Review: [untitled] of Colm Lennon, The Lords of Dublin in the age of the Reformation (Blackrock, 1989)

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in 1956 was set up to work towards unity. This was achieved when the Irish Congress of Trade Unions was created in February 1959.

Despite the flaws mentioned *Workers in union* is a most valuable book. Its modest price should ensure a wide sale.

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Regional studies have in recent years offered many new insights into the nature of the Tudor régime and of its impact on the lives of subjects. Most of these studies have treated of counties or dioceses, but as Dr Colm Lennon demonstrates, the approach is equally fruitful with regard to urban development. Towns have hitherto been comparatively neglected in this context, and an analysis of Tudor Dublin promises answers to a wide range of questions of importance to historians. Dublin held an unusual but important position in the Tudor state. It was not just a provincial capital like Exeter or York. It was also a major garrison-town, resembling in some ways Calais and its hinterland, the English Pale there. Thirdly it was, like London, the capital of an entire kingdom, with its own central administration. Finally, the political unification of the British Isles in 1603 and the accession of a Scottish king, whose attitudes to urban communities had been shaped in a very different political environment, invites examination of the extent to which the new régime’s approach to Irish towns reflected these changed circumstances. Clearly there is scope for several monographs here, and in a pioneering study like Lennon’s it would be unfair to expect answers to the whole range of questions about Dublin’s early modern development. In fact the author considers the city’s growth from the standpoint of the patrician class (their description as ‘lords’ jars somewhat); and it covers the period from 1548, when Dublin was fully incorporated as a county borough, to 1613 when a major clash between government and city occurred over borough liberties.

The foundation of the study is the author’s painstaking research into the city’s neglected archives which permits a stimulating historiographical dialogue with the much better known, government-centred state papers of the period. (A highlight is the fascinating reconstruction of Dublin ‘high society’ in the sixteenth century, much of it based on the prosopography in appendix II of the 101 men elected to the bench of aldermen between 1550 and 1620.) On this basis the book contributes substantially to our knowledge of Tudor Ireland in three main areas. Much of the socio-economic history of sixteenth-century Ireland remains at present *terra incognita*, and *The lords of Dublin* easily establishes itself as a leading work on the subject. In the sphere of ecclesiastical history, Dr Lennon has already established a reputation as an authority on Irish Catholicism. Here he applies to Ireland the insights of Dr Christopher Haigh on the Tudor reformation and develops the work of Dr Ciaran Brady on the relationship between political and religious dissent under Elizabeth. The result is a sensitive and convincing discussion of the impact of the Reformation on Dublin which amplifies considerably our knowledge of the nature and rate of religious change — from Catholic survivalism and church-papism to recusancy and post-tridentine Catholicism. There is also a short but extremely valuable discussion of the leading Protestant families in Dublin which demonstrates that, in Haigh’s conceptual categories, Dublin until c.1580 fitted reasonably well into the ‘slow reformation from above’ pattern of Tudor religious development. Finally, Dr Lennon addresses the ambiguities of Dublin’s position as administrative capital and provincial centre. This ambiguity necessarily led to tensions, ably explored by Lennon, between the traditional Tudor reliance on and support for provincial élites — here the merchant oligarchy, which was allowed
to consolidate its control over the city — and the parallel assertion of royal control over the central administration. Somewhat surprisingly in view of Dublin's vital position as the chief garrison-town of an increasingly beleaguered administration, a complete breakdown in relations between city and state was avoided until after 1603. The rivalry which he charts between English-born officials and Dublin patricians also has wider implications concerning the emergence of a distinct Old English community within the Pale. Dr Lennon has of course examined this development elsewhere. Yet, if there is a criticism which can be levelled at this important and pioneering work, it is that the author does not always spell out sufficiently the significance of his findings in relation to the wider context of Tudor historiography. The reader is left to ponder how typical or otherwise was the experience of Elizabethan Dublin.

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This book is based on a series of lectures on aspects of the history and literature of Dublin city delivered by the academic staff of St Patrick's College of Education, Drumcondra, as a contribution to Dublin's 'Millennium' in 1988. The 'Millennium' was of course an historically spurious event which commemorated not the foundation of Dublin by Norsemen about 841 but a sacking of the city in 988 (or more properly 989), and it is to be hoped that the forthcoming 'City of Culture' celebrations in 1991 will avoid such falsities. Yet if events such as the 'Millennium' produce anything of lasting value, it surely must be collections of scholarly essays such as Dublin through the ages (edited by Art Cosgrove) and the work under review.

The essays in the collection are grouped into two parts, one on history and education, the other on language and literature. The first and most substantial essay is a reconsideration of the career of James Napper Tandy by James Kelly. Kelly rightly points out that little is known about Tandy's early years, but it is likely that a systematic search through Registry of Deeds memorials, Dublin Corporation and guild records, newspapers, pamphlets and collections of correspondence would throw at least some new light on the young radical's family connexions, financial status and political maturation. What is known is that the influence of Charles Lucas and the American Revolution were paramount in the politicisation of Tandy, and paved the way for his involvement in the Volunteer movement and the campaigns for free trade, legislative independence and parliamentary reform in the 1770s and 1780s.

Tandy's progress from radical reformer to republican revolutionary in the 1790s is well charted by Kelly, and he demonstrates how, by adopting advanced positions on issues such as Catholic relief, Tandy was to lose his vital support base in the Protestant-controlled Dublin Corporation. As Kelly points out, an important weapon in government campaigns against opposition figures such as Tandy was the use of the Castle press to impugn their characters and motives, and it could be added that so effective is this propaganda, it is necessary for modern commentators to ensure they are not prejudiced by it. Thus when R.F. Foster, for example, prefixes references to Tandy with dismissive epithets such as 'egregious' and 'ludicrous' (Modern Ireland, 1600-1972, pp 239, 280), one is entitled to wonder how far this is a product of dispassionate historical research, or merely an uncritical regurgitation of contemporary establishment propaganda. Kelly's is a much more rounded and sympathetic view of Tandy, yet there is perhaps more dignity than he is prepared to concede in the old man's demeanour during his trial in 1801, when