



LEAVING CERTIFICATE HISTORY CASE STUDY

Elizabethan
Dublin

EARLY MODERN IRELAND: TOPIC 2
REBELLION AND CONQUEST IN ELIZABETHAN IRELAND, 1558-1603

A resource for teachers of Leaving Certificate History,
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Introduction

The documents in this case study cover a period during which the principal city in Ireland reacted rapidly to the changing social and economic conditions which characterised the Elizabethan era. Population growth both in the town and surrounding countryside allowed trading activity to thrive. As custodians of local trade the *Old English civic elite of Dublin were ideally placed to take advantage of the opportunities afforded them by this burgeoning trade. This documentary analysis of the social and economic development of Dublin focuses on the role played by this elite in managing the social and economic development of Ireland's major urban settlement in the sixteenth century. The dissolution of the monasteries from the 1540s onwards laid the foundations for an accumulation of wealth in the hands of a small cluster of merchants that comprised the civic elite of Dublin. The *Old English of the towns were trusted allies of Tudor government in Ireland and the close co-operation between state and city government ensured that Dublin enjoyed extended municipal liberties and increased financial privileges in the Elizabethan period. This wealthy social elite monopolised trade and politics and was responsible for the harmonious running of the city. In sixteenth century Dublin membership of the corporation and guilds, religious practice, property owning, participation in civic and popular pageants and loyalty to the English crown constituted the essential components of citizenship. These elements form the framework for the organisation of documents for this case study.

The documents are grouped thematically allowing students to deal with specific economic, domestic, cultural and socio-political matters. The first grouping of documents, 'Geography and Urban Landscape', relates to and includes not only the topography of Dublin but also contemporary or near contemporary viewpoints on the city. *John Speed's map (Document 1), the first surviving cartographic representation of the town, outlines the contours of the city inside and outside the medieval walls.*Richard Stanihurst's distinctive account of his native city (Document 2) offers an important contemporary description of what might be called the 'historical environment' of Dublin. *John Derricke's woodcut (Document 3) provides vital evidence on the shape of prominent buildings visible on the sixteenth-century Dublin skyline. Students should be encouraged to use Stanihurst's commentary in conjunction with Speed's map and Derricke's woodcut to delineate the principal points of interest in the city's form and structure including the sites of churches and monastic foundations.

The second document grouping, 'Corporation, Guilds and Community,' deals with the personages and institutions at the apex of social and economic life in Dublin. The majority of corporation members in sixteenth-century Dublin were men of business whose daily life involved public administration and schemes for private gain. Most of them were literate and assiduous about keeping both personal and administrative records. In a tightly knit group, social bonding depended upon the interlinking of families. Genealogical records show the recurring emphasis placed upon lineage and family name, tradition and coats of arms. Relying on unswerving loyalty to the crown as a reason for preferment, the citizens of Dublin displayed a single-minded devotion to defending their hard-earned economic privileges. Economic benefits accrued from the monopolistic practices of trade and craft *guilds (Document 4). Students should be made aware of the importance of these trading privileges as they formed a key

component in the crown's policy of ensuring the economic and political stability of Dublin. The aldermen and councillors were not totally motivated by self-aggrandisement, however, as their belief in civic ritual was strong and was reflected in their participation in pageants and religious festivals held annually in the city (Document 5). Expenditure on the essentials of urban government was supplemented in times of distress and disease by direct measures to alleviate the suffering of the poor (Document 6). The foundation of Trinity College addressed the need for education; although established for religious motives, Trinity College also brought with it the hope of significant economic and cultural benefits (Document 7).

In the third section, 'Church and Community,' the relationship between the civic elite and religious practice is considered. Documents 8 and 9 deal respectively with official concerns over the persistence of traditional and popular forms of piety and with examples of sculptured monuments belonging to the social elite in Dublin churches. Within the city's guilds the restriction of practices associated with customary religious devotion provoked a mixed response. Just as grants of lands and property lent prestige and tangible wealth to some of the city's municipal leaders, the secularisation of monasteries had earlier allowed the corporation of Dublin to enjoy the spoils from the ensuing distribution of lands. Students should be introduced to the fact, however, that the religious conservatism of a large section of elite society in Dublin was becoming a serious source of disagreement with the crown. Moreover there was a constant preoccupation amongst the city councillors with defending property rights and protecting civic institutions associated with the old faith. These religious differences lent an extra edge to the sporadic but bitter clashes with the crown and its officials over the collection of revenues from customs, tariffs and illegal trading.

In the second half of Elizabeth's reign relations between the crown and the leading citizens of Dublin became increasingly strained. With the outbreak of hostilities on a hitherto unprecedented scale in 1597 and the collapse of revenue from trade an immense burden was placed on the local economy of Dublin. The final section, 'The Costs of War,' provides evidence of the effects of the Nine Years War on the municipality of Dublin. It was clear that the organisation of the defences of the city would have to depend upon the active participation and leadership of corporation members. This placed an increased financial drain on the city's revenue at a time when measures also had to be taken to relieve local hardship and accommodate a large influx of English soldiers. The situation reached breaking point when in March 1597 an explosion of gunpowder obliterated a large section of the commercial quarter of the city (Document 10). At a period of immediate danger to the English interest in Ireland, Dublin's corporation had to mount a campaign (Document 11) to relieve a whole range of economic problems which the gunpowder explosion had compounded. The burdens imposed by taxation, the activities of over-zealous customs officials and the disruption to the internal Irish trading network shook merchant confidence and placed a severe strain on the general cohesion of the city's government. Despite religiously motivated accusations to the contrary (Document 12) the great achievement of the civic elite in the late 1590s was the maintenance of unity and political loyalty despite the socio-economic turmoil of the times. Students should be able to make the connection between the economic well being of Dublin and the leadership given by the aldermen and merchants of the city's small but influential civic community. The powerful institutions upon which their influence depended

were relied upon by the English administration to foster economic activity in the city. The selection of sources demonstrates how the organisation of welfare, education and defence of the urban space depended upon the tacit support of the city's *Old English families. It is clear that the civic and merchant class of Dublin ruled with a general consensus which allowed the city to adapt to the challenges produced by the varying social and economic developments of the Elizabethan period.

An edited transcript is included with each document to facilitate student comprehension. The *Biographical Notes* section contains short character sketches of the principal figures mentioned in the documents. A *Glossary* has also been given and includes archaic words with which students may be unfamiliar. Cross references to both the *Biographical Notes* and *Glossary* sections are indicated by an asterisk (*) and have been added in the document descriptions and transcripts where they seem most likely to assist the student. The questions on each document range from descriptive interrogation of the source to assessments of reliability and accuracy. Students should first consider where, when and why a document was produced before moving to more analytical questions which include the element of interpretation. Finally, students should be encouraged to place the subject matter of the document in a wider historical context and, if possible, make comparisons and correlations with other sources of evidence.

Biographical Notes

Francis Agard (d. 1577)

A capable Elizabethan soldier and administrator, Agard was a trusted companion of the lord deputy, Sir Henry Sidney, and an experienced opponent of Irish rebels. He led a campaign against Shane O'Neill in Ulster in 1569, he suppressed the Gaelic chiefs threatening Dublin, and held a commission in Munster in 1574. He lived on a manor and farm of 200 acres leased from Christ Church at Grangegorman near Dublin city.

Hugh Brady (c.1527-84)

Church of Ireland Bishop of Meath (1563-84)

Born in Dunboyne, County Meath, Brady was one of the most enthusiastic clerical advocates of religious reform. Like Adam Loftus, the archbishop of Dublin, he considered a religious reformation a necessary condition for the complete conquest of the island of Ireland and the suppression of the Gaelic interest. Although a member of the Irish privy council, Brady became increasingly isolated as more militaristic Elizabethan administrators gained control towards the end of the century.

John Derricke

English engraver

Derricke's well-known series of woodcuts in his *Image of Ireland* (1581) provide the most important visual record of life in sixteenth-century Ireland. Little is known of his background but in view of his writings about the Irish it is almost certain that he was English. We do not know if he ever visited Ireland or if he did how long he was in the service of lord deputy Sidney, but from his derogatory depictions of Irish life and the accuracy of detail in the text, it is probable that Derricke spent some time in the country. He was clearly a competent draughtsman and the plates for the *Image* were probably engraved from his sketchbook. His principal subjects are the barbarous Irish woodkern and an enthusiastic celebration of the exploits of lord deputy Sidney. In the last three years of his final term as lord deputy (1575-78), Sidney pursued the destruction of the old Irish families with an unequalled ferocity. It is from the scenes and events of these three years that Derricke took the incidents and places depicted in his *Image*. Essentially visual propaganda, the woodcuts should be treated cautiously as Derricke's illustrations contain many unflattering and generally negative representations of Gaelic lords. They remain, however, most valuable sources of information on life in sixteenth-century Ireland.

J.T. Gilbert (1829-98)

A Dublin-born historian and archivist, Gilbert was the librarian of the Royal Irish Academy. He was the author of *History of the city of Dublin* (1854-59) and was responsible for transcribing and calendaring a large collection of corporation and guild records. His *Calendar of the Ancient Records of Dublin* (1889) provides an invaluable historical record of the city. His large personal collection of books and manuscripts was bequeathed to Dublin's City Library.

Charles Haliday (1789-1866)

A distinguished antiquarian and historian, Haliday was by profession a merchant and later became director of the Bank of Ireland. This background was reflected in his historical research which focused on the maritime and commercial history of Dublin. He amassed a huge collection of pamphlets on Irish history (now in the Royal Irish Academy) and transcribed and edited numerous collections of source documents.

Adam Loftus (c.1533-1605)

Church of Ireland Archbishop of Dublin (1567-1605)

Consecrated as archbishop of Armagh (1563) and Dublin (1567), Loftus was the most influential figure in the Church of Ireland during Elizabeth's reign. Prominent in civil as well as ecclesiastical affairs, Loftus was both a committed Protestant and a capable performer in the English administration in Dublin. He rose to the rank of Lord Chancellor and used his authority to advocate religious conformity across Ireland. He was the dominant figure in the establishment of Trinity College, Dublin, becoming its first provost in 1592.

Fynes Moryson (1566-1630)

Moryson travelled widely across Europe before coming to Ireland to join lord deputy Mountjoy's retinue in 1600, becoming his private secretary. Moryson was present at the battle of Kinsale and witnessed the submission of Hugh O'Neill at Mellifont in 1603. He remained in Mountjoy's service until the death of the latter in 1606. Turning to writing, Moryson wrote first in Latin and then in English *An Itinerary* (1617), the second part of which gave an eyewitness account of his time soldiering in Ireland during the Nine Years War.

Sir John Norreys (1547-97)

A skilful and determined general in Elizabeth's army in Ireland, Norreys earned a fearsome reputation for the massacre of nearly 600 people on Rathlin Island in July 1575 for which he received the Queen's approval. His military acumen was held in such high regard that in 1595 he was selected to resist Hugh O'Neill's ambitions in Ulster and force him into submission. After unsuccessfully fighting and negotiating with O'Neill in Ulster and Connaught, he asked to be recalled to England but his request was refused. He retired to Munster and died at Mallow.

Sir Henry Sidney (1529-86)

Lord Deputy 1565-67; 1568-71; 1575-78

Responsible during his first deputyship for the final overthrow of Shane O'Neill's hegemony in Tyrone, Sidney was a vociferous advocate of a thorough reform throughout Ireland. His plans included the establishment of provincial presidencies, the promotion of plantations, and the introduction of composition in both Connaught and Munster which he achieved during his final stint as lord deputy. His high-handed approach, however, brought widespread dissension amongst both the native Irish and the Old English who distrusted him.

John Speed (1552-?)

An English historian and cartographer, Speed was probably born in Cheshire but little is known of his early life. He is chiefly remembered for his *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain* which was published with an atlas of maps in 1612. It is unlikely that

Speed ever visited Dublin; his plan is probably copied from one supplied by some English administrator or official cartographer.

Richard Stanihurst (1547-1618)

Born into a high-standing Dublin civic family, Stanihurst was a distinguished Latin scholar and was tutored at Oxford University by the English Jesuit Edmund Campion. The 'Description of Ireland' published in Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1577) is Stanihurst's work and contains a strong assertion of Old English identity. His views on the native Irish, however, contain the standard denunciation of a barbaric and uncultured race. Having secretly converted to Catholicism, in the early 1580s he fled to the Netherlands to avoid an investigation into his political connections. He later travelled to Spain and was probably involved in communications between the rebel Gaelic chief, Hugh O'Neill, and the Spanish crown. He published numerous devotional tracts and ended his life as a Jesuit.

Glossary

Amercements

Literally meaning 'subject to the mercy' of a judgmental power, the term refers to a financial penalty imposed upon a guilty party by judicial authorities. Today we use the term 'fine.'

Cess

An English term denoting taxes to maintain a local military garrison. A cess could be applied to meat, grain and other agricultural produce and was taken in every county or town. Cesses were heaviest when the need for billeting soldiers in a disturbed area was thought to be urgent.

Chantry

From the Old English, to chant meaning to sing, chantry or chantry was an endowment to cover the expenses of saying masses and prayers, usually for the soul of the founder of an endowment or for members of a benevolent society or guild.

Corpus Christi

A Catholic religious festival celebrating the Eucharist, the consecrated symbol for the body of Christ after the priest blessed it. In regions with a primarily Catholic population the Church usually organized a procession which set out from the local church and returned to it at the end.

Fee Farm

The fee farm of a possession was the annual sum due to the crown in return for the Queen allowing the farmer (in this case the corporation of Dublin) to administer crown lands or rather administer its sources of revenue which might include rents, taxes, tolls or tithes. Today we still use the phrase the 'farming out' of revenue collection.

Guild

Founded in the Late Middle Ages, guilds were associations of citizens sharing common interests. There were various types of such associations; some were created for communal religious celebration while others had a more business-like purpose. The business or craft guilds operated as a means of self-regulation and as a mechanism to enable practitioners to suppress competition by restricting the practice of a trade or craft. Since the mercantile class of Dublin was prominent and wealthy, the merchants' guild was a powerful institution and exercised a great deal of influence.

Hostings

Refers to the ancient custom of receiving lodging and providing feasts for a lord or someone of noble birth.

Impost

A tax or duty that is imposed or levied upon a commodity.

Lord Deputy

Lord deputy was the title given to the chief governor of Ireland appointed by the crown. For the period of the case study high-ranking English noblemen held the deputyship.

Mayor of the Bullring

Richard Stanihurst described how the mayor of the bullring was elected by the citizens to be ‘captain or guard of the bachelors and unwedded’ with the power to ‘chastise and punish such as frequent brothel houses and the like unchaste houses.’ In effect, the ‘mayor’ was a master of ceremonies for a traditional ceremony which took place annually on May Day. On that day it was customary for the young men of the city to assemble for martial exercises on Oxmantown Green.

Newgate

Standing just off present-day Thomas Street and right up against the Watch Tower on the city’s walls, Newgate served as Dublin’s gaol. It continued to be used as a prison until 1780 when it was partially demolished. (See No. 50 on Speed’s map of Dublin, Document 1.)

Old English

A term referring to the descendents of the twelfth century Anglo-Norman settlers of Ireland who inhabited the towns within the Pale in the 1500s. The term originated in the early seventeenth century as a means of distinguishing the ‘English born in Ireland’ from the recently arrived settlers (New English) who professed a militant brand of Protestantism and sought to displace the Old English from their positions of power.

Poundage

A tax levied on merchandise based on its weight in pounds.

Privy Council

The chief consultative and legal body in the English government of Ireland in the sixteenth century. The privy council also acted as the primary administrative authority in the country from 1534 onwards. It assisted the Lord Deputy in the day-to-day running of the country. It deliberated on disputes over land and property rights and conducted judicial business. It was also responsible for the issuing of proclamations against the Queen’s enemies. It promoted the spread of English common law and sponsored various plantation initiatives. Throughout the sixteenth century the privy council became increasingly anglicised with its membership restricted to English-born lords and bishops. Its meetings were generally held in a purpose-built chamber in Dublin Castle.

Recusancy

The non-compliance of Catholics with laws directing them to attend the services of the Church of Ireland. By the end of the sixteenth century ‘recusant’ was synonymous with Roman Catholic. In response to legislation Catholics attended Mass and performed baptism and other religious rites in their homes to avoid detection.

Shambles

From the Middle-English word *shamel or shambil* referring to a place (market) where meat is butchered and sold.

State Papers

The largest single collection of documents on early modern Ireland is to be found in the State Paper collection in the Public Record Office, London. The content varies but includes correspondence between the sovereign and the chief officials of the English administration in Ireland regarding affairs of state. There is also considerable material relating to plans for defence of the Pale, records of expenditure, reports on rebellions and confiscations, and schemes for plantations.

Viaunde

From the Middle English word, *viaunde*, meaning provisions or victuals. Can refer to a specific item of food or a very choice or delicious dish.

List of Abbreviations

D.C.A.	Dublin City Archives
N.L.I.	National Library of Ireland
P.R.O.	Public Record Office, Kew, London
R.I.A.	Royal Irish Academy

Documents included in case study

Geography and Urban Landscape

1. A map of 'Dubline, 1610' by *John Speed from *The theatre of the empire of Great Britain: presenting an exact geography of the Kingdomes of England, Scotland and Ireland* (London, 1612).
2. An extract from *Richard Stanihurst, 'A pleine and perfect description of Ireland' (London, 1577) in Liam Miller and Eileen Power (eds), *Holinshed's Irish Chronicle* ([Dublin], 1979), pp 39-42.
3. A woodcut by *John Derricke of the departure of *Sir Henry Sidney from Dublin Castle (*The Image of Ireland, with a discourse on Woodkerne*, London, 1581).

Corporation, Guilds and Civic Community

4. An extract from the charter granted by Elizabeth I to the merchants' *guild of the Holy Trinity, Dublin, 14 October 1577 (D.C.A., Charters and documents of the guild of the Holy Trinity or merchants' guild, MS 78, ff 1-16).
5. Description taken from Dublin's 'chain book' recording the *Corpus Christi pageant by guild members in the sixteenth century (R.I.A., Historical notes from the manuscripts of *Charles Haliday on the commercial and economic history of Dublin, MS 12 E 4, ff 69-75).
6. Extracts from the assembly roll of Dublin Corporation describing the city's response to the outbreak of the plague in 1575 (*J.T. Gilbert (ed.), *Calendar of the Ancient Records of the Dublin*, ii, Dublin, 1891, pp 100-3).
7. A letter of Sir William Fitzwilliam, *Lord Deputy, to the *Privy Council enclosing a petition from the mayor, sheriffs and citizens of Dublin seeking favour for the establishment of a university, 4 November 1591 (P.R.O. Kew, London, *State Papers, Ireland, 63/161 no. 8/1,2).

Church and Community

8. An extract from an account book of Peter Lewis noting a ban on craftsmen keeping *Corpus Christi holy, 20-21 June 1565 (Raymond Gillespie (ed.), *The proctor's accounts of Peter Lewis*, Dublin 1996, pp 86-7).
9. A drawing of the memorial sculpture to *Francis Agard (d. 1577) in Christ Church, Dublin by Thomas Dingley, c.1681 (N.L.I. 'Observations made on a voyage through the kingdoms of France and Ireland', MS 392, f. 33).

The Costs of War

10. A letter from Lord General *Sir John Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil, reporting a gunpowder explosion at Dublin's quays, 13 March 1597 (P.R.O., Kew, London, *State Papers, Ireland, 63/198 no. 21).
11. A petition from the mayor and citizens of Dublin to Queen Elizabeth, June 1597 (P.R.O. Kew, London, *State Papers, Ireland, 63/199/no. 127/1).
12. An account of Dublin during the Nine Years War by *Fynes Moryson, 1617 (Graham Kew (ed.), *The Irish sections of Fynes Moryson's unpublished itinerary*, Dublin, 1998, pp 51-59).

Document 1

A map of 'Dubline, 1610' by *John Speed from *The theatre of the empire of Great Britain: presenting an exact geography of the Kingdomes of England, Scotland and Ireland* (London, 1612).

Description of Map

The earliest surviving large-scale cartographic representation of the city of Dublin is to be found in an inset to a map of Leinster in *John Speed's *Theatre of the empire*. Speed's map was part of an ambitious attempt to create an atlas for both Britain and Ireland. It is uncertain whether Speed ever visited Ireland and his map was probably based upon a survey by an unknown cartographer (map-maker). His map of the walled city of Dublin is presented as a 'bird's eye' view. Through a study of the map we can learn about the gates, walls, streets and buildings of late-medieval Dublin for which information in contemporary sources is scarce. His map allows us to identify the principal points of interests in the landscape of the city. The line of Castle Street (38), Skinners Row (43) and Highe Street (48), at the heart of medieval Dublin, is prominent while developments along the quays on both sides of the Liffey are noted. There are inconsistencies and inaccuracies in Speed's work. The map provides only the framework of the city. In addition to the streets shown here, there was a labyrinth of lanes and alleys in between. The houses are all rendered suspiciously alike, each having a two-storey structure of rectangular plan with a well-pitched roof and triangular gable fronting a street. Only one civic building is noted by Speed (the Tholsel or town hall (46)), while the portraits of churches, the city's walls and other landmarks are best regarded as conventional signs. Other oversights were, perhaps, more deliberate. Speed took no notice of what he considered the idolatrous and illegal places of worship of the majority Catholic population of the town while no less than fourteen Anglican churches are included. Holy wells, high crosses and other sites of popular and devotional piety are also conspicuously absent. The dissolution of two of the great monastic establishments of Dublin is however illustrated by Speed. 'The Colledge' (T.C.D. (12)) stands on the site of the former priory of All Saints or All Hallows near the city's eastern walls whilst the priory of St. Saviour became the site for King's Inn (3) in post-Reformation Dublin.

Document Questions

Description and Comprehension

Identify the principal churches of Dublin denoted on the map.

Identify the location of gates on the city's defensive walls.

List the principal streets of the city. Identify those still in existence today.

Interpretation and Criticism

List three inadequacies in Speed's map.

List three things you have learned from the map which you think are important.

What can this map tell you about Speed's background and interests?

What does Speed's map tell you about English knowledge of Dublin's urban form?
What is not depicted on his map?

Wider Context and Comparison

What can we learn from Speed's map about the population of Dublin in the early seventeenth century?

What information does the map add to a textbook description of sixteenth-century Dublin?

Compare Speed's map with *John Derrick's view of Dublin in his woodcut (Document 3). Locate the position of the buildings in Derrick's illustration on Speed's map. Is the visual evidence presented in the two documents conflicting or complimentary?

Document 2

An extract from *Richard Stanihurst, 'A pleine and perfect description of Ireland' (London, 1577) in Liam Miller and Eileen Power (eds), *Holinshed's Irish Chronicle* ([Dublin], 1979), pp 39-42.

Description of Document

This is an extract from one of the earliest accounts of Dublin written by a distinguished member of the city's civic community, *Richard Stanihurst. In a contribution to Raphael Holinshed's pioneering work, *The Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland* (1577), Stanihurst makes a distinctive mark to the historiography of his native city. Ranging from a purely physical description of the town's setting to a survey of the events, people and places of the Dublin he was familiar, Stanihurst appeared to have access to a wide range of documents. He describes how Dublin's mayors were expected to keep an open house for large numbers of dignitaries and how hospitality in food and wine was highly valued. Stanihurst used mayoral chronicles and family histories of leading members of Dublin's corporation to illustrate the city's past while, at the same time, providing an account of contemporary trends in society and politics. He was deeply influenced by the writings of the English Jesuit Edmund Campion, whom he had met whilst completing his studies at Oxford. As a consequence, Stanihurst's work, while displaying both a concern for the civic history of Dublin and a mastery of historical technique, should be treated with caution as it is written solidly from an *Old English viewpoint.

Edited Transcript of Document

Dublin, the beauty and eye of Ireland, hath been named by Ptolemy, in ancient times, *Eblana*, Some term it *Dublina*, others *Dublinia* ... This city, as it is not in antiquity inferior to any city in Ireland, so in pleasant situation, in gorgeous buildings, in the multitude of people, in martial chivalry, in obedience and loyalty...it is superior to all other cities and towns in that realm ... The seat of this city is of all sides pleasant, comfortable and wholesome. If you would traverse hills, they are not far off ... if you be delighted with freshwater, the famous river called *Liffie* runs fast by. If you will take the view of the sea, it is at hand. The only fault of this city is that foreign merchants do not frequent it much because of the bare harbour ...

The hospitality of the mayor and the sheriffs [of Dublin], for the year is so large and bountiful that even in London very few such officers under the crown of England keep so great an welcome, none, I am sure, greater ... His house is frequented with not only the nobility and other great potentates [lords] of great calling but also the ordinary people have a few very set feasts provided for them. They that spend the least during their mayoralty make an ordinary account of five hundred pounds for their *viaunde [victuals] & diet that year which is no small sum to be bestowed in house keeping ...

The poor prisoners both of the *Newgate and the Castle, with three or four hospitals, are chiefly if not only relieved by the citizens. Furthermore, there are so many other extraordinary beggars, that daily swarm here, so in need of charity that they make the whole city in effect their hospital. The great expenses of the citizens may probably be

gathered by the worthy and fair-like markets weekly on Wednesday and Friday kept in Dublin. Their *shambles is so well stored with meat, and their market with corn, as not only in Ireland but also in other countries you shall not see any one shamble, or any one market better furnished than Dublin.

The citizens have from time to time in sundry conflicts, so galled the Irish that even to this day the Irishe fear a ragged and jagged black standard ... that the citizens display when they are ready to enter into battle and to come to the shock. The sight of which daunts the Irish above measure. And for the better training of their youth in martial exploits, the citizens are accustomed to muster four times a year: on Black Monday, which is the morrow of Easter day, on Mayday [1 May], St John Baptist his eve [28 August], and St Peter his eve [28 June] ...

Document Questions

Description and Comprehension

What class of document is this?

When was it written?

Who produced the document?

What does the document say about the physical environment of Dublin? [Paragraph, Dublin, the beauty and ...]

What does Stanihurst say about the hospitality of the mayors of Dublin? [Paragraph, The hospitality of the mayor ...]

Why, according to the document, should the needy prisoners and beggars of Dublin appreciate the citizens? [Paragraph, The poor prisoners both ...]

What does Stanihurst say about the 'black standard' used by the citizens of Dublin? [Paragraph, The Citizens have from...]

Interpretation and Criticism

For what purpose did Stanihurst write this description?

Did Stanihurst have first hand knowledge of the events and places he described?

Stanihurst referred to the Gaelic Irish as 'the meere Irish' or 'wilde Irishe'. What does the document reveal about Old English attitudes to the native Irish?

Wider Context and Comparison

What customs and traditions of Dublin may be detected by your review of both this and other sources relating to the Old English of the Pale? To what extent did ethnic and cultural factors shape their point of view?

Compare Stanihurst's description of Dublin with Fynes Moryson's account of the city in Document **12**. State whether the sources are conflicting or complementary in their assessments of the conduct of Dublin's mayors and councilmen?

Document 3

A woodcut by *John Derricke of the departure of *Sir Henry Sidney from Dublin Castle (*The Image of Ireland, with a discourse on Woodkerne*, London, 1581).

Plate VI The departure of Sir Henry Sidney

Description of Woodcut

In this plate *Sir Henry Sidney, the Lord Deputy, is shown setting out on his state progress around Ireland. Leaving Dublin Castle, Sidney makes his way in procession along Castle Street in the direction of Christ Church. With a pennant flying from a leading standard to announce his passage, a trumpeter and horsemen precede the lord deputy. The heads of several rebels, longhaired and bearded, are displayed on poles over the gate of the castle. Contemporary writers described how the heads of Gaelic chieftains such as Shane O'Neill were staked on poles at the castle as a warning to potential rebels. We cannot be certain that Derricke was an eyewitness to the scene he depicted but from the appearance of the castle, moat and skyline of the city, it has been suggested that the woodcut was based on a drawing made at a spot near Dames Gate. In the distance there is an uninterrupted view of the roofscape of a number of prominent buildings with high chimney stacks (the exchange and mint) and gabled ends. A church spire, St. Werburgh's, can be identified, as can the chancel and nave of Christchurch. To the extreme right of the illustration is a depiction of what may be the Guildhall, constructed in the 1560s at the corporation's expense. Derricke's woodcut represents the earliest descriptive picture of Dublin and offers a panoramic view of how it appeared in the sixteenth century.

The lines of verse above the plate read:-

*These trunkless heads do plainly show each rebel's fatal end,
And what a heinous crime it is, the Queen for to offend.*

The following lines of verse are given below the plate:-

*Although the thieves are plagued thus by Prince's trusty friends,
And brought for their enormities to sundry wretched ends;
Yet may not that a warning be to those they leave behind,
But needs their treasons must appear, long kept in festered mind.
Whereby the matter grows at length unto a bloody field
Even to the rebels' overthrow, except the traitors yield,
For he that governs Irish soil, presenting there her grace,
Whose fame made rebel often fly, the presence of his face;
He, he, I say, he goeth forth, with Mars his noble train,
To justify his Princes cause, but their demeanours vain
Thus Queen he will have honoured, in midst of all her foes
And known to be a Royal Prince, even despite of those.*

Document Questions

Description and Comprehension

Describe the appearance of Sidney's knights.

What features of Dublin Castle figure prominently in the woodcut?

For what purpose was the woodcut created? What evidence in the illustration suggests why it was created?

Interpretation and Criticism

Do you think Derricke was an eyewitness to the event depicted or did he simply report what others saw or heard? Are there any significant clues in the document?

What do you think Derricke's message was in this particular illustration? Is he expressing any definite point of view in the woodcut?

Consider the verse which accompanies the illustration. What is its message? How does it complement the visual image?

Do you think that the woodcut offers an accurate picture of sixteenth-century Dublin?

Wider Context and Comparison

To what extent are the sentiments expressed in the verse representative of English practices of conquest in sixteenth-century Ireland?

What can visual documents such as Derricke's woodcut illuminate that written sources do not reveal?

Compare Derricke's woodcut with *John Speed's map of Dublin (Document 1). Identify the likely viewpoint for the event depicted in Derricke's woodcut on Speed's map. Locate the buildings on the skyline on Speed's plan of the city.

Document 4

An extract from the charter granted by Queen Elizabeth I to the merchants' *guild of the Holy Trinity, Dublin, 14 October 1577 (D.C.A., Charters and documents of the guild of the Holy Trinity, MS 78, ff 1-16).

Description of Document

Commerce within the city and liberties of Dublin was strictly controlled by the *guild of merchants known as the Trinity guild. This charter, granted by Queen Elizabeth in October 1577, consolidated its hold on the trading life of the town. Founded upon the medieval idea of a pious brotherhood, Dublin's guilds not only regulated a particular trade or craft but also acted as friendly societies or fraternities of skilled artisans. The most highly prized concession granted by the charter enshrined the guild's right to enforce a complete monopoly in the buying and selling of all merchandise (except victuals) to the exclusion of all 'foreign' traders. If a trader, who was not a member of the guild, attempted to sell his goods then the guild were entitled to report him, seize his goods and retain any monies arising out of the fines subsequently imposed. A close relationship existed between the corporation and the merchants' guild. It was decreed in 1558 that a mayor on completion of his term of office should automatically serve as master of the guild of merchants. Most guilds included a religious dedication to a particular saint in their title and were actively involved in sponsoring religious functions. The guild brethren in Dublin were also active in civic ritual and had an important role in the observance of religious festivals associated with their guild. Charters, like that of Elizabeth, laid down limits on the value of lands and possessions to be acquired by the guild for the maintenance of chaplains for the performance of religious services for the benefit of living and deceased members. The merchants' guild had the care of Trinity chapel in Christchurch. This chapel was also the location for their religious services and meetings. The quasi-religious customs of Dublin's guilds continued throughout the sixteenth century despite the upheavals of the Elizabethan Reformation.

Edited Transcript of Document

For the Master and Wardens of the *Guild of the Holy Trinity of Dublin, concerning a grant to themselves and their successors

The Queen ... to all to whom the present letters shall come, know ye, that we, of our special grace ... have granted and given licence to them for us and our heirs and successors, as far as in us lies, that [the Master and Wardens of the guild], to the praise and honour of the Holy Trinity in the Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity, Dublin, shall receive and admit, and accept those persons and others whomsoever, gratefully, adhering to them, into the fraternity or guild named forever, of the art of merchants of the city of Dublin, as brethren and sisters of the fraternity or guild ...

We will, and for us, our heirs and successors, by the presents, do grant to the aforesaid Masters and Sisters...of the guild aforesaid [that they] only may and have power and authority of buying and selling in gross or by retail, all and singular merchandise whatsoever (all manners of victuals only excepted) which in future may happen to be brought into the city, suburbs, liberties or franchises of the same city of Dublin...and that no foreigner, stranger-merchant, or any other person or persons

whomsoever, who are not or shall not be elected or admitted into the same guild may buy or sell, nor put or offer to be sold any merchandise in gross or retail within said city ... or within the circuit, ambit or precinct of the Cathedral Churches of St. Patrick or within the circuit ... of the Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity commonly called 'Christe's Church' or within the circuit ... of St Sepulchre, or of the Abbey of St. Mary the Virgin, or the Abbey called 'Thomas Courte' ... under pain of forfeiture of all and singular merchandise ...

And further, of our more abundant grace, We have granted the Masters and Wardens of the guild, as aforesaid, ... [the right to] make, ordain and establish ... a certain *chantry of four priests, in the same chapel, for the wholesome estate of us and our lord deputy, also of the brethren and sisters of the fraternity or guild, whilst they live, and for the souls of our noble progenitors ... and of all faithful deceased, for ever ... And that they may acquire lands, tenements, rents, services of churches or chapels ... as far as the value of forty pounds yearly...to find support and sustain the charges of the said chantry of the four priests, to celebrate the same chantry and to perform other works of piety for the estate and souls aforesaid for ever.

Document Questions

Description and Comprehension

What class of document is this?

For whom was it written?

Why was this document written?

What trading rights did the charter give to the merchant's guild? [Paragraph, We will, and for us...]

What religious functions, financed by the guild brethren, are mentioned in the document? [Paragraph, And further, of our more...]

Interpretation and Criticism

What do you understand by the term 'foreigner' as it is used in this document?

What information can be drawn from the document concerning the regulation of trade in sixteenth-century Dublin?

Why was the selling of victuals (staples such as bread, meat) exempted from the regulations outlined in this document?

Wider Context

Using the evidence in this document and information you have obtained in other sources, discuss the advantages and disadvantages of guild regulations for trade in the urban economy of Dublin.

How does this document add to your understanding of the role played by religion in shaping the mentalities of Dublin's merchants? Does the evidence reveal that older forms of Christian worship and ritual were still popular amongst Dublin's merchant class despite the influence of the Reformation?

Document 5

Description taken from Dublin's 'chain book' recording the *Corpus Christi pageant by guild members in the sixteenth century (R.I.A., Historical notes from the manuscripts of *Charles Haliday on the commercial and economic history of Dublin, MS 12 E 4, ff 69-75).

Description of Document

This extract is taken from Dublin's 'chain book' so called as it was physically chained in the hallway of the city's Guildhall for reference by the citizens. The book is in vellum. It contains lists of laws and ordinances made by the city councillors, lists of prisoners, and directions for the various *guilds holding pageants on *Corpus Christi. This religious festival was observed annually on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday, the pageant being celebrated in Dublin from at least 1498 onwards. The document is a transcription of the elaborate procedures relating to the pageant made by the nineteenth-century historian, *Charles Haliday. The lavish paraphernalia of the procession and festivities attached to the celebration by the guild displayed not only religious devotion but also indicated the brethren's attachment to their particular guild. The pageant consisted of open moveable stages each showing a mystery or miracle play inspired by a biblical or mythical story. There was a strict order of precedence for the procession and the guilds vied with each other in producing ever more elaborate spectacles and displaying their wealth and influence. As the authorities tried to encourage the Reformation ethos, it is not surprising that these pageants and plays were increasingly viewed as superstitious and even immoral. They were eventually suppressed in the late Elizabethan period.

Edited Transcript of Document

*Corpus Christi day a *pagentis*

The pageant of Corpus Christi day made by an olde law and confirmed before Thomas Collier, mayor of the city of Dublin and juries, bailiff and commenced the iiith of Friday next after midsummer the fourteenth year of the reign of King Henry the VIIth [1498]...each guild to pay xl [40] shillings

Glovers - Adam and Eve with an angel following bearing a sword.

Corvisers [Curriers] - Cain and Abel with an altar and an offering.

Mariners, Vintners ship-carpenters and salmon takers [fishers] Noah with the persons in the Ark, apparelled in the habits of carpenters ... with his ship ascending.

Weavers - Abraham and Isaac with a lamb [sacrifice] and their offering.

Skinners - House carpenters and tanners and embroiders - the body of the camel and our lady with her child well apparelled and Joseph to lead the camel [in their flight into Egypt] with the children of Israel in hide skins and the porters to bear the camel paying 40 shillings to the painters to paint the camel.

Hoopers - The shepherds with an angel singing *Gloria in excelcis deo*.

Corpus Christi Guild - Christ in his passion with the three Marys and angels bearing ... wax candles in their hands.

Tailors - Pilate and his fellowship and his lady and his knights.

Barbers - Anna and Caiaphas.

Smiths, shearmen [cloth-shearers], bakers, cooks, and masons - Pharaoh with his host.

Couriers - Arthur and his knights.

Fishers - the twelve apostles.

Merchants - the prophets.

Butchers - six tormentors with the garments well and plenty painted.

*The mayor of the borough - eleven worthies ... worshipping with their followers.

The hargardmen and the husbandmen to bear the dragon and to repair the dragon on Saint George's day [23 April] and Corpus Christi day.

Document Questions

Description and Comprehension

What class of document is this?

When was it written?

Why was it written?

What occasion were the guild brethren celebrating?

Which trades/crafts/professions are represented by the guilds taking part?

List the biblical figures and saints mentioned in the source.

Interpretation and Criticism

Is this a primary or secondary source?

Do we know how the writer obtained the account presented in the document?

What purpose did the pageant described in this document fulfil?

What can be learned about the role of guilds in sixteenth-century Dublin from this document?

Wider Context and Comparison

Why did the authorities wish to suppress these pageants in the later Elizabethan period?

Using the information in this document and in Document **8** as your basic resources, consider why the suppression of the Corpus Christi pageant might not have been well received by Dublin's craftsmen.

Document 6

Extracts from the assembly roll of Dublin Corporation describing the city's response to the outbreak of the plague in 1575 (*J.T. Gilbert (ed.), *Calendar of the Ancient Records of Dublin*, ii, Dublin, 1891, pp 100-3).

Description of Document

The plague of 1575 was one of a number of natural misfortunes to hit Dublin in the sixteenth century. Epidemics of 'burning fever', the contemporary name for the pestilence or bubonic plague, were common and were worsened by the poor diets and the occasional bouts of starvation brought about by meagre harvests. The outbreak of contagion in 1575 was especially virulent, however, and the death toll of 3,000 may have decreased the city's population by as much as a third. This extract from the corporation's assembly roll, or minute book of the council's meetings recounts the initial response to the outbreak in June. It also records the aldermen's commendation for a doctor who risked his life caring for victims of the pestilence and complaints about citizens who refused to declare that their houses had been infected. The fact that the plague raged for so many months underlines the virulence of the epidemic and the inability of the corporation to deal effectively with it. The blow to the morale of the inhabitants and the damage to the trade and economic well being of the city was considerable.

Edited Transcript of Document

24 June 1575

...A complaint was made by the commons of the city that seithens [since] the visitation of the infection of the plague, diverse of the aldermen ... and inhabitants of this city have departed and gone into the country, leaving no sufficient men to keep their houses and doors open, to be answerable to watch, ward and *cesses, necessary for the keeping and safe guard of this city: it is therefore ordained ... that all such persons...being warned by letter, messenger, or otherwise, and if that they and every of them so absenting themselves, do not come or send a man, as aforesaid, at or by the last day of the month of July, that then they and every of them shall be expelled ... from all the freedoms and liberties of this city, and never to be restored to the same again.

29 September 1575 [... at entry at head states that this assembly was held at Helmagenocke within the franchises of Dublin, on account of the pestilence then in the city ...]

...That Dennis Collier, physician and surgeon, shall be and is admitted to the franchises, freedoms and liberties of the city of Dublin, in consideration that he adventured his life in this contagious time of plague into the city, attending upon the Mayor and every other that shall be in danger or need of physic or surgery...

25 December 1575

...Complaint was made by diverse of the commons and inhabitants of this city that the infection of the plague did grow in this city chiefly by means that the inhabitants of this city and suburbs, whose houses were or are infected with the same disease, do keep the same secret, and so their neighbours or others repairing to them are trapped in the same disease or sickness only by that means: it is therefore for remedy thereof enacted ... that if any freeman or inhabitant of this city or suburbs do keep secret any one that fall sick within his house and do not inform Mr. Mayor ... or [any] constable of the ward wherein he dwell, that the same householder, for not making revelation as aforesaid to be imprisoned for four score days and his house closed up so many days, and after banished the city forever, and also lose his freedom and be disenfranchised of and from all the liberties of this city, if he be a freeman, forever ...

Document Questions

Description and Comprehension

What class of document is this?

Who produced the document?

What purpose is the document intended to serve?

Why does the corporation deliver a warning to the city's inhabitants for leaving the city during the plague? [Entry, 24 June 1575]

Why did the aldermen commend Dennis Collier? [Entry, 29 September 1575]

How, according to the corporation, was the disease spreading so rapidly? [Entry, 25 December 1575]

Interpretation and Criticism

Is the corporation justified in reproaching those citizens who have fled to the countryside during the plague?

Why would people purposely wish to keep secret the fact that they may have been infected by the pestilence?

Is the corporation's assertion about the circumstances of the rapid spread of the disease correct?

Did the corporation wish to inform or discourage others in this document?

Wider Context

Consider the economic consequences of the outbreak of the plague. How was the economy of the city of Dublin affected?

What sources do you think are most helpful in informing us about the rapid spread of the plague in sixteenth-century Dublin?

Document 7

A letter of Sir William Fitzwilliam, *Lord Deputy, to the *Privy Council enclosing a petition from the mayor, sheriffs and citizens of Dublin seeking favour for the establishment of a university, 4 November 1591 (P.R.O., Kew, London, *State Papers, Ireland, 63/161 no. 8/1,2).

Description of Document

Hoping to advance the spread of English laws, civic responsibility and religious reform through education, the foundation of a native university had long been a goal of fervent Protestants in Dublin. With the persistent support of the archbishop of Dublin, *Adam Loftus, and the corporation, which made available a plot of ground to the east of the city's walls, a petition was drawn up requesting Queen Elizabeth to establish the university by charter. The scheme for a new college had the full backing of the lord deputy, Sir William Fitzwilliam, and in this letter he explains the benefits which might ensue if the plan were given adequate financial backing and was implemented in full. A charter was subsequently granted in 1592 formally setting up 'The College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity' based on a Cambridge and Oxford model. Although it was hoped that the university would provide education for young Dubliners, both native Irish and English, Trinity College firmly adhered to a radical Protestant ethos for much of its existence and became a pillar of the Protestant ascendancy.

Edited Transcript of Document

It may please your good lords, these hath been lately preferred unto us by the mayor, sheriffs and corporation of the city of Dublin, the humble petition enclosed signifying unto us their good and charitable disposition to bestow a convenient plot of land well sited near the city and being to the value of twenty pounds sterling per annum to further therewith a college to be erected for the planting of learning, the increasing of civility and the establishment of true religion within this realm; humbly beseeching us ... to move Her Excellent Majesty not only to grant an assent to the erecting of such a college, under such name and with such degrees of learning, as in Her Majesty's colleges in the universities of England are used, or as Her Majesty pleases, but also to grant to the said college...license to accept and take such lands, hereditaments and charitable contributions for the maintenance thereof ...

The matter importing so general a blessing unto the whole realm and in our opinions so good a meaning to plant religion, civility and true obedience in the hearts of the people, we are humbly bold to recommend this motion to your lord's grave and wise consideration...

[Enclosure in the preceding letter]

The mayor, sheriff and citizens of Dublin most humbly make their petition to your lord...desirous of the advancement of learning and virtue the whole corporation of the said city willingly and with great joy consented to give the abbey of All Hallows near the city (which is worth yearly to the said citizens twenty pounds sterling) to the use of a college of university as place most fit to build the same on. At which time likewise some of the said citizens offered [a] contribution towards the building and

maintenance of the college. It may please this honourable board ... to write to your Lords of the Council in England beseeching them to ask Her Majesty to incorporate such a college of university here, whereby such good wishes as may range abroad into foreign kingdoms (as heretofore they have done) for want of maintenance may with great ease and small charges find means at home whereby they may be able to do their prince and country more acceptable service then now for want of learning and education.

Document Questions

Description and Comprehension

What class of document is this?

When was it written?

For what purpose was it written?

According to the document, for what purpose was the college founded? [Paragraph, It may please your good...]

Where was the college to be located? Find its location on Speed's map (document 1). [Paragraph, The Mayor, sheriff and Citizens of Dublin...]

Is there evidence given in the document about how the college was to be funded?

Interpretation and Criticism

What did Fitzwilliam mean by the phrase 'true religion'? To what extent did religious concerns play a part in the foundation of the college?

Why was the corporation of Dublin willing to lend its support to the plan to set up a university?

How would the establishment of a college ensure that the 'good wishes' of Dublin's inhabitants would no longer range abroad in 'foreign kingdoms'?

Wider Context

What benefits would the establishment of a university bring to the economy of Dublin?

To what extent were the goals (as set out in this document) realized by the university?

Using your textbook and other documents as resources, demonstrate why the evidence in this document indicates that the new college may have had difficulty in attracting support from native Dubliners?

Document 8

An extract from an account book of Peter Lewis noting the official ban on keeping *Corpus Christi holy, 20-21 June 1565 (Raymond Gillespie (ed.), *The proctor's accounts of Peter Lewis*, Dublin 1996, pp 86-87).

Description of Document

Part of the considerable wealth of Christ Church cathedral was set aside for the maintenance of the fabric of the church. It was Peter Lewis's role as proctor (ecclesiastical manager) to provide accounts and keep a daily and weekly record of the monies spent on the running of the cathedral. The accounts follow a conventional form and include receipts and expenditure for the upkeep of the church. However, in April 1562 part of the nave of Christ Church collapsed causing immense structural damage to large portions of the building. As might be expected, Lewis's accounts recorded the repair to the roof of the church and the employment of carpenters, heliers and slaters to carry out the work. The text also includes references to the progress of the Reformation. At the time Lewis was writing his accounts the Reformation had not as yet infiltrated every strand of ecclesiastical life and traditional religious practices were still extremely popular. In the document Lewis refers to the ban imposed on the public celebration of *Corpus Christi by the city's artisans. As illustrated in Document 5, the feast of Corpus Christi (the Thursday after Trinity Sunday) was celebrated by Dublin craft *guilds with a drama cycle which included sacred re-enactments and secular comedy plays. As such it was a popular religious ritual and festival.

Edited Transcript of Document

Wednesday, 20 June 1565

Note that this present day Sir Nicholas Arnold, L[ord] Justice, sent to Mr. [Richard] Fyane, then mayor of Dublin, by the counsel of my Lord Primate, *Adam Loftus, and my lord of Meythe [Meath], *Hugh Brady, two of the Queen's high commissioners, sent to all the parish Churches of Dublin that they should not keep *Corpus [Christi] a holy day, but that every man and woman should work as they did every other working day in the week, upon a great penalty and displeasure. Thady, helier, wroght [worked] in slating of the church this Thursday and with him two men in his task.

Corpus [Christi] day called

Thursday, 21 June. Paid to two workmen to serw [serve] the heliers upon the body of the church with slate and mortar, they at work ... 14 pence

Note that this *Corpus [Christi] day I had no workmen of the masons with me to work, kept holy.

Explanatory Note

Tady Helier

Lewis reflected the custom of the times and tended to replace surnames with descriptions of trades. Thus 'Tady Helier' was Thady Convey, a master of the guild of carpenters, millers, masons and heliers. A helier was a tile maker or roofer.

Document Questions

Description and Comprehension

What class of document is this?

Who wrote it?

When was it written?

Who were the prime movers in transmitting the ban mentioned in the document?

What precisely did the ban entail?

Did the prohibition meet with the support of the workers engaged by Lewis at Christ Church?

Interpretation and Criticism

For what purpose was this document written?

In what ways did the circumstances in which the letter was written influence its content?

Can you infer from the document what Lewis's attitude to Corpus Christi may have been?

Wider Context

How does the document add to your understanding of the implementation of the Elizabethan Reformation?

What other evidence might be useful in order to make an argument about the problems faced by reformers in stamping out the practices and traditions associated with pre-Reformation rituals?

What role did Christ Church play in the social and cultural life of Dublin in the sixteenth century?

Document 9

A drawing of the memorial sculpture to *Francis Agard in Christ Church, Dublin by Thomas Dingley, c.1681 (N.L.I., Observations made on a voyage through the kingdom of France and Ireland, MS 392, f. 33).

Description of Memorial Sculpture

Surviving largely intact at the southern end of Christ Church, this memorial was constructed for *Francis Agard who died in 1577. Thomas Dingley, an English travel writer, made this drawing on a tour around Ireland. A renowned Elizabethan soldier and administrator, Agard led a military expedition against Shane O'Neill in 1566 and was rewarded with a lease from Christ Church of the farm and manor of Grangegorman in County Dublin. Sixteenth-century funerals were lavish and expensive ceremonies and no expense was spared in decorating the hearse, mourners and, ultimately, the memorial to the honoured dead. Agard's monument, which is suspended on a wall, is divided into two parts showing kneeling figures and coats of arms on either side. Easily identifiable is the figure of Francis Agard, dressed fully in body armour, alongside his wife and family. On the opposite side of the monument is the figure of his daughter, Lady Cecilia Harrington (d. 1584). Surviving examples of sixteenth-century monuments to the dead are rare so documentary sources and drawings like this example offer a telling insight into contemporary concerns about death and memorial.

The inscription above the tomb reads as follows:

Francis Agard and Lady Cecilia
Harrington, his daughter

Here is buried Francis Agard, Esq., at one time commander of a troop of cavalry in Scotland, under Lord Seymour of Dudley, Admiral of England, afterwards appointed Seneschal of the County of Wexford in the war against O'Neill. Leader of one hundred horse; Chief Commissioner of the Province of Munster; and Seneschal of the countries of O'Brien and O'Toole [in County Wicklow]. He was a most sagacious councillor of the Kingdom of Ireland for twenty-six years, during the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth,

He died the 11th of October, 1577, when his right honourable friend, *Henry Sidney, was for the second time, viceroy of Ireland.

Together with him is interred his very dear wife, Jacoba de la Brett, with their infant son Thomas.

Here lyeth entombed Lady Cecilia Harrington daughter and co-heir of Francis Agard esq. Most dear and beloved wife of Sir Henry Harrington, Knight, with whom she had lived 7 years, most virtuously, and had brought forth two sons James and John, She ended this life the 8th of September [1584]; for whose memory and her father's, Sir Henry Harrington, Knight, her loving husband and his successor in office, erected this monument at this own charges.

Document Questions

Description and Comprehension

Describe the appearance of the memorial.

Is there anything interesting or surprising about the images represented in the drawing?

Who, according to the inscription, paid for the construction of the monument?

Interpretation and Criticism

What messages was the sculptor trying to convey in this monument?

Why do you think coats of arms figure prominently in this church memorial?

Why does the small child accompanying Agard clutch a human skull? What is the symbolic meaning here?

How does the inscription complement the visual message of the monument?

Wider Context

How does the memorial add to your knowledge of attitudes to death in the sixteenth century?

Do you think the tomb was erected to honour Agard's memory or as an indication of his religious devotion?

What other sources would help you to check your conclusions about this memorial?

Document 10

A letter from Lord General *Sir John Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil, reporting a gunpowder explosion at Dublin's quays, 13 March 1597 (P.R.O., Kew, London, *State Papers, Ireland, 63/198 no. 21).

Description of Document

As the military gathered in Dublin in preparation for a campaign against the rebel, Hugh O'Neill, an incident occurred which was to leave a physical scar on Dublin's landscape for many years. Early in the sunny afternoon of Friday 11 March 1597 a huge gunpowder explosion occurred on a city quay killing upwards of 120 people and laying waste a large section of Dublin's medieval core. Buildings along Merchant's Quay, Wood Quay and Winetavern Street (see Speed's map, Document 1) were

levelled. Virtually no house or church within the walled city escaped unscathed. The large crane used to unload ships on the quay was totally destroyed while numerous warehouses and outhouses essential for the trading life of the city were also obliterated. Commercial and civic activity came to a halt as the city's inhabitants recoiled at the magnitude of the destruction. The traditional muster of the citizens on Black Monday (see Richard Stanihurst's description of Dublin, Document 2) was cancelled 'on account of the late fire and burning of Her Majesty's powder [which had left] the houses and buildings of the city ruined' and the people feeling more 'sorrow than mirth.' In this letter from *Sir John Norreys, Lord General of the crown forces, there is speculation on the probable causes of the calamity. The explosion was a further demoralizing blow to a city racked with food shortages and the scourge of warfare.

Edited Transcript of Document

Although the wind delayed our last dispatch to your honour these six days, yet hath that time afforded nothing more to write but the lamentable accident of the burning of part of her majesties powder to the quantity of about six last [a last consisted of twenty-four barrels each containing one hundred pounds] which being the remains left aboard of all the store last sent over, was brought in a lighter on the eleventh of this present to the crane about twelve o'clock, and took fire immediately after one (by what means no man knows). In this time it was almost all laid upon the quay, and the porters beginning to carry it away: three of sir George Bouchier's men that had charge of it, with the keeper of the crane, and all the labourers about it are perished; the ruin of the town is exceedingly great, twenty house by estimation, next adjoining [were] thrown to the ground; not any house or church within the walls but in the tilings, small timbers, and glass marvellously damaged, and many in like sort in the suburbs. It is supposed that there are slain of all ages and sexes near two hundred. Few English, nor any of account, but one of the Radcliffs, master of a barque of Chester. There is little appearance that they this should happen by a practise, the time being so short that it lay in the place, and the same guarded; but it is guessed that some nail in the rolling of the barrels might strike fire, the time being very dry. Though the loss to her majesty be not great, nor any hindrance can come to the service, there being here sufficient store till more may be sent, yet is the mishap to be pitied and accounted a just plague of God, for the sins of so impious and ungrateful a people.

Document Questions

Description and Comprehension

What class of document is this?

Who produced this document?

In what circumstances was the document produced?

How much damage did the explosion cause? [Line, the ruin of the town...]

What does Norreys say about the number and class of people killed? [Line, It is supposed that ...]

Does Norreys give any hint of the probable cause of the explosion? [Line, There is little apparent ...]

Interpretation and Criticism

If a last consisted of twenty-four barrels each containing one hundred pounds, calculate the amount of gunpowder ignited as a result of the explosion.

Did Norreys have first hand knowledge of the event?

Was Norreys a neutral eyewitness to the event or did he have opinions or interests that might have influenced what he recorded?

What did Norreys mean by calling the disaster ‘a just plague of God, for the sins of so impious and ungrateful a people?’

Wider Context and Comparison

Suggest a question about the gunpowder explosion that is left unanswered by this source.

How did the gunpowder explosion contribute to the sense of grievance against the crown amongst Dublin’s citizens? (See the petition from the Mayor and Citizens of Dublin to Queen Elizabeth, Document 11).

Document 11

A petition from the mayor and citizens of Dublin to Queen Elizabeth, June 1597 (P.R.O., Kew, London, *State Papers, Ireland, 63/199/no. 127(1)).

Description of Document

This petition from the mayor and citizens of Dublin outlines the economic complaints of the civic community at the end of the sixteenth century. The aldermen had a sense of grievance over what were seen as repeated attacks upon their ancient chartered rights. The gunpowder explosion of March 1597 (Document 10) had intensified the social and economic dislocation brought about by the military campaign against Hugh O’Neill; the request for compensation for repairs to the damage caused to Dublin’s streets and buildings forms the centrepiece of the petition. Other clauses deal with questions of judicial procedure, particularly the requirement of citizens to complete jury service which resulted in loss of earnings, ‘to the great impoverishment’ of their wives and children. Articles three, four and six relate to the curtailment of trade, manufacture and revenues of the city. Attention was focused on charges and customs payments levied upon lucrative shipments of wool and yarn through the English ports of Chester and Liverpool by unscrupulous royal custom officers. State officials in Dublin were also taking other sources of income accruing from the import of wine. According to the 1582 charter, Dublin’s merchants and freemen were exempted from

the *poundage and duty placed on woollen cloth and the petition reasserts this much cherished right. Worried about the limitation of these ancient privileges, the interference by crown officials in the collection of fines, revenues and import duty provoked much anger. Whilst many grievances are expressed in this document, it is worthwhile to note that Dublin's citizens were still prepared to trust an English monarch to protect their economic rights.

Edited Transcript of Document

1. First: Whereas the said citizens (consisting mostly of artisans) are usually empanelled as jurors for trials ... whereby they do not only loose great issues ... but also by their appearance and long attendance about such trials loose the benefit of their work, which is the only means to relieve themselves, their wives and children, to their great impoverishment ... It may therefore please her majesty to grant unto the citizens of Dublin ... that all trials of such transitory causes ... may be hereafter determined by *nisi prius* [refers to a trial held at the court of original jurisdiction usually a local assizes court and not a superior law court].
2. Item. Whereas King Henry V granted unto the said citizens by charter all forfeitures, fines, *amercements ... the benefit whereof they do not enjoy for want of special words in the charter to levy the same themselves... [and because] her majesty's custom officers do continually collect them ... It is therefore prayed that her majesty would grant the petitioners full authority to gather the said fines and *amercymments themselves ...
3. Item. Whereas by [the] granting of licenses by her majesty for the transportation of yarn, according to the statute in that behalf provided (which in times past before the passing of the same statute hath been the chiefest commodity for merchants of this country) had caused the city and country prejudice ... It may therefore also please her majesty to grant that the said merchandize of yarn may henceforward be wrought within Ireland and so transported into other places, which would not only furnish the country with money and other special commodities but also generally relieve a great multitude of the poorer sort of the land by working the same into cloth...
4. Item: Whereas it pleased her majesty to grant and confirm to the citizens of Dublin freedom from payment of custom and *poundage for sheepskins and other merchandise laden or brought by them to or from the havens [ports] of Chester and Liverpool, notwithstanding the royal customs officers there ... do enforce the citizens of Dublin to pay as much custom for the wool upon the fells as before they paid for both; and likewise the customs officers ... do compel the citizens to pay customs for hats, caps and worsted stockings, cottons and all other things that hath wool on them ... It may please her highness therefore to grant unto them by new charter, a freedom for transporting of all woollen clothes out of the said ports without custom and *poundage ...
5. Item: Whereas by the late accident of the gunpowder explosion they are made unable to pay her majesty's *fee farm of 68*li* 18*d*, Irish, for the said city, and

the rent of forty pounds, Irish, for certain houses, part of [the] dissolved monastery of St Mary, which they raised out of the Custom house and other houses now overturned by the said explosion: the citizens of Dublin therefore humbly pray her majesty graciously to remit and release them of the said payment for their better enabling to re-edify the said houses again.

6. Lastly: Whereas by act of parliament in the realm of Ireland in 1586 a subsidy was granted unto her majesty for the *impost for wines ended in April, 1596, her majesties customs officers nevertheless do still collect the impost within the city as before, to the great hindrance and impoverishment of the citizens, whose redress thereof [we] humbly beseech her highness to grant them authority to receive to their own use the impost for all wines brought into that city ... and also that they may have payment of five hundred and two pounds three shillings eleven pence sterling, due unto them for soldiers' diet [food], as appears by the captain's bills and the lord deputy's warrant.

Document Questions

Description and Comprehension

What class of document is this?

Who wrote this document?

Why was this document written?

Why are the citizens of Dublin annoyed about being empanelled for jury service at royal courts? [Clause 1]

What remittances or concessions do the citizens seek from the crown in the aftermath of the gunpowder explosion of 1597? [Clause 5]

How much money is owed the citizens for dieting [feeding] the crown's soldiers? [Clause 6]

Interpretation and Criticism

Do the citizen's demands seem reasonable?

Did the mayor and citizens of Dublin want to inform or criticise Queen Elizabeth in this document? (Check the words/phrases used in the document).

Why do you think the citizens of Dublin placed such emphasis upon their loyalty to the crown in this document?

What indications can be drawn from the document concerning the general economic state of Dublin around 1597?

Wider Context

Using the information you have obtained from your textbook and the evidence in this source, explain how the costs of war intensified the hardships endured by Dublin's merchants in the last decade of the sixteenth century?

Indicate how the evidence in this source helps you to better understand the relationship between Dublin's civic community and the English crown in 1597?

Document 12

An account of Dublin during the Nine Years War by *Fynes Moryson, 1617 (Graham Kew (ed.), *The Irish sections of Fynes Moryson's unpublished itinerary*, Dublin, 1998, pp 51-53).

Description of Document

*Fynes Moryson was an English travel writer who accompanied *Lord Mountjoy during his campaign against Hugh O'Neill during the closing phase of the Nine Years War. As Mountjoy's principal secretary and official historian, Moryson was perfectly placed to give a first-hand account of the English victory over O'Neill. The *Itinerary* was eventually published in 1617 and contained not only a detailed record of the war but also an account of Ireland imbued with a typically Elizabethan view of the native Irish. With a tendency to exaggerate the deeds of his mentor Mountjoy, the *Itinerary* should be handled with caution. Like so many contemporary English authors, Moryson was also prejudiced against what he saw as a militant Catholic Church. Ravaged by the devaluation of Irish currency and the dislocation caused by the war, some Irish towns chose not to cooperate with the crown in 1603. This 'revolt of the towns' did not include Dublin, but Moryson has little good to say about its inhabitants. He argues that the greedy merchants actively aided the rebels while the corporation was packed with *recusants and church papists. Moryson displayed a recurring view that the Gaelic Irish were merely barbarians and a belief that the *Old English were disloyal.

Edited Transcript of Document

The fair cities of Ireland require something to be said of them. They were at first all peopled with English men, and had large privileges, but in time [they] became wonderfully degenerate and perverted all these privileges to pernicious uses, as they were degenerated from the English to the Irish manners, customs, diet, apparel, language and generally all affections, so besides the universal inclination of the merchants, no swordsmen more nourished the last Rebellion, than they did by all means in their power. First, they did so for fear lest upon peace established they might be inquired into for their Religion, being all obstinate Papists, abhorring from entering a [Reformed] Church, as the beasts tremble entering the lions den, and when they were forced to go to church (as the mayor and alderman of Dublin to attend the lord deputy) they used to stop their ears with wool or some like matter, so as they could not hear a word the preacher spoke ...

Secondly for covetousness, since the rebellion great treasure was yearly sent out of England, whereof no small part came to the merchant's hands from the Army for vittles [victuals], apparel, and the like necessaries. Yea not content with this no small enriching of their estate, to nourish war and thereby continue this enriching, as also for private gain from the rebels, they furnished them continually with all necessaries ... even with swords with guns and with gunpowder and all our arms, by which abominable act they made excessive profit...and in like sort they furnished the rebels with our best vittuals ...

These their abominable practises were well seen and greatly detested but they could not easily be remedied ... [because of] the great privileges granted to the first *English*

ancestors of these cities, more specially in all this discourse meaning Waterford, Cork and Limerick. For Dublin was in part over awed by the Lord Deputy's residence and Galway gave some good testimonies of fidelity in those dangerous times ... [but] I will show by one or two instances how the degenerate citizens of that time perverted the same [royal charters] to pernicious uses.

Document Questions

Description and Comprehension

What class of document is this?

When was it written?

For what purpose was it written?

What does Moryson say about the religious attitudes of Dublin's aldermen? [Paragraph, The fair cities of Ireland require...]

Why is he so critical of the merchants of Dublin? [Paragraph, Secondly for Covetousness...]

Why, according to Moryson, was Dublin different from the other disloyal towns of Ireland? [Paragraph, These their abominable practises...]

Interpretation and Criticism

Was Moryson an eyewitness to the events recorded in the document?

What points of view are expressed by Moryson?

How accurate is Moryson's description of the conduct of the merchants and citizens of Dublin during the Nine Years War?

To what biases and fears is Moryson appealing in this document?

How might the citizens and merchants of Dublin have responded to Moryson's condemnation of their allegedly disloyal conduct?

Wider Context and Comparison

What impact did this form of negative depiction of the citizens of Dublin have on English perceptions of the Irish?

Richard Stanihurst (Document 2) and Fynes Moryson wrote contrasting accounts of the conduct of the citizens of Dublin during the period of Tudor conquest. In what ways did their assessments of the behaviour of the citizens differ? How would you explain the conflicting interpretations? Which account is the more credible? Why?