. For as an orthodox faith was the measure of his persuasion, soe conscience was the rule of his actions. He was a serious man, and noo friend to the levitie of theatricall gaities & representations, as appears by the great difficultie he made of admitting comedies to be acted in the colledg during his government, tho at last perswaded thereunto by the great solicitation of considerable persons, and at the desire of the Lords Justices who ruled in this time. He was in the course of his preaching very constant, even like the sun or moon, which, tho deprived of their lustre, keep on their way in the prosecution of their regular motions. For he, tho made a Bishop

88 [1592-1642]
89 [Denis Pétau (1583 –1652), also known as Dionysius Petavius, was a French Jesuit theologian]
90 [Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540 - 1609) a French religious leader and scholar]
91 [A Study on the Improvement of Time published in 1593]
92 [An ephemeris by the astronomer Erasmus Reinhold published in 1551, sometimes called the Prussian Tables]
of Kildare, where he presided as a worthy prelate near six years, being consecrated the 25th of February 1635 untill the Irish rebellion 1641. Yet then being driven into England, being [266] deprived of his estate, continued his constant preaching untill his death in Pantabirsly in Shropshire, which happened in the year 1642 as appears by his epitaph engraven in the chancell of Dudleston Church (vizt)

Here lyeth the body of that constant & faithfull preacher of God’s word, the Right Reverend father in God, Robert, Lord Bishop of Kildare. Son of Henry Primate of All Ireland who dyed at Pantabirsly September 7th Anno Domini 1642.

The promotion of Doctor Robert Usher to the Bishopprick of Kildare made room for Mr. William Chapple, Batchelor of Divinitie, tho there was larg interspace of time between the avoidance of the provostship by the one & the swearing of the other, which was not untill the fifth of June 1637. Tho his Majestie caused the care of the colledg to be committed unto him some yeares before, holding it not by the law, but by a priviledg of a dispensation, untill he had soe wrought the change of the Colledg Statutes, as to comply with his conscience, and such designes as he was sett upon by the Archbishop of Canterbury, then Chancellor of this University. He was bred up on Christ’s Colledg in Cambridg, where he had bin many years fellow. He was well versed in the learning of the schoolemen & in Casuisticall Divinitie. The first, being the greatest magazeen of divine knowledge & speculation, the other the best Treasury of Rules to conduct men in the practicall intercourse of this life. He was a man of a cleer understanding and good judgement & highly applauded for his discretion, the most emphatick part of humaine wisdome. He was temperate in his dyett even to the severe measures of Lessius’s prescription. His maine endeavours were employed to bring in a perfect uniformitie, thinking it much more fitt to reduce all to a comon standard then that every one should be suffered to measure out doctrine discipline & ceremonies, according to their private rules and bushells. He wrote a book, De methodus concionandi, and in his practice [267] was a great example of learned & rational preaching. He did not therein follow Alsted’s judgement who adviseth to conceal method, saying Crypsis dispositionis tollit fastidium Auditoris. For he alwaies propos’d in the beginning of his sermons an exact method which he precisely observed in the prosecution of his text. He strictly examined the sundry significations of every word of the text in the

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93 [Pantabirsly or Plas Warren, near Dudleston, Ellesmere in Shropshire.]
94 [Renamed Moral Theology in the 19th century when “casuistry” acquired its more modern meaning.]
95 [in its original meaning of ‘storehouse’.]
96 [Leonardus Lessius (Lenaert Leys) (1554 – 1623) Jesuit theologian who wrote on diet and sobriety Hygiasticon seu vera ratio..., Antwerp, 1613]
97 [here meaning ‘standard’]
98 [On the method of preaching – published in 1648]
99 [Johann Heinrich Alsted (1588 –1638), a German Calvinist minister and academic.]
originall, whether Greek or Hebrew, by the strictest rules of criticisme, still declaring what
constructions it bore in that place, and thereby approv’d or disallow’d the English or vulgar
translation. And it was usuall with him in the expoposition of his text to desert doubtfull antiquitie, to
follow the conduct of undoubted reason. It was his manner to raise doctrinall propositions from the
words of his text. And he was powerfull in the confirmation of them. And when in his sermon he met
with a point of controversie he did not endeavour to speak eloquently on both sides, but showed his
abilitie in a precise determination thereof, thereby establishing the truth beyond all opposition or
doubt. After that the Fellows of the Colledg, who untill this time help their fellowshipps for noe
longer then the period of seven years from comencing Master of Art were ensnared (for noe other
reason then to gaine a perpetuitie in a small share of government to themselves and their successors)
into the necessitie of a wilfull kinde of bondage to a more unlimited power of their superiour granted
by the new statutes upon their surrender of the old. He then began to act more vigorously for
uniformitie, in opposition to schisme, too plainly foreseeing the evills thereof, which were then likely
in a full & fierce stream to break in upon us.as the event too soon after too sadly shew’d, when he,
together with the three nations, were tossed in the tempestuous surges of a rageing & furious
distraction. And when the Acephalist[100], the putrid worm, (engendered in the dunghill of a phanatick
chaos) became a stinging diseas unto us, he then percieved the certainty of his foresight by argument
of assured experiences, & tho the manegery [268] of Colledg affairs, dureing his time have been as
much justiyed by the event of things he foresaw as it was then strictly governed by Wisdome. Yet
could not he escape the smarct of popular murmur (which even Soloman himself experien
ted) and noe
wonder, for could he have blotted out all that was man in him by the puritie of a
celestiall conversation, as was said of St. Ambrose, he would not, as those times were, have escaped scot-
free from the imputation of Arminianisme[101], which was the only objection against him, tho a persuasion
not extremely cross to the comon notions of the schoole & impressions of natural reason.

His temper for government was as exact as his knowledge thereof was eminent, as appeared by
the mildness and regularitie of his administration in his office, & the perfect obedience of the
schollars to the rules & statutes of the House, & the great improvement of learning in his time. For he
did not imitate the prefects of Colledges beyond sea, who think they doe sufficiently in making their
their colledges babbling beabling[102] shoppes of Sophisters without training their youth up to the the
knowledge of generall learning and discipline. In proof whereof I shall derive to the knowledge of this
present time one example (for many that might be given) of his care to instruct his schollars in the

[100] [One who acknowledges no superior]
[101] [based on the theological ideas of the Dutch Reformed theologian Jacobus Arminius (1560–1609)]
[102] To beable – to make a noise like a swan.
rules of government. For he takeing the ancient Roman government to the most exact system of state policie that humane wisdome had composed, and endeavouing to temper his youth with gravitie of age and the knowledge of antiquitie, did desire to bring them into the knowledge thereof without prejudice to other learning. And therefore did in Christmass time make the Colledg become the theatre of the Roman Comonwealth, knowing that such representation did not only serve for instruction & encreas of learning, but also habituated the minds of those who represented it to the like qualities of those who ancintly administered it. And he made use of that time, which [269] is commonly a vacation from other studies as a sleight of policie, not onely to keep them from idleness or worse employment, but alsoe to employ them in those things which were worth the studie of serious men. He thought (& comon experience was a suffrage to his opinion) that the Roman Comon Wealth moulded under the government of a Dictator and Counsulls was a mirrour representing not onely magnitudes but maximities of vertue and prudence, and therefore fitt to be made a comon object of imitation. He was resolved upon that account to declare a month before St Andrew’s day\textsuperscript{103} that he would comitt the whole Government of the undergraduates of the Colledg in all things (save what appertained to the dayly service of God) unto the fellow comoners chosen by themselves and instituted respectively to the severall offices belonging to the frame of that Comon Wealth, in order whereunto he gave them direction to prepare by a studie of Roman historians, solemnly to erect that Government on the day aforesaid, and appointed Dudley Loftus, then a sophister and fellow comoner to make the Foundationall speech for the erecting that Comonwealth. Instructing him with generall rules of discretion for the managery of that affair, and agreeable to the Interest of that State. All the undergraduates mett at the day appointed, every of them being allowed suffrages to the election of every officer. And the Foundationall speech being pronounced by him appointed thereunto as aforesaid, he was chosen Dictator \textit{nemine contradiscente}, and afterwards the Consulls, Censours & all other officers belonging to the Senate were chosen by the fellow commoners, and the \textit{Tribunus Plebes} by the petitioner and schollars of the house, every one of them making a speech upon their respective elections. To relate the pomp of their proceedings to the Senate house with a Roman Eagle borne by the ???/Facciaries\textsuperscript{104} in a rich herald coat, the sword, fasses\textsuperscript{105} & all the senators’ armes and other ensignes of honour carriyed before them, and the ceremonies which attended them in all publique appearances & sitting in Senate and other places of judicature, together [270] with the reverence exhibited unto them by the people of that Comonwealth in \textit{Obsequiue Majestatis}. Tho they are fitter to be graced by an exact and full relation then to be supprest or diminished by sylence, being

\textsuperscript{103} [30th November]
\textsuperscript{104} [Fecianies - ??? definition needed.]
\textsuperscript{105} [Fasces - bundle of wooden sticks with an axe blade emerging from the center, traditionally symbolising summary power]
a subject too large to be interwoven in this discourse, I shall remitt to the relation of many living who may have better leisure to give an account thereof upon other occasions. Nor shall I launch into a description of the intrigues of policy, or the rules or interest of that State, nor shall I tell you how they balANCED their government by reward and punishment well placed, nor set forth their reputation abroad, or the reverence given them at home, being the pillars of that Government. Nor how the stability and safety thereof was founded in the right administration of distributed justice. Yet I cannot forget to declare with how studied impartiality all cases depending before the Senate were determined, where every man’s Ingenuity displayed his best abilities, in discourses of refined subtilities & ornaments of phrase, according as the perfection of arts, added to the bounty of nature, afforded. And sure I am that the novelty of administrations in that government did not only allure single regard & common attention, but also purchased them applause as well as reputation. Moreover it is to be taken notice of that the chief care of the senators was to keep the freshmen in order & employment, for they were not like the priors of monasteries & other praefects of convents, who either suffer those under their command to sport in idleness or employ their monks to scrape pebbles, or to fill bottomless tubbs, but kept them in employment fit to promote their abilities & improve their learning, such as were frequent orations, enjoining them to be made when ever the Dictator appeared in transite to the Senate, or in any other public place or the like exercise. Nor is it to be forgotten how free an admission all noble persons & of quality had to the Dictator’s magnificent table, supported by the common revenue of that Reipublique. Keeping open house, attended with musick and his meat served up with noise of trumpets and other low’d musick, agreeable to the state of that Comonwealth.

I might alse set forth what arts were used by the Senate upon several occasions to pacifie the affections of the tumultuous comons by their own wisdome, & such general rules of discretion as had bin given them by the Provost for the managery of contingent cases. But I have digressed too long already upon this subject, and therefore shall conclude with one instance more, to set forth the wisdome of that Senate, which is this: when necessity would not permit them to measure their publique expenses by the adequate rule of their treasury or revenue, it being almost exhausted without hope of supply, to continue the government in splendour to its designed period, they resolved, after much debate in the Senate, seeing their state was like to crumble into decadency, suddenly to determine their government for fear of a more disgracefull dissolution by a further continuance thereof. And therefore looseing the knot of obedience wherein their subjects were tyed unto them, made immediate resignation of their government with much formality, obedience, pomp & ceremony into the hands of the Provost, choosing rather to descend (tho too hastily) by the same steppes they had bin raised to eminency in time, then to be precipitated by the further progress of time into ruine. And soe having concluded all their glory by rendering up all their ensignes of authority downe to the lowest step of humilitie at the Provost’s feet, the third day after the Feast of the Epiphanie they
returned to their ordinary studies, and ranged themselves in obedience as formerly to the Provost and
Fellowes.[272]
A Catalogue of the Names of those Persons who were most Eminent in the administration of the Roman Commonwealth.

Dudley Loftus¹, Dictator, now Doctor of the Laws and one of the Masters of the High Court of Chancery & Judge in His Majesties Court of Prerogative.

Walter Loftus, son of Sir Adam Loftus of Rathfarnham, Knight – first Consull and brother to the said Dudley. He was soon after a Lieutenant Collonell in France, and in the time of the Irish Rebellion was called from thence into this Kingdome in the year 1646. Was slaine by a cannon bullet in the defence of Youghall, then besieged by the Irish, after he had served the King in England, and was employed to treat on severall occasions with the Chief Comanders of the Parliament Forces, as well as in the field as garrisons. He was an ingenious man of good eloquation, a polite deportment, and as well skilled in the theory of warr as experienced in the practice thereof.

2nd Consull - Mr John Bramhall, sonn to Dr Bramhall² Bishop of Derry, who afterwards proved an able lawyer & was a man of very considerable parts, and of a solid judgement & dyed within the first year of the King’s restauration in Dublin, much lamented, after that he had seen his father promoted to the primacy³.

The one Censour was Mr Edmond Burlace⁴, sonn to Sir John Burlace⁵ the elder, sometime Lord Justice of Ireland, both before and after the Irish Rebellion. Now Doctor of Phisick & practices the same in Chester with much creditt. He hath wrote the History of the Execrable Irish Rebellion⁶, & another book called The Reduction of Ireland to the Crown of England, together with an accompt of the Governours of Ireland [273] since the Conquest by Henry the second, King of England⁷.

The other [censor] was William Highgate, son to Bishopp Highgate⁸, a gentleman of very great hopes, but murdered in the beginning of the Irish Rebellion.

The quaestores aerarii⁹. The first of them was Richard Coot, now Lord of Collooney¹⁰ and one of his Majesties Privie Councell. A person famous for his courage & good conduct, & hath bin Collonell of Horse in the Warr of Ireland, and therein employed with great activity from first to last.

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¹ [Dudley Loftus (1619 –1695), also a noted orientalis.]
² [also John, 1594 – 1663.]
³ [on 18th January 1661]
⁴ [1620 – 1682]
⁵ [Sir John Borlase (1576 – 1648) Lord Justice of Ireland 1640 and- 1643]
⁶ [published in London, 1680]
⁷ [published in London, 1675]
⁸ [Dr John Hacket (1592–1670), Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry]
The second was Thomas Coot, brother unto the said Lord, a Collonell of Foot in the said Irish warrs, in which service he continued till the warrs lasted.\textsuperscript{11}

But to returne to the Provost, in the whole course of his government he bore up the constant tenour & repute of a prudent pious and vigilant governour. He was a strick Ramist, and much promoted to the study of Ramist logick, tho he was as great an Aristotelian, whereof he gave good proof at a Commencement in Cambriidge, solemnized in the presence of King James, where he soe learnedly & subtilly opposed the then respondent, Dr Roberts\textsuperscript{12} of Trinity Colledg in St Marye’s Church, that the Doctor as it was thought unable to salve his arguments, fell into a sound\textsuperscript{13} in the pulpit. Whereupon the King undertook to mainatinie the thesis against whom Mr Chapple sooe severely presented his arguments as Dr Burlace hath it recited \textit{ut Rex palam gratias aegeret Deo, quod opposens et fuisse subditus non alteri, alias potuisse in suspiccionem adduci, ne ferinde Throno suo atque Cathedrae submovere debuisset.} For which reason & the great repute of his learning, as he was once riding to Cork, and [was] overtook by Sir William St Leger, President of Munster, who had in his company the Titulary Dean of Corke, with whom the President would have had him to have disputed. The Deane, understanding who he was, refused to dispute with him, alleadging that he was accustomed to kill his respondent.[274] He was consecrated Bishop of Corke and Ross the 11\textsuperscript{th} of October 1638. He left not his Provostshipp untill the 20\textsuperscript{th} of July 1640, when he repair’d to his Bishoprick and, being driven from thence in the yeare 1641, by reason of the Irish Rebellion, he repair’d into England and dyed at Derby anno 1648, or (as Dr. Borlace will have it) Whitsontide 1649, according to what is engraved on his marble, being then sixty seven years of age. Whence his body was conveyed to Bilsthorpe in Nottinghams hire, where he was buried. What substance he had at the time of his death he left to be bestowed on pious uses. His marble monument in Bilsthorpe\textsuperscript{14} Church bears this monumental epitaph:

\begin{center}
Gulielmus Chapple.
\end{center}

\begin{center}
Natus Laxtonice in Nottingham AD MLXXII. Mansfeldice bonis literis imitatus; Collegii Christi Cantabrigice, per 27 annos socius, Collegii SS Trinitatis Dublin, Praepositus, Ecclesie Metropolit Capell Decanus; Corcagiensis et Rossensis Episcopus
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{9}[here, effectively, the treasurers.]
\textsuperscript{10}[~1620 – 1683.]
\textsuperscript{11}[died 1671. Founder of Cootehill, Co. Cavan.]
\textsuperscript{12}[Dr William Roberts, later Bishop of Bangor. Died 1665]
\textsuperscript{13}[a swoon]
\textsuperscript{14}[Bilsthorpe, about 25km north of Nottingham]
Charismata, quae (signis alius) plurmia atque eximia a Domino acceperat, signalari tum fide felicitate ad afus gloriam publicumque Ecclesice commodum administravit, afrentice, Justice, Gratice Divinice Sternus Afestor, Charitate in Deum ac homines, Amicos atque inimicos, as Christi legem et exemplum, factus nobis exemplum et lex, Bona temporalia partim suo Christo, partim Christo religiuit. Mundum latere ut maxime semper voluit, its minime umquam potuit aut poterit. Annum agens 67 placidum spiritum suum Servatari reddidit die Pentecostes MDCLIX, atque hic juxta venerandum parenteam suam positus Dominum Iesum quo fusitur expectat.

Fratrem habuerat natu minorem (dum in terris agebat) Johannem Chapple Theologum fariter insignissimum, ac pulpitis natum, sed in Caelos, praemigraverat. Et conduntur illius exuviae in Ecclesia de Mansfield Woodhouse.

I shall add nothing to the fullness of his epitaph, not for want of matter, but because noe word of applaus can set him forth according to the apprehensions of those who knew him and observed his actions without æquivocating themselves into blazons of more pluralities of sence then oratory hath colours to represent him in. Only this I shall add, that tho the Colledg from the time of its first Provost and its first erection was not enlarg’d in extent of building, yet in his time it began to be enlarged, and received the additionall building extended in a line northward from the old kitchen. It having bin untill then like one of the Jews Synagogues which might be repaired but not enlarged according to the doctrine of the decrettalls.\footnote{a decretal – a decree, often religious.}

Sir Richard Washington, Batchellor of Divinity, who had bin for a long time Fellow of University Colledg in Oxford, and had lived there in a flourishing repute, untill the gratious grant of King Charles the first of this Provostshipp, was sworne and admitted the 8th Provost of this Colledg the first of August 1640. He was a person of ingenuity and was not defective in any parts requisite to furnish out a pleasant conversation. He was an excellent preacher and delivering himself\footnote{marked by emphasis on memorization} in proper postures, distinct pronounciation & in exquisite polite termes & phrases wherewith he cloathed his well chosen matter. And it would not be too liberall a largesse\footnote{largesse} of complement to say that he was a good governour. It was he built the new lodgings under the shade of the steeple, which he designed for the habitation of himself and his successours, with an intent to have converted the wast ground eastward and northward to the Long Stone\footnote{a Scandavanian marker stone, standing near where Pearse Street Garda Station now is.} into gardens and orchards which he thought \[276]
would have been more commodious for the Provost than their present lodgings. It was he also that caused the spire to be erected on the belfry which hath been since roughcast in the time of Provost Seel19.

He had an intention to have erected a quire in the chapple, which by reason of the warrs took noe effect, for on the 23rd of October 1641, upon the first noise of the rebellion, he went into England [and] was readmitted to his Fellowshipp in University Colledg. [phrase erased, marked with *, and, in the margin, in Harris’ writing:]

*In 1644, he submitted to the Parliamentarian visitors in 1648, and was the only man of the old stock that was then left therein. Afterwards going to London for a time, died in Fetter Lane Anno 1651. Whereupon his body was buried in St Dunstan’s Church in the West.

I shall omit to say anything of Dr Tate, in the service of the Provost, forasmuch as he was never invested with that authoritie, but only licensed to live in the Provost’s lodgings in the heat of the warr, and to oversee the small remnant of the schollars that then abode in the Colledg. For what more may be said of him, I shall refer the reader to Doctor Burlace, and those who were better acquainted with him then the writer thereof, and so proceed to the next legall successor.

Dr Anthony Martin drew his first breath at Gallway. He had his education partly in France (where he learned that language to perfection) and partly in Emanuell Colledg in Cambridg. And being return’d thence into Ireland with a good stock of learning and a head full of sublime notions, was chosen fellow of this Colledg, where he taught Philosophie, when Sir James Ware Knt was one of his hearers, who, in his book de Praesultibus Hiberniae gratefully and freely acknowledged the great benefit he had by his lectures. He was a youthfull as well as a gracefull ornament to the Colledg whilst he resided there. At last the Lord Grandison20, Lord Deputy of Ireland, takeing notice of his parts, which were the objects of the world’s eye, entertain’d him for his chaplain, and conferred on him the Deanery of Waterford, and, on the 5th of July 1625 he was consecrated Bishop of Meath. He was a person of extraordinary [277] parts, both of nature and art, and as much courageous as integretie, being as coragious as if he had bin of the noble army of martirs, and as exemplary in his life as if he had bin one of the primitive Bishops. And it is to bee believed that had he lived in Queen Marie’s dayes, when fire and faggot flam’d, he would have become a sacrafice thereunto, rather than have started from the Protestant religion, which he zealously profest and defended, during the time of his Prelacy, in his preaching & other publique declarations that he made in that behalf. And tho he were a native of this country, he held the Irish rebells in utter detestation to his dying day. And being a Privie

19 [Thomas Seele, (c. 1611-1675) Provost 1661 – 1675.]
20 [Sir Oliver St John, 1st Viscount Grandison (1559-1630). Appointed Lord Deputy 1616, resigned 1622]
Councillor, declared himself upon very sound ground of reason in a most excellent well composed speech, which he utter’d at the Councell Board, against making peace with the Irish, which the writer hereof hath often read with as much satisfaction as admiration. For which he tasted the indignation of the Irish enemies & others, for he thought noe sword too sharp to prosecute the Irish rebellion, untill, as he thought, the King’s honour were better vindicated from their aspersions, & more satisfaction & safety given to the English, then he saw proposed in that treaty. He was a profound Divine, and an able preacher. He suffer’d very much by the rebellion, yet exercised much of patience, when he had scarce any more left him then a Philosophicall hope, that no violent thing would be perpetuall. And pitty, & great pitty, it was, that that hope which upheld him in his misfortunes was not accomplished during his life. The epistle written by Eyre⁷¹ to Dr Usher, afterwards Primate of All Ireland in the year 1607, recommended him to the Colledg with great praise, both as to Philosophi and more pollisht learning, being then to be admitted into a fellowship, terming him a true Nathaniell without fraud⁷², for these are the words of the letter: Id est quals alii plerique videre tantem voluit in humaniore Literature & vita integrata germanis simus certe Nathaniell sine fraude. Upon the removall of Dr. Tate from the Colledg [278] he was made Provost.

Where he and his family was reduced as low as the poverty of Carthusians, encounterings with great necessities in the universal time of alteration, by the delivery up of Dublin to the Parliament & other innovations, which afterwards enter’d in at the wide change of Government and at last, almost tyr’d with the pressure of his great sufferings, he dyed Provost in the month of June 1650, the Plague then rageing, & was interred in the outward Chappel of the Colledg, neer the North wall, under the Steeple.

I have nothing to say in the place of Dr Winter⁷³, tho he was interpos’d in the Provost’s seat in the vacancie of succession between the said Bishop of Meath & Dr Thomas Seele⁷⁴, the tenth lawfull Provost, of whom we are now to speak.

He was borne in Dublin, the son of one of the Officers of Christ Church, from which he derived little more then his education, untill he was better provided for in the Colledg & the repute of being an honest man’s sonn. He was a studious person in his youth, & coming to be a Fellow in the Colledg, was very painfull in the training up of his pupils, and in that imployment continued for some time

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21 [William Eyre, rector at Mile End, just north of Colchester, and a prolific correspondent and writer.]
22 [John, 1:47 - Jesus saw Nathanael coming to him, and saith of him, Behold an Israelite indeed in whom is no guile.]
23 [Samuel Winter, (c.1603-1666), Household Chaplain to the Parliamentary Commissioners. Provost from 1652 to 1660, but appointed by Cromwell, not by the King.]
24 [Thomas Seele, (c. 1611-1675), Provost from 1661 to 1675.]
after the Irish rebellion, & then, means of support failing at the Colledg, fell into a broken world when the affections of men were much disjointed, and being not of soe universalized a policie as to fitt himself to those times & the frequent changes of Government, was, for the most part, shelter’d & maintain’d in the houses of his friends, finding poverty and their kindness the only harbour of his peace, content and security. For tho he could not well enjoy the tranquilitie of a calme, yet he wanted not the securitie of a port. During which time he preached to those of the Protestant communion as often as opportunity & lycense of the then Governors permitted [279] until the happy restitution of King Charles the second, which soon changed his miseries into jubilees, and converted his misfortunes into felicities. He being promoted (tho then a married man) to the Provostship of the Colledg, he lived allwaies in a venerable esteeme, as being an honest man. For under that reduplication few men are generally hated. His sermons were furnished allwaies with very good matter, which was more sound then at sometimes his expressions were warrantable, tho lined with a good meaning. For that is not forgotten nor doth the memory thereof much prejudice his reputation. That is one of the comonplaces of the Colledg, as he was comparing the Law with the Gospell, he said that the sacrificing in the old Law was a prodigious butchery, which, giving offence, the matter being taken into consideration by the then Provost & Fellows, he was ordered & accordingly did make recantation of that expression publiquely in the Chapple. Which some then thought might, if not justified, might at least excused by the help of ordinary chriticisme, setting forth that the word ‘prodigious’ hath in severall good authors bin taken in a good as well as in a bad sense. However his recantation is not to be turned to his disgrace by those that knew that St Austin’s recantations are interwoven amongst those excellencies which crowned his reputation. Soon after his advancement to the Provostship he was made Dean of St Patrick’s, which, with his Provostship, he held during his life. I inlarg the less upon the account of his learning in regard he hath already bin much dignified by Doctor Burlace who saith that he was a person in moralls and true literature signally emminent, which is a very great encomium. As to his government of the Colledg, some held him a good governo, others reputed it not the best, for, according to the Rule of Opticks, Alia apparent fracta dum reversa sunt integra ob medii diversitatem. For my part, I have reason to believe that the experience which he gained by being Fellow of the Colledg soe many years under the government of Bishop Chapple (undoubtedly the [280] best Governor that ever resided in the Colledg) together with his own abilities were sufficient to have made him fitt for government. Yet when I consider the much craziness and many infirmities which attended him whilst he was Provost, if there were any failer in that government, it was not to be attributed soe much to his unfittness, as to his inabilitie, arising

25 [Augustine of Hippo, who, in his Confessions, retracted his earlier belief in Manichaeism.]
from those reasons, to execute his authoritie. Tho he continued long sick, yet at last he yielded to
death and was interred in the said College Chapple.

Dr Michaell Ward26, the 11th Provost. I must begin my discourse of him from his first coming to
the Colledg, a stranger out of England, & therefore must speak of him abstractively from his relations
and family, not knowing nor haveing heard the condition of the one or the qualities of the other. He
was a hard student in the Colledg all the time of his being there, and after he was graduated and
admitted fellow of this society, he painfully instructed his pupills, & upon Dr Lingard’s death27 was
thought fittest to succeed him as Divinity Reader & Professor of Divinity, & upon the death of
Provost Seell was made Provost, & soe continued untill he was appointed Bishop of Ossory28, being
soon after translated to the rich Bishopprick of Londonderry29, having ascended in a short time by all
the former steps of advancement, rather by his own deserts, then the help of kindred or allies, yet by
the favour and assistance of his Grace the Lord Duke of Ormond. As to his behaviour and parts, soe
much thereof as hath fallen within the regards and compass of my conversation with him, tho it bee
less then what others say of him, yet I concieve that he hath in all parts fulfilled the measure if all
endowments requisite to the discharg of all the imployments committed to his trust. And that there are
many qualities eminently resplendent in his conversation, besides his learning. Yet how he
should gain soe great an interest in soe short a time to pass through soe many preferments might be a
matter of admiration to those who are unacquainted wih his sagacity to manage prosperous chances to
his advantage, & his good fortune in complying with accidental necessities. Tho non minus apud eam
honestas, quam apud alios necessitas valet30. He is a man much reverenced for a cleer reputation and
as often as he preacheth, by the elaborate composure of his sermons,
purchaseth deserved applause.

Much more might be said of him, were I not afraid to fall under the censure of those who attribute the
much commendation of young men in their life time, either to flattery in the writer or luxurience of
stile.

Doctor Marsh, the 12th Provost. To speak of the now Provost, as I did not willingly omitt
anything of importance to the advantage of his predecessors’ honour & character, soe, haveing
declared their virtues, with applaus & commendation, that I may not be wanting to the meritt of
Doctor Narcissus31 Marsh. I must say that his government, yet in its infancie, is such as ranks him in
the list of Provosts amongst those of chiefest remark, and that his beginning is sufficient to warrant a more then probable inference of his good progress. For undoubtedly, if he holds on in the course he hath begun, he will prove in fame and in the list of Provosts either like the letter Dał in the Persian alphabet, which exalts itself above the foregoing letters, then the letter Re which depresseth itself under the letters it is joined with. Notwithstanding the exalted virtue of his humility. And it is hoped that que bono sunt incoata principio, mala non peragenter exitu. And as to the index of the transissions and transactions of his life hitherto, it shall commence from the day of his birth. He was borne at Hannington in Wiltshire on the [282] Eve of Saint Thomas the Apostle anno 1638. He gained the first rudiments of learning in the said county in the school called Highworth, which by singulatitie if denomination might be as fitly applyed to animatite his sublime deserts as any one who hath bin trained up there. He is by his father descended from a Saxon family of his name anciently seated in Kent, out of which his great grandfather being derived, changed his seat to the place of our Provost’s birth, where his father now liveth in the good esteem of his country. His mother was of the Colebournes in Dorsetshire. He, being well fitteth for the University, was sent to Oxford, and admitted into Maudlin Hall, anno ... about the beginning of July. He was chosen Fellow of Exeter Colledg on the 30th of June 1658. He afterwards became Chaplain to the Bishop of Exeter, now Bishop of Sarum, and afterwards was Chaplain to Chancellor Hyde, Earl of Clarendon. He comenced Doctor of Divinity in the Act at Oxford anno 1671, and in the year 1673 was made principal of St Alban’s Hall by the appointment of the Duke of Ormond, Chancellor of that Universitie. His great abilities in learning and discretion recommended him to several publick employments & offices. He was chosen to preach the Act sermon at Oxford anno 1678, having also by publick appointments before that preached there on the solemnity of the 5th of November anno 1667. He was alsoe before that time chosen one of the additionall Proctors for keeping that Universitie in better order during the King’s aboad there anno 1665. He is a person of generall and accurate learning. Soe that to commend him for any particular sort of good literature were to derogate from the universality of his erudition. Yet I must comend to the perusal of the ingenious reader the artificiall schemas of the planetts, wherein he describes the lines of their sundry motions respectively and most exactly according to the ancient and moderne hypotheses.[283] Nor can I forbear to mention his exquisite tract concerning the Sympathy of Lute and Violl strings with the true

32 [The converse of the more usual ut bono peragantur exitu que malo sunt incoata principio]
33 [In the 17th century 21st December.]
34 [Seth Ward]
35 [Edward Hyde, 1st Earl of Clarendon (1609 – 1674)]
36 [The ceremonial act of investiture of the “cap of authority” – the Graduation ceremony at Oxford.]
37 [The Graduation sermon]
determination thereof, which is bound up with the Naturall History of Oxfordshire and lately set forth in Oxford. Moreover he hath translated some sermons of Saint Euphrain out of the Syriack language into Latin and may be said to be rather the entire translator of the fourth Constantinopolitan Councell (by the mistake of the printer entitled the third) then the corrector of that translation, & certain it is that the old translation of the Cannons set forth by Mr Beveridg anno 1672 under the name of ΣΥΝΟΔΙΚΟΝ being very defective in most places, was by him adjusted to a perfect consonancie with the best Greek copy, insomuch that he deserves the prais of an exact translator, rather than of a mere corrector. He was upon the recommendation of the Duke of Ormond (Chancellor as well of Oxford as of this Universitie) appointed Provost of this Colledg in the year of our Lord 1678, and on the 24th of January in that year took his oath of Provost & tho the designe of his comeing from Oxford to this government was like the travelling of the Sun, not to informe himself but to enlighten others. Yet he, regarding the latter, does not neglect the former, spending what spare hours he can gaine from the government of the Colledg in his laborious studies. Yet soe that he is allwaies present in the Chapple at the performance of all Divine Offices, and in all points performs his duty soe exactly that his successors cannot hope to proceed further in good government then a perfection of imitating him.

Lastly, he has shewed his ability of preaching upon ordinary and extraordinary occasions, and thereby gained applaus from all sorts of people, his sermons appearing plaine to the vulgar, and very learned and artificially composed to the greatest schollars in the auditorie.

Wee have hitherto treated of the first Chancellor, Vice Chancellor, & all the Professors of Divinity of this Universitie, as alsoe of all the Provosts of this Colledg, and are now to speak of three fellows of the first erection, (to wit) Henry Usher, Luke Challoner & Launcelott Moines, Masters of Art, as also of Henry Lee, William Daniell & Stephen White, schollars of the House by the first erection.

Henry Usher, the first Fellow of this Colledg, laid the foundation of his learning in Paris & in the Universitie of Cambridg, & was ever imputed both pious and learned. He was first Treasurer of the church of the Holy Trinitie in Dublin, & in the year 1579 was made Proctor thereof. On the Saturday next before the feast of Saint Patrick anno 1580 the said Henry Usher was by Dean Garvie, & others to whom it appertained, admitted into the Chapter House and installed as Archdeacon of Dublin, upon the grant of that dignitie made unto him by Adam Loftus, then Lord Archbishop of

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38 [‘Sympathy of Viol or Lute Strings, which was printed in Plot’s *Oxfordshire* (1677)]
39 [William Beveridge, English divine (1637 – 1708). The work is indeed the *Synodicon*]
40 [Lecture theatre or room.]
Dublin. He laboured much in projecting the erection of this Colledg, and was employed as agent into England to present a petition to Queen Elizabeth for the same, & to solicit there in that behalf, and obtained from his Highness a licence of mortmain of the lands granted by the City of Dublin to the Colledg. He was afterwards promoted from the Archdeaconry of Dublin to the Archbishroprick of Ardmanagh in the year 1595. He dyed at Termonfeake in the year 1613, being of a great age, and was buried (much lamented) in the Church of Saint Peter in Drogheda. [285]

Lucas Challoner the second Fellow of the first constitution, afterwards promoted to the degree of Doctor in Divinity. In his time counted a person of good learning and discreet sobriety. He was much employed in furthering the erection and building of this Colledg, having received and disbursed all the monies expended therein, and having also had the oversight of the fabrick, which by his carefull endeavours was accomplished, according to the inscription of his monument in Dublin Colledg Chappell, set up to his memory by his said daughter, *vizt:*

*Conditur hoc tumulo Chaloneri triste cadaver cujus ope et precibus conditur ista domus.*

This Tombe within it here contains of Chalnor the sad Remaines.

By whose prayer and helping hand this house erected here doth stand.

And he having then a great esteem in that season of the world, he was also highly valued in his allyance with Doctor James Usher, late Lord Primate of all Ireland, contracted by his intermarriage with his only daughter, by whom his memory flourished in great reputation in the family of Sir Timothy Tirrell. She having borne unto him a numerous progenie. And it is not to be forgotten what Doctor Burelce could not omit (vzfy) that at the same time that Sir Thomas Bodley, anno 1598, bought books for his library at Oxford, Doctor Challoner and Mr James Usher (his son in law) were then employed into England to bestow eighte hundred pounds given by the then officers of the Army to furnish up a Library for the Colledg of Dublin, much enlarged of late by the accession of the said late Lord Primate Usher’s books thereunto, & since then augmented by Sir Jerome Alexander, late second Justice of the Comon Pleas, who, by his last will and testament, hath bestowed on his library [286] with ... hundred pounds to fitt a place for it, besides

42 [sic]
43 ['corrected' by Harris from 'chapple'.]
44 [mortmain - The perpetual ownership of real estate by institutions such as churches that cannot transfer or sell it.]
45 [Sir Timothy Tyrrell (1617–1701) Governor of Cardiff and General of Ordnance in Wales married Elizabeth, only daughter and heir of Usher.]
46 [They had four sons and eight daughters.]
47 [~1594 – 1670]
500l in money which he bequeathed to be laid out in additional building to the said Colledg, now called Alexander’s Buildings, and hath also given 24 pounds per annum for ever to the Colledg, whereof seven pounds yearly is to be paid to his Library Keeper, & the remainder to pious uses relateing to the said Colledg, over and above the remand of his whole estate, in case the issue of his only daughter should fail. This passage I could not omit in regard it lay so nerely chained to the affaire of Doctor Challoner last mentioned, noe more that I can forbear to sett forth upon soe just an occasion the extraordinary kindness & bounty of Doctor Jones

48, Bishop of Meath, towards the said Colledg, who, to his great cost, fitted a place for the reception of the late Lord Primate Usher’s library, when given unto the Colledg, & erecting a fair pair of stairs & other conveniencies appertaining to that additionall library.

But to returne to Doctor Challoner, tho what wee have said of him be enough. Yet it is not all that may be applied to his praise. For he was a man more carefull to advance designes of publique advantage then his own benefitt & one who was never tainted with the least blott of reproach in his negotiations for the publique. For as it hath bene said of him major solicitudo eum tenuit de Collegii terminis proferundis, quam de terris suis dilatandis. And to conclude with that which is his crowne, he was in those times a good preacher, as well as a benefactor to the Colledg. In memory whereof his picture is at large sett up in the Colledg Library.[287]

As to Launcelott Moines, the third Fellow, it appeareth by what is mentioned of him in the foundationall Charter of this Colledg that he was there a Master of Arts, but as to his actions & other qualifications, they seem to lye hidden in unrevealed darkness, no records of the Colledg, nor anything that I can hear of from Fame affording him any character, good or bad, & therefore my penn is not boldly adventurous as to determine any thing of him in history upon bare imagination. Yet the honour he had to be appointed by Charter the first Fellow is not an unnaturall presumption that he was a person provided of discretion and all necessary knowledg for the discharge of that office, & the sylence of Fame is enough to warrant a charitable opinion of him, as well to excuse the writer for saying any more of him. But as future information shall contribute further knowledge of him, and opportunity shall be had, I will accordingly doe him right.

For as much as concernes the three first Schollars of the House established by the Foundationall Charter of this Colledg, (to witt) as they are three ranged, Henry Lee, William Daniell & Stephen White. Of the first and the last49 of them, I can say little from what I have heard of them, being

48 [Henry Jones, (~1605 – 1681). Also Vice-Chancellor of Trinity. His descendent, Elizabeth, printed James Ware’s History of the Bishops of Ireland for Harris in 1739.]
49 [As noted earlier, White became a Jesuit & a noted Catholic academic.]
restrained by the fear of saying more than I should, or less than I ought, upon soe fallible a ground as conjecture, haveing nothing of information any other way. Soe that Mr William Daniell is the only one of them three scollars of the house of whom I can warrantably speak. Nor shall I state any thing of him, but what is founded in the depth of certainty. Sir James Ware reports him to have bin most learned [288] and emminently knowing in the Hebrew Language. He was borne at Kilkenny and was one of the first elected Fellows into the society of this Colledg, & was either the first or second Doctor of Divinity that proceeded in this Universitie. For from the first foundation of this Colledg untill the Commencement held in the year 1614, including the five Doctors which then proceeded, (to witt) Doctor Usher, Doctor Richardson, Doctor Walshe, who proceeded by publique disputation, and Thomas Jones, Lord Archbishop of Dublin and Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and Edward King, Bishop of Elphin, who proceeded of grace, there had bin then but seven Doctors of Divinity in this University. He was Treasurer in the Cathedral Church of St Patrick’s, Dublin, and was from thence promoted to be Archbishop of Tuam, being consacrated in the month of August 1609. And in the same year was admitted one of the King’s Privie Councell. He translated the English Liturgie into the Irish tongue, as also the New Testament out of Greek into the same. He dyed at Tuam the 11th of July 1628, and lyeth intombed under his predecessor’s monument (to witt) Nehemiah Donnellan\(^{50}\), Archbishop of Tuam aforesaid. [289]
The nativitie of this Universitie was placed in a happy positure of the heavens, it being soon after the Reformation of religion, and the onely universitie erected since then in his Majestie’s three
kingdomes. It was designed in the firstprojection of it by Adam Loftus, Lord Archbishop of Dublin,
into whose hands and trust Queen Elizabeth had put the chief conduct of ecclesiasticall affaires for the
promotion and strengthening [of] this Reformation, & hath answered its designation not only in the
production of many learned and pious preachers, nay, more then any universitie in Christendom
consisting of one colledg, & in the like number of years, hath yielded, but also in affording very great
instances of such as have mightily defended it against the Church of Rome, (vizt) the Lord Primate
Usher, the now Lord Bishop of Meath & many others of that holy order, besides Doctor Joshua
Hoyles51, sometimes Professor of Divinity in the Universitie of Oxford, as well as in this Universitie,
and many others of the inferior clergie whose works in print give an ample testimony of their great
performances in that kinde.

But that I may, by a proper introduction, come to a more particular discourse of the late
Colledg, give me leave to sett forth the state of Religion in this kingdome, as it was some years before
its foundation, whereby the necessity of founding it, to the end aforesaid, will appear.

King Henry the 8th did rather make way for an alteration in the Church of Ireland, to the
advancement of his profit and the exaltation of his power, then use the meanes for a thorough
reformation in point of doctrine. For he went noe further then by Act of Parliament to exclude the
Pope’s authoritie, to gaine a restitution of supremacie in ecclesiasticall affairs to himself & his
successors, [290] and to annex unto the Crown all the lands and inheritances of monasteries, together
with the first fruits and twentieth parts tentyhs52 of all ecclesiasticall promotions, and to settle a course
for the granting of Bishoppricks by his authoritie.

King Edward the sixth, also, being advised by his Councell, did not adventure to establish
anything by Act of Parliament as to the Reformation, for they held it not agreeable to the rules of
prudence to have too many irons in the fire at once, nor safe in point of policie to try conclusions in
the King’s minoritie on a people so tenaciously addicted as were the Irish of this Kingdome to the
Church of Rome, and of a nature not so tractable as the English were. Tho indeed they were in his
raigne quiett beyond imagination.

Yet the happy progress and great increase of the Protestant religion in England in the raigne of
King Edward the sixth did not onely stirr up the zeal of those who had a good disposition thereunto in

51 [Joshua Hoyle. Died 1654. Also Rector of St Werburgh’s. Became Master of University College Oxford, and
regius professor of divinity there.]
52 [correction by Harris.]
this kingdom in the time of Henry the 8th, but did also with the help and assistance of Sir Anthony St Leger, then Lord Deputy of Ireland, give occasion & encouragement thereunto, insomuch that when King Edward sent the liturgie in English to be read in Dublin, it was much contested between the two greatest prelats of the kingdom until then, both of them professing the Romish religion, and brought up in the principles of & strict observance thereof. For George Browne, Archbishop of Dublin, publickly countenanced the Protestant religion in his Province, which the then Archbishop of Armagh, Georg Dowdall, & his clergie did as openly oppose, as appears by their several speeches publicly pronounced in the pulpit. For on [291] Easter day 1551 the same Archbishop of Armagh, after High Mass was ended in St. Peter’s church in Armagh, uttered himself thus in his sermon in presence of several lords of the Pale & a full congregation.

‘Behold’ (said he) ‘the case is altered between you old English of the Pale & the old inhabitants of this nation. For formerly yee strive only for interest the one with the other, & forbad marriage the one with the other. But now if you seek not friendship, joineing together for the defence of the Roman religion, it will soon have a blow. Therefore I myself, together with the whole clergie within my diocese, do not only absolve all of the English race that have matched unto the old natives of this realm, but likewise from henceforth for the good of the Romish church, & for the depressing of heresie, make it lawfull.’

Before we come to recite the speech of the other prelate (to wit) the Archbishop of Dublin, I shall take leave to insert what were some of the consequences of the foregoing speech. The Lords of the Councill of England, being informed by Dr. Anthony St Leger, then Lord Deputy of the Kingdom, what had bin soe delivered in the pulpit by the Archbishop of Armagh, and from thence taking into consideration what influence his discourse might have had on the people to the disturbance of the peace, immediately ordered 200 hundred (or, as some others more credibly say, 400) foot soldiers to be sent into Ireland who soon after landed at Bray, & in the same year the Privie Council of England sent over a commission to have the liturgie read in English in the churches of Dublin, and at the same time deprived Georg Dowdall, Archbishop of Armagh, of the title of Primacie of all Ireland and by charter conferred the same on Georg Brown, then Archbishop of Dublin, who was the first and [292] last Archbishop of that see who enjoyed that title, holding it no longer then during the reign of Edward the Sixth. Upon whose demise, Queen Mary being vested with royall authoritie, did, not withstanding the aforesaid charter, restore that tytle, with the

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53 [Sir Anthony St Leger or Sellenger (~1496–1559). Lord Deputy 1540-51 and again 1553-56.]
54 [George Dowdall (1487–1558) was twice Archbishop of Armagh, under Henry 8th and Mary.]
privilidges and preheminencies thereunto belonging, unto the See of Ardmagh where it hath ever since continued.

It is to be observed that the above mentioned charter, granted unto Georg Browne for the Primacie, did not arrive at Dublin until the last of October 1551, being the eve of All Saints. Yet the day following, Thomas Lockwood\textsuperscript{55}, Dean of the Cathehdral of the Blessed Trinity in Dublin, who was not cordially affected to the interests of Rome, & dispenced with himself in most outward conformities (as did several others of his brethren, either in hope of sudden revolution by the death of the King, an insurrection or some other accident, or with intent they might relieve those of their brethren whom their obstinacie had deprived of their benefices) having then read the Liturgie in English before the Lord Deputy of this Kingdomge, Georg Browne Archbishop of Dublin, ascending the pulpit, made the following speech to the whole congregation:

In margin: an authentick copy of this speech was communicated by Launcelott\textsuperscript{56}, late Lord Archbishop of Dublin, unto Sir James Ware, Knight, who entered it amongst his chief memorials.

Georg Brown, Archbishop of Dublin, his speech at the beginning of the Reformation in the time of Edward the Sixth.

“Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings hath God ordained strength. This saying is now fulfilled in this your gratuitous Prince Edward, by the Grace of God King of England, France and Ireland, [293] your lawfull soveraigne and heir apparent to the late royall King Henry, father of this flourishing branch, and descended from his loynes. Who prudently took care of him, not trusting him to the tuition of one or two in particular, but to sixteene whom he made his executors, having put great confidence in these his subjects before his departure hence. Therefore, seeing my redeemer, Jesus Christ, hath awakened my drowsie spirits that had slept for this many years in darkness, by enlightening my understanding, it shall be my care for the future to lead you my flock into the paths of salvation as near as by God’s assistance I shall be able. Praying to my Redeemer to enlarge your hearts & understandings, that ye may be more able to reap the estimable benefits that ye shall partake by the knowledge of the holy Gospyle, which hath bin retained from you all, for severally ages past.

Your late royall King Henry in his lifetime was no small instrument for the furthering and bringing on of this charitable worke of piety, a testimony of which stands before your eyes, by that holy Bible which he caused to be translated & printed for the generall benefitt of the comonalitie,

\begin{footnotes}
55 [Dean 1543-65 (the year he died).]
56 [Lancelot (Launcelot) Bulkeley (1568?-1650) archbishop of Dublin 1619 – 50.]
\end{footnotes}
which his Grace was pleased to bestow on this Cathedrall, when he changed his Priory into a Dean and Chapters. Yet tho ye be deprived of this wise monarch, yet the Allmighty hath bin gratiously pleased to send you another in his place (whome God preserve unto us for his glory and our safety) who, like a father taking care for his children, hath showed the love which he bears to his subjects, by his endeavours to find out a [294] way how you may rightly understand, when you pray, what to ask of God, what yee say, considering that there be thousands amongst us that cannot pronounce an unknown tongue, much less understand it when they drop their beads.

There are several crafty men persuading you at this instant from coming to the service now established, and will be hereafter to mislead you, but be not catcht in their snares, for they would have you still be kept in ignorance purposely for their earthly gain. Know that if you once come to understand the truth of God’s word, that their cheats will soone be discovered. But your gratious King and his learned Councell have noe end in these alterations save onely the preservation of your soules. Neither are the tenents of the Reformation bending in the least any way to deprive you of your rights, but to defend them. Neither shall you buy your pardons at those dear rates as yee have, but in lieu thereof a hearty repentance, which is a sure remission of sins, and a sign of a true convert. Which sacrafice the prophett David thus describeth (a broaken and a contrite heart, O God, thou will not despise). By which you may see that true repentence is of more force with God then ten thousands of gold and silver for the purchaseing of your pardons are the indulging and supporting of men to sinn and to perish therein.

For your better satisfaction the chronicles and records in writeing this day to be read in most of the diocess of this Kingdome are sufficient testimonies how often your Popes have trampled over our Kings [295] and your ancestors, by imposing of large summs on them, before they could be reconciled unto them. Sometimes pretending a holy warr, & threatening yee all by their excommunications, in case yee did not contribute. At other times not telling why and wherefore they must have a certaine summ. These and several such like impositions have your fathers undergone by the Church of Rome, which King Henry, takeing advice with his learned councell, withdrew from her principles. After which immediately he eased the nation of her Peter’s Pence, which her Popes had forceably imposed upon his predecessors and these dominions. Some of yee pay it privately to this day, but thereby yee not onely break the statutes of this realme, but also bring on yourselves unnecessary troubles.

57 [the word ‘Peter’ in Harris’ hand.]
Lastly let us rejoice with the saints to whom this day is set apart (praying to God alone) who hath, in the effigies of our hopefull Prince and his learned councell, sent us another Moses, and, in the reformation of the Church, a second Aron\(^58\), to bring us out of the blind zeal of idolatrous worship, as he did his people the children of Israel when they were conducted and led through the Red Sea from Pharaoh and his host."

In the speech of the Popish Bishop of Armagh you may discern the spirit of those who make their own pleasures and interests the supreme reason of their commands and the people’s obedience, and doe desire to perpetuate divisions and intaile quarrells upon innocent posterity by the imbroyling of them in endless contentions. But in the speech of Georg Browne Archbishop of Dublin (then become a [296] Protestant), is perfectly delineated the character of a man sett free to exercise the dictates of reason and conscience upon better information. For tho he was untill then soe fast bound with the chaine of religious awfulness to the Church of Rome, that he deemed it an unexpiable offence once to admit unto his heart the least thought of a contrary assertion to its tenets, or a doubtful wavering from its principles, yet upon more industrious search finding satisfaction to his conscience, would not prostitute his practice to the will and pleasure of the Pope, esteeming one scruple of conscience heavier than a pound of Pappall displeasure, and would neither conceal his judgement nor suspend his practice. Yet did he order this change with such moderation as wisdome, peace and charitie did dictate and recommend. So that notwithstanding the bustles of combating opinions between these two great prelates, both parties were at peace with one another. The Protestants communicating with the Papists in a fair correspondency of civil deportment & brotherly love in such things as neither weakened true holiness nor cross the designe of Reformation. And the Roman Catholiques also judiciously exerciseing their Christian charitie, resorting with good satisfaction of improvement of their understanding in Divine knowledge to the Protestant church in King Edward’s time, notwithstanding the industry and artifices of that Popish bishop, George Dowdall, to infuse sedition and obstinacie into the hearts of the people, which did not doe farr prevail as the endeavours of that Protestant archbishop to enlarge both the society and interest of the Protestant church [297] in making the terms of that Communion free and easie, whilst he prosecuted the power of Godliness and devotion in himself and others by example. In this tranquill state the affaires of the Church remained during the reign of Edward the Sixth, a new alteration entering in with the reign of Queen Mary, rather harsh and violent to ecclesiastical persons in the administration of ecclesiastical affairs, under the said Popish Archbishop of Ardmagh (restored to his Primacie by Queen Mary, with an abundant show of grace and favour) then sanguinary to any in this Kingdom.

\(^{58}\) [brother of Moses in Exodus. Famous for eloquence.]
For tho the bloody & flameing persecution of her raigne against the protestants in England were soe great that as Helin⁵⁹ saith no persecution since Dioclesian’s time ever raged soe terribly. And tho she passed Acts of Parliament in England in favour of the Papists, yet she attempted nothing in Parliament against the Protestants of Ireland, as being disturbed by the frequencie of insurrection in England and the care of preserving Callais from the powers of the French. Tho towards the end of her raigne she designed the bringing in of a Spanish-like Inquisition into this Kingdome. For she had appointed a certaine person commissionated with that authority, who, lyeing in a Protestant inn in Chester for some time, in expectation of a fair winde to convey him into Ireland, his hostes, being very jealous in the Protestant religion, & discovering the designe of his going for Ireland, and perceiving that his commission was shutt up in a black box which lay in his chamber, she, takeing advantage of his going forth upon some occasion or other, made bold to take forth out of that box his commission, and put therein [298] things of another nature. This Commissioner, upon the turning of the winde, suspecting noe such trick as she served him with, brings that box into Ireland with him, and presenting himself to the Chief Governour, after a solemn speech made, setting forth the ampletude of the authority granted unto him in every particular of his commission. And for veriﬁcation thereof opened the box to produce it. But, being opened, there dropt out of the same a pack of cards, nothing more serious being therein to be found. Whereupon he with great shame and disgrace departed and suddenly went into England to renew his commision. But before he could soe do Queen Mary dyed and his intended inquisition failed.

But altho the designed inquisition met with this frustration, I must take notice (as well by way of admonition to our now married Clergie men, in case Popery should at any time be introduced, as by way of declaration of what severity was shewn to ecclesiasticks of all sorts in that state and condition in the time of Queen Mary) of the actings of Georg Dowdall Archbishopp of Ardmagh, and his colleagues in commission. For after that the old mass was again sett up in Lattin on the 27th day of August 1553, and that the Queen’s letters, dated at Westminster the 23rd of October (a fatall day to this Kingdome) in the first year of her raigne, were granted for restoreing of the primacie of the Lord Archbishop of Ardmagh, being then fled out of the realme. The said Georg Dowdall, Archbishop of Ardmagh being primate, Thomas Bishop⁶⁰ of Killallow and others there conjoint in commision deposed Georg Archbishopp of Dublin [299] Edward Staple⁶¹ Bishop of Meath, John Bale⁶² Bishop of

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⁶⁰ [Almost certainly Thomas Leverous (1497 – 1577), Bishop designate of Leighlin, afterwards bishop of Armagh, and one of the prime movers against Travers and the others. The Church of Ireland Bishop of Kilkilalo in 1553 was Cornelius O’Dea. The Catholic bishopric was in administration.]

⁶¹ [Edward Staples or Staple (~1490 – ~1560). Bishop of Meath 1529-54.]
Ossory, Robert Travers Bishop of Leighlin, Thomas Darcy and other prelates, and in the same year sate upon all priests that were married and deprived them of their benefices. It will also be necessary to give notice unto the reader, by way of introduction, to what is hereafter to be sett forth in the time of Queen Elizabeth, that in the year 1555 Doctor Hugh Curwin, then made Chancellor of Ireland, as also Archbishop of Dublin, landed at Dublin, and soon after there called a Provincia, as he pretended, for reformation of religion. But being a man of greater moderation, and esteemed wiser then the rest of his brethren, acted his part with such mildness as that I doe not find any moate or blame in history on his name, insomuch that he continued Archbishop of Dublin, not onely dureing the raigne of Queen Mary, but also for above six years in Queen Elizabeth’s time, untill that, he being burdened with years, made resignation as well of the Chancellorship as of the said Archbishopship, being then translated to the Bishoprick of Oxford. And this is to be noted of him, during his aboard in this see, that as in the time of Queen Mary, he being a profest Roman Catholick, he shewed not much severity to the Protestants, soe in the time of Queen Elizabeth, making profession of the Reformed Religion, he was thought too remiss in the work of carrying on the Reformation, indulging the Mass to be said in some of the churches of Dublin, where the English liturgie was then used, shewing in the reciprocation of those changes not much more dislike of the one, then affection to the other, being perhaps more of a statesman than a casuist, & therefore unwilling to be too active either way for fear of bringing his prudence into question. Hitherto the Reformation in Dublin proceeded rather by the good disposition of the people rather then the active zeal of their Archbishop.

But Adam Lofus his immediate successor, being of a more youthful vigour, and more envigoured with zeal to that good work, soon proceeded with greater effect and warmth of affection, being armed with the authority of the Queen’s commission (for he well knew that all alterations of religion are to be backed by power), by vertue whereof he soon caused carved images to be removed out of the churches, which until then had been abused to superstition, and caused to be defaced such pictures and paintings as were not allowable in the Church of England. And tho at his first coming to that diocess he found the want of a sufficient number of learned men to supply the cures and to assist him in the great work of Reformation (the Church of Ireland being then filled for the most part with ignorant, illiterate and ambiguous clergie, whose abilities reached noe further than the liturgie or

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62 [(1495 –1563), Bishop of Meath 1552-3].
63 [Bishop 1550-4.]
64 [The deposed bishops were George Browne of Dublin, Edward Staples of Meath, Thomas Lancaster of Kildare and Robert Travers of Leighlin. John Bale of Ossory and William Casey of Limerick fled, and Casey was formally deprived of his see by Mary in 1554.]
65 [Hugh Curwen or Coren or Curryn (~1500 - 68). Lord Chancellor 1554-8. Archbishop of Dublin 1555-67.]
66 [Synod.] 
67 [The spiritual charge or oversight of parishioners or lay people.]
the Book of Homilies) yet he took the best orders he could to increase the number of faithful and learned ministers as occasion served. It was his happiness as to the then Protestants that they had not then rashly disputed themselves into parties, as since they have done, making their proper sentence the touchstone of orthodoxy, and their private opinions the public standard of doctrine and discipline. He found amongst the [301] Protestants no seditious or scrupulous nonconformists to positive constitutions, nor did he finde many scandalous nonconformists to the Laws of God and Rules of Moralities. Soe that he had noe other partie to reduce unto the Church of England but the Roman Catholiques, to which undertakeing he did chearfully apply himself, for settling an universall uniformity & order through the Kingdome, many who had bin Popish Parish Priests (now become Protestant ministers) allowing of the Queen’s proceedings, did gladly follow the order of the Church of England, & others not soe willingly admitting them, did yet dissemblingly use some parts of the one and some parts of the other liturgie, but most of them contemning all parts of the Reformation, continued obstinately against it. The Popish inhabitants being led for the most part, according to the discrimination of those who had bin their Parish Priests.

Hee had greater hopes of reduceing the Papists by the example of piety and devotion in the Protestants then by rigour or severity, and desired rather to draw them to a generall conformitie in the smooth way of reduction by such alluring motives then by more ridgid meanes. For which reason he endeavoured by frequent preaching, exhortation and by all other meanes he could invent to promote the power of godliness in the Protestants to make them shine forth as the example of piety, devotion and virtue to the Papists, in the mean time not neglecting such other meanes as the times would then bear for the gaining of the Papists, most of them in Dublin frequently repairing to the Protestant churches (tho not forsakeing the Mass) he concieved [302] that the beauty and strength of the Protestant Church would consist in its amplitude & unity, and therefore he laboured the sincere conversion of the Roman Catholiques. And the only or greatest difficultie he found in reducing things to that his good purpose was the opposition that the Popish priests gave thereunto, and the paucitie of able ministers of the Protestant religion to make head against them, which would not probably be supplyed in proportion to the number of the Catholique priests (who had see many seminaries abroad) without the erection of an Universitie in this Kingdome, the state of affaire being then soe troublesome & dangerous in Ireland that few clergie men could be invited farther out of England. He therefore projected, and by the Queen’s gratious favour procured, the foundation of this University and Colledge, which, being seated on the ruins of the monastery of the Augustinians, we shall refer the remainder of what may be spoken thereof to the second part of our history of Dublin, wherein we are to treat of all the bishops, archbishopps, monasteries, cathedralls, parish churches,
chapples, hospitalls and chaunteries68, which, respectively, are or have bin seated in, or adjoining to, the said City of Dublin, together with the synods, dyocessall & provinciall, and all other ecclesiasticall transactions which have passed in or concerne this Diocess.

68 [where Mass was sung daily.]
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The second charter was as follows,


John Huddlestone Wynne, General history of Ireland, Volume 1, p268
Notes:

1 Edgar’s Charter, called Oswald’s Law, 964, refers (in translation) to ‘the most noble city of Dublin’. WWW1 p46

2 Gruffudd ap Cynan (c. 1055 – 1137), King of Gwynedd in north-west Wales. He was born in Dublin, son of Ragnall, the daughter of Amlaíb mac Sitric; Óláf Sitriðgeøsson, called in Irish Amlaíb Cuaráin (c. 927–981) who was king of both Northumbria and Dublin. Gruffudd was raised in the monasteries of Swords in north county Dublin. The ‘life’ referred to is a near-contemporary biography, Hanes Gruffudd ap Cynan, which was edited and translated in 1910 by Arthur Jones, and the foundation legend is mentioned here (pp 106/107). Ware’s text is word-for-word from Camden: “…in the life of Griffith Ap Cynan Prince of Wales we read that Harold of Norway, when he had subdued the greatest part of Ireland, built Declin.” page 1366

“Apart from Armagh, the four monasteries mentioned by Ware are all other Columban foundations, founded either by Colm Cille himself, as were Derry – Done Chaol Caille, about 540. Drumcliffe – Drom Chliabhinn Slise, about 575, and Kells – Ceanannus in Meath, founded about 554. Or reputed to be Columban – the saint may have installed the eponymous Mura as abbot of Fahan Mura, near Buncrana in Donegal, on its foundation.

6 The diocese of Dublin had close ties to the see of Canterbury from its inception in 1038 when Dúnán, the first bishop, was consecrated there. Grégoire, was only a subdeacon when he was elected the 5th bishop by bishop by what Aubrey Gwynn called “the Norse party in the city”. He was sent to England where he was consecrated by Archbishop Ralph of Canterbury, but on his return he was prevented from entering his see by those who wanted Dublin integrated with the Irish hierarchy. A compromise was reached by which he was recognised as bishop of Dublin, while he in turn accepted the authority of Cellach, archbishop of Armagh, as primate. He was elevated to archbishop at the Synod of Kells in March 1152.

7 Giovanni Paparoni (died ca. 1153/1154) was an Italian Cardinal and prominent papal legate in dealings with Ireland and Scotland. He was created Cardinal by Pope Celestine II in 1143. He presided at the Synod of Kells in 1152, which decided the system of four archbishops (Armagh, Archbishop of Dublin (Roman Catholic), Cashel, and Tuam) for Ireland. He argued for a reduction in the number of bishops.

8 The Cistercian Gilla Crist Ua Conairche, O.Cist., (also known as Christianus) 5th Bishop of Lismore. Consecrated in 1151; resigned circa 1179; died 1186; also first Abbot of Mellifont; he is said to have been the first papal legate in Ireland.

9 The synod was held in Kells. Camden, however, gives the location as ‘Mell’, and Ware appears sto take this as an abbreviation of Mellifont.

10 Three (of five) 9th/10th century Norse brothers (or possibly cousins) - Sitric (d. 927), Ragnall (d. 921), Gofraid (d. 934), mar (d. 904) and Amlaíb (d. 896).

11 Áth Cliath Medraige – Clarinbridge, Galway From the Rennes Dindshenchas- Slige Mór, j. Ósceir Riada, iside contraim Eirem indé j à Íth cliath Cuaidm co li Áth Cliath Medraige, oérie l’Eiscir Riada, which divides Ireland in two, namely from Áth Cliath Cuaidm (Dublin) to Áth Cliath Medraige (Clarin Bridge near Galway) – Stokes, Whitley, ed. “The Prose Tales in the Rennes Dindshenchas”, Revue Celtique 15 (1894) pp418-84

12 probably “Carn Uí Néid to Cloch an Stocáin” Malin Head to Mizen Head - Fad na h-Eireann ö Charn Uí Néid ag Cloch an Stocáin, Keating, Geoffrey, Foras Feasa ar Éirinn, p130.
St. Breoghan of Mothel, founder of the 6th century abbey of that name near Portlaw in Waterford.

St. Moling Luachra (614-696). Moling was born in 614 in Sliabh Luachra in Kerry and was named Taircell. He came to Ros Broic and established a monastery there. During his time there he exercised some responsibility in the church of Glendalough and later in the church of Ferns. Ros Broic (the Wood of the Badger) was in mediaeval and post-mediaeval times known by various forms of Tigh Moling the House of Moling. The anglicised form was Simylin and in modern times is St Mullins.

Arcbracan was the residence of the Bishop of Meath, and one of the associated deesees. There are two possible bishops being referred to here: James Ussher, who was in that see from 1621 to 1625, when he was translated to Armagh. He was a voluminous writer both in Latin and English: in the list in Harris's Ware his works number some forty, and he was a particular favourite of both Wares; or Henry Jones, bishop from 1621 to 1625—whose granddaughter, Elizabeth Jones, was possibly the printer of Harris's own History.

The ruler of Ossairge in 1169 was Domhnall, son of Donnchadh Mac Giolla Phádraig — Book of Leinster folio 40b.

Ascall mac Ragnaill, or Hasculf Rognvaldsson, surnamed Mac Torcaill or Thorgillsson. While the Irish Annals say he died in battle, Cambrensis says he surrendered, but was killed when he taunted his captors.

This 'fragment of the history of Ireland' was copied by James Ware and is in the British Museum - Add. Ms. 4792. In the original French version, better known as 'The Song of Dermot and the Earl', Regan is quoted as a source rather than claiming to be the author.

The list is from Regan — II 1802-1814. There is a lacuna in the manuscript, and one name is probably missing, most likely that of Maurice Fitz Gerald.

Clearly Baynvill in the MS - Marked [sic] by Gilbert, and left blank in P001948241. The source is Regan, 1950 — "En bain, u il erent assis", which translates as "while bathing, where they were beset". Carew read it as one word, "bainuit", and thought it a place.

Richard Boyle, 1st Earl of Cork (1566 – 1643) also known as the Great Earl of Cork, was Lord Treasurer of the Kingdom of Ireland. Boyle was an important figure in the English colonization of Ireland in the 16th and 17th centuries, as he acquired large tracts of land in plantations in Munster in southern Ireland. Moreover, his sons played an important role in fighting against Irish Catholic rebellion in the 1640s and '50s, assisting in the victory of the British and Protestant interest in Ireland.

George Lane, 1st Viscount Lanesborough (c. 1620–1683). From 1662 to 1666 he was Member of Parliament for Roscommon. In November 1664 he was appointed to the Privy Council of Ireland, and on 5 October 1668 he succeeded his father as second Baronet. He was created Viscount Lanesborough in the Peerage of Ireland on 31 July 1676.

In the Annals section of Camden’s Britannia, for 1301 we read: The Lord Genevile married the daughter of John de Montfort. John de Mortimer married the daughter of the heir of the Lord Geneville. However, Sir Geoffrey de Genevile was Justiciar of Ireland, ~1228 - 21 Oct 1314 and married Maud de Lacy. He was still alive in 1301, but would have been over 70 at the time. His son, also Geoffrey, married the daughter of John de Montford, but died before 1283. His heir, Sir Piers de Genevile, died in 1292.

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There is no “Sunday’s Well” in Dublin. Ware possibly means St Mobhi’s Well on Donnybrook, also known as St Broc’s. The Irish name for Donnybrook is Domhnach Broc, and the first element, Domhnach, can mean
both ‘church’ and ‘Sunday’, and Tobar an Domhnaigh could mean either the Church Well or Sunday’s Well. Donnybrook is situated on the Dodder.